CULTURAL EXCHANGE, IMPERIALIST VIOLENCE, AND PIOUS MISSIONS:
LOCAL PERSPECTIVES FROM TANJAVUR AND LENAPE COUNTRY, 1720-1760

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by
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Abstract

This study explores how changing power relations influenced communication and exchange across cultural boundaries in the early to mid-eighteenth century—the period that set the stage for Western imperialism. The focus is on two areas—Tanjavur and Lenape country. Though quite distant from each other culturally and geographically—the former was located in South India, the latter in the North American Middle Atlantic—their histories followed similar trajectories. Both underwent dramatic changes. They experienced a period of peace and stability in the early eighteenth century. From the 1730s, geopolitical changes brought about political destabilization, militarization, and violence that culminated in the Seven Years’ War (1756-1763).

Accelerated British expansion was the major cause of these developments, since it violated earlier arrangements. In South India, the British East India company tightened its control of maritime trade and textile production. The state of Tanjavur was heavily affected because much of its tax income depended on rice and textile exports. In the Middle Atlantic, British expansion was accompanied by increasingly aggressive land acquisitions. Lenape polities were confronted with Pennsylvania’s changing land policies from the 1720s. When the French state tried to curtail British expansion from the late 1730s, conflicts escalated. In the process, the rationality of empires began to dominate communication and exchange across cultural boundaries. Local concerns were muted.

This study is predominantly based on sources produced by Central European missionaries—Lutheran Pietists in Tanjavur and Moravians in Lenape country. Both sets of sources are extensive and unique. Pietists communicated with hundreds of local informants who represented a cross-section of society in Tanjavur. Moravians were the only contemporaries who lived in Lenape communities for extended periods of time and recorded their experiences in detail. Initially, neither Pietist nor Moravian missionaries identified with the British empire. The state of Tanjavur and Lenape polities integrated the two religious groups with a certain degree of success. Yet, their European ritual leaders belonged to global networks that depended on the infrastructure of empires. Their dependence on British means of transport and communication increased as British maritime dominance grew. Their views became aligned with British interests.
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFSt</td>
<td>Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen, Halle, Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALpzM</td>
<td>Archiv der Leipziger Mission, Halle, Germany</td>
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<tr>
<td>HB</td>
<td>Hallesche Berichte</td>
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<tr>
<td>MAB</td>
<td>Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania</td>
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<tr>
<td>RMI</td>
<td>Records of the Moravian Mission among the Indians of North America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPCKA</td>
<td>SPCK archives, Cambridge, U.K.</td>
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<td>UAH</td>
<td>Unitäts-Archiv, Herrnhut, Germany</td>
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Introduction

Power relations shape communication and social exchange. The histories of Tanjavur and Lenape country in the early to mid-eighteenth century provide excellent examples of this dynamic. Power relations in both areas changed dramatically during the period, and so did communication and exchange. Political destabilization, militarization, and violence altered the very nature of communication and exchange within and across cultural boundaries. This transition from peace to war and its effects are the major topics of this study. Central European missionaries and their religious communities—Lutheran Pietists and Moravians—were affected by these changes and tried to make sense out of them like everybody else in Tanjavur and Lenape country. In the end, the missionaries succumbed to the interpretation of the emerging British empire.

The violence of the mid-eighteenth century is usually seen as the early beginning of Western imperialism. Yet, the relative peace and stability of the early eighteenth century should not be misconstrued as a remnant of an earlier, more idyllic colonial age. To understand local views and interests in Tanjavur and Lenape country, a longterm perspective reaching back into the seventeenth century is required. Imperialism and its forms of communication and exchange developed in waves, it seems, with each wave being bigger and more encompassing than its predecessor. The first half of the seventeenth century still had its share of brutal violence in the Indian ocean and Lenape country, which extinguished entire cultures in Tanjavur’s trade orbit, such as the Bandanese, and whole Lenape polities such as Wikquasgek.

Tanjavur and Lenape country

Tanjavur and Lenape polities were quite distant from each other—culturally as well as geographically—in the early to mid-eighteenth century. Tanjavur was a relatively small but persistent political state located in the South Indian Kaveri river delta, in what now is the Indian state of Tamilnadu. Lenape polities still occupied parts of their original homeland in the North American Middle Atlantic, in what now is New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. The term ‘Lenape country’ is used as a shorthand to refer to this cultural area which was not politically unified.

Significant differences in social organization between South Indian and Native North American cultures provided the incentive for including both in my project. Tamil culture in the densely populated Kaveri river delta was quite urban. The delta was administered by the state of Tanjavur, had extensive corporate structures, and stood at the center of the Indian Ocean trade—the largest trade system of the early modern period. Tanjavur was a centralized state, but had not developed the ideological and religious uniformity typical of Europe. The state rather tried to enhance its power by distributing resources to a variety of ideological groups within its territory. Many temples in small towns and villages relied on local funding and followed local traditions and interests. Maintenance of some religious rituals and associated ideologies remained the
responsibility of corporate groups and families and, to some extent, reflected the relative positions of social groups within society.

Lenape culture emphasized local autonomy, with towns of a few dozen to several hundred people or small clusters of towns acting as independent polities. The larger cultural area was integrated through diplomatic relations, closely related languages, similarity in social organization, kinship ties, friendships, joint work efforts, sharing of resources, and regional festivals. Some towns, though small in size, exhibited cosmopolitanism and diversity. Although significant differences in social organization existed between Native American cultures, multicultural communities had succeeded in maintaining a degree of cohesion.

Though separated by thousands of kilometers and despite being shaped by significant cultural differences, Tanjavur and Lenape polities followed similar historical trajectories in the first half of the eighteenth century. During the first three decades, they experienced a period of peace and political stability. The situation changed from the late 1720s when more powerful neighbors—mainly the British East India company, the Arcot state, the British proprietary colony of Pennsylvania, and the Iroquois Five Nations—made demands that threatened their economic foundations. Military threats to Tanjavur and Lenape polities initially emanated from Arcot and the Iroquois Five Nations. Both had become clients of the British empire. They had reached or maintained regional hegemony with the support of the British East India company and British colonies respectively. When British interests demanded more and cheaper resources, such as cheaper textiles and more land, Arcot and the Five Nations assisted in extracting these resources from their smaller neighbors, Tanjavur and Lenape polities.

From the late 1730s, French attempts to curtail British expansion caused these conflicts to escalate. Tanjavur and Lenape polities were drawn into a series of wars which culminated in the Seven Years’ War (1756-1763)—the first war of global proportions. Though at first local in character, these wars were fueled by the resources of the British empire and its French adversary. From the 1740s, British and French armies became directly involved. Neither Tanjavur nor Lenape polities could be counted among the winners of these conflicts. Tanjavur continued to administer the Kaveri river delta and its resources, but the state lost its sovereignty and became a dependent of the British empire, with devastating effects for its economy. Lenape polities successfully defended their sovereignty and brought British expansion to a temporary halt, but they lost the last remnants of their homeland and were forced to migrate west, into areas occupied by other Native American polities.

In the early eighteenth century, the state of Tanjavur, Lenape polities, and particular social groups within these polities attempted to integrate a variety of foreigners, including European religious missionaries such as Lutheran Pietists and Moravians. In Tanjavur, Lutheran Pietists were allowed to assemble, preach to residents, and publicly perform their religious rituals. The state of Tanjavur attempted to integrate foreigners by granting economic privileges. It offered Lutheran Pietist missionaries the tax income of local villages. In Lenape towns, Moravians enjoyed similar privileges. They were allowed to establish their livelihood, assemble, preach, and perform their religious rituals. Lenape polities integrated foreigners through intermarriage. In this way, kinship ties were also extended to Moravian missionaries.

The state of Tanjavur and Lenape polities followed their own rationales when they made these arrangements. Initially, Lutheran Pietist and Moravian missionaries responded in a positive way, which led to lively communication and exchange across cultural boundaries. Yet in the long
run, the missionaries followed rationales that contradicted those of Tanjavur and Lenape polities. Lutheran Pietists never tried to collect the tax income of local villages offered to them. Some missionaries attempted to intermarry with Tamils, but this was considered inappropriate by local cultural standards. Though Moravian missionaries initially intermarried with Native Americans, they soon abandoned this practice. They gave in to the racist attitudes and related disciplining prevalent in British North America. Overall, Lutheran Pietist and Moravian missionaries preferred to rely on their global networks and European funding rather than local resources. They refused to become integrated in local society. Since their own global networks could not provide the technical infrastructure required for communication and transport across the Indian and Atlantic oceans, they depended on the facilities of European overseas empires, mainly Danish, Dutch, and British. As a result, they eventually succumbed to the views of these empires. When the British empire threatened the existence of Tanjavur and Lenape polities, the views of the former were no longer compatible with those of the latter.

When Lutheran Pietist and Moravian missionaries were forced to choose sides during the wars of the mid-eighteenth century, they sided with the British. Much of their Tamil and Lenape clientele had no interest in following their example, and many Tamil and Lenape converts distanced themselves from their European ritual leaders. From the perspective of the state of Tanjavur and Lenape polities, the continued presence of European missionaries also turned into a security risk. Though Lutheran Pietist and Moravian missionaries refused to bear arms and directly participate in the British war effort, they constantly leaked information to the British side. This situation was hardly tolerable because it gave an additional advantage to an enemy that had vastly more resources and superior means of violence at its disposal.

The long term

When Lutheran Pietist and Moravian missionaries first arrived in South India and the North American Middle Atlantic, they knew very little about earlier relations between the regional polities and European colonies. But relations of the early eighteenth century had resulted from developments in the seventeenth century. Permanent Dutch, Danish, and Swedish enclaves had been established in Tanjavur and Lenape country from the 1620s to the 1650s. While the Danish East India company and the Swedish West India company maintained relatively peaceful relations with Tanjavur and Lenape polities respectively, the Dutch East and West India companies (VOC and WIC) took a more violent approach in the Indian ocean and North America. Agents of all four companies shared a basic disposition to use violence because they had similar economic goals and were guided by similar ideologies. But the companies differed with respect to the means of violence available.

From the perspective of formally trained Europeans, ‘Heathen’ polities, such as Tanjavur and Lenape polities, had no legitimacy. They believed that Christians were entitled to destroy ‘Heathen’ polities or even had the duty to act toward this end.¹ Such ideological guidelines led to attitudes that were quite similar to later forms of racism.² True, early modern European ideology

¹ The emphasis here is on ‘polities.’ Even European religious missionaries were willing to adapt to ‘Heathen’ host cultures if they had no other choice. Jesuits in China and South India are well known examples. But this behavior was not intended to endorse host polities.

² A useful normative definition of racism is provided in: Joshua Glasgow, “Racism as disrespect,” *Ethics* 120 (2009): 80-89. The emergence of modern racism in India is discussed in: Thomas R. Trautmann, *Aryans and British*
aimed at destroying forms of political organization rather than people. Once released from a ‘Heathen’ polity, people could convert and join the Christian fold. This difference, however, was of a rather theoretical if not purely academic nature. In practice, the concept of conversion was often irrelevant because most ‘Heathens’ had no interest in converting. Early modern Heathen-Christian dichotomies, modern forms of racism, and other ideological concepts that dehumanized cultural or social groups certainly worked toward similar ends.  

In cases where we are strongly motivated to exploit other human beings, we need an ideology according to which those we wish to exploit are not fully human in order to make the exploitation psychologically possible. 

Current popular language use is therefore not so far off the mark when it applies the term ‘racism’ to a broad range of phenomena.

By the time the Dutch, Danes, and Swedes arrived in Tanjavur and Lenape country, some Europeans had questioned the right of conquest associated with Heathen-Christian dichotomies. Emerging concepts of European international law explicitly questioned the right of Europeans to forcefully occupy lands of Native American polities. This European law tradition evolved in direct response to European overseas imperialism from Francesco de Vitoria (1485-1546) and the School of Salamanca over Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) to Samuel Pufendorf (1632-1694), Christian Wolff (1679-1754), and beyond. European colonialists therefore redefined the purpose of settler colonies and developed notions of a ‘civilizing’ mission. In the process, Native American and other peoples in the orbit of settler colonies were transformed from Heathens into savages. In North America, the term ‘savage’ and associated stereotyping of Native Americans as an undifferentiated group assumed significance as soon as English settler colonies were first established in the early seventeenth century.

The new ‘civilizing’ mission was much more comprehensive than earlier concepts of religious conversion because it questioned all aspects of ‘savage’ cultures and their social organization rather than just their religious beliefs and political sovereignty. During much of the seventeenth century, both the old Heathen-Christian and the new savage-civilized dichotomies coexisted. By the early to mid-eighteenth century, the former had lost much of its influence. Lutheran Pietist and Moravian missionaries were anachronistic insofar as they remained confined to religious goals. They only adopted aspects of a broader ‘civilizing’ mission when they became more closely associated with the goals of British imperialism.

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7 In the Indian context, the term ‘civilizing mission’ is usually applied to aspects of British colonialism in the nineteenth century. The following collection of essays provides an overview: Harald Fischer-Tiné and Michael Mann, eds., Colonialism as civilizing mission: Cultural ideology in British India (London, 2004).
If we consider the combination of European ideological concepts and unprecedented means of violence available to major maritime trading companies in the seventeenth century, it may not be too surprising that some Europeans committed extreme atrocities in the Indian ocean and Lenape country. The violation that engulfed Banda and Wikquasgek, for example, amounted to nothing less than genocide. When Raphael Lemkin invented the term ‘genocide’ in the 1940s, he conceived of it as denoting the extermination of a people—from his point of view, a historical phenomenon that was intrinsically linked to colonialism. His historical research included the analysis of genocides in many places and periods around the world including early modern North America. The term ‘genocide’ later became associated with legalistic terms and concepts such as intent and self-defense. Some historians adopted these, others questioned whether the imposition of legalistic constraints improves historical analysis.

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10 Be that as it may, the extermination of the Banda and Wikquasgek peoples remains genocide even if we apply the term in its most restrictive sense. In the Banda case, intent was frequently expressed and documented when officials of the Dutch VOC carefully planned and executed the genocide to replace the entire population of the Banda islands with Dutch settlers. In the Wikquasgek case, intent was clearly expressed and entered the written record when the administration of New Netherland and the Twelve Men—a representative body of the freemen of New Netherland—decided to exterminate the Wikquasgek people on November 1, 1641. Self-defense was not an issue. The Dutch did not feel threatened by the Wikquasgek polity, they were not at war with Wikquasgek, and they had not been at war previously. The Dutch attacked Wikquasgek because it seemed like an easy target rather than a threat.

In numerous cases, the extinction of peoples and their polities in colonial contexts was caused by the destruction of their subsistence, resources, and related issues. Some historians have applied the term ‘genocide’ in such cases even if no evidence of actual murders or mass murders exists. Others have expressed reservations about this use of the term. The problem again boils down to the legalistic issue of intent. Even if colonists systematically destroyed the resources and livelihood of a neighboring people or polity, this does not prove that they intended the total destruction of their neighbors.

11 In the cases of Banda and Wikquasgek, no such ambiguity exists. The Dutch VOC amassed a large naval force to exterminate the Bandanese. The execution of the genocide was recorded in considerable detail. The few survivors were deported and sold into slavery. For the Wikquasgek genocide, documentary evidence of three large massacres exists. And a number of attempted massacres only failed because Dutch colonists and soldiers and their English allies were not able to locate Wikquasgek towns or because towns had been previously abandoned. The three successful massacres were carefully planned and carried out over the course of two

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8 Banda was a culture in Maluku, now Indonesia. The Bandanese were the only producers of nutmeg worldwide and exchanged it for South Indian textiles. Wikquasgek was a Lenape polity in the lower Hudson river basin.


years, from February 1643 to January 1645. In all three, the perpetrators indiscriminately murdered anyone they could find, that is, infants, children, adolescents, adults, and old people of both sexes. These people were murdered for the sole reason that they were Wikquasgek. The third and largest massacre was the death blow to Wikquasgek as a people and polity. It is difficult to imagine more obvious and better documented cases of early modern genocide than those of Banda and Wikquasgek. There is no other adequate term to name these violent episodes.\footnote{The Banda genocide is discussed in Chapter 3. The Wikquasgek genocide and related documentary evidence are discussed in detail in Chapter 5.}

The state of Tanjavur and Lenape polities developed strategies to deal with European violence during the seventeenth century. As a result, mutually beneficial if uneasy relations emerged and lasted into the eighteenth century. Accelerated expansion of the British empire questioned these earlier arrangements from the late 1720s. Unprecedented means of violence unleashed by the imperialist conflict between Britain and France destroyed the balance of power in South India and the North American Middle Atlantic from the 1740s to the 1760s. As a result, the state of Tanjavur lost its sovereignty to the British East India company. And regional interests of the Kaveri river delta lost control over economic resources. Lenape polities successfully defended their sovereignty by finding ways to relocate beyond the reach of the British empire. But they lost Lenape country to British colonies.

The sources and their authors

The research of this study is predominantly based on primary sources produced by Central European Lutheran Pietists in the case of Tanjavur and Moravians in the Lenape case. Since most of these sources are in German, they have found relatively little consideration in the predominantly English-language historiography of Tanjavur and Lenape country. The sources of both religious groups are quite voluminous and also unique for this period. Lutheran Pietist missionaries produced unique sources on Tanjavur because they were in contact with several thousand local informants who lived and worked throughout the territory of Tanjavur. These informants represented a cross-section of society in Tanjavur. Moravian missionaries lived in Lenape communities for months and years and kept detailed records of some aspects of their experiences. No other comparable sources are available for this period.

Lutheran Pietists and Moravians were relatively small religious groups. They were associated with a religious and social reform movement usually referred to as ‘Pietism,’ which gathered momentum in Protestant Central Europe in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. The term ‘Pietism’ was first applied in the second half of the seventeenth century to a set of responses to perceived social problems. A major concern was lack of individual responsibility in society, which supposedly found expression in decadent lifestyles. According to some, decline of moral standards was rampant and indicated by various symptoms such as indulgence in new forms of public entertainment, drug abuse, inappropriate sexual conduct, and general lack of self-control.

During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, several groups promoting social reform to counter these problems in various parts of Central Europe were referred to as ‘Pietists.’ Many of the concerns voiced by Pietists were similar to those addressed by religious reform movements elsewhere such as the ‘Reformation of Manners’ in England. As members of a newly
emerging middle class, Pietists favored ideologies that celebrated individual achievement. Self-control was another important aspect. Since they wanted to assume a more exalted position in society, they had to ensure that no remnants of their inferior social backgrounds escaped their bodies, minds, and Christian souls.¹³

Like all social movements, Pietism was not a uniform affair. Some Pietists tried to promote social reform within the context of existing institutions, others began to set up separatist communities to practice an alternative lifestyle. A group using institutions of the Lutheran church as its operational base to promote social reform from the late seventeenth century is often referred to as ‘Lutheran Pietists.’ Since one of the most important geographical centers of Lutheran Pietism was in the city of Halle, which is located in Saxony but belonged to territory claimed by the Prussian state, they are also known as ‘Halle Pietists’ to distinguish them from similar groups elsewhere in Central Europe. When the Prussian state tried to integrate Halle and surrounding areas into its territory in the late seventeenth century, state officials supported Pietists to undermine a local orthodox Lutheran oligarchy. In the process, Halle Pietists developed very close relations to the Prussian court.

Moravians came out of the same Lutheran context, but were perceived as becoming too radical by political power holders in Saxony in the 1720s. Their principal leader Nikolaus Ludwig Graf von Zinzendorf, who had been educated at Halle and belonged to the nobility, declared abolition of servitude on his estate in Lusatia. Moderate Pietists distanced themselves from him, and the supposed radicals began to establish their own communities from the late 1720s. In the Central European context, this second group is usually referred to as ‘Herrnhuter’ because they called their first community on Zinzendorf’s estate ‘Herrnhut.’ Members of the group referred to themselves as ‘Unitas fratrum’ or ‘United Brethren.’ In the American context, the name ‘Moravians’ is most commonly applied.

This name is related to the origin as well as the origin myth of the group. In the 1720s, some of the original members of the community in Herrnhut were predominantly German-speaking Protestant refugees from predominantly Czech-speaking Moravia who had been persecuted by the Austrian Habsburg state due to their Protestant background. In Herrnhut, they were joined by like-minded people from other parts of Central Europe. Despite their predominantly German-speaking background, Moravian refugees saw the Czech reformation of the fifteenth century as the origin of their community. The story is significant because the immediate experience of persecution and migration remained a major theme for the first generation of Moravian Pietists and had significant influence on Moravian community organization and their attitudes toward political power, use of violence, and related issues. They refused to contribute to militias and bear arms in Dutch and British colonial contexts, which resulted in repeated conflicts with colonial authorities.¹⁴

When, in the early eighteenth century, expansionist ideals, economic considerations, and, in some cases, persecution combined to cause Pietists to explore new opportunities, Lutheran Pietists ventured as far as Russia, Iran, and Tanjavur, and Moravians eventually came into

¹⁴ Major differences between Moravian and Lutheran Pietist views on religious missions are apparent from the following letter by Zinzendorf: Nikolaus Ludwig Zinzendorf, "Brief an den Missionar Johann Ernst Geister, 1732," in Texte zur Mission, ed. Helmut Bintz (Hamburg, 1979, 1732).
contact with various Native American cultures, first with Kalaadlit culture in Greenland and then with Lokono, Kalepina, and Warau cultures in the South American Guiana region. From the 1740s, they interacted with Native North Americans in the Middle Atlantic region where those most interested in joining Moravian confessionalist communities or founding their own were of Lenape, Mahikan, and Wampano background. Compared to other European Protestants of the period, Lutheran Pietists and Moravians invested considerable resources in their missionary endeavors.  

Missionaries of both groups had surprisingly little difficulty appreciating South Indian and Native American cultural achievements. If necessary, they even put some of their religious views or ideological baggage aside, namely the Heathen-Christian dichotomy that had been imprinted on their central nervous systems during the highly ideological education and training required for European clerics. In line with other Central European sources, Lutheran Pietists and Moravians were often critical of Dutch, British, and French overseas imperialism in the early eighteenth century. Ironically, the situation changed during the mid-eighteenth century when the imperialist conflict between Britain and France escalated and British imperialism presented itself at its worst.

Despite the missionaries’ initial open-mindedness toward South Indian and Native American cultures, even their early sources are biased in some ways. Prior to the wars of the mid-eighteenth century, Lutheran Pietist and Moravian missionaries occasionally praised ‘Heathens’ over ‘Christians’ or ‘good’ aspects of ‘Heathen’ social organization over ‘bad’ aspects of ‘Christian’ social organization. Yet, in direct comparisons, they never favored ‘Heathen’ over ‘Christian’ polities. The same was obviously true for anything related to religion. These attitudes stemmed from a long ideological tradition that claimed both European religious and political superiority and also from a certain degree of distrust toward foreigners when it came to existential matters such as control over economic resources. But the major bias of early Lutheran Pietist and Moravian sources stems from omissions. Missionaries had no interest in providing a comprehensive picture of society in Tanjavur and Lenape country. They mostly avoided topics that had the potential to challenge their views. This indicates that they had less confidence in European religious and political superiority than their ideology suggested. Their writings still provide descriptions of a multitude of seemingly disparate details and events that

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In the long run, some of the attitudes of Lutheran Pietist and Moravian missionaries prevented them from closer integration into South Indian and Native American polities. Lutheran Pietist missionaries consistently rejected opportunities for closer integration into South Indian polities, which was done by extending funding opportunities through tax farming. In the late 1720s and early 1730s, South Indian polities offered the tax income of various villages to Lutheran Pietist communities. Yet, the missionaries preferred money extracted from tax payers in North and Central Europe, which they did not have to extract themselves. Instead of becoming more closely integrated into South Indian polities, they remained dependent on the infrastructure of overseas empires, especially the British from the 1740s onward. Moravian missionaries initially accepted closer integration into Native American polities, which was achieved by extending kinship ties through intermarriage. But they soon rejected this opportunity after they had been exposed to the institutionalized racism of British colonies in the North American Middle Atlantic and New England. For their close association with Native Americans, they were continually ridiculed, harassed, and even imprisoned by colonists and colonial administrations. Racist institutions forced them to take sides.

When Lutheran Pietist and Moravian missionaries came to depend more and more on British infrastructure, they made increasingly selective use of their ‘Christian’ ideology. Some even had difficulty empathizing with South Indian and Native American victims of imperialist violence during the war period, unless the victims had previously joined their confessionalist communities. One finds clear differences between attitudes of Lutheran Pietist missionaries in the Danish enclave Tarangambadi and those in British Madras and Kadalur. While most of the former’s views remained somewhat balanced, some of the latter became outright supporters of British jingoism. Pietist missionaries in Madras and Kadalur had departed earliest from earlier principles. By the end of the 1720s they received part of their salaries from British sources and became cozy with members of the British colonial administration. Pietist missionaries in Tarangambadi consciously kept their distance from the Danish colonial administration.
Part 1: Tanjavur

The early to mid-eighteenth century was an exciting period in Tanjavur’s history, although few people would even recognize the name of this small political state in the southeast of the Indian subcontinent. With a land area about twice the size of the British North American colony of Rhode Island, it measured no more than a hundred kilometers from west to east and only slightly more, a hundred and twenty, from north to south. The state of Tanjavur administered the very fertile and densely populated Kaveri river delta. Its boundaries were provided by the slightly elevated and relatively dry area to the north and west and two hundred kilometers of coastline in the south and east.

Despite its small size, Tanjavur existed as an independent polity through much of the early modern period. This remarkable continuity only ended in the mid-eighteenth century, when the imperialist violence between Britain and France engulfed the region and Britain eventually established its dominance in Tanjavur and elsewhere in India. In previous centuries, a succession of powerful neighbors to the north, such as Vijayanagar, Bijapur, and the Mughal empire, had tried to tap into the resources of the Kaveri river delta. They had collected tribute payments at times and, in a few instances, even installed friendly rulers. From the early eighteenth century, the emerging Arcot state began to play a similar role. These and other neighbors provided an external impetus to economic development and state formation in the Kaveri delta. But there is little evidence that they directly intervened with Tanjavur’s internal organization, which efficiently administered and utilized the delta and its economic resources.17

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Map 1: The Kaveri river delta

The image shows major towns of early to mid-eighteenth century Tanjavur and some of its neighbors superimposed on a satellite photo. The Kaveri delta with its lush green vegetation can be easily distinguished from the less productive lands of Tanjavur’s neighbors, that is, Madurai with its capital Tiruchirappalli to the west and Arcot to the north. Some towns, such as Ariyalur, Pudukkottai, and Udayarpalaiyam, belonged to smaller and semi-independent polities. (Data courtesy of NASA and USGS.)
Most of the state’s income came from the intensive, export-oriented wet rice cultivation in the delta. The Kaveri river provided water for irrigation, and the Indian ocean allowed for easy export along the coast. This was the basis of Tanjavur’s economy throughout the early modern period. In the late fifteenth century, for example, rice from the Kaveri river delta had been exported to South India’s west or Malabar coast. From the mid-seventeenth to the early eighteenth century, much of Tanjavur’s rice was exported to Sri Lanka. From the mid-1730s, the flow of rice was redirected north along the Coromandel coast, to Arcot. Tanjavur’s neighbors, including its powerful northern neighbors, were interested in tapping into the revenue generated from rice exports rather than disrupting or destroying it.

Additional income came from a variety of economic activities in the Kaveri delta and beyond. These involved the production of goods, provision of services, and their exchange and ranged from export-oriented textile production to the ritual and financial services provided at major temples that drew crowds of visitors, were closely associated with political power, and served as an obvious locus of economic activities. Overland trade networks reached as far as the Malabar coast. In the late 1720s, Ammapettai was a major hub in the delta for overland trade with the western coastal plain. Overseas trade connected to Southeast Asia, which had a large demand for textiles produced along the Coromandel coast with its southern section around Tanjavur gaining additional ground in the first half of the eighteenth century. Much of this trade had come to be controlled by the Dutch in Nagappattinam by the early eighteenth century. Yet, the port of Naguru continued to provide shipping to Melaka and grew rapidly in the late 1720s. Tanjavur’s merchants also used European shipping, such as Danish from Tarangambadi, to participate in this trade.

18 Subrahmanyam, "Fiscality and politics in Maratha Tanjavur."
19 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, The political economy of commerce: Southern India, 1500-1650 (Cambridge, 1990), 53.
21 Arcot’s rapidly growing demand for rice from Tanjavur during this period was caused by the beginning imperialist conflict between Britain and France and the related disruption of agriculture on the northern Coromandel coast. This is discussed in detail below.
23 Subrahmanyam, Political economy of commerce, 81.
When Lutheran Pietists first arrived in Tanjavur in 1706, they came to a country of political stability and economic prosperity—a condition that was to end after two and a half decades. From the mid-1730s, the escalating imperialist conflict between Britain and France and related ambitions of the emerging Arcot state to the north transformed Tanjavur from a condition of relative peace into a state of war. In the process of political destabilization and militarization, some social groups lost influence in the Kaveri delta while others gained prominence. As the bureaucratic state administration took a backseat, local nobles, such as the nāyakkār and pāḷaiyakkār, powerful clerics, and their military resources became crucial to Tanjavur’s survival. These transformations, which occurred from the 1730s to the 1750s, profoundly altered society in the Kaveri river delta and divided Lutheran Pietist communities.

By the mid-eighteenth century, Pietists of European background formed an increasingly close association with the British who emerged as winners from the wars of this period. To some extent, this association was based on economic and political opportunism. Yet, the missionaries’ drift toward British interests had earlier roots that had become clearly visible as early as the 1720s when the state of Tanjavur had offered to sustain Tamil Pietist communities on a local economic basis provided by the tax income of villages. European clerics had rejected this offer. They preferred to rely on European sources of income which in turn deepened their dependence on European maritime transport and other features of the European colonial infrastructure.

The decision to reject local funding was based on Lutheran Pietists’ religious ideology which created a barrier between them and what they considered a ‘Heathen’ state. Yet, Pietist ideology was initially optimistic about the existence of equal capacities inherent in all humans. This rather positive aspect was eventually undermined by Pietists’ increasingly close association with British interests. Pietist ideology became aligned with British imperialist ideas and its early racist underpinnings. To better comprehend the latter, a longterm perspective on European involvement in the wider Indian ocean littoral and elsewhere is required. Throughout the early modern period, Europeans found reasons to question the legitimacy of ‘Heathen’ polities, which, among other things, resulted in European use of extreme forms of violence against such polities.


Tanjavur’s crisis continued and intensified during the second half of the eighteenth century. The wars of the mid to late eighteenth century reduced the population of some administrative districts by fifty to sixty percent and destroyed much of Tanjavur’s resource base. For an excellent discussion of this period, see: Subrahmanym, "Fiscality and politics in Maratha Tanjavur." The emergence of the Arcot state from the late seventeenth century to the 1720s is discussed in: Subrahmanym, "Commerce, politics, and the early Arcot state." British ideology during this period is discussed in: Linda Colley, Britons: Forging the nation, 1707-1837 (New Haven, 1994). For aspects of British ideology in mid-eighteenth century India, see: Robert Travers, "Ideology and British expansion in Bengal, 1757-72," Journal of imperial and Commonwealth history 33 (2005).

The militarization of Tanjavur and the resulting spread of violence, destruction of crops, famine, epidemic disease, depopulation, and so on from the mid-1730s had a profound impact on every strata of society including local Pietist communities. Only by looking at the changing nature of Tanjavur’s relations with its neighbors and European interests, at the resulting crisis of Tanjavur’s government in the mid-1730s, and at the ensuing internal militarization and social change in the Kaveri delta can we appreciate how geopolitical developments shaped and transformed relations between European Pietists and South Indians.

The sources on Tanjavur

Texts produced by Lutheran Pietists during the early to mid-eighteenth century are of interest for two reasons. First, due to Pietists’ use of writing and the variety of texts available, they provide us with new insights into how views of Tanjavur and India were produced and transmitted by Europeans. At the same time, these texts provide us with new insights into the history of Tanjavur that are not available from other sources of this period.

Pietist texts detail aspects of everyday life, culture, the economy, and politics in Tanjavur. The uniqueness of these texts derives as much from the quality of Pietists’ informants as it does from Pietists’ use of writing. Many informants were of cuttirar background, that is, they were artisans, bureaucrats, merchants, professionals, and their families. Yet, from the late 1720s to the 1740s, some of the most important informants, such as the Pietist leader Rajanāyakkan, were of paraiyar background. So, to some extent, Pietist texts reflect paraiyar views of life in Tanjavur. There are no comparable sources reflecting views of this particular social group during the period.

One could refer to the resulting social portrait as one drawn from a bottom-up perspective, although paraiyar did not see themselves as the bottom of society. During the first half of the eighteenth century, their position in Tanjavur was much stronger than the English corruption of the name—pariah—would suggest. Several historians have already pointed out that ‘pariahs’ are a much later phenomenon produced by British imperialism. Pietist sources support this thesis.29

Information provided by paraiyar and cuttirar and recorded by Pietists make a significant contribution to the general historiography of South Indian society prior to the British takeover in the 1760s, since it fills in many gaps, even with respect to some of the big political events that are only vaguely known to us today. Moreover, information provided by paraiyar serves as a counterbalance to other colonial and to South Indian elite sources. This type of information is


29 ‘In fact, caste neither exhausted the range of social forms, functions, and identities, nor provided underlying unity. The only common social facts of caste concerned the codification of kinship relations and, to some extent, the protocols for interdining. But even these codes and protocols yielded to larger political histories of community formation, regulation, discipline, and participation within a range of larger social and political worlds—until, that is, the larger political history became dominated by a colonial power whose interest in ruling India through an indirect logic predicated on caste changed things altogether.’ This quotation is taken from: Nicholas B. Dirks, Castes of mind: Colonialism and the making of modern India (Princeton, 2001), 79. Aspects of the changing status of paraiyar during the early phase of British colonial rule in Chengalpet, which is a hundred and fifty kilometers north of Tanjavur, are discussed in: Eugene F. Irschick, Dialogue and history: Constructing South India, 1795-1895 (Berkeley, 1994).
also very different from formalized communication, such as songs and storytelling, that has been discussed by some historians. Events that were reported by paraiyar and cüttirar and informed Pietist texts were considered current at the time they were recorded, and their inclusion as ‘current’ by European writers prove that news spread rapidly among the wider population of Tanjavur. Although some of the news provided was based on hearsay, all had their own validity, since many people in Tanjavur relied on them.

The information networks used by paraiyar and cüttirar Pietists were often more accurate than the European colonial networks. This is even true with respect to major political events in Tanjavur, since colonial networks did not penetrate very far inland during the first half of the eighteenth century. While the Dutch were already on their way out, and the British and French were not yet established on this stretch of the Coromandel coast, Pietist information networks could rely on several thousand paraiyar and cüttirar Pietists and their connections by the mid-1730s. They extended throughout the territory of Tanjavur and included the raja’s court in Tanjavur city and the ‘Little Raja’ Tukkoji’s court in Madevipattinam near Mannarkoyil during his presence there in the 1720s, before he ascended to the throne. Pietist paraiyar and cüttirar informants gathered news from friends and relatives who worked at these courts.

The death of Sarabhoji Raja and the transition to Tukkoji’s rule in 1729 provides an example of a big event that is little known and of which even the basic dates are inaccurate or disputed in the secondary literature. Various Pietist sources provide clarification of the event. Aaron, a Tamil Pietist cleric, visited a Pietist community in the capital Tanjavur from December 9 to 16, 1729. He reported to Pietists in Tarangambadi that Sarabhoji Raja had died on November 18, 1729 at 2:00 pm. His successor Tukkoji Raja had formally taken over government affairs on December 5, 1729.

Some of the secondary literature differs from Aaron’s account, since it claims that Tukkoji took over business in 1728 or 1730. The latter date is probably based on information provided in Dutch colonial records. Pietist sources confirm that the Dutch were invited relatively late to celebrate the transfer of power. In March 1730, Tukkoji called the Dutch to Tiruvarur, which was fairly close to their base at Nagappattinam, to receive them for the first time after he had taken over government affairs. On March 27, 1730, the paraiyar Pietist Rajanāyakkan sent one of his brothers from Tanjavur city to his paternal uncle Kallunāyakkan who, at the time, was in Tiruvarur as a member of Tukkoji Raja’s entourage. The same sources also confirm that, at around the same time, the Dutch at Nagappattinam sent a delegation to Tiruvarur with presents to congratulate the raja to the beginning of his rule.

Apart from supplying more detail about dates, this information tells us something about the relationship between the court at Tanjavur and the Dutch at Nagappattinam. The rather late reception at Tiruvarur almost four months after the event indicates that the government of Tanjavur did not consider the Dutch a major power when it came to political relations and diplomatic exchange. In fact, in the late 1720s and 1730s, Tanjavur’s government tried to neutralize Dutch dominance in the overseas trade of this section of the Coromandel coast by supporting local traders in Naguru—a few kilometers north of Nagappattinam—and by eventually inviting the French and British into the competition. The episode on the transition from Sarabhoji Raja’s to Tukkoji Raja’s rule and the confusion or inaccuracy about it in the

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30 For South Indian folklore and its relation to print, see: Stuart Blackburn, *Print, folklore, and nationalism in colonial South India* (Delhi, 2003).
31 HB, vol. 3 (1735), no. 28, p. 385-386.
secondary literature also indicates that the Dutch colonial administration did not always have up-to-date information, even on major changes that were occurring at the court in Tanjavur.\footnote{HB, vol. 3 (1735), no. 30, p. 543.}

The following chapters rely on the stories contained in Lutheran Pietists’ texts that enable us to sketch social change in Tanjavur and the Pietist communities during the first half of the eighteenth century. Some of these stories confirm what historians have found in other sources, but others provide unique insights that are presented here for the first time. The political destabilization of Tanjavur, the militarization of the region, and the resulting social transformations of the mid-eighteenth century, which are apparent from Pietist sources, significantly contribute to our understanding of the region’s history. These profound changes are absent from standard accounts based on British sources because the British only portrayed Tanjavur during the second half of the eighteenth century, after it had been devastated by external influences, and projected these conditions onto earlier periods. The argument proceeds in three steps. Part I (Chapters 1 and 2) describes the internal political destabilization that occurred in Tanjavur from the 1720s to the 1730s and its effects on Pietist initiatives. Part II analyzes the larger geopolitical changes in the Indian ocean and adjacent areas that caused the internal destabilization of Tanjavur (Chapter 3) and tracks their impact on three social groups (Chapter 4). Coastal traders, marine fishers, and agricultural producers were differentially affected and so were members of Pietist communities.
Chapter 1: Tanjavur and its neighbors

Reading the English-language secondary literature on the political history of early modern India written in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the reader is left wondering how a small polity like Tanjavur could survive in the south of the subcontinent for centuries. Much of the references to sixteenth and seventeenth-century South India consists in descriptions of never-ending military campaigns that originated in the Deccan, the central elevated plateau which is separated from the western and eastern coastal plains by the mountain ranges of the Western and Eastern Ghats. Endless military campaigns, it seems, were only interrupted by seasonal changes in the weather.33

This violent picture of early modern South India that predominates in the English-language historiography forms a marked contrast to the peacefulness and tranquility of everyday life Pietist writers conveyed about early eighteenth-century Tanjavur. The former is remarkably similar to how early modern Europeans questioned and rejected the legitimacy of ‘Heathen’ polities, and it completely disregards historical change.34 This chapter proceeds in three steps to address this problem. First, notions of ‘warrior rule’ in South India are compared to documentary evidence of the early eighteenth century. Second, causes of Tanjavur’s political destabilization and militarization from the mid-1730s to the Seven Years’ War are analyzed. Third, the effects of political destabilization and militarization on society in Tanjavur and relations to Lutheran Pietists are examined.

‘Warrior rule’ in Tamil country: A violent tradition in historiography

The general populace of South India and Tanjavur is conspicuous for its absence in secondary accounts that emphasize ‘warrior rule.’ It only surfaces occasionally as the source that provided foot soldiers employed in the army of one of the big polities, as native tribal warriors who led a nebulous existence somewhere around the fringes of larger-scale violence, or as invading peasant warriors and their descendants who held sway when the ‘ascendancy of the Deccan’ brought ‘warrior rule’ to the ‘Tamil country.’35

The amalgamated mass of South Indian ‘warriors’ supposedly built political hierarchies that were predominantly based on kinship ties and in which the ‘gift as a mode of statecraft

34 To some extent, this emphasis on violence in the late 1980s and early 90s was a reaction to two older historiographical traditions—to nationalist histories in which even medieval South Indian polities appeared quite modern and to regional histories of the Indian ocean trade which neglected the interior.
An outstanding example of the former is: K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Colas (Chennai, 1955).
compelled the king to engage in expansive and incorporative activity. Plunder and warfare were far better suited to this political modality than revenue “systems” and bureaucratic rule.³⁶ At times, the imagination of historians substituted for evidence to prove that supposed ‘warriors’ had actually engaged in wars. ‘Even when they were not actually making war such rulers were continually striving and contending with one another: a realm which failed to expand, which ceased to build up its armies and recruit new clients and service people had no hope of survival.’³⁷

Some accounts have attributed real and imagined violence to particular social groups such as northern Telugu and Maratha immigrants who reached a degree of political prominence further south. Here, the top level of the political hierarchy came to be occupied by ‘Telugu-speaking warriors who had also spread into the rich river valleys of the Tamil country over many generations.’ The term ‘rich river valleys’ indicates that this depiction supposedly applied to Tanjavur and the Kaveri river delta as well. Most prominent on the lower echelons of the political hierarchy, we find ‘groups on the fringes of settled agriculture (the so-called poligars or palaiyakarars of the warrior tribal Kallars and Maravas) exercising the functions of protection and tribute taking in the villages on behalf of their nominal overlords.’³⁸

It is worth noting in this context that Tamil Pietists traveled freely in the territories of Kallar and Maravar polities in the 1720s and early 1730s. On their journeys, they frequently strayed from the major roads that were routinely used by droves of religious tourists and traders and traveled backroads instead. During times of peace, they never encountered violence or hostility, unless they ran into local Catholics who perceived them as competitors for ideological reasons.

Even inhabitants of the southeastern coastal plain who eventually overcame their supposed ‘warrior’ past failed to live up to the standards of some historians and to contribute anything useful or productive to society. ‘In the south the Maratha court of Tanjore presided over an outpouring of poetry, religion and dance in the first half of the {eighteenth} century {...}’ The term ‘outpouring’ tells us what we are supposed to make of these cultural achievements. The supposed inaptitude of South Indian polities and political leaders is contrasted with picturesque South Indian villages. The latter’s ‘headmen’ whose ‘hereditary office-holding families could often be traced back many generations’ supposedly provided some stability and integrity.³⁹

Pockets of peace and havens of refuge from the general turmoil of South India were supposedly provided as well by rapidly growing European enclaves on the coast where commercial interests, orderly trade, and the proper rule of law prevailed.

Other historians rejected the notion that village ‘headmen’ had been at hand in the Kaveri river delta to preserve ‘ancient’ peasant villages and prevent state formation for centuries. ‘In areas of ancient high agriculture, local authority was held by corporate bodies rather than poligars or village and locality headmen.’ Instead of ‘warriors’ and ‘headmen,’ the reader encounters ‘prestigious holders of land rights.’ But in these accounts, the latter surprisingly took the former’s role in successfully blocking state formation. ‘During the colonial epoch {...}, they proved as resistant to the centralising aspirations of the British as they had done to the Vijayanagara state and their successors, the nayaka kings of Tanjavur (1530-1680) and of the

³⁶ Ibid., 48.
³⁹ Ibid., 26-27, 39.
Maratha Rajas of Tanjavur (1680-1800).\textsuperscript{40} The reader is left wondering where ‘prestigious holders’ got their ‘land rights’ if they refused to be part of a larger polity.

Pietist sources, however, show that the state of Tanjavur had been successful in building a central administration and strengthening its position relative to landed interests until the early 1730s. Landed interests only regained influence from the mid-1730s when the central state came under increasing pressure from external enemies. On the village level, Tanjavur functioned with two types of political leaders rather than none. These two offices prove that, by the early eighteenth century, the central state bureaucracy reached all the way to the village level where it coexisted with local forms of organization. While \textit{nâṭṭānmaikkār\textarar} were the spokesmen of independent village assemblies composed of \textit{nāṭṭār} or ‘most distinguished residents’ as Pietist sources also refer to them, \textit{maniyakkār\textarar} represented the central state on the local level and were responsible for tax administration. References to \textit{maniyakkār\textarar} appear much more frequently in Pietist sources of the early to mid-eighteenth century than references to \textit{nāṭṭār} and \textit{nâṭṭānmaikkār\textarar}. This clearly indicates that local forms of organization had become subservient to the central state administration.\textsuperscript{41}

Since the office of \textit{maniyakkār\textarar} is conspicuous for its absence in sources pertaining to regions to the north of Tanjavur, such as Chengalpet, we may conclude that the central administration of Tanjavur had expanded much deeper into society than the central administration of Mughal territories, such as Arcot, did to the north.\textsuperscript{42} Evidence from the late seventeenth century suggests that Tanjavur’s southwestern neighbor Madurai also appointed \textit{maniyakkār\textarar} to collect fiscal dues at the village level.\textsuperscript{43} According to information provided to Pietists by an anonymous local historian in 1710, \textit{maniyakkār\textarar} had already played a role in Tanjavur in the early seventeenth century when Kalengirāiyapillai, the \textit{maniyakkār\textarar} of Tarangambadi, received the first Danish guests. This historian even provided a timeline for the history of Tarangambadi which consisted of the succession of Tarangambadi \textit{maniyakkār\textarar} from the early seventeenth century to the time of his writing.\textsuperscript{44} When European Pietists drew comparisons between Tanjavur’s villages and those of Europe, they found the degree of complexity and stratification of society in Tanjavur’s villages surprising.\textsuperscript{45}

Pietist accounts of early eighteenth-century Tanjavur confirm that a variety of corporate groups including landless \textit{para\textarayar} enjoyed significant political influence. But they disagree with the violent English tradition on how this influence came about. They claim that corporate groups were politically significant because they were active participants in a larger polity, that is, the state of Tanjavur, and beyond. According to Pietist authors, a nobility and village leaders also

\textsuperscript{40} Stein, \textit{Vijayanagara}, 98.
\textsuperscript{44} The succession of Tarangambadi \textit{maniyakkār\textarar} from the turn of the seventeenth century to 1710 reads as follows: Nellaiinapillai, Kalengiraiyapillai, Kanguraiyapillai, Chalavarichetti, Daiyappapillai, Periakaliappapillai, Angâchiapillai, Ramapâttirapillai, Kâliappapillai.
\textsuperscript{45} See: HB, vol. 1, no. 11, p. 881-885.

HB, vol. 4, no. 37, p. 77.
existed in Tanjavur. Yet, they were not in the business of preventing state formation either. Among the nobility, the prevalent title was nāyakkar rather than pālaiyakkārar. During times of peace, nāyakkar were closely integrated in the central state administration and carried out policing functions and border controls. During times of war, their role was to mobilize independent military resources to support the central government.  

Historians have claimed that, in ‘Tanjavur, and possibly also in Gingee, military protection was provided by mercenaries, paid out of the rice and textile surpluses and advanced commerce of both coastal realms.’ Tanjavur had a central army in the early eighteenth century, but this army was very small. In the mid-eighteenth century, the central army was no longer sufficient to deal with the growing scale of external aggressors. Therefore, the central government had to rely on the independent resourcefulness of the nobility, that is, of nāyakkar within its territory and of pālaiyakkārar from the dry areas around Tanjavur.  

This arrangement was more resilient and less expensive than one necessary to support a large central army, since an external enemy could not win a war by simply defeating Tanjavur’s army and since a large portion of the personnel needed during times of war was involved in useful activities during times of peace. But when outside aggression reached new heights in the mid-eighteenth century and initiated a prolonged period of war, the central state’s reliance on independent military resources of the nobility assumed greater significance. As a result, the central state struggled to control its nobility. Historians have projected these conditions of the mid-eighteenth century, which are recorded in British sources, on earlier periods. As a result, they have overemphasized indigenous violence and ‘warrior rule’ in South India and have overlooked the real story of social change in early modern Tanjavur.

There are two larger problems with the prevailing history of ‘warrior rule’ in South India. First, this account is based on little to no evidence from the early modern period. Since we do not have much information on the internal organization of polities in this region from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth century, historians have relied on over-interpretations of medieval temple inscriptions and on information gathered by British colonial administrators from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century. The limited primary sources that are available from the period point toward a more complex picture, with South Indian governments being actively involved in a broad range of activities. 

46 The term ‘poligar’ is a British corruption of Tamil pālaiyakkārar. The role of nāyakkar in Tanjavur is discussed in detail below.  
47 Stein, Vijayanagara, 134.  
48 Tanjavur was supported at times by the pālaiyakkārar of Ariyalur and Udaiyarpalaiyam, for example. Pattukkottai was integrated into Tanjavur as a sūba or administrative district in the early eighteenth century, but it was the seat of a fairly powerful pālaiyakkārar at the same time.  
49 The secondary literature has produced a conceptual divide between early modern South Indians as political actors who are depicted as ‘warriors’ and economic development in coastal areas which can be gleaned from European sources. Some historians have coined the term ‘portfolio capitalist’ to straddle this divide and its inherent contradictions. See: Subrahmanyan, Political economy of commerce, 327-336.

A fascinating case study of the small Maravar state of Ramnad, which was located on the coast south of Tanjavur, opposite Sri Lanka, and its diverse political and economic interests in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century is provided in: Narayana Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyan, Symbols of substance, 264-304.

Second, the history of ‘warrior rule’ in South India is not feasible from an economic point of view. Polities of any size that could sustain territorial expansion, such as Vijayanagar in the early sixteenth century or the Mughal empire in the mid-seventeenth, could afford to invest considerable portions of their resources in wars. But not all polities of an area could make territorial gains at the same time. Early modern Tanjavur belonged to the latter category. The persistence of Tanjavur throughout the early modern period was not based on military campaigns and external territorial expansion. Rather, it was based on internal expansion, that is, on the successful administration and improvement of the limited resources available in the Kaveri river delta and those that could be imported. Therefore, the history of this small polity is of particular significance because it points toward regional variation, specialization, and interregional dependencies that tell us what early modern South India was about.\(^{50}\)

The state of Tanjavur and society in the Kaveri river delta: A longer term perspective

Many English-language historians have tended to label the Telugu and Maratha nobility that came to rule Tanjavur from the first half of the sixteenth and from the second half of the seventeenth century as warriors with a peasant background who initially made military conquests and rapidly turned decadent afterward. Yet, none of these attributes that the secondary literature associates with these agents in the process of state formation convincingly explains why Tanjavur possessed urban centers, overland, coastal, and overseas trade, export-oriented textile production, a vast irrigation system, and export-oriented wet rice cultivation in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

Some of the literature points toward parallels between the Mughal administration and the internal organization of Tanjavur in the mid-eighteenth century. The Mughals and other neighbors certainly provided an impetus to state formation at various points in Tanjavur’s history. This is apparent, for example, from many administrative terms and names of offices used in early eighteenth-century Tanjavur. But we do not know when and how these terms and possibly associated administrative concepts had entered Tanjavur. More importantly, the similarity between the Mughal administration and Tanjavur seems rather superficial if one considers the difference of scale. Tanjavur and its administrative units were much smaller in size and, therefore, much more capable of responding to local and regional peculiarities.

Most of what constituted Tanjavur and its resilience was based on regional realities and interregional dependencies rather than diffusion of northern or other influence. For this reason, dynastic changes at the top of the political hierarchy, such as from Tamil Chola kings to Telugu nāyakas in the first half of the sixteenth century and from Telugu nāyakas to Maratha rajas in the 1670s, did not much matter. New rulers possibly brought new ideas, but they also had to adjust to the political and economic realities of society in the Kaveri delta. The success of these dynasties was proof of their adaptability.\(^{51}\)

\(^{50}\) An excellent case study of regional specialization and interregional dependencies in and around the Godavari and Krishna delta on the northern Coromandel coast from the early seventeenth to the early eighteenth century is provided in: Subrahmanyam, "Rural industry and commercial agriculture in late seventeenth-century south-eastern India."

\(^{51}\) The dynastic change of the first half of the sixteenth century is discussed in: Narayana Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam, Symbols of substance, 40-41. For the dynastic change in the 1670s, see: Subrahmanyam, "Fiscality and politics in Maratha Tanjavur," 144-148.
From a rather cynical perspective, which is sometimes reflected in discussions on state formation in the secondary literature, one could argue that the fertile Kaveri delta allowed for a parasitic state administration on top of agricultural and other producers. But if one takes a closer look, one finds that the vast irrigation system that formed the basis of Tanjavur’s existence and other ingredients of Tanjavur’s economy could have hardly existed without a large organization such as the state of Tanjavur. In the secondary literature, we find little concrete, substantiated information on the underlying process of state formation in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Instead, we find much speculation and over-interpretation of medieval sources and, in addition, remnants of later British stereotypes that entailed histories of early modern South Indian violence and economic decline to justify the mayhem and destitution caused by British imperialism from the mid-eighteenth century. Polities and society in and around the Kaveri delta certainly changed significantly from the middle ages to the early eighteenth century, but we have little evidence that tells us how they changed. The evidence we do have, suggests that those who promoted social and political changes in the Kaveri delta aimed at further developing its resources, which resulted in further regional specialization and new interregional dependencies.

Intensive wet rice cultivation existed in the Kaveri river delta at least as early as the high middle ages when the Chola polity expanded outward from the delta and probably needed much of the produce that resulted from an intensification of agriculture to support its internal and external expansion. With regard to internal expansion, the Cholas overlaid the cultural landscape of the delta and adjacent areas with a net of magnificent temples of unprecedented size, and they overlaid the fairly autonomous nādu or clusters of peasant villages with a grid of brahmadēya or brahmin villages and state officials. The period also saw an increase in artisanal production and the development of nagaram or market towns.

For the early modern period, there is evidence of a continued increase in diversity and social stratification. The state of Tanjavur and its neighbors, such as Madurai and various Kallar and Maravar polities, attempted to integrate a broader range of religious and social groups, with

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For a cultural geography of the Kaveri delta, see: Bohle, "Politische und ökonomische Aspekte der Religionsgeographie: Das Beispiel mittelalterlicher südindischer Tempelgründungs- und Ritualpolitik."
the former ranging from Saivite and Vaishnavite to Sufi and Catholic. This process led to conflicts at times resulting, for example, in a crackdown on Catholics in Tanjavur at the turn of the eighteenth century. But such measures were an exception rather than the rule. When Tanjavur and the Maravar polity of Ramnad offered the tax income of villages to Pietists in the early eighteenth century, they were extending a well established political practice.

Apart from ritual leadership and centers of worship, governments pushed internal integration by supporting a variety of services and projects such as roads, guest houses, water stalls, and schools. These and other services were supported by granting tax exemptions to individuals and organizations who provided them. With regard to social groups, the secondary literature is probably correct in claiming that brahmins benefited most from charities and tax-free land. Yet, Pietists also reported on free schools that served cōttirar children and tax-free temple lands that supported paṟaiyar in the early eighteenth century.

Evidence from the high middle ages that consists in temple inscriptions detailing land transfers and tax assessments already points toward increasing centralization, social stratification, and development of markets in the Kaveri river delta. Yet, at the peak of Chola power, not even the agricultural potential of the delta had been exploited to its full capacity. In the late middle ages when the territory of the Chola polity was reduced to the Kaveri delta and in the early modern period when the state of Tanjavur controlled little territory beyond, continued growth of agricultural surplus and textile production became the basis of an export economy.

References to Tanjavur’s rice exports entered European sources from the first arrival of European ships in the Indian ocean. Vasco da Gama ran into vessels carrying rice from Tanjavur off the Malabar coast in 1498. Rice exports continued throughout the early modern period. From the mid-seventeenth century, rice imports from Tanjavur figured prominently in considerations of the Dutch colonial administration in Sri Lanka. In 1701, for example, the ports of Colombo and Galle received 108 boats with about 2,700 metric tons of rice and nellu or...
unhusked rice and, in 1702, 125 boats with about 3,800 metric tons. Much of this produce and shipping originated in Tanjavur. Rice exports generated a considerable volume of coastal trade and contributed to the livelihood of many people including karaiyār whose changing fortunes in the early to mid-eighteenth century would prove symptomatic for the fate of Tamil interactions with Europeans.

The state of Tanjavur played an active role in agricultural production, for example, by providing credit to producers and by contributing to the maintenance and protection of major irrigation works through tax exemptions and direct involvement. The Grand Anicut, the large system of dams that regulated water flow into the Kaveri delta, was near the westernmost tip of Tanjavur’s territory and actually claimed by the state of Madurai in the early eighteenth century. It was a very large structure, vulnerable to attack or sabotage, and repeatedly seized on by neighbors, such as Madurai and Arcot, as a pawn in disputes with residents of the delta. In the absence of a larger polity in the delta, its defense and maintenance would have been a big challenge even to the best organized nādu or cluster of peasant villages.

The state also played an active role in the promotion of trade, since it purchased goods, set tariffs, established and maintained new contacts, and attracted new agents. Apart from rice, the most important export products were cotton textiles in the early modern period. Throughout the period, textiles were exported overseas to Southeast Asia.

When the Portuguese arrived in Melaka in the early sixteenth century, Tamil keling merchants were well established there and taught them the ropes of intra-Asian trade. When the Dutch conquered Melaka in 1641 and investigated the textile trade between Melaka and the Coromandel coast, Tamil keling merchants told them that at least twenty-four varieties of cloth had been imported into Melaka during the previous two decades most of which had been re-exported to Indonesia and destinations in mainland Southeast Asia. Keling merchants supposedly told the Dutch as well that net profits of fifty percent were quite common in this trade.

The export-oriented textile production of early modern Tanjavur required peace in the Kaveri delta and adjacent areas where the spinning, weaving, bleaching, and dying was done. It also required peace in dry regions, intermediate zones, and forests where cotton, dyes, such as indigo and cāyavēr or chay root, and components of mordants, such as alum, were produced. A South India packed with warriors and raiders would have been detrimental to textile production and also to the development of market towns and trade routes that provided links between the Kaveri delta and regions where essential raw materials were produced. Since the available evidence seems to indicate that export-oriented textile production developed and persisted throughout the early modern period, it seems safe to assume that Tanjavur and adjacent areas provided a sufficiently secure environment, not one dominated by warriors.

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62 Subrahmanyam, Political economy of commerce, 204-205.

63 An excellent case study on the production and trade of textiles and related raw materials in and around the Godavari and Krishna delta on the northern Coromandel coast from the early seventeenth to the early eighteenth century is provided in: Subrahmanyam, "Rural industry and commercial agriculture in late seventeenth-century south-eastern India."

A market that belonged to Pudukkottai, a Kallar polity in the dry area to the south of Tanjavur, is briefly described in: Dirks, The hollow crown, 163-164.
Although evidence for direct involvement of Tanjavur’s government in overseas trade is scattered, the secondary literature indicates some continuity throughout the early modern period. Tanjavur’s major port of Nagappattinam remained busy during the period. Early on, the government played an active role in attracting new agents. Portuguese private traders were allowed to settle in Nagappattinam from the early sixteenth century and reached considerable numbers in the mid-sixteenth century. From the 1570s, the government further encouraged settlement of Portuguese traders by providing tax income from neighboring villages, a portion of the customs collected, and a limited amount of trade that was free of duties. The government of Tanjavur still protected them seven decades later such as in 1642 when the Dutch attempted a raid. Traders in Nagappattinam had not seen any need to fortify the place until the Dutch threat emerged in the mid-seventeenth century. The Portuguese contributed to Tanjavur’s economy until the Dutch conquered Nagappattinam and expelled them in 1658. Some Portuguese moved to Tarangambadi and possibly other ports in Tanjavur, but many left Tanjavur and moved further north to Porto Novo.

During the previous five decades, the Dutch had successfully employed violent means to displace or control Indonesian and Sri Lankan polities that supplied the most valuable spices. Since, in the intra-Asian trade, Indonesian spices were exchanged for Coromandel textiles, the Dutch had also come to control the large Indonesian market for Coromandel textiles and displaced South Indian merchants involved in it. In 1658, the government of Tanjavur accepted this state of affairs and continued its trade-friendly policy by granting to the Dutch ten villages that had formerly been granted to the Portuguese. During the second half of the seventeenth century, the Dutch took active measures to dislodge South Indian traders, such as marakkayar or Tamil Muslims based in Tanjavur, from ports in Lanka. On a larger scale, profits in the intra-Asian trade declined at this time, and the Dutch East India Company began to focus on trade between Asia and Europe. At the same time, increasing numbers of European ‘private’ traders, especially English and some Dutch, who were also in the employment of the big East India Companies competed with South Indian traders in the intra-Asian trade. In the late seventeenth

A discussion of earlier evidence relating to the development of overland trade networks is provided in: Chakravarti, "Between villages and cities: Linkages of trade in India, c. A.D. 600-1300," 115-118.
Subrahmanyam, Political economy of commerce, 197-198.
Subrahmanyam, The Portuguese empire in Asia, 1500-1700: A political and economic history, 178, 202-203.
Subrahmanyam, Political economy of commerce, 198.
Arasaratnam, "Mare clausum: The Dutch and regional trade in the Indian ocean, 1650-1740," 82.
century, textile trade in Tanjavur possibly received a boost because trade on the northern Coromandel coast had declined from the 1670s. Other ports in Tanjavur, such as Naguru, which was only a few kilometers north of Nagappattinam, held their own during the seventeenth century. And the port grew rapidly in the 1720s and early 1730s due to low tariffs and other trade-friendly policies of Tanjavur’s government. Most merchants, ship owners, and operators in Naguru were marakkayar or Tamil Muslims. Marakkayar also traded out of other ports in Tanjavur such as Karaikal and Tarangambadi. In the 1720s and early 1730s, ship owners from Naguru provided overseas transport to merchants in some of these ports such as to those in Tarangambadi and neighboring Poraiyar who traded with Melaka.

Not all initiatives of Tanjavur’s government brought immediate success. In 1620, for example, Raghunatha Nāyaka of Tanjavur received a delegation from a Danish ship. Despite his supposed ‘warrior’ nature, the nāyaka apparently resisted the urge to cut the Danish into pieces and desisted from plundering their ship. Instead, he invited the Danish East India company to settle in Tarangambadi. The Danish promised to generate additional trade with Europe, but they soon failed to live up to their big promises and turned into a nuisance similar to the Dutch albeit on a much smaller scale. Between 1639 and 1669, not a single ship arrived from Denmark. Instead, the Danish became detrimental to existing business in Tanjavur because they competed with Indian shipping to Southeast Asia and resorted to piracy in the Gulf of Bengal. Yet, the government of Tanjavur did not evict them. On the positive side, Danish shipping protected the goods of some South Indian merchants from Dutch attacks. Some of the Portuguese and Tamil traders expelled by the Dutch from Nagappattinam in 1658 were attracted to the relatively new port of Tarangambadi. And the Danish probably continued to pay at least part of their taxes to Tanjavur’s government.

Tanjavur’s neighbors

Tanjavur’s numerous neighbors in the early to mid-eighteenth century included Arcot or the Mughal empire to the north, Madurai to the west and south, the Maravar polities to the south with Ramnad being the most substantial, and various Kallar polities with Pudukkottai being the best known. Some of the smaller polities, such as Ariyalur and Udayarpalaiyam to the north,

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An agricultural crises in the late 1620s and 1630s had also contributed to realignment and consolidation of businesses on the northern Coromandel coast. See: Subrahmanyam, Political economy of commerce, 332-334.

71 A map of Naguru and Nagappattinam in the early seventeenth century is provided in: Subrahmanyam, Political economy of commerce, 199.


76 Use of Danish shipping by South Indian merchants during the second half of the seventeenth century is discussed in: Arasaratnam, "The Chulia Muslim merchants in Southeast Asia, 1650-1800," 136-137.

This practice continued in the 1720s and early 1730s when marakkayar from Tarangambadi and neighboring Poraiyar used Danish shipping to Aceh. See: BH, vol. 3, no. 29, p. 470.
were semi-independent. The delicate balance of power in the region was one characterized by a process of changing alliances rather than one that remained fixed and rigid.

Tanjavur and its people maintained a broad range of relations with these neighbors such as diplomatic ties, military alliances, exchange of goods and services, migration, and individual travel for various purposes ranging from trade and religious pilgrimage to maintenance of family ties. Immigration into Tanjavur was considerable, since various urban centers provided opportunities for artisanal production, services, and trade. During bad times caused by crop failures that were so typical of the early modern economy, Tanjavur and the Kaveri river delta became a magnet for mass immigration if adjacent dry areas slipped into famine conditions. This generated a steady labor supply that significantly contributed to the greater social stratification in the Kaveri delta.

In 1729, for example, a major famine occurred in the dry areas to the south of Tanjavur. ‘Due to the crop failure, those from the Maravar country and other southern places have gone to Madevipattinam in great numbers. (Die aus dem Marrawer=Lande und andern mittägigen Orten haben sich in grosser Anzahl, des Mißwachses wegen, nach Madewipadtnam begeben.)’ The number of refugees became overwhelming. Famine was soon accompanied by epidemic disease. The government tried to implement public health measures, but resources soon became strained. The labor market no longer offered relief. ‘Residents no longer want to buy slaves, although one can get one for two to four fanam {...} because they do not stay alive. (Einwohner wollen auch keine Sclaven mehr kaufen, ob man gleich einen für 2 bis 4 fanam {...} Denn sie bleiben nicht leben.)’ Like everywhere, some people tried to profit from the misery of others. ‘There is still nelli and rice in the city, but it does not come out for sale. (Es ist zwar noch Nellu und Reiß in der Stadt vorhanden: aber er kommt nicht hervor zum Verkauf.)’ The government tried to alleviate the situation by setting rice prices, but drastic measures to maintain public order could backfire. ‘And since the king has ordered that two measures are to be sold for one fanam, the rice dealers completely hold back, especially after some who gave less for a fanam have had their hand and foot cut off. (Und nachdem der König befohlen hat, daß 2 Maaß um 1 fano verkauft werden sollen, halten die Reiß=Händler vollends an sich, sonderlich weil einigen, die für 1 fano weniger gegeben haben, Hand und Fuß abgehauen worden.)’

Although much of the first three and a half decades of the eighteenth century was characterized by peace and prosperity in Tanjavur, minor conflicts with neighbors did occur. The most significant among these were with Arcot, Madurai, and Ramnad. Apart from minor territorial disputes which usually involved shifting allegiances among smaller polities in-between, conflicts with Madurai erupted over securing access to the water of the Kaveri and with Ramnad about safeguarding the coastal trade with Sri Lanka. In the early eighteenth century, Madurai controlled access to the Grand Anicut, the system of dams at the head of the Kaveri delta, which resulted in disputes about its use and maintenance. Ramnad was located to the south of Tanjavur and had some control over traffic to Lanka’s west coast, which was of significance to Tanjavur because it exported most of its rice to Lanka.

While disputes with Ramnad and other Maravar and also Kallar polities were relatively easy to settle, conflicts with Madurai had forced both states to appeal to more powerful northern neighbors and ask for their arbitration in the past. Or at least, this is how political interventions by northerners were presented in some early modern accounts. In histories of Madurai, the dynastic change from Tamil Pandya kings to Telugu nāyakas in the mid-sixteenth century was

occasionally justified by reference to a previous takeover by Virasekhara Chola, King of Tanjavur. The ousted ruler of Madurai, Chandrasekhar, appealed to Vijayanagar for support. After expelling the Chola usurper from Madurai, the commander of Vijayanagar forces, Nagama Nāyaka, decided to stay and become King of Madurai himself. The government of Vijayanagar prevented this, but his son Visvanatha who had been sent to arrest his father was eventually successful in installing himself as the new ruler of Madurai.78

The topos of powerful northerners being invited to arbitrate in conflicts between Tanjavur and Madurai also appears in histories of the dynastic change from Telugu nāyakas to Maratha rajas in Tanjavur in the 1670s. In this case, Madurai threatened to take over Tanjavur. Vijayaraghava Nāyaka, the ruler of Tanjavur, died in the incident. According to some stories, he died a heroic death in battle.79 According to others, he was caught by the enemy and opted to be killed by an elephant who had the power to release him from the spiritual misfortune accrued for failing to defend his country.80 In any case, a heir to Tanjavur’s throne supposedly survived, which occasioned political brokers from Tanjavur to appeal to the powerful northern neighbor Bijapur for aid. A force under the Maratha commander Ekoji (Vyamkoji) Bhonsle was eventually dispatched. Ekoji expelled the usurper installed by Madurai, came to like Tanjavur, and decided to stay as the first Maratha raja.81

In the case of Tanjavur, these dynastic changes had probably relatively little influence on everyday business in the Kaveri delta. They show that a succession of northern neighbors, that is, Vijayanagar, Bijapur, and the Mughal empire, had been powerful enough to exploit internal weaknesses at times. But the fact that this kind of massive involvement occurred only twice from the early sixteenth to the early eighteenth century also indicates that Tanjavur’s corner of South India was quite peaceful and that Tanjavur was fairly well organized most of the time.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, another large neighbor, the Arcot state, emerged to the north of Tanjavur. Arcot was an advance in state formation that was typical of the late Mughal empire. Various regional administrations, such as Arcot, had internally expanded to the point where they required greater autonomy from the center. From the late seventeenth century, Mughal territorial claims had reached to the Kollidam river, one of the widest channels of the Kaveri river that forms a natural northern boundary of the Kaveri delta. The Mughals imposed annual tributary payments on Tanjavur, but these remained subject to negotiation. As the Mughal state and later Arcot further expanded into society north of the Kollidam, more direct competition with Tanjavur developed.

By the mid-1730s, Arcot went as far as occupying Tiruchirappalli, the capital of Madurai, and tried to exploit a succession crises in Tanjavur to push its own political goals and those of its European allies. Arcot’s strategy was to install a friendly ruler and to push Tanjavur’s tributary payments to unprecedented and unreasonable heights. Arcot’s demands eventually amounted to the greater part of Tanjavur’s tax income and threatened to destroy the state. Arcot managed to meddle in the rapid succession of several rulers which occurred within half a decade. Yet, all of these rulers eventually aligned themselves with the interests of an independent Tanjavur. They mobilized all available military resources, called the local nobility and clergy to their aid, formed new foreign alliances, and inflicted considerable damage on their far more powerful northern

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78 Narayana Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam, Symbols of substance, 44-47.
79 Ibid., 305-311.
81 Subrahmanyam, "Fiscality and politics in Maratha Tanjavur," 144-148.
neighbor. The government of Pratapasimha Raja who had initially been supported by Arcot as well was able to consolidate the political situation in the Kaveri delta, repelled Arcot’s forces, and repealed their claims to the greater part of Tanjavur’s tax income.\(^{82}\)

It is worth noting in this context that the end of the Telugu nāyaka dynasty had come about just over a sixty-year cycle of the Tamil calendar earlier. It had probably been caused by the ruler’s increasing isolation from the nobility and other politically significant residents of the Kaveri delta. There is evidence that the small Maravar polity of Ramnad had been able to inflict considerable damage on Tanjavur. It was not as crippling as the demands by the much larger and more powerful Arcot state in the late 1730s, but it was still an embarrassment, exposed the military weakness of the central government, required support from Madurai, and opened the door for demands by Madurai. Ramnad’s success seems to indicate that Vijayaraghava, the last nāyaka who ruled Tanjavur, had lost support within his own polity. Considering his advanced age of eighty years, we may conclude that the succeeding Maratha dynasty rejuvenated political leadership in Tanjavur.\(^{83}\)

Although Pratapasimha was able to forge alliances within Tanjavur and beyond in the late 1730s, the odds against him eventually turned out to be overwhelming. The imperialist conflict between Britain and France relied on far greater resources than those available to Tanjavur. More importantly, these European powers differed from the big players of earlier times. While Vijayanagar, Bijapur, the Mughals, and even early Arcot had been interested in preserving Tanjavur’s integrity to share in the profits from its agricultural resources, these resources did not much matter in the larger scheme of the British and French. The way in which these Europeans perceived Tanjavur differed not only with regard to economic interests but also with regard to ideology. From their point of view, a South Indian polity like Tanjavur had little legitimacy to start with.

Tanjavur’s central administration and Lutheran Pietists in the 1720s

During the reigns of Sarabhoji and Tukkoji Raja in the second and third decades of the eighteenth century, the state of Tanjavur made efforts to centralize further its administration and actively encouraged economic activities ranging from agricultural production to overseas trade. From the 1730s, Tanjavur’s efforts were disrupted by outside political influences and aggression that emanated from the Mughal, British, and French empires. Political destabilization, economic decline, militarization, and a series of wars with the usual negative consequences for the general populace followed as violent death, epidemic disease, psychological trauma, disruption of agricultural production and trade, starvation, famine, decline in fertility, mass emigration, and temporary depopulation occurred over whole areas. To better appreciate the significance of political destabilization as the major cause of these changes, a brief overview of the earlier condition of Tanjavur’s administration is required that also indicates how Pietists were connected in Tanjavur.

In Pietist sources of the rather peaceful period from the 1710s to the early 1730s, descriptions of the state of Tanjavur and the administration of its territory give the impression of a tightly organized, central state whose bureaucracy reached all the way to the local level of

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82 All of these concessions and adjustments came for a price. A more detailed discussion is required to understand the political destabilization and militarization of Tanjavur and is provided in Chapter 2.
83 Narayana Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam, Symbols of substance, 305-313.
small towns and villages. This was certainly true for the major part of Tanjavur’s territory—a patchwork of urban centers and areas with intensive wet rice cultivation—that depended on water from the Kaveri river and control of the Grand Anicut just west of the capital city Tanjavur. The relatively arid areas along the southern border of Tanjavur’s territory, such as Pattukottai, were less integrated in the central state bureaucracy.

During the early to mid-eighteenth century, the territory of Tanjavur was organized into four to six sūbas or administrative provinces. Tanjavur had four sūbas at the beginning of the second decade of the eighteenth century. For the late 1720s, a source already gives the names of six sūbas and claims that Tanjavur had twelve sūbadārs or governors who were in charge of these provinces at the time. The increase from four to six sūbas may indicate a closer integration of areas that had previously enjoyed a greater degree of autonomy.

The status of some small polities around Tanjavur, such as Udaiyarpalaiyam to the north of the Kaveri river delta, was ambiguous. This is indicated, for example, by confusion about titles of their political leaders such as Ravuttamundanāyanār of Udaiyarpalaiyam. In late March 1728, Pietists met one Tambāchiapillai who, according to the source, was a major figure in the service of Ravuttamundanāyanār, ‘the famous pālaiyakkāraṇ or kāvakkāraṇ (des berühmten Paleiakâren oder Kawelkaren).’ In early eighteenth-century Tanjavur, the term pālaiyakkāraṇ was used for rulers of small polities with a high degree of autonomy, while the term kāvakkāraṇ indicated a higher degree of dependence. The Pietist author had difficulty deciding whether to refer to the celebrity Ravuttamundanāyanār as a ruler of an independent polity or a Mughal watchman.

Apart from integrating its provinces, the central administration of Tanjavur also had to integrate a variety of new social groups such as Lutheran Pietists and European colonists on the coast. On March 18, 1728, Mariāi, who was the paternal grandmother of the Pietist catechist Rajanāyakkan, and her daughter Muttāi completed their travel from Madevipattinam, the residential city of Sarabhoji Raja’s younger brother Tukkoji, to Tarangambadi to visit Pietists there and to participate in the main Lutheran Christian ritual, the Lord’s Supper. They brought along an ḍolāi or letter from Rajanāyakkan and a palāpalām or jack fruit from Sankrōji who was a hawaldār in Madevipattinam.

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84 Anonymous, "Der Malabarischen Correspondentz Anderer Theil: Der fünfte Brief. Von denen 4. Herrschaften/ in welche das Tanjourische Reich eingetheilet ist/ und wie die Unterthanen darinnen leben," Hallesche Berichte 1 (1716). The four sūbas and their governors were Tirutturaippundi governed by the raja’s younger brother Tukkoji and the sūbadār Chokkāpamudaliār, Kumbakonam governed by the sūbadār Vavōshipāndidan, Karuppūranaikuri governed by the sūbadār Shvāminādapillai, and Kaverimayavaram governed by the sūbadār Annāchipāndidan.

85 Christoph Theodosius Walther, "Geographische Nachricht von den 3. Königreichen/ davon in der VII. Contin. der Malabarischen Nachrichten p. 377. gedacht wird," Hallesche Berichte 2 (1729). The six sūbas mentioned are Vriddachalam, Tirukkadaiyur, Mayavaram, Kumbakonam, Mannarkoýil (Mannargudi), and Pattukkottai. Tukkoji now had his residence at Madevipattinam and supervised two governors. The same source mentions Ariyalur and Udaiyarpalaiyam being ruled by pālaiyakkāraṇ with the latter being closely associated with Madurai at the time. The six sūbas are almost in line with those usually given for the second half of the century. The only difference is that Sirkali is missing in the earlier source. Instead, it gives Vriddachalam, which is located north of Sirkali across the Kollidam river, and Tirukkadaiyur which is located south of Sirkali on the coast. At the time, Vriddachalam was ‘a small fortress (eine kleine Vestung)’ and one of only a few possessions of Tanjavur north of the Kollidam. For the situation in the second half of the eighteenth century and additional detail on how the administration was organized, see: Subrahmanyam, "Fiscality and politics in Maratha Tanjavur."

Rajanāyakkan had sent the ṭolai to inform fellow Pietists that Sankrōji had decided to visit them in a few days. In his ṭolai, Rajanāyakkan pointed out that the hawaldār was very fond of organizations that supported the public good and established charitable institutions. Sankrōji had decided to travel all the way from Madevipattinam to Tarangambadi on foot rather than horseback to show his appreciation and respect for the Pietists’ activities. Rajanāyakkan stressed that Sankrōji’s office of hawaldār in the residential city of the ‘Little Raja’ Tukkoji was of considerable significance. In the administration of the state of Tanjavur, hawaldārs were in charge of mahāls, that is, the administrative units just below the sūbas. Rajanāyakkan also mentioned that Tukkoji was very fond of Sankrōji and ‘supported him as if he were his child (hält ihn wie sein Kind).’

On March 20, 1728, Pietists at Tarangambadi received another ṭolai from Rajanāyakkan informing them that Sankrōji was on his way. When he arrived in the evening of the same day, he pointed out that he would have come earlier if he had not been held up by his duties. Apparently, he was in charge of security at three of the six gates of Madevipattinam and had overseen payment of the three hundred soldiers employed for this purpose who supposedly constituted half of Madevipattinam’s garrison at the time.

The central administration of Tanjavur reached down to the town or village level where a town or several villages were administered by a maniyakkāran. Unlike a nāṭṭāmmaikkāran who predominantly represented local interests in a village, a maniyakkāran dealt with interests of the state and had a variety of functions ranging from judicial responsibilities to tax assessment, collection, and accounting. The Pietist Sirai’s husband was a maniyakkāran or local administrator in a district near the capital Tanjavur in the mid to late 1730s when he had to go into hiding due to larger political troubles. Sirai’s brothers were involved in the provincial administration in Tiruppallaiturai or Papanasam. One of them was sūbadār of this administrative province.

Lutheran Pietists had become well connected in Tanjavur by the late 1720s. Their communities grew rapidly under Tamil leadership in the 1730s. In some cases, political turmoil provided new members such as in the case of Sirai. When her husband had to go in hiding, she and her children got stranded in Tarangambadi where they joined the Pietists.

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87 HB, vol. 3 (1735), no. 26 (1730), p. 28-31. The names of Rajanāyakkan’s paternal grandmother Mariāi and his paternal aunt Muttāi are given in AFSt, M II C15:2.1: ‘Verzeichniß der Glieder der Malabarischen Land=Gemeine die sich gegenwärtig befinden den 5ten Octobr. Ao 1741. nebst einem Anhang derer die in den nächst verwichenen zwey Jahren abgegangen,’ p. 58.
88 Subrahmanyam, "Fiscality and politics in Maratha Tanjavur," 159-162.
90 AFSt, M I K5:17. In Pietist sources of the early to mid-eighteenth century, the provinces are referred to as ‘subai’ and governors as ‘subaiyatār’ which are Tamilized expressions and differ from later use. See glossary in: HB, vol. 6 (1754), no. 61 (1747), p. (29)-(44).
The military defense system: A flexible approach

From the 1730s, outside political influences led to wars and fractured the administration of Tanjavur’s territory. Invasions by the Mughal, British, and French empires worked against centralizing efforts within Tanjavur because the state heavily depended on its local nobility and clergy to deal with outside military aggressors. As a result, local nobels, namely nāyakkar and pālaiyakkārar, became more powerful and contributed to the militarization of the region. Support was also provided by some clerics who had their own military resources such as the Great Paṇṭāram or overseer of temples, charitable institutions, and a considerable piece of land in the area around Kilaruvaiyal in northern Maravar country.

The militarization of the region brought about new aspirations. The Pietist cērvaikkāran or petty officer Nyanamuttu, for example, had occupied a relatively humble position in Tanjavur. He only experienced greater professional success when he joined one of the sons of Mikkankōbālan, the pālaiyakkāran of Pattukkottai, in Singavanam, south of Pattukkottai. He quit this job again on September 16, 1742. By early October, he had already found new employment as a cērvaikkāran in the service of the above mentioned Great Paṇṭāram in the Kilaruvaiyal area of northern Maravar country. Nyanamuttu now had the command over one hundred talaiyāri and control of several villages. From the latter, he could extract enough tax revenue to support himself and his family, pay his talaiyāri, and pass three-hundred pardãoś—about two-hundred and fifty pagodas—to his employer. He appointed the Pietist Kanagappen as the maṇiyakkāran of these villages. Nyanamuttu was still expected to follow his Maravar Paṇṭāram to Tanjavur when trouble threatened on the horizon. In November 1742, for example, the Raja of Tanjavur called all nobility including Nyanamuttu’s employer to deal with several problems, and Nyanamuttu traveled in his employer’s entourage to Tanjavur.

When local nobility gained greater influence in Tanjavur because outside military aggressors threatened the state, internal competition and conflicts ensued as well. This further undermined the central state, fractured the administration of its territory, and depleted its resources. Yet, even for the invasion period from the 1730s to the Seven Years’ War, none of the Pietist sources suggest that Tanjavur’s central state fell apart or began to resemble what some historians have called a segmentary state. Differences between Tanjavur’s administration in the Kaveri delta and in its arid areas as well as between periods of war and peace may go a long way to explain why historians have had difficulty attaching labels, such as ‘bureaucratic’ and ‘segmentary,’ to earlier South Indian states.

Tanjavur’s flexible defense had worked for decades in relations with its southern Maravar neighbors and Madurai. It even enabled Tanjavur to keep the expanding Mughal empire at bay and to pacify the Dutch and other Europeans in their coastal enclaves until the late 1720s and into the 1730s. Early in 1728, for example, Tanjavur and the Danish at Tarangambadi became embroiled in a major dispute, most likely, because the Danish were trying to renegotiate their lease. Tanjavur eventually decided to mobilize some of its troops to deal with the issue. The sūbadār of the neighboring province was in charge and ordered his troops to move on Poraiyar, a

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91 AFSt, M I B31:30, p. 2.
93 HB, vol. 5, no. 56, p. 1319-1320.
94 On discussions of such categories for an earlier period, see: Stein, Vijayanagara. Noboru Karashima, South Indian history and society: Studies from inscriptions, A.D. 850-1800 (Delhi, 1984).
town belonging to the Danish leasehold, on May 30, 1728. Residents of Tarangambadi began to expect a siege of their town. On June 3, the Danish ordered the residents of Velipalaiyam and Sattankudi to demolish their houses because they obstructed the view from the Danish fortress.

The Pietists were getting concerned that their buildings in Poraiyar would suffer from the conflict. They asked the Danish for permission to address Telunguraja, their major contact at the raja’s court, in this regard. After receiving Danish permission, they sent an òlai or letter to Telunguraja in which they asked him to talk to Sarabhoji Raja in their behalf, to protect their buildings. They emphasized that their institutions were for the benefit of the ‘country’s residents (Landes Einwohner)’ rather than private profit.

On June 14, their messenger returned with a soldier who had an òlai for the sùbadār and one for the Pietists. The òlai addressed to the Pietists pointed out that Telunguraja had talked to the raja who, in turn, had given Telunguraja permission to write to the sùbadār and ask him to order his people not to damage the Pietists’ public buildings and garden. The next day, two Pietists went to Tirukilacheri, where the sùbadār had set up his headquarters, to deliver the second òlai which was addressed to him. After he had read the letter, he promised not to damage any of their property, unless the Danish used it to gain a military advantage. In that case, he would have to take down the buildings. The Pietists complained that their paper mill had already sustained some damage which they estimated at 20 pagodas. The sùbadār apologized and pointed out that he did not know who was responsible. He promised that there would be no further damage. A few days later, the sùbadār and the Danish agreed on a peaceful settlement.95

This and other examples show that Tanjavur had the military capability to deal with threats from its neighbors including Europeans up to the late 1720s. It also shows that Tanjavur’s government used its military in a measured way and preferred peaceful solutions. When Tanjavur had to deal with militarily superior neighbors, such as the Mughals, its flexible defense system with a relatively small central army and reliance on local nobels who could carry out independent expeditions was probably more resilient than a big central army and cheaper as well. The situation changed significantly when the imperialist conflict between Britain and France reached South India and Tanjavur from the mid-1730s.

Bad omen: A prelude to Tanjavur’s succession crises of the mid-1730s

During the first half of the 1730s, the ruling Maratha family was devastated by a series of deaths. The causes were never clearly established. People of a broad range of social backgrounds worried about the political future because the proper transfer of power was in danger. The rulers had reason to believe in a conspiracy. The available evidence suggests that they initially tried to find the causes outside the royal court and central administration. It is conceivable that this was a conscious effort to smooth over factional divisions that were beginning to surface inside the central government. Moreover, the raja and his supporters had an obvious interest in assuring the public that he was fully in control. In any case, the series of deaths was troubling in many respects, and the rulers were struggling to find appropriate ways of dealing with it. The deaths also affected Pietist communities. Pietists had established important contacts to the royal family and related officials during the 1720s and were now in danger of losing at least some of this government support.

On February 12, 1732, Diogo, who was a Tamil Pietist cleric, and his Pietist travel group met a paṭṭāni on their way to Madras, just prior to arriving at Sadrasapattinam. He turned out to be the ‘overseer (Aufseher)’ of this area appointed by the Nawwab of Arcot. Since Mughal troops had appeared in Tanjavur just a little while ago, the Pietists asked the paṭṭāni if he knew why the ‘Nawwab Sahib (Nabāb-çâhhib)’ had moved on Tanjavur with his cavalry. The paṭṭāni claimed that Ānandarāyan, who had just been confirmed in his office as the wakīl or peshwa of Tanjavur through the support of the Nawwab, had asked for help against Tukkoji Raja.

The Pietist author later heard that Tukkoji had supposedly sent a letter ‘to his cousins in the Maratha country (an seine Vettern im Marratier=Lande)’ to propose an alliance against the Nawwab of Arcot. According to the source, the Nawwab had heard of Tukkoji’s proposal and charged Tanjavur a fine of ‘twelve lakh rupees (zwölf Lac Rupien),’ that is, 1.2 million rupees. This was a lot of money and perhaps more than Tanjavur could pay. Whether the accusations about an alliance between Tanjavur and the northern Marathas were true or not, Arcot began to depart from the earlier Mughal approach to Tanjavur and tried to meddle in its internal affairs.96

Since Ekoji (Vyamkoji), the first Maratha ruler, had come to Tanjavur, almost one full 60-year cycle of the Tamil calendar had been completed. Ekoji had arrived early in the year āṅganta (1674-1675). The year piramāṭica (1733-1734) was not far away, and the year āṅganta (1734-1735) was the next to follow. In the place where Vijayarāghava, the last real Telugu nāyaka of Tanjavur, had found release from the disgrace of losing the battle against Madurai just a bit over a sixty-year cycle earlier, a kacëntiraṁmōksavīlakkku or lamp in honor of Kacëntiraṅ, lord of the elephants, and of his support of the nāyaka was still lit every day in the mid-1730s.97

A story about the nāyaka’s death recorded by Pietists in Maratha Tanjavur in the 1730s is somewhat less heroic than the one given in an early eighteenth-century Telugu chronicle. The latter claims that Vijayarāghava who, at the time of the decisive battle in 1673, was about eighty years old mounted an elephant, threw himself into battle, killed many opponents, and was finally cut to pieces by the enemy.98 The former claims that the old nāyaka was caught by the enemy. He wished to die at the feet of an elephant, which was an honorable death. The elephant was capable of releasing the nāyaka from the spiritual disgrace brought on him when he had failed to protect Tanjavur. The wish was granted, an elephant released Vijayarāghava from his misery, and later the lamp in honor of Kacëntiraṅ was lit every day at the court of the Tanjavur Marathas, in the place were the last Telugu nāyaka had perished.99

In January 1734, Ānandarāyan, the peshwa of Tanjavur or the ‘prime minister (Premier-Ministre),’ as Pietist sources also refer to him, ordered the decapitation of a man of valluvar background who had a small estate near Aduturai and of his brother. The valluvan and his brother were accused of inappropriate sexual conduct, disrespect of brahmans, and making gold that was not really gold.100 The valluvan had received his land along with an elephant and a palanquin several years earlier because he had been able to convince Tukkoji, then still the ‘Little Raja,’ of his gold-making skills.101

Several years prior to his decapitation in January 1734, when the valluvan had received his land along with an elephant and a palanquin from the ‘Little Raja’ Tukkoji for his alleged gold-making skills, he immediately donated the elephant to a temple and gave away the palanquin because he considered them inappropriate for a person of his social background. This detail of the story implies a clear awareness of social boundaries and casts some doubt on later allegations of inappropriate sexual conduct and disrespect of brahmins.\textsuperscript{102}

Despite his failure to make gold, some people accused him of being a sorcerer. Baba Sahib, one of Tukkoji Raja’s sons and his designated successor, had lost a child under suspicious circumstances. There were rumors that the valluvan and his skills had been involved. Soon after the death of Baba Sahib’s child, on February 26, 1734, Baba Sahib’s older brother Anna Sahib died as well. Again, the circumstances were suspicious. At this time, the government issued an order to prosecute sorcerers and punished one famous sorcerer as an example to others, to dissuade them from using their craft. Authorities smashed his teeth in, branded him, and forced him to leave the country. When Anna Sahib died, Pietists in his service, such as Kallunāyakkan who was the paternal uncle of Rajanāyakkan and the head of his family in Madevipattinam, lost their job and protection. The same fate fell on others in Anna Sahib’s service such as the hawaldar Sankrōji who had supported Pietists earlier.\textsuperscript{103}

The wife of Baba Sahib spent considerable time in Pullirukkuvelur, early in 1735, to be able to visit the Vaidyanathar temple there. She even donated two elephants and two camels. Yet, the death series in the royal Maratha family continued.\textsuperscript{104} Tukkoji Raja moved from Tanjavur to Madevipattinam on July 17, 1735, because he was sick. He died less than a week later, on July 23, 1735. As the designated successor, Baba Sahib had to take a test to see what his reign was to bring. He was blindfolded and asked to grasp one of three objects put before him. He happened to grab the dagger rather than the rice or the coals. The dagger stood for war and all kinds of misfortunes. Baba Sahib took over affairs on August 14, 1735, and became the new Ekoji (Vyamkoji) Raja, one sixty-year cycle after the first.\textsuperscript{105}

In October, several of the Raja’s elephants were found dead. Since the tip of the trunk of one of them was missing, foul play seemed involved again. Soon after, the Pietist cleric Rajanāyakkan heard the kotwāl of his Tanjavur suburbs announce that all people who provided private pūcai or devotional services had to leave the city. The kotwāl of Tanjavur city explicitly mentioned that the order included Christians.\textsuperscript{106}

Despite this and other new security measures, Ekoji died less than a year after his ascension to the throne, on August 1, 1736.\textsuperscript{107} Only a few days later, on August 10, 1736, Telunguraja (Rutturoji), the Pietists’ most important contact at the court of Tanjavur, died as well.\textsuperscript{108} Perhaps Ekoji had made a mistake right at the beginning of his reign when he had broken with tradition. When he ascended to the throne, he did not visit the main Peruvudaiyar (Brihadeeswarar) temple in Tanjavur. He preferred to stay in his palace instead.\textsuperscript{109} Be that as it may, the misfortune that had befallen his family during the previous years was deeply troubling.

\textsuperscript{102} HB, vol. 3, no. 26, p. 131.
\textsuperscript{103} HB, vol. 4, no. 39, p. 310.
\textsuperscript{104} HB, vol. 4, no. 41, p. 588.
\textsuperscript{105} HB, vol. 4, no. 42, p. 738.
\textsuperscript{106} HB, vol. 4, no. 42, p. 751-752.
\textsuperscript{107} HB, vol. 4, no. 43, p. 862-864.
\textsuperscript{108} HB, vol. 4, no. 44, p. 921.
\textsuperscript{109} HB, vol. 4, no. 42, p. 738.
and must have had serious psychological and emotional effects. From Ekoji’s perspective, it must have been difficult or impossible to tell whom he could trust if anyone. From a broader perspective, the fate of Tanjavur did not solely rest on the fortunes of the royal Maratha family, but a succession crises of these proportions promised political instability and perhaps even a major realignment at the top of the political hierarchy that was guided by Mughal or other external rather than local interests.

Women, succession, and satīs

All members of the royal Maratha family whose deaths have been accounted for so far were men. What happened to the women? Female rulers were not unheard of in the Tamil country. ‘The famous Mangammāl (die berühmte Mangammal)’ who had ruled neighboring Madurai toward the end of the previous century was still remembered in the 1730s. Tara Bai had been a successful regent in the northern Maratha country at the turn of the eighteenth century. Mināchammāl of Madurai (r. 1732-1736) and Sujana Bai of Tanjavur (r. 1736-1738) were regents as well. This points to the more common role of women as mothers and wives of male rulers. Pietist sources do not mention any ‘unusual’ deaths among the mothers and wives of Tanjavur’s rulers, but journal entries do mention several satīs. Ramakurammāl, for example, who was one of Tukkoji Raja’s wives, decided to become a satī after his death on July 23, 1735. The woman who had been the wife of Sarabhoji Raja and the mother of the boy who would become Shahuji Raja (1738-1739) was another example.

Pietist sources do not provide a comprehensive picture of the role of women in Tanjavur, but compared to the general paucity of South Indian sources in this regard, they offer at least some insights. Pietist accounts of satīs differ from other sources because they provide some information on the women’s circumstances and social backgrounds. All of these women belonged to the nobility. Most had been secondary rather than primary wives. Although some European sources refer to secondary wives in a derogatory way, Pietist sources indicate that they were fully accepted in South India. For example, the mother of the future Pratapasimha Raja (1739-1763) had been a secondary wife of Tukkoji Raja.

When Pratapasimha Raja died on December 15, 1763, Torbadi, Sakuvari, Emmanavai, and Lubi outlived him. Torbadi had been a primary wife, and she was the mother of Tulajaji, Pratapasimha’s only son, who ascended to the throne on January 1, 1764. She decided to stay alive. Sakuvari, Emmanavai, and Lubi had been secondary wives. Lubi decided to stay alive as well. Sakuvari and Emmanavai decided to follow Pratapasimha. Neither Sakuvari nor Emmanavai had children. Emmanavai had raised Tulajagi who supposedly tried to dissuade her from following Pratapasimha. She did not change her mind and became a satī. A Pietist source indicates that she was a pious woman, although, from a Pietist point of view, she supported the wrong religion and people. Brahmins held her in high esteem because she had many houses built for them in Pullaiyanpettal.

113 HB, vol. 5, no. 50, p. 260.
All royal wives who became satīs had been secondary rather than primary wives. They had entered into a relationship with their royal husbands as individuals rather than becoming part of their family. After the death of their royal husbands, they were in a difficult position. Unless they had a son, they could only experience downward social mobility. There is no indication that secondary wives were pressured to become satīs. Many chose to stay alive. The decision to become a satī was perhaps not that much different from the last decision of Vijayarāghava, the last Telugu nāyaka of Tanjavur, who had chosen to be released by an elephant. Dying in a fire was certainly not considered an easy death at the time. Yet, if a culture officially permits suicide, no matter how defined, there are good reasons to make it difficult. Becoming a satī was not for everyone.

Some aspects of the situation of secondary wives in Tanjavur’s lesser nobility are apparent from an account of circumstances surrounding the death of Vijayakartatirumalai Nāyakkar, less formally known as Karta Nāyakkan, who died in Poraiyar on December 2, 1738. Karta Nāyakkan was a brother of Ramalinga Nāyakkan, who formed the official link between the raja’s court and the Danish, and had his main estate in Anandamangalam. When he died, he was married to four primary wives and two secondary wives. While his primary wives were considered full members of his family, the secondary wives had primarily entered into a relationship with him as an individual. His secondary wives still had an official status, which had been confirmed in a formal wedding ceremony. In contrast to primary weddings, secondary weddings were performed at home, in a relatively small, private setting. In a primary wedding, the groom tied the tāli or marriage badge himself. In a secondary wedding, the groom did not participate. He was represented by his sword, which indicates that this was a custom of the nobility. The groom’s sister or another close female relative tied the tāli around the bride’s neck while touching the groom’s sword. Similar ceremonies have been described for widow marriages in other places and periods. In this case, there is no indication that the secondary wives had been widows. According to the Pietist account, both secondary wives of Karta Nāyakkan had married him after becoming pregnant. It seems like secondary marriages were an official means of acknowledging fatherhood and confirming the status of children in a predominantly patrilineal culture.

Karta Nāyakkan’s four primary and two secondary wives whose names are not given in the source visited him on the day before his death. One of the secondary wives was his favorite wife, ‘whom he loved and valued very much above all others (die er vor allen übrigen sehr lieb und werth gehalten).’ When she visited him, he supposedly asked her to follow him. She agreed and decided to become a satī. The Pietist author of this account did not know her personally, but was told by local acquaintances that she was an educated and intelligent woman. Some Pietists went to the cremation, which took place near Tilavaiyāli (Tilaiyari). While preparations were underway, her relatives, including Ramalinga Nāyakkan, supposedly tried to dissuade her from joining Karta Nāyakkan. A Pietist asked some people who attended whether a person had the right to kill herself. One person suggested that she may have decided to become a satī because her son had died of smallpox a little while ago. The same person supposedly added that she could not marry again.

Karta’s death had been caused by an obstruction of the urinary tract. Without treatment, this problem leads to acute kidney failure and a very painful death. In the 1730s, no treatment was available. The very painful death is confirmed by the Pietist source. Since Karta had been hit by the disease at his brother Ramalinga’s place in Poraiyar rather than at his home in Anandamangalam, they had called a Pietist physician. Although obstruction of the urinary tract
in males is most commonly caused by cancer, that is, either by a prostate tumor or a bladder tumor. Pietists of the 1730s believed that excessive sexual activity and, as a result, sexually transmitted disease was the most likely cause. According to the Pietist author, local Tamils agreed, at least in Karta Nāyakkan’s case, because there had been plenty of gossip about his lifestyle. Once Karta’s fellow males had formed a cross-cultural consensus about the cause of his urinary obstruction, his favorite wife seemed likely to suffer from a nasty, sexually transmitted disease. Although this may not have been the only or even the major reason why she decided to become a sātī, it certainly did nothing to improve her options in this world.\footnote{HB, vol. 4, no. 48, p. 1474-1478.}

In early to mid-eighteenth century Tanjavur, women were unlikely to assume political offices, although limited exceptions as in the case of regents occurred at least at the top of the political hierarchy. The official role of women in politically powerful social groups, from the royal Marathas to the lesser nobility, primarily consisted in being mothers and wives of male rulers and administrators. Pietist accounts were perhaps accurate when they only reported a troubling rise in unusual deaths among male members of the royal Maratha family during the early to mid-1730s. Due to their limited political role, women were unlikely targets of assassinations. These years were certainly troubling for Tanjavur’s rulers and their supporters. The available evidence suggests that many in the wider population were worried about Tanjavur’s political future as well. If these problems were not bad enough, more serious trouble was on the horizon.
Chapter 2: War, invasion, and the militarization of the Kaveri river delta

Although Ekoji Raja’s reign (1735-1736) was very brief, he was given the chance to prove the quality of his government. Early in 1736, a Mughal army from Arcot put Tiruchirappalli, the residence of Mināchammāl, the female regent of Madurai (r. 1732-1736), under siege. Since Tanjavur is located only a few dozen kilometers east of Tiruchirappalli and had a history of disputes over tributary payments to Arcot, people in Tanjavur expected the Mughals to knock on their door as well. There was little doubt that the siege of Tiruchirappalli aimed at Tanjavur rather than Madurai. The Arcot government wanted to use Tanjavur’s neighbor as a base to control the Grand Anicut, the large system of dams that regulated the distribution of water at the head of the Kaveri delta and was a major source of Tanjavur’s prosperity.

Arcot’s approach to Tanjavur turned increasingly aggressive in the 1730s. This coincided with an expansion of British interests in the area. Arcot’s ambition to become more independent of the Mughal empire led to greater dependence on European business. The Mughals knew how Tanjavur’s administration and economy worked. Previously, Mughal invasion threats had been aimed at extracting tax revenue from Tanjavur in a sustainable way. They had been interested neither in undermining the central state’s capability to collect taxes nor in seriously disrupting the economy of the Kaveri delta. But now it seemed as though Arcot was becoming increasingly desperate and tried to extract more than Tanjavur could pay. From the mid-1730s, Tanjavur’s central government had to call on the support of its local nobility and eventually, northern Marathas. A closer look at these developments and the social groups involved is required to understand social change in the Kaveri river delta during the following two decades and the role Europeans played in the process. Residents of the Kaveri delta commonly used the term ‘Mughal’ to refer to external northern interests in the region. I did not replace the term because it reflects local views, but it is important to keep in mind that the Arcot state rather than the Mughal center became involved in Tanjavur during this period.

According to an account by Rajanāyakkan who was in Tanjavur during the siege of Tiruchirappalli and went to Tiruchirappalli immediately after, the Mughals had been able to take the city because part of Madurai’s Muslim cavalry had rebelled during the siege. Rumor had it that they had asked to be dismissed because they had been offered bribes from the Mughal side and because Tiruchirappalli had been running out of provisions. On the afternoon of April 26, 1736, Madurai cavalry breached one of the gates by force. While they moved out of Tiruchirappalli, the Nawwab of Arcot and Katturaja Tirumalaināyakkan, the new candidate for the Madurai throne, moved in. The pālaiyakkāran Tondaimān who, to the very end, had provided great services to Mangammāl in the defense of the city knew when it was time to leave and retired through the backdoor. Katturaja, the new candidate for the Madurai throne who is sometimes erroneously associated with the Tanjavur succession, claimed to be a grandson of Muttaragātirināyakkan, the younger brother of Chokkalinga (or Chokkanātha) Nāyaka who had
taken Tanjavur one sixty-year cycle earlier and had made an end to the nāyaka dynasty of Tanjavur.

Ekoji Raja had begun to prepare for a possible siege of Tanjavur half a year earlier. When Tiruchirappalli fell, he publicly announced that everyone who could not acquire two years’ provisions should leave the city. Apparently, Ekoji intended to remain for the long haul. On May 6, the Nawwab put up camp north of Tanjavur and tightened the siege of the city. The government of Tanjavur was able to protect the city but did not have the means to defend the whole country. With regard to the latter, the Raja had to rely on the support of his nobility. The Mughals claimed the country by putting up Tamil honorary portals in the most prominent places. They promised not to harm anyone and advised the population to stay put and go after their usual business. After all, the Mughals hoped for a good harvest in Tanjavur that could contribute to their own coffers.

Many did not trust these assurances from the Mughal side and preferred to move to the coast or across the Kollidam river. Many Pietists who lived in the Tanjavur area fled as well. A few, such as Rajanāyakkan, went to Tiruchirappalli to celebrate the upcoming Pentecost festival there. Others, such as Ignasi, had found employment in the Mughal army. Ignasi had joined the Mughals as a vairicērvaiikkāraṇ or corporal and eventually learned to appreciate Mughal religious tolerance.

During the siege of Tiruchirappalli, a number of local Catholics who had found employment in the same unit did not appreciate his presence. They told their kācacērvaiikkāraṇ or captain that they were going to leave unless he fired Ignasi. The kācacērvaiikkāraṇ complied with the Catholics’ wish. Tanjavur had set up its own camp close-by to show some goodwill to the Mughals. When Ignasi and his few talaiyāri trotted off to the neighboring Tanjavur camp to find new employment there, the Mughal ‘Colonel Mudta Khan (Oberster Mudta-chān)’ who was in charge saw them from his elevated pavilion and asked them where they were going. Ignasi told him that Christians were divided between Catholics and Protestants and that some of the former had pressured his former officer to fire him because he belonged to the latter. Now, he and his talaiyāri were leaving to find new employment in the Tanjavur camp. Mudta Khan expressed surprise at his officer’s decision and explained that, ‘in our camp (in unserm Lager),’ ‘everyone enjoyed religious freedom (ein jeder [hat] seine Religions=Freyheit).’ He gave Ignasi an advance payment and made him a sergeant over thirty talaiyāri. Like the state administration and military of Tanjavur, the Mughal army provided some people of paæaiyar background and some people belonging to religious and other minorities with new opportunities.

During the siege of Tanjavur, Ekoji Raja was able to negotiate a peace with the Nawwab on July 25, 1736. This was less than a week prior to Ekoji’s death. He died at a very young age. Historians usually assume that Tanjavur simply agreed to higher tributary payments and basically bought off the Mughals. According to Pietist sources, this is only part of the story. Considering that Tanjavur was well prepared for a siege, the government had little reason to give in after a few weeks. The Mughals had no means to put pressure on the Tanjavur government. Conducting a war in the country would have been counter-productive from a Mughal point of view because it would have destroyed their own source of income. Moreover, Ekoji could rely on his nobility.

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117 HB, vol. 4, no. 43, p. 842-844.
Mikkankōbālan, the pālaiyakkāran of Pattukkottai, and other members of the nobility carried out nightly attacks on the Mughal camp north of Tanjavur during the siege. Apparently, they inflicted considerable damage. Pietist sources also mention that the Mughal camp lost many of its animals, which could have been caused by the raids, disease, supply problems in a hostile environment, or a combination of these factors. The Mughals lifted their siege in July and returned to Tiruchirappalli. \(^{118}\) Most likely, some of the nāyakkar or nobles from the area around Tarangambadi had participated in the raids as well. At the time, Ramalinga Nāyakkan and Irāchiappa Nāyakkan were in charge of the areas north and south of the Danish leasehold at Tarangambadi and served as a liaison between Tanjavur and the Danish. Like other members of the nobility, they were supposed to respond, when their Raja called them.

Local nobility on the rise: The nāyakkar

In early to mid-eighteenth-century Tanjavur, the title nāyakkan was applied to local nobles who served the central state. \(^{119}\) Although nāyakkar of the Kaveri delta were much less powerful than pālaiyakkārars of the surrounding dry country and intermediate zones, they had a certain degree of autonomy because they had an independent tax base and employed their own talaiyāri. In times of peace, nāyakkar carried out border control and policing functions. In this, they were closely supervised by the central state administration. In times of war against militarily superior enemies, the central state relied on the independent resourcefulness of nāyakkar to carry out relief expeditions and support such initiatives by friendly pālaiyakkārar.

In a letter written in the early 1710s, a local historian of the Tarangambadi area whose name is not given in the sources provides a story of how the local nobility first established itself as a liaison between Tanjavur and Tarangambadi in the late seventeenth century. A ‘Danish admiral’ supposedly arrived during the reign of Acyutappa Nāyaka (r. -1612). He was welcomed by the maniyakkāran Kalengirāiyapillai who set him up in a house in Tarangambadi, invited him to stay for ten days, and informed Acyutappa of his arrival. Before the ten days were over, Kalengirāiyapillai returned with an invitation for the Danish admiral to visit the nāyaka. Acyutappa approved of the admiral’s proposal to establish and supervise new sea-bound trade in Tarangambadi. Acyutappa was to receive taxes resulting from the growth of Tarangambadi, and the admiral was to receive taxes due on ‘goods traded overseas (Schiff=Waaren).’

This initiative attracted new investment. One Modalināmaraikkayar and one Pōtpadachetti were the first to respond. They moved to Tarangambadi and brought in large capital. The mutually beneficial arrangement continued for many years until a new Danish commander arrived. He built fortifications and claimed all tax revenue for himself, including the taxes from villages around Tarangambadi.

At this point in the local historian’s account, the local nobility enters the scene in the form of Mapillai Nāyakkan. He challenged the Danish commander’s efforts to change the rules. The Danish commander supposedly responded by inquiring whether Mapillai Nāyakkan had enemies ‘among the Tamil nobility (unter denen grossen Malabaren).’ He promised that

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\(^{118}\) HB, vol. 4, no. 44, p. 920-921.

\(^{119}\) Linguistic note: To distinguish between the titles of Telugu kings and local nobles in the Kaveri river delta, I use the common English spelling ‘nāyaka’ for Telugu kings and the proper transliteration ‘nāyakkan’ for members of the local nobility. In cases where the title appears as part of personal names, I use the spelling given in the sources, which is usually ‘–nāyakkan’ as in ‘Rajanāyakkan.’
whoever brought him the head of Mapillai would be put in charge of the Tamil population in Tarangambadi and the neighboring villages. One Rama Nāyakkan brought him the head of Mapillai Nāyakkan.

The editor of the local historian’s letter mentioned that this Rama Nāyakkan had died about seventeen years prior to his writing, that is, in the late 1690s. Rama had been in charge of many villages with considerable land and had employed many talaiyāri. According to the editor, he allied himself with the Danish to enjoy the protection of the Danish fortress in quarrels with other members of the nobility and also with the Raja of Tanjavur.

The Danish company supposedly paid Rama Nāyakkan twenty pagodas. He provided Tarangambadi with victuals, other supplies, and protection. He also exercised police functions. According to the editor, the Danish benefited greatly from Rama Nāyakkan’s support because he also provided them with important connections. During his time, many ‘capitalists (Capital=Leute)’ moved in, and sea-bound trade increased. The author and editor of the letter both saw a connection between this member of the local nobility and the economic boom of the period. The editor claimed that business in Tarangambadi was bigger than in Madras at the time. Yet later-on, ‘the biggest merchants and capitalists (die grösten Kauf=Leute und Capitalisten)’ moved to other places on the coast.\(^{120}\)

In the 1730s, two nāyakkār, Ramalinga Nāyakkan and Irāchiappa Nāyakkan, were in charge of the area around Danish Tarangambadi. Both paid the Pietist facilities in Tarangambadi a formal visit at the beginning of every year around Pongal, the major harvest festival. According to Pietist sources, they usually endured a private sermon delivered by a Pietist cleric on this occasion. In January, 1739, only Ramalinga Nāyakkan, his brother, and the two sons of Irāchiappa showed up. Irāchiappa Nāyakkan who is often more formally referred to as the South Nāyakkar in the sources had been seriously wounded a few days earlier in efforts to repel another Mughal invasion. There is no direct evidence that any of the nobles from the Tarangambadi area had participated in the defense of Tanjavur in July 1736. But they did participate in late 1738 and early 1739.

At this time, Mughal troops had taken position near Mayavaram. On January 4, Irāchiappa helped command a sortie at the side of Mikkankōbālan of Pattukkottai. On this and the next day, they supposedly cut down four hundred Mughals before Mikkankōbālan and one of his sons were caught and Irāchiappa was seriously wounded. After pocketing Irāchiappa’s gold jewelry, the Mughals let him go, and he made his way back to Poraiyar.\(^{121}\) By next Pongal, in January 1740, Irāchiappa Nāyakkan had recovered from his wounds and was already strong enough to endure another Pietist sermon. This time, his private sermon was about death and how to prepare for it since he had experienced a close encounter the year before. The Pietist author noted that Irāchiappa did not seem very impressed.\(^{122}\)

Due to the escalating political confrontations and increasing militarization of the region, the Tanjavur government had to call its nobility to arms quite often in the late 1730s and early 1740s. For example, in November 1742, a Pietist author mentioned that the Pietist Nyanamuttu traveled to Tanjavur because the Raja had called all nobility including Nyanamuttu’s employer,

\(^{120}\) HB, vol. 1, no. 11, p. 881-885. As a timeline, the local historian provides the following list of maniyakkār who supposedly held office in Tarangambadi from the early seventeenth to the early eighteenth century:
Kalengirāiyapillai, Kangurāiyapillai, Shalavarichetti, Deiyappapillai, Periakāliappapillai, Angāchiapillai, Ramapāttirapillai, Kāliappapillai.


\(^{122}\) HB, vol. 5, no. 51, p. 394.
the Great Pañtāram from the Kilaruvaïyal area of northern Marava, to deal with several problems. In January 1745, Irāchiappa Nāyakkan was called upon again to deal with trouble caused by a new party, the French at Karaikal.

Among the local nobility of the area around Tarangambadi, Pietists enjoyed particularly close relations to Ramalinga Nāyakkan because he had a base in Poraiyar. Since Pietists had some facilities there as well, they were doing business with him on a regular basis. From a Pietist point of view, Ramalinga Nāyakkan and his office turned out to be one of the most stable institutions in Tanjavur. He had already been there when the second generation of European clergy arrived in the mid-1720s, and he stayed in business, if not uncontested, until his death on August 10, 1754.

In 1725, Ramalinga Nāyakkan had shown Pietist clerics their first elephant in Poraiyar, just after their arrival from Europe. In March 1726, one Rama Nāyakkan ‘from Poraiyar (aus Boreiar)’ visited these second-generation Pietist missionaries and congratulated them on their rapid progress in learning Tamil. Since he had previously treated them to a big meal, they apologized for not having the means to reciprocate. This Rama Nāyakkan had already known the first generation of European Pietist clerics and is possibly identical with Ramalinga since both are associated with the northern part of the Danish leasehold including the town of Poraiyar and the adjacent area including the town of Anandamangalam.

Apart from introducing European Pietists to elephants and South Indian food and table manners, Ramalinga helped Pietists procure supplies from the territory of Tanjavur such as part of the large quantities of nellu or unhusked rice that Pietist communities in Tarangambadi consumed every year. In their expenses from October 5, 1730 to October 5, 1731, for example, Pietists listed 284 pagodas advanced to Ramalinga to purchase nellu.

Members of the local nobility, such as Ramalinga Nāyakkan and Irāchiappa Nāyakkan who contributed to the administration of areas in and around Tarangambadi and served as an official interface between Tanjavur and the Danish leasehold, also provided Pietists with links to a larger social network. On February 15, 1732, for example, some Pietists traveling to Madras met a kävalkāraṇ on the road near Kovalam. He invited them to use his horse and visit him at his place. He claimed that, otherwise, he would later have to listen to complaints about his lack of hospitality from the nāyakkars in the Tarangambadi area.

On January 5, 1746, Ramalinga Nāyakkan paid the Pietists the usual Pongal visit. When they asked him whether he was reading the books that they had given to him, he told them that he was. He had already finished some and had passed them on to his friends in the wild north of Udaiyarpalaiyam. On November 9, 1749, several prominent figures in the service of Ravuttamunda Nāyakkan of Udaiyarpalaiyam attended a church service in Tarangambadi. It is worth recalling in this context that, two decades earlier, Pietists had referred to one Ravuttamundanāyān of Udaiyarpalaiyam as ‘the famous pālaiyakkāraṇ or kävalkāraṇ (des

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123 HB, vol. 5, no. 56, p. 1319-1320.
124 HB, vol. 6, no. 63, p. 399.
125 HB, vol. 7, no. 82, p. 1412.
128 AFSt, M III I3:8, p. 4.
130 HB, vol. 6, no. 65, p. 788-789.
131 HB, vol. 6, no. 72, p. 1987.
berühmten Paleiakāren oder Kawelkaren).’ The change in titles suggests that Udaiyarpalaiyam—located just north of the Kaveri delta—had been beaten into submission by the Arcot state. But informal contacts to Tanjavur obviously continued.132

Ramalinga Nāyakkan was a very pious warrior, although he never expressed interest in becoming a Lutheran Pietist. He supposedly spent several hours in his garden in Poraiyar every morning and evening to carry out devotional and meditative exercises.133 Pietists ridiculed him for being ‘too meticulous (über die massen genau)’ about ‘his Heathen ceremonies (seine heydnischen Ceremonien).’134 In 1743, Ramalinga had temporarily been forced out of the Tarangambadi area by his challenger Perumal Nāyakkan. When Pietists ran into Ramalinga in Poraiyar the day after his official return on August 9 of the same year, they told him that they were happy to have him back and were hoping to renew their friendship. He gave them some limes as a gift and promised to visit them soon.135 When he visited them a few days later, on August 16, Pietist clerics tortured him as usual by delivering a private sermon. They reiterated their previous observation that ‘his idol worship, which he may observe very meticulously (sein Götzendienst, in dessen Beobachtung er sonst sehr accurat sey),’ was totally useless, and that their ‘GOd (GOrt)’ did not like it one bit. Ramalinga supposedly pointed out that this could not be true since ‘GOd (GOrt)’ responded to his meditations in a positive way by revealing himself in the form of a little boy. The Pietist author countered Ramalinga’s argument by claiming that the Christian Devil was involved. Since Ramalinga addressed ‘all his ceremonies and worship (alle seine Ceremonien und Anbetung)’ to ‘the sinner Rāmān or his ape Anumār (den Sünder Ramen, oder seinen Affen Annumar),’ these revelations had to be ‘trickery of the Devil (ein Blendwerck des Teufels)’ if they occurred at all. Ramalinga supposedly concluded the conversation by pointing out that he did not have this impression.136

In September 1743, Pietists started digging up a plot of land next to Ramalinga’s garden because they wanted to build a new church in Poraiyar. Although Ramalinga Nāyakkan was on good terms with the Pietists most of the time, he was not willing to let them disturb the peace of his garden. He put up stiff resistance and declared the land adjacent to his garden his property. He only allowed the construction to proceed after Pietists had offered him a plot of land elsewhere.137

In 1754, pious Ramalinga ran a project to develop a new temple-car because he wanted to take Anumār, his favorite god, on a ride to his favorite temple in Anandamangalam. The idea was to build a car that could be moved by using a cranking device or a winch rather than by pulling ropes. The Pietist author of the source showed little interest in technological progress and noted that the project was a big waste of money. Yet, Ramalinga was able to finish his project and take Anumār to Anandamangalam on his new temple-car ten days prior to his death.138 Suffering from diabetes for many years, Ramalinga Nāyakkan died on August 10, 1754.139 Ramalinga’s devotion to Anumār may tell us something about how he saw his own role in life and his relation to the state of Tanjavur. According to Pietist sources, the Ramayana epic

133 HB, vol. 5, no. 60, p. 1801.
134 HB, vol. 6, no. 65, p. 902.
135 HB, vol. 5, no. 60, p. 1769-1770.
136 HB, vol. 5, no. 60, p. 1773.
137 HB, vol. 6, no. 65, p. 902.
138 HB, vol. 7, no. 82, p. 1412.
139 HB, vol. 7, no. 82, p. 1412.
was quite popular in South India at the time. Over two decades earlier, in 1730, Muttuvijaya Raguṇāṭa Setupati Kāṭta Tēvan, the ruler of Ramanathapuram, had even tried to enlist Pietist support to have the Ramayana printed. Añumār is a superhero in the Ramayana, but his role is primarily to serve his superiors. He initially served his forest king Sugriva and then Rama and Sita. A sense of duty and obedience to superiors was in line with Lutheran Pietist ideology. But from a Pietist perspective, a ‘Heathen’ state like Tanjavur was not an appropriate superior. Pietists had perhaps still helped funding Ramalinga’s project. On October 5, 1751, Ramalinga owed them 270 pagodas. They had provided him with a loan at 5 percent interest.

Perumal Nāyakkan, the temporary challenger of Ramalinga in the early 1740s and his successor after his death in 1754, was a pious warrior as well. One day in December 1742, when he was ambushed by Ramalinga’s men and had to seek cover in the Pietists’ school in Poraiyar, he asked the sick pupils and the assistant catechist Josua who were present to call ‘Rama, Rama’ for help. When Josua complained about the proposal and pointed out that they only called ‘the real GOd (den wahren Gött),’ Perumal asked them to go ahead and do that. It worked apparently—at least partially or temporarily. Perumal borrowed some of the Pietists’ books a few days later, but he was not able to defeat Ramalinga.

Some members of the nobility certainly saw a point in charitable organizations. Pietists repeatedly expressed great admiration for Mikkankōbālan’s educational institutions located in the wild south of Pattukkottai. In June 1737, one of these schools hosted close to sixty brahmīn children, and another school located in the same place an even greater number of cūṭtirar children, all free of charge. The schools were funded from the taxes of several villages. In May 1740, the Tamil Pietists Aaron and Josua visited a cattiram which had been founded by Mikkankōbālan in the same area. It hosted sixty-four brahmīn children. Although the parents of these children were alive, the Pietist editor of the source mentioned that it favorably compared to European ‘orphanages (Wäysenhäuser).’ For Pietists, the term ‘orphanages’ denoted the most advanced educational institutions of Europe at the time. They were particularly proud of their orphanage at their headquarters in Halle.

The state of Tanjavur officially supported charitable institutions by granting īṇāms, that is, by exempting the cultivable land associated with such institutions from taxes. Based on this system, Telunguraja had repeatedly offered Pietists the revenue of villages to support their charitable institutions. The existence of such institutions in places with a high degree of local autonomy, such as Pattukkottai, and with no connection to large temples seems to indicate that the state often responded to local initiatives and demand. This is in line with what the hawaldār Sankrōji had told Pietists in 1728. If they wanted the state to support their initiatives, they had to

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141 AFSt, M III I3:29, p. 4.
143 HB, vol. 4, no. 45, p. 1137.
144 HB, vol. 5, no. 51, p. 485.

establish local Pietist communities in Tanjavur to show that a local demand for their services existed.\textsuperscript{145}

Political chaos, realignment, and continuity

Ramalinga Nāyakkan and his office were among the most stable political institutions around Tarangambadi, and the same could be said of the nobility in general with respect to politics in Tanjavur from the mid-1730s to the early 1740s. The central government and the royal court at Tanjavur became completely unstable. The Arcot state was repeatedly successful in influencing personnel decisions at the court of Tanjavur. The second half of the 1730s saw no less than four new rulers—Ekoji Raja (1735-1736), the regent Sujana Bai (1736-1738), the Onřěkál or One-and-a-quarter Raja Shahuji (1738-1739), and Pratapasimha Raja (1739-1763). It is the more remarkable that each ruler’s government soon sought the support of Tanjavur’s nobility and reverted back to policies aimed at keeping Arcot interests off their turf.\textsuperscript{146}

Arcot kept coming back until the northern Marathas stepped in and provided military support to Tanjavur early in 1740, just half a year after Arcot had put Pratapasimha on Tanjavur’s throne. According to a report by the Pietist Arhagappen, the new alliance with the northern Marathas had broad popular support in the Kaveri delta. When the northern Marathas sent their troops to Tanjavur, they responded ‘to the applications of many hundreds or even thousands of prominent residents, members of religious orders, and female servants of idols (auf vieler hundert ja tausend vornehmer Einwohner, Ordens=Leute und Götzen=Dienerinnen ihre Vorstellungen).’ These applications had informed the Marathas ‘of the total desolation and destruction of this country (von der gänzlichen Verwüstung und Verherung dieses Landes),’ that is, of Tanjavur.\textsuperscript{147}

Residents of the Kaveri river delta continued to use the term ‘Mughal’ to refer to external interests and outside interference during the second half of the 1730s. Irrespective of differences between Arcot and the Mughal center, residents of the Kaveri delta found it more and more difficult to tell who was ‘Mughal’ during this period. Arcot launched several invasions, temporarily occupied parts of the Kaveri delta, and tried to align the administration and populace of these areas. Residents of temporarily occupied areas had to be pragmatic. Some decided to collaborate with ‘Mughal’ occupiers, others decided to resist. As a result, a multitude of internal conflicts emerged and the line between ‘Mughals’ and locals became blurred. Pietists became embroiled in some of these struggles and therefore documented parts of them. The evidence is not sufficient to draw a clear picture of the personal interests, political struggles, and social groups involved, but it does give an impression of a severely destabilized and increasingly atomized society of rapidly shifting alliances.

In November 1739, Pratapasimha Raja had been forced to give the Arcot Nawwab Dost ‘Ali Khan direct access to the tax revenue of the three interior sūbas Papanasam (Tiruppalaiturai),

\textsuperscript{145} HB, vol. 3 (1735), no. 26 (1730), p. 31.

\textsuperscript{146} Similar developments unfolded in neighboring Madurai during the 1740s: Dirks, The hollow crown, 20-21.

\textsuperscript{147} Some quantitative information on īnāms in Tanjavur and their distribution at the beginning of the nineteenth century is provided in: Subrahmanyam, "Fiscality and politics in Maratha Tanjavur," 173-175. A detailed study of īnāms in Pudukkottai—located just south of Tanjavur and west of Pattukkottai—is provided in: Dirks, The hollow crown.
Kumbakonam, and Mannarkoyil until Tanjavur’s supposed debt was paid off. This meant that Tanjavur had only the revenue of Mayavaram left, and whatever Pattukottai was willing or able to contribute. From the perspective of people who depended on Tanjavur’s taxes, such as the local nobility and ritual leaders, this could not be the final word. Everyone in Tanjavur knew that this peace could only last until the main rice harvest was brought in.\footnote{HB, vol. 5, no. 50, p. 277-278.}

The Mughal occupation triggered considerable local resistance, but also caused conflicts and confusion among the local population. In May 1740, Parensesimuttu, a Pietist assistant cleric, had just moved to Kodtaiur near Tiruppalaiturai and had built a house there to be able to provide services to the small local Pietist community when supposedly a theft occurred. According to the Pietist source, the sūbadār was not able to resolve the matter and sent troops to Kodtaiur to burn down the whole village. Considering the heavy-handed measure used by the sūbadār, he most likely did not think that he was dealing with a common theft.

When people fled, the Mughals arrested Parensesimuttu and his wife along with other residents of the village. They soon executed one man who had been arrested. Sinnappen and Muttu, two Pietist catechists working in the area, went there immediately to bail out Parensesimuttu and his wife. Officials dealing with the matter asked them to pay thirty pardãos, that is, twenty-five pagodas, which was more money than they had. Sinnappen and Muttu also immediately advised the Tarangambadi Pietists to send ēlai to two respected merchants whom the catechists knew in the area in order to ask them to talk to the sūbadār in behalf of the prisoners.\footnote{HB, vol. 5, no. 51, p. 458-459.} On June 13, 1740, Muttu reported that Parensesimuttu and his wife had already been released when the ēlai from Tarangambadi arrived. He and Sinnappen claimed that they had previously heard of a conspiracy. A local brahmin had supposedly instigated the Mughal action against the village. They had visited the brahmin and had tried to convince him to ask for the release of Parensesimuttu and his wife. According to the account, the brahmin had first asked them for a considerable amount of money in exchange for his services but had eventually agreed to do it for free. Parensesimuttu and his wife were released soon after.

The Pietist author speculated that the Mughals released them due to rumors about the arrival of a strong Maratha force north of Tanjavur. The day after the two Pietists had been released, the Mughals suddenly left the area around Tiruppalaiturai. Pratapasimha Raja soon issued an order allowing everyone to arrest and loot Mughals who remained in Tanjavur’s territory. Sinnappen was soon after attacked by soldiers in the same area and released after local residents pleaded for him.\footnote{HB, vol. 5, no. 51, p. 475-476.} These accounts suggest that some of the people who became trapped in conflicts between local power brokers and ‘Mughals’ had little idea of what was going on. There were certainly many reasons for distrust between local residents and Mughal occupiers. And after the Mughals had left, there were reasons for distrust between those who had not collaborated with the Mughals and those who had.

Five years earlier, in May 1735, that is, two months prior to Tukkoji Raja’s death, a Pietist who had visited Kumbakonam had reported a major reshuffling of personnel in the administration of the sūba. Apparently, the four richest sūbas all received a new administration. Imambahāi who is also referred to as Khan Sahib in Pietist sources took over the three sūbas ‘in the interior (landeinwärts),’ that is, Tiruppalaiturai (Papanasam), Kumbakonam, and Mannarkoyil.\footnote{HB, vol. 4, no. 41, p. 588.}
Imambahāi had been in business for some time. Among other things, he had been able to catch the Marava ruler Bhavāni Sankara toward the end of Sarabhoji Raja’s reign, in September 1729. A new sūbadār for Mayavaram had already been appointed earlier in 1735, but he died in June. These changes in personnel suggest that Tukkoji was losing control of the central administration. Tukkoji Raja died soon after on July 23, 1735. Other major characters of Sarabhoji’s reign would eventually resurface. There is no doubt that political factions had emerged and were competing for control of the court and central administration. Ekoji took over on August 14, but he also refused to give in to Mughal demands. The Mughals took Tiruchirappalli on April 26, 1736, and they put Tanjavur under siege from May to July 1736. Yet, they failed to take Tanjavur because their camp was continuously attacked by Tanjavur’s nobles and their troops.

After Ekoji Raja’s death on August 1, 1736, two political factions became clearly visible at the Tanjavur court because they now openly competed for power. Telunguraja, the Pietists’ acquaintance and their only remaining prominent connection at the Tanjavur court, died on August 10, just nine days after Ekoji. Another nine days later, on August 19, 1736, Sujana Bai became regent of Tanjavur. She had been a wife of Ekoji and a cross-cousin of the former raja Sarabhoji who had died in 1729. Her father had been Telunguraja’s older brother, and Sarabhoji’s mother had been Telunguraja’s sister.

Siddhoji Dada, Sujana Bai’s minister, proved effective in supporting her claims. He supposedly caught a suspicious letter by their opponent Supprā to the Mughals. Supprā, two of his brothers, and some other members of their party were executed. Sa‘id, the qil‘adār or Commander of Tanjavur, leaned toward Supprā’s party. After the executions, he supposedly invited the Mughals back to Tanjavur. Due to the opposition at her own court, Sujana Bai had to buy off the Mughals at this time. On August 27, another former wife of Ekoji had given birth to a son. She was the favorite candidate of Sa‘id and the now deceased Supprā’s party. Sujana Bai solved the problem by proposing to adopt the boy and raise him as the new heir to the throne. For the time being, she had weathered the storm.

Members of the royal family were not the only people who had to deal with political conflicts and violence. Residents of Tanjavur encountered problems on every corner during this period. Many Pietists and other residents of the Tanjavur area had lost their houses and possessions over the past few months. During the Mughal siege of the city, many houses in the suburbs had been demolished. The Pietist community in and around the capital had been scattered. Some Pietists were forced to join the military, others were robbed by brigands. Loyalties were not always clear-cut since people had to make a living. One Pietist who served on the Mughal side was killed. He was not the first Pietist who died a violent death in the intensifying political conflicts. Shavrimuttu had already been killed by a small artillery ball in 1734. Pietists were certainly not the only ones in Tanjavur who had to deal with such problems. The struggle continued throughout the remainder of the 1730s. In April 1738, less than two years after Sujana Bai had become the regent of Tanjavur, Chinnatambi, an assistant catechist, visited Tarangambadi and delivered a message from Rajanāyakkan who was at Tiruppallaiturai at the time. Two-hundred Pietists had attended the Easter festival there. Yet on the first holiday, they had only celebrated in the morning, and on the second day, only in the

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153  HB, vol. 4, no. 41, p. 588.
afternoon. People had preferred to disperse in the meantime because a large contingent of Tanjavur soldiers had come through. The troops were supposed to repel the ‘pretender’ who had already taken the border fortress Pandanallur. There were also rumors that Mughal troops had crossed the Kollidam river. On the third Easter holiday, early in the morning at 3:00, Aaron, a Tamil Pietist cleric, walked in the moonlight north from Tattenur near Mayavaram. He took a break when he reached the large road that connected Tanjavur city with Kaveripattinam on the coast. Here, he heard that the ‘pretender’ had taken in the sūbadār of Mayavaram by force.\textsuperscript{155} Competing political factions continued the game of trying to align the central state administration to their own interests.

A few months later, on August 4, 1738, Pietists in Tarangambadi received an ṭolai from Rajanāyakkan, in which he summarized the major political events of the previous months. This account is as fascinating for its author’s social background as for its content. Rajanāyakkan was of paraïyar background. According to common wisdom and the meaning of the derived English term ‘pariah,’ he belonged to a class of landless agricultural producers who were held in contempt for their supposedly polluted condition and ritual inferiority. As a paraïyar, Rajanāyakkan was not supposed to be capable of thinking beyond the limits of his paraïairy or segregated paraïyar village. Instead, he contemplated the political struggles at the raja’s court and even communicated his insights. The Kaveri river delta was a small world, and its residents obviously had a keen interest in knowing what transpired in its government.

From Rajanāyakkan’s account of major events in Tanjavur city and at the raja’s court, two clear-cut parties emerge. He claimed that the royal family and Sa’id, the Commander of Tanjavur, had never liked the idea that Vāpra, the maternal uncle of the deceased Ekoji Raja, and Siddhoji had used the name of Sujana Bai to govern like a king and his prime minister. For this reason, Sa’id secretly built up the ‘pretender’ who was a son of the former Sarabhoji Raja.\textsuperscript{156} Sa’id had been in office at least since the late 1720s. He had been close to Sarabhoji Raja. Whenever the Raja was in Madevipattinam, Sa’id was in charge of the capital Tanjavur. In July 1728, Telunguraja had invited some Pietists to Tanjavur to attend celebrations following his son Uttojisimharaja’s wedding. Sa’id almost expelled them from the city, despite their invitation from the Raja’s maternal uncle.\textsuperscript{157} In December 1730, Pietists were able to temporarily open a regular communication channel with Sa’id through Ibrahim Nāyakkan who was in his service.\textsuperscript{158} From Pietist sources, one gets the impression that Sa’id’s influence declined under Tukkoji Raja during the first half of the 1730s. During the second half of the 1730s, he played a leading role in political factions competing for power at the court. Pratapasimha Raja removed him from his hereditary office early in 1740 and replaced him with a Maratha. Sa’id had supposedly tried to develop marriage ties to a Mughal general whom he had promised his daughter.\textsuperscript{159}

Sa’id was the mastermind in Rajanāyakkan’s account of political changes in 1738. Around April 1738, Gādtikkai, the ‘pretender’s’ maternal uncle, had set up camp north of Tanjavur across the Kollidam river. His cavalry consisted in only about three hundred horse. Siddhoji, on the other hand, camped near Sirkali with three thousand. Had Siddhoji attacked Gādtikkai’s troops, he could have easily destroyed them. Rajanāyakkan claims that Sa’id had a

\textsuperscript{155} HB, vol. 4, no. 47, p. 1360, 1362.
\textsuperscript{156} HB, vol. 4, no. 48, p. 1432-1436.
\textsuperscript{157} HB, vol. 3, no. 26, p. 143-145.
\textsuperscript{158} HB, vol. 3, no. 32, p. 715, 786-787.
\textsuperscript{159} HB, vol. 5, no. 51, p. 446.
hand in fomenting discord among Siddhoji’s cavalry. Moreover, Siddhoji withheld his troops’ pay. Eventually, he returned to Tanjavur city, supposedly threatened by some of Sa’id’s troops. Back in Tanjavur, he forced his own troops to stay inside the fortress despite supply problems, which heightened tensions.

On Sa’id’s advice, Gādtikkai followed Siddhoji to Tanjavur, closed in on the capital with his small cavalry, and had victory signs erected outside the city. Nobody seemed to take Gādtikkai’s actions serious at the time, although time was running out for Vāpra and Siddhoji. At the court, they supposedly tried to win over Sa’id and his party by offering to put Pratapasimha, a son of the former Tukkoji Raja, on the throne. Sa’id distrusted them and arranged to have the northern gate opened to allow Gādtikkai and his cavalry enter the city. Sa’id and Gādtikkai had Vāpra, Siddhoji, and other members of their party arrested. On July 10, the ‘pretender’ entered Tanjavur. He immediately went to the main Peruvudaiyar temple while cannons were being fired for salute. On July 11, the ‘pretender’ had a kaßakÂpiêËkam or gold shower arranged for Sa’id to express his gratitude for Sa’id’s services.

When the ‘pretender’ and his party heard that Chanda Sahib had broken up his camp and moved his Mughal troops closer to Tanjavur to support Vāpra’s and Siddhoji’s party, they had Siddhoji and four of his allies put on a car and moved through the streets around the fortress. They had Siddhoji’s nose and one of his ally’s hand cut off. Afterward, Siddhoji and one of his allies were executed in the eastern gate, two of his allies were executed in the northern gate, and the fourth ally was executed in the southern gate. The next day, their bodies were displayed in four places around the capital. Vāpra had inflicted a fatal wound on himself when members of Sa’id’s party had tried to arrest him.

On July 21, the new Raja was confirmed by his subjects and adopted the name Onṛēkāl Raja or One-and-a-quarter Raja. Despite his extra quarter and immediate visit to Peruvudaiyar, his reign lasted only a few days longer than Ekoji’s had, that is, a few days over a year compared to Ekoji’s few days less than a year. Pietist sources give his Marathi name as ‘Savaisādi Raja’ or ‘Savātsadi Raja.’ In the secondary literature, he appears as Shahuji Raja. Onṛēkāl Raja was a son of Sarabhoji Raja who had died on November 18, 1729. After Sarabhoji’s death, his mother chose to become a sati, supposedly because a court brahmin rather than Sarabhoji was the real father of the child that would become One-and-a-quarter.

Rajanāyakkan’s account suggests three significant changes compared to earlier struggles at Tanjavur’s royal court. First, political factions were no longer concerned about hiding violence when they dispatched their competitors. Second, political factions directly appealed to the public by several means such as displaying the bodies of executed opponents. Third, the line between Tanjavur’s ‘local’ interests and external ‘Mughal’ interests became blurred. Some of the violence increasingly looked like the beginning of a civil war rather than ‘Mughal’ invasions.

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161 Subrahmanyam, "Fiscality and politics in Maratha Tanjavur," 153-155.
New alliances: The northern Marathas

During the second half of 1738, that is, just after One-and-a-quarter Raja had ascended to the throne, rumors had it that the Mughals had come up with a new candidate to replace him. The Danish had planned to visit One-and-a-quarter in Tanjavur to bring him the customary gift and congratulate him on his ascension to the throne. Now, they decided to postpone, supposedly because the weather was bad.

In his report of August 3, 1739, Sinnappen mentions that Mughal troops had put Tanjavur under siege again. This time, they were commanded ‘by two sons of Dost ‘Ali Khan of Arcot (von zween Soehnen des Dostili Chan aus Arcadu).’ According to the source, Sa’id, the Commander of Tanjavur, had asked Dost ‘Ali Khan for support. Gädtikkai, the maternal uncle of One-and-a-quarter, had arrested Sa’id after the change in government the previous year. The Mughals brought Sa’id back into business. On July 16, 1739, he had One-and-a-quarter arrested and removed from power. Pratapasimha was put on the throne the same day. He was the youngest of four sons of the former raja Tukkoji. He was now about eighteen years old. Two of Tukkoji’s sons, Anna Sahib and Ekoji (Baba Sahib) were dead. Nyana Sahib, the remaining son of Tukkoji, was supposed to be dead but resurfaced later. The Pietist author mentions that nobody thought of sowing now. Most wealthy landlords were either broke or had fled to the coast. Nobody took care of the dams and locks needed to control irrigation. Food was already scarce.

On October 26, 1739, a delegation of Telunguraja, the son of the Pietists’ deceased acquaintance Telunguraja, visited the Pietists in Tarangambadi. Although One-and-a-quarter Raja had been arrested over three months ago, Pratapasimha’s subjects had still not confirmed him as the new Raja. This was very unusual. Telunguraja harbored hopes to become Raja himself. Telunguraja’s mother had tied the tali with his father Telunguraja. Pratapasimha’s mother had only tied the tali with his father Tukkoji’s sword. This means that Pratapasimha’s mother had been a secondary wife of Tukkoji Raja.

Perhaps more importantly, Pratapasimha’s subjects did not know where he stood politically. Did he consider himself Raja of Tanjavur or Mughal governor? By November 1739, he had given Dost ‘Ali Khan direct control over the revenue of the three interior sūbas Papanasam, Kumbakonam, and Mannarkoyil. This arrangement was scheduled to last until Tanjavur completed payment of whatever Arcot claimed to be its debt. Only the revenue of Mayavaram was left for Tanjavur. Apart from Arcot, others tried to exploit Tanjavur’s perceived weakness. Even the Danish felt emboldened to grab an additional four villages adjacent to their leasehold, that is, the part of Kaduacheri that had still belonged to Tanjavur, Anaikovil, Manikapongal, and Kumarakaditalai.

It had been almost eight years since February 12, 1732 when Diogo and his Pietist travel group had met the paṭṭāni near Sadasapattinam who had turned out to be the ‘overseer (Aufseher)’ of this area appointed by the Nawwab. The paṭṭāni justified the decision of the ‘Nawwab Sahib

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163 HB, vol. 4, no. 48, p. 1486.
165 HB, vol. 5, no. 50, p. 188-189.
166 HB, vol. 4, no. 48, p. 1486.
167 HB, vol. 5, no. 50, p. 188-189.
169 HB, vol. 5, no. 50, p. 277-278.
(Nabāb-ṣāḥhib) to move his troops and threaten Tanjavur by claiming that Ānandarāyan, the wakil or peshwa of Tanjavur, who had just been confirmed in his office through the Nawwab’s support, had asked for help against Tukkoji Raja. Soon after, there were rumors that the Nawwab had charged Tanjavur a fine of ‘twelve lakh rupees (zwölf Lac Rupien)’ or 1.2 million rupees for having proposed an alliance against Arcot ‘to his cousins in the Maratha country (an seine Vettern im Marratier=Lande).’

If this was true, help from the northern Maratha cousins took a while to materialize. In April 1740, catechists informed Tarangambadi Pietists that Pratapasimha Raja had fired Sa’id who had supposedly promised his daughter to a Mughal general and replaced him with a Maratha. The Mughals continued to fix the irrigation dams on the Kaveri. The Pietist author took this to mean that they wanted to harvest again where they had not sown. The overall situation in Tanjavur had become so bad that many people had moved north or south. Parents had been forced to sell their children. Two Pietists had been forced to do the same. Yet, they starved to death anyway.

In May 1740, Arhagappen reported that thirty thousand Marathas had attacked and defeated the Mughals in the north. This was the occasion when Parensesimuttu and his wife were released from prison because the Mughal occupiers suddenly fled the area around Papanasam. Pratapasimha Raja ordered that Mughals who stayed in Tanjavur were to be arrested. In June 1740, Arhagappen reported that the country was quiet. People busily worked their fields because the fresh water had arrived early this year. North of the Kaveri river, just across from Tanjavur city, twenty thousand Marathas had put up their camp. This Maratha army had come down west of the Ghats and consisted of fresh troops. That is, they had not belonged to the thirty thousand who had overwhelmed Mughal forces in the north. According to Arhagappen’s report, they had two major goals. They wanted to dislodge Chanda Sahib from Tiruchirappalli. And they wanted to take home Nyana Sahib, one of the former raja Tukkoji’s four sons, as the successor to their throne. The Marathas were able to take Tiruchirappalli and hold it for some time. Yet, they were not really interested in Nyana Sahib. He died in Tanjavur on December 2, 1763, soon after the Seven Years’ War had ended, and just thirteen days prior to his brother Pratapasimha Raja who died on December 15.

Pratapasimha had been put in power with Mughal support. Initially, he had agreed to broad concessions to Mughal interests including direct access to the greater part of Tanjavur’s tax revenue. The remaining taxes from Mayavaram were perhaps sufficient to keep the court and part of the state administration alive. Yet, other residents of Tanjavur who depended on tax income, such as the nobility and clergy, could not be satisfied with these developments and called for military support from the northern Marathas.

Pratapasimha accepted this course of events and relied on Maratha support to drive the Mughals out of Tanjavur. A strong Maratha force arrived in 1740 and invaded Madurai. By November 1740, Pratapasimha had moved troops from Kumbakonam to Tanjavur city and carried out daily military exercises between Tanjavur and Tiruchirappalli to keep the Mughals away. Chanda Sahib began to evacuate suburbs of Tiruchirappalli. The Marathas put

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175 HB, vol. 5, no. 52, p. 663.
Tiruchirappalli under siege on January 27, 1741. Three days later, on January 30, Tanjavur troops under command of Gadhara moved on Tiruchirappalli to support the Marathas.\(^{176}\)

Pratapasimha now had the full support of heavyweights among the nobility. Rajanāyakkān visited ‘the camp of the pāḷaiyakkāraś (das Lager der Paleicaer)’ early in 1741. According to the Pietist source, the Raja had called the most powerful of them to support his own troops.\(^{177}\) Despite Mughal pressure on Tanjavur and their partial success at manipulating personnel decisions at the court during the second half of the 1730s, the political goals of Tanjavur had remained quite stable and continued to be so throughout much of the 1740s. Although the country enjoyed a brief break from external pressure after the Marathas took Tiruchirappalli, the relative calm did not last very long and was followed by much more complete and everlasting outside intervention by the British and, from European Pietists’ point of view, the Pietist god.

Yet, in 1741, peace was restored in Tanjavur, and many residents, including Tamil Pietists, returned to the Kaveri delta. They had previously followed a general migration northward and westward, out of Tanjavur, to escape violence, declining agriculture, and high food prices. Some Pietists had found new employment in the Mughal army in Arcot. By December 1741, many people had returned to Tanjavur and more were expected to follow. Pietist clerics tried to see a positive aspect in the past upheaval, because it had carried their message and their god to new places.\(^{178}\)

Even during the period of relative calm in the early 1740s, Tanjavur had to deal with local conflicts that had spun off the violence imposed from outside during the second half of the 1730s. Militarization of the Kaveri delta continued to some extent. In April 1737, a Pietist in the service of a pāḷaiyakkāraś in the Tiruppallaiturai area had been ‘almost beaten to death (halb todt geschlagen).’ His employer had previously been dislodged from his position by a rival and was now trying a comeback. The Pietist’s arm remained permanently disabled.\(^{179}\) Many such conflicts had emerged and bad feelings lingered on. Some of them assumed a certain permanence.

By April 1740, Pratapasimha Raja had gained the support of some of his subjects and was able to sack an influential figure like Sa’īd at his court. Yet, other subjects had developed new relations during the Mughal occupation. In August 1740, one Mammuda Arubi Khan, a supporter of Chanda Sahib, tested the situation by carrying out attacks in the Tiruppallaiturai area. He was killed when troops loyal to Tanjavur counterattacked. Kallar ‘cut all fleeing soldiers to pieces (alle gefluechtete Soldaten in Stuecken zerhauen).’ After this, the area became somewhat calmer. Many residents returned to work previously abandoned agricultural land.\(^{180}\) Some kallar continued to carry out raids but focused their activities on the area west of Tanjavur. Toward the end of August, Pratapasimha left Tanjavur for the first time since his ascension to the throne and took a few days’ vacation in Vedaranniyam.\(^{181}\)

\(^{176}\) HB, vol. 5, no. 53, p. 826-827.  
\(^{177}\) HB, vol. 5, no. 53, p. 826-827.  
\(^{178}\) AFSt, M I B29:29: letter by Tarangambadi Pietists to Francke, 12/20/1741, p.4.  
\(^{179}\) HB, vol. 4, no. 45, p. 1122.  
\(^{180}\) HB, vol. 5, no. 52, p. 600.  
\(^{181}\) HB, vol. 5, no. 52, p. 611.
Two years later, in August 1742, an old resident of the Tarangambadi area told a Pietist that he was afraid. He had heard that the new nāyakkan was somewhere near Poraiyar now. He meant Perumal Nāyakkan who had made his first appearance in the area a little earlier to challenge Ramalinga Nāyakkan and take over his position.

A catechist from Tiruppalaiturai had recently reported, that Pratapasimha Raja was taking measures to control talaiyāri who worked for nāyakkar in the Tiruppalaiturai area. The raja threatened to arrest and punish all talaiyāri who carried out thefts. Several talaiyāri had already been arrested and executed in the area. Others were fed up with the situation and had asked the Pietist catechist whether he knew of job opportunities in Tarangambadi. They contemplated applying for a job with the new nāyakkan there.

In the Tarangambadi area, many people had begun to leave Poraiyar, Talaiyari, and other towns and moved to the city out of fear of Perumal Nāyakkan and his troops. In late October, the Pietist Rasappen was ambushed and robbed of all his belongings including his cloths and seventeen fanam. Through a mediator, he was able to recover his turban and four fanam. The conflict between Perumal and Ramalinga caused many such incidents because both competitors brought more and more talaiyāri into the area. All of them had to make a living.

On November 19, 1742, Perumal paid the Pietist facilities his first formal visit. He had gained Pratapasimha Raja’s support. The Danish had agreed to accept him as their new liaison to Tanjavur. Around the same time, a cērvāikkāran from Tanjavur visited a Pietist in Poraiyar. Pratapasimha had supposedly sent him to Perumal to pick up a fee of four-thousand pardāos—a bit less than three and a half thousand pagodas—which the new North Nāyakkar had to pay for his promotion.

What emerged from these events is that Pratapasimha had begun to weed out parts of the nobility. Tiruppalaiturai had been an area with a strong Mughal presence and support for the occupiers. Although the sources are not explicit in this respect, it seems like Pratapasimha was trying to get rid of subjects who had a history of questionable loyalties. Yet, the local nobility was not easily impressed. In December 1742, the catechist Svāmitāsen complained that many Pietists had again left the area due to continuing conflicts between nāyakkar. With respect to the Tarangambadi area, Pratapasimha perhaps targeted Ramalinga Nāyakkan because he perceived him as being too complacent or too cozy with the Danish. After all, they had grabbed four villages three years ago.

From Ramalinga’s point of view, the matter was not over. He did not believe in Pratapasimha’s hiring and firing approach. If he had become too complacent, this was about to change. In early December 1742, some of Ramalinga’s talaiyāri ambushed Perumal in Poraiyar. Perumal and his escort found cover in the Pietist school there. On December 21, in the late afternoon, Muttal Nāyakkan, an older brother of Perumal, went from Poraiyar to Tarangambadi to spend the night in the city as he did everyday for security reasons. In the river between
Poraiyar and Tarangambadi, a supporter of Ramalinga caught up with him and stabbed him many times. Muttal died two hours later.  

By April 1743, Ramalinga’s campaign for a comeback had picked up momentum. On April 27, 1743, Ramalinga Nāyakkān’s brother passed with over a thousand talaiyāri through the town of Tilaiyari. Despite the massive presence, Perumal’s troops were able to arrest Ramalinga’s brother and other prominent supporters a few days later in Anandamangalam. Perumal had Ramalinga’s brother and other prominent prisoners executed.

On May 8, a group of Pietists met some residents of Tirukkadaiyur who complained about cruel methods employed by Perumal in their area. They claimed that he still tortured and killed every day some of the prisoners whom he had caught along with Akkya Nāyakkān. One Pietist had been tortured and killed, too. When Pietists asked a supporter of Perumal about the reports, he confirmed them. He argued that the prisoners deserved it because they had robbed, murdered, looted, and raped.

More complaints about Perumal’s methods surfaced. By August 1743, Pratapasimha Raja withdrew his support of Perumal. On August 9, Ramalinga Nāyakkān officially returned to his former post. The reversal was also accepted by the Danish in Tarangambadi. The next day, some Pietists ran into Ramalinga in Poraiyar. They told him that they were happy to have him back and hoped to renew their friendship. He gave them some limes as a gift and promised to visit them soon. He kept his promise and visited them a few days later, on August 16. Pietist clerics could not let the opportunity pass without delivering a private sermon. According to the Pietist source, everything was back to normal.

These disputes among the nobility of Tanjavur, however, comprised only one dimension of the difficulties the country had to deal with by the early 1740s. Maratha control of Tiruchirappalli prevented the Mughals from harassing Tanjavur until late in 1743. Yet, the arrival of twenty-thousand foreign Maratha troops in Madurai in 1740 had done little to demilitarize the region. Maratha soldiers had to eat, and they had to feed their horses. Since they had come to save Tanjavur, they expected Tanjavur to provide for them.

For these reasons, it did not come as a surprise when small Maratha bands carried out raids in Tanjavur during the second half of 1740 and January 1741. Pratapasimha Raja had negotiated the right to repulse any Maratha raids into the territory of Tanjavur. Thus, Tanjavur did not have to fear reprisals from the main Maratha force. Yet, Tanjavur still had to deal with small raids. Although Madurai felt the Maratha presence most, other polities in the region were also affected. In March 1741, Josua reported that Marathas had raided and looted the area around Ramanathapuram without being able to take the city. Arcot now had problems in its own backyard. In 1741, Pietists from Kadalur did not dare to travel to Tarangambadi to attend the ordination of Diogo. This ordination was a big event from a Pietist point of view since Diogo

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190 HB, vol. 5, no. 60, p. 1769-1770.
191 HB, vol. 5, no. 60, p. 1773.
was only the second Tamil Pietist to become a fully ordained preacher. Yet, Kadalur Pietists decided to stay at home due to Maratha raids and fights of local näyakkar in the Kadalur area.\footnote{AFSt, M I B29:44: letter by Kohlhoff to Francke, Tarangambadi, 01/30/1742, p. 2.} By July 1742, the Maratha regent in Tiruchirappalli had decided to disregard orders from his northern Maratha government. For this reason, the Maratha government asked Tanjavur to reign him in. It gave Tanjavur permission to attack Tiruchirappalli. Tanjavur supposedly decided to hire Mughal cavalry from Arcot to deal with the problem. Eventually, some Tanjavur troops moved on Tiruchirappalli. They soon negotiated a cease-fire because Tanjavur was more interested in fixing the Kaveri dams than conducting a war.\footnote{HB, vol. 5, no. 56, p. 1248-1249.} At around the same time, Tanjavur supposedly dealt with an internal conspiracy in support of the Marathas. According to the source, it was organized by relatives of the former commander Sa’id.\footnote{HB, vol. 5, no. 59, p. 1595.} In 1742, the Dutch at Nagappattinam caused trouble as well. They began to build new fortifications without permission from Tanjavur.\footnote{HB, vol. 5, no. 55, p. 1128.} Pratapasimha could again rely on support provided by his subjects, such as Nyanamuttu and his employer, the Great Pañtāram from northern Maravar country, who went to Tanjavur to deal with the problems.\footnote{HB, vol. 5, no. 56, p. 1319-1320.} In a letter of December 1743, Pietist clerics at Tarangambadi mentioned that a Mughal army had put Tiruchirappalli under siege for several months. The Marathas handed over the city. Tanjavur had been asked to contribute provisions for the Mughal army.\footnote{HB, vol. 5, no. 60, p. 1825-1826.} Afterward, they asked Tanjavur for some cash as well. According to Rajanāyakkan, Pratapasimha agreed to pay in installments. After this, most Mughals left. Only a small garrison stayed behind in Tiruchirappalli. The main body of the Mughal army moved north to face a new Maratha force that was approaching. After the Mughals had left, Pratapasimha needed another vacation and traveled over Magadevapattinam to Vedarraniyam.\footnote{HB, vol. 5, no. 58, p. 1504.} Apart from political struggles and violence, residents of the Kaveri river delta had to deal with an economy that was in shambles. After the Mughal siege of 1743, high prices and famine became worse than they had been for years.\footnote{HB, vol. 5, no. 60, p. 1825-1826.} People had to make pragmatic decisions to survive. As a consequence, several Pietists were now stationed in the Magadevapattinam fortress. Sinnappen, who was Rajanāyakkan’s brother and provided services to Pietists in the Kumbakonam area, visited them and suggested in a report that they had become well connected. The Pietist Ignasi was in a position to introduce Sinnappen to ‘Saidalam,’ the Muslim Commander of the fortress. The Commander responded in a very positive way and provided Sinnappen with a letter to open a correspondence with the Pietist headquarters at Tarangambadi. In his letter, which was written in Farsi, the language common in the Mughal administration, the Commander asked the Pietists whether they could send him a copy of the Book of Psalms in Arabic. This suggests that this military commander was even interested in engaging in a religious dialog.\footnote{HB, vol. 5, no. 60, p. 1825-1826.} From a Pietist perspective, Mughal administrators were no better or worse than Maratha or Tamil administrators. There is reason to believe that most residents of the Kaveri river delta would have agreed with the Pietist perspective since they depended on productive work rather
than tax income. From their point of view, problems only occurred when political instability and violence disrupted their lives and livelihood, when a new administration asked for more than they could pay, or when outsiders tried to impose new social or cultural standards.

Conclusion

During the first three decades of the eighteenth century, Tanjavur experienced economic prosperity and political stability. The government tried to further centralize the administration of its territory and played an active role in the development of export-oriented industries and trade. During the 1730s, however, increasingly aggressive interference by outsiders destabilized the central government and resulted in internal political changes. Most prominent among them were the development of political factions within the central government and the redistribution of power from the center to Tanjavur’s nobility and clergy. The central government was forced to increasingly rely on the nobility’s and clergy’s capacity to mobilize additional military resources to deal with threats of invasion and foreign appropriation of tax income. As a result, the nobility and clergy gained political clout while the central administration and its officials lost influence.

These changes concerned Pietists as much as anyone else in the Kaveri river delta. Members of Tanjavur’s central government and nobility were unlikely to join Pietist communities, but Pietists needed the support of whoever was in power to maintain them. The political transformations of the 1730s and early 1740s occasionally disrupted Pietist activities, but they never endangered the continuity of Pietist communities. The question still arises how these political transformations affected social groups beyond Tanjavur’s political elite and nobility, including those that were more pertinent to Pietist recruitment and membership.

Foreign occupation, militarization, and the spread of violence divided loyalties in both the political elite and wider population of Tanjavur. The immediate consequences of violence that had originated beyond Tanjavur’s borders affected everyone. Violent death, physical disability, and psychological trauma posed a constant threat. Since more and more residents of the Kaveri river delta were confronted with violence, internal conflicts were unavoidable in the long run. The available anecdotal evidence suggests that members of Pietist communities frequently found themselves on opposite sides. In many cases, the disruption of economic activities rather than acts of violence or the underlying political conflicts caused such constellations. Economic circumstances forced many residents of the Kaveri river delta to make pragmatic decisions that could cut through families and corporate groups.
Part 2: Tanjavur in global perspective

From a top-down political perspective, changes in how the newly emerging Arcot state to the north approached Tanjavur constituted a major factor in these developments. Although Arcot was part of the Mughal empire, it had redefined its relation to the Mughal center during the first three decades of the eighteenth century. State formation within the Mughal empire had generally shifted away from the center toward regional consolidation. As the Mughal empire had externally expanded and internally extended its reach into society, regional governments came to play an increasingly prominent role since they were best suited to respond to regional interests, variation, and specialization. When their control over regional resources grew, they gained greater autonomy from the Mughal center. Arcot was one of the regional polities that asserted increasing independence from the turn of the eighteenth century.

The emerging Arcot state was the most powerful of Tanjavur’s neighbors and tried to extend its access to the resources of wealthy Tanjavur. The Mughals had tapped the Kaveri delta’s resources at least as early as the late seventeenth century, but by the mid-1730s, Arcot’s demands exceeded Tanjavur’s capacities. In the late 1730s and early 1740s, Tanjavur had to rely on foreign military assistance from the northern Marathas. The resulting relief only lasted a few years. The internal expansion of regional states within the Mughal empire, which found expression in both the increasing independence of the Arcot state and growing significance of Maratha interests, also challenged relations between Tanjavur and other neighbors such as Madurai and the Maravar polities to the south.

In 1739, the year Arcot troops under command of Dost ‘Ali Khan’s sons put Tanjavur under siege again to support Sa’id, the former Commander of Tanjavur, and to put Pratapasiha on the throne, the Mughal center experienced even greater calamities. Nader Shah Afshar (r. 1736-1747) had led an Iranian army to Delhi, captured the city, cleaned out the Mughal treasury, and returned to Iran. The invasion was a traumatic experience for many people in its way. It was also a serious blow to the Mughal central administration in economic and political terms because it further weakened the central administration relative to regional governments such as Arcot and the northern Marathas that now even more asserted their bid for autonomy.

The success of the invasion also now encouraged Europeans, mainly British and French, to interfere directly in the internal affairs of the Mughals and other Indian states such as Tanjavur. From the 1730s, the balance of power between Tanjavur and its neighbors had been disrupted by British and French attempts at controlling overseas trade. The Arcot state depended on European resources to assert its independence from the Mughal center and acted as a proxy of European interests. After Nader Shah’s invasion, direct British and French military incursions began in several stages starting with British naval attacks on coastal towns in the mid-1740s.

On Arcot, see: Subrahmanyam, "Commerce, politics, and the early Arcot state." Similar developments have been described, for example, for northern Maratha polities, which entered into an alliance with Tanjavur in the late 1730s and 1740s. On developments in Surat and Cambay, see: Farhat Hasan, State and locality in Mughal India: Power relations in western India, c. 1572-1730 (Cambridge, 2005), 45-49. On Kota: Norbert Peabody, Hindu kingship and polity in precolonial India (Cambridge, 2003), 125-127.
British and French military expeditions reached further and further inland during the 1750s and 60s. British success in the Seven Years’ War brought about the end of Tanjavur’s sovereignty. From the 1770s, regional interests of people in the Kaveri delta were no longer represented by an independent government. Instead, the Kaveri delta and its people were supposed to serve interests of the British empire.

Global contexts

Neither Nader Shah nor the Arcot state had acted in isolation. Their policies must be seen in the context of larger changes in the Indian ocean economy and its political constellations that reach back to the seventeenth century. By the 1730s, the British East India company controlled much of the overseas trade on the Arcot coast and used its economic power and maritime violence to drain Arcot of its resources. Europeans, mainly the Dutch East India company (VOC), had begun to dominate some maritime routes in the Indian ocean from the first half of the seventeenth century and monopolized access to important resources such as spices from what now is Indonesia, Sri Lanka, and the South Indian Malabar coast, textiles from the South Indian Coromandel coast, and even basic foodstuffs including rice from this coast. Many Indian states and regional economies were directly affected by European intrusions. Tanjavur’s rice exports along the Coromandel coast and to Lanka fluctuated considerably during the second half of the seventeenth century. The same is true for its textile exports to Melaka, Makassar, and other trading centers in what now is Malaysia and Indonesia.

The Dutch VOC and other Europeans often resorted to violence to monopolize access to spices and control prices in Indonesia, Lanka, and on the Malabar coast. They still needed textiles from the Coromandel coast to pay for spices in Southeast Asia. And they needed rice to feed their growing colonial enclaves. From the 1640s, the VOC was able to use gold and silver exported from Iran and Taiwan to secure a considerable portion of textile supplies available on the Coromandel coast. Yet, the Dutch were expelled from Taiwan by the Chinese in 1662, which left Iran as a major source of precious metals. Iran was also a crucial link in overland trade connections between South Asia and Europe. The Dutch gained access to Iranian gold and silver by capturing part of the trade in Indian textiles in the western Indian ocean.

During the second half of the seventeenth century, the Iranian government tried to root out illegal specie exports by the VOC and other Europeans, but enjoyed only limited success since Europeans threatened to use their superior means of maritime violence to cut off Iran’s access to the Indian ocean. The Iranian state eventually collapsed in the early eighteenth century. One Nader Khan Afshar’s military talent came to prominence during the resulting

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205 On Dutch attempts to control the supply of spices in Indonesia from the early seventeenth century, see: Prakash, "Restrictive trade regimes,” 110, 117-118. Some of the variety and destinations of Coromandel textiles exported to Indonesia during the first half of the seventeenth century are described in: S. Babu, "Commodity composition of the English trade on the Coromandel coast, 1611-1652,” in Mariners, merchants, and oceans: Studies in maritime history, ed. K. S. Mathew (New Delhi, 1995), 262-264. Increasing Dutch control over the supply of textiles exported from the Coromandel coast in the 1640s is shown in quantitative terms in: Raychaudhuri, Jan Company in Coromandel, 1605-1690: A study in the interrelations of European commerce and traditional economies, 10, 131-134. For changes in shipping between Tanjavur and Southeast Asia during the first half of the seventeenth century, see: Subrahmanyam, Political economy of commerce, 198-213.

206 For estimated totals of gold and silver exported by the VOC from Iran in the 1640s and 1650s, see: Willem Floor and Patrick Clawson, "Safavid Iran's search for silver and gold," International Journal of Middle East Studies 32 (2000): 350. On the decline of Asian shipping in the western Indian ocean from the 1650s, see the case of...
Afghan, Ottoman, and Russian invasions of Iran. He played a leading role in expelling all foreign occupiers, became the ruler of Iran, and then applied his military skills and newly gained political power to generate income beyond Iran’s borders.  

This larger context was significant to the history of Tanjavur, to the endeavors of Lutheran Pietists, and to communication and exchange across cultural boundaries. Three questions related to the European presence in the Indian ocean need to be considered here. First, how was European maritime dominance achieved in the Indian ocean? Economic historians have emphasized the internal organization and technological innovations of the Dutch, English, and later British East India companies and their capacity to accumulate large capital. The means of violence employed by these companies, such as the floating gun platforms that were routinely used in European maritime transport, certainly played a major role in their success to secure supply monopolies. Yet, gun platforms did not act on their own. Perceptions and definitions of who was a potential friend or enemy played a significant role in how they were applied. One historian has noted with respect to the use of flags in the Indian ocean in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: ‘If there is a British, French or Danish flag on an Indian vessel, the Dutch would think twice before they did anything to it.’ Fear of retribution was only one reason why Europeans spared fellow Europeans who had similar means of maritime violence at their disposal. Europeans even used violence in this discriminate way when they had no reason to fear retribution.

The ways in which the Dutch VOC and other Europeans used violence against some groups but not others also indicates that early forms of racism played a role in the Indian ocean trade in the seventeenth century. Conditions and events surrounding violent incidents and episodes, such as the Banda genocide in what now is Indonesia, provide significant insights. Europeans also attempted to build institutions of a clearly racist character during this early period. Efforts to develop a large-scale slave trade in the Indian ocean in the seventeenth century shipping based in Masulipatnam on the northern Coromandel coast: Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Persians, pilgrims, and Portuguese: The travails of Masulipatnam shipping in the western Indian ocean, 1590-1665," Modern Asian Studies 22 (1988): 510-511, 526-529. On Iranian export bans on specie and the Dutch VOC’s methods to evade them, see: Floor and Clawson, "Safavid Iran's search for silver and gold," 358-362.


On the Banda genocide, which is discussed below, see also: Joop Van den Berg, Het verloren volk: Een geschiedenis van de Banda-eilanden ('s-Gravenhage, 1995), 15-27. Loth, "Pioneers and perkeniers: The Banda islands in the 17th century."

are a good example. The urban geographies and social relations of some emerging colonial enclaves point in the same direction. Communication and exchange within and across cultural boundaries were in part influenced by violent and racist aspects of the environment in which they occurred. The relations of Central European Pietists of the early to mid-eighteenth century were no exception. When the first two generations of Pietist missionaries established themselves in South India during the first three decades of the eighteenth century, they brought their own European perspectives and settled in Tarangambadi, a European enclave. Since they were missionaries, their early relations to Tamils suffered to some extent from aspects of their ideology, mainly their conceptual division of the world into ‘Christian’ and ‘Heathen’ polities. But, in the larger context, this dichotomy was a remnant of an earlier period that goes a long way to explain how Europeans had used and legitimized violence in the seventeenth century, but had lost much of its power by the early eighteenth. Slavery is perhaps a good example to illustrate the point. There is no evidence that Europeans enslaved fellow Europeans during this period, not even those who were considered ‘bad’ Christians. On the other hand, Pietist records clearly show that some Europeans had no qualms about selling fellow Christians into slavery if the latter were of Tamil or mixed, Tamil and European background. Pietist missionaries were opposed to this practice because members of their own communities were affected, but they could do little about it.

The second question that needs to be considered is the purpose of the European presence in the Indian ocean. The Central European Pietists who produced most sources of this study were religious missionaries. Their appearance in Tanjavur in the early eighteenth century is usually attributed to connections to the Danish court and its decision to establish a Lutheran mission in its overseas enclave Tarangambadi. The major purpose of this Danish overseas enclave, of course, was to secure maritime access to Asian products. Yet, the early beginnings of Pietist missions were more interesting than this reduction to maritime connections suggests, since they reflected the rather complex trade relations between the Indian ocean and Europe in the multipolar world of the late seventeenth century. The eventual dominance of maritime connections did not seem as inevitable then as the historiography suggests nowadays. Viewed from the Indian ocean, where producers were located, the question arises how Dutch, English, and later British East India companies controlled access to emerging European consumer

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212 An overview of Lutheran Pietist ideology at the beginning of the eighteenth century is provided in: Daniel Jeyaraj, “Introduction, analysis, and glossary,” in *Genealogy of the South Indian deities: An English translation of Bartholmäus Ziegenbalg’s original German manuscript with a textual analysis and glossary*, ed. Daniel Jeyaraj (Abingdon, 2005), 9-34.

213 In 1741, for example, Engebert was sold to Pegu. See: AFSt, M II C15:3: ‘Supplementum des Verzeichnisses der Glieder der Portugiesischen und Malabarischen Stadt[!] und Land=Gemeine vom 5 Oct: 1740 bis 5 Oct: 1741. Nebst einem Anhang von denen die in diesem Jahr abgegangen,’ p. 5.


214 AFSt, M I B29:29: letter by Tarangambadi clerics to Francke, 12/20/1741, p. 2.
markets that were fueled by the purchasing power of precious metals pillaged from Native Americans. Or in other words, why did the long maritime route from the Indian ocean around the African cape that was dominated by the big East India companies gain precedence over numerous shorter overland routes through the Ottoman empire and Iran to the Mediterranean sea, White sea, Baltic sea, and Central Europe?

Overland trade between South Asia and Europe through Iran and Russia rapidly expanded during the second half of the seventeenth century. It was an inexpensive and potentially faster alternative to traditional overland routes through the Ottoman empire to Aleppo, Izmir, and other ports in the eastern Mediterranean and to lesser but still significant trade routes through the Black sea and into the Danube, Prut, Dniester, Dnieper, and other river basins. Indian merchants who had established large communities in Iran ran much of the trade between South Asia and Iran and extended their reach to Astrakhan, which was already claimed by Russia at the time. Armenians based in the Iranian capital Isfahan played a crucial role in developing transit trade through Russia and the White and Baltic seas during the last third of the seventeenth century. Moreover, trade between Iran and Russia grew rapidly during this period. The same held true for trade between Russia and Central, North, and West Europe.

An examination of how Halle Pietists’ missionary enterprise took shape from the turn of the eighteenth century helps elucidate how the long maritime route around the African cape with its relatively narrow participation and dominance by a few big East India companies displaced numerous overland connections with their much broader and much more diverse participation. Increasing Dutch and later British maritime dominance in the western Indian ocean and the resulting disruption of major overland trade routes were major causes of French concerns and of the eventual French naval buildup in the Indian ocean from the late 1730s that culminated in the Seven Years’ War. The French had previously relied on overland trade routes through the Ottoman empire into the Mediterranean.

Supply bottlenecks produced by large monopolistic trading companies significantly contributed to the course of history because they disrupted trade and destabilized polities that depended on trade, such as Iran, even when European and other buyers empowered by Native American gold and silver were ready to shop. On the positive side, lack of supplies and high prices forced potential buyers to be inventive and develop import substitution industries. As early as the seventeenth century, Iranians developed a ceramic industry to substitute for ceramic imports from China and to further drive consumption by offering a range of localized products and by responding to the latest fashion changes in China at the same time. From the late eighteenth century, Central Europeans felt compelled to develop a chemical industry to substitute for British and other ‘colonial’ imports.

The rapid decline of competition in and around the Indian ocean transformed communication within and across cultural boundaries in the early to mid-eighteenth century, which is reflected in Pietist sources. The first two generations of Central European Pietists who established the mission in South India were forced to rely on local support whenever they tried to do business outside the very small and quite powerless Danish leasehold in and around

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215 When Moldavian merchants traveled from Lvov—in what used to be Poland and now is Ukraine—to Istanbul in the first decade of the seventeenth century, for example, they took the route south along the Prut river to the Danube: Simeon of Poland, The travel accounts of Simeon of Poland, George A. Bournoutian trans. (Costa Mesa, 2007), 18, 28.


Tarangambadi. They therefore had to approach local people in a fairly open-minded way and also accept the institutions they represented. Examples of this were relations of Pietists to Sankrōjī, the hawaldār in Madevipattinam, and to Ramalinga, the nāyakkar in charge of the area north of Tarangambadi. As a result of these early conditions, the first missionaries had to engage with Tamil culture and became quite fascinated with some aspects of it.

Beginning in the 1730s, however, Pietist missionaries became more closely associated with British imperialist interests and associated power relations. This development began in the British enclaves in Arcot’s orbit—Madras and Kadalur—in the 1730s and spread to the Kaveri delta when the state of Tanjavur came under British control. The new alliance between Pietist missionaries and British interests in conjunction with rapidly increasing British dominance in the region significantly changed the attitudes of missionaries toward South Indians and even alienated them from South Indian members of their own Pietist communities. In the process, the latter began to rely more heavily on Tamil clerics instead of foreign missionaries.

The third question to be considered is how developments of global proportions transformed society in Tanjavur. The political destabilization and turmoil that happened in Tanjavur during the late 1730s and early 1740s has already been accounted for. But war also disrupted agricultural production, trade, and other economic activities that require closer analysis. Wet rice agriculture repeatedly came to a standstill. Famine and epidemic disease became much more frequent and probably caused more significant demographic decline than violent death. Some Pietists and probably many other residents of the Kaveri river delta found means to avoid such episodes. They relied on family, kinship, and corporate networks to establish a temporary livelihood elsewhere. Yet, the persistence of war and further escalation of violence during the 1740s and 1750s, also had a lasting impact on Tanjavur’s economy that requires closer scrutiny. Wet rice agriculture was the pillar of Tanjavur’s economy and accounted for most of its exports. Evidence discussed in Chapter 4 suggests that the overall productivity significantly declined. Industries along the coast, such as textiles, were cut off from supplies produced in the interior. Merchants struggled to maintain trade.

Apart from effects that are directly attributable to foreign invasion and war, everyday life in Tanjavur was transformed by other factors. In the early to mid-eighteenth century, many people saw their positions challenged by the effects of longterm economic change. Some social groups were more vulnerable to such challenges than others. The fortunes of three social groups—paraiyar, karaiyār, and paṭṭaṇavar—serve to demonstrate the differential impact of longterm economic change. The first group was involved in agricultural work, mostly wet rice cultivation—the pillar of Tanjavur’s economy. The second was involved in the coastal trade, much of which depended on rice exports, and the third in marine fishing. Dutch attempts at controlling Sri Lanka’s economy had caused serious fluctuations in Tanjavur’s coastal trade as early as the second half of the seventeenth century. In the first half of the eighteenth, some social groups in Tanjavur continued to lose control of the regional economy, and in turn, power relations among South Indians and Europeans took on new dimensions.
Chapter 3: Europeans, geopolitics, and Pietist interests in the Indian ocean

When Halle Pietists first arrived in Tanjavur in 1706, they arrived on Danish ships in the Danish leasehold Tarangambadi. It took them one and half decades, until the 1720s, to establish significant contacts in Tanjavur outside the Danish enclave. The 1720s and early 1730s could be seen as something of a golden age of early Lutheran Pietism in Tanjavur, which led to considerable expansion of Pietist communities throughout the Kaveri river delta. As early as the mid-1720s, Pietist missionaries also tried to extend their activities from Tanjavur to British enclaves in Arcot, mainly Kadalur and Madras, and also established contacts in Maravar country and in Bengal. Pietist clerics who came to work in British enclaves gave up their former economic independence when they accepted salaries and other direct support from British sources. This was a significant departure from the practice of Pietist clerics in Danish Tarangambadi. The latter remained relatively independent of the Danish colonial administration because their Halle headquarters provided the major part of their funding from donors and patrons located in Central Europe. Smaller Danish contributions came from the Danish court rather than the East India company or colonial administration.

Pietist missionaries’ increasingly close association with British imperialist interests from the 1730s resulted from two major factors. Their own desire to expand their mission and generate additional income made a neat fit with British dreams of dominating the Indian ocean. Pietist missionaries’ increasingly close association with agents of the British East India company transformed their views of society in South India. This transformation is perhaps best illustrated by an examination of how Pietist perceptions of violence changed over time. While Pietist missionaries in Tanjavur welcomed Maratha violence as a relief in the late 1730s and early

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218 There is of course an earlier history of relations between Lutheran Pietists and British interests. The Lutheran Pietist headquarters at Halle were part of a larger European Protestant network and had maintained contact with the English/British Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) from the turn of the eighteenth century. Inspired by the Pietist mission in Tanjavur, the SPCK endeavored to establish its own missions in enclaves of the British East India company at least as early as 1716. See: SPCKA, ME CS1, p. 2-4: letter by Herny Newman (SPCK secretary) to Governor and Council at Fort St. George (Madras), London, 10/09/1716. SPCKA, ME CS1, p. 1-2: Newman to Archbishop of Canterbury, London, 10/10/1716. SPCKA, ME CS1, p. 12-13: Newman to Court of Directors of the United East India Company of England, London, 12/18/1716.

The Court of Directors of the British East India company and the governors of the British enclaves in India supported these mission plans and provided free transport among other things, but the SPCK did not have the means to recruit missionaries. The SPCK therefore asked Pietists for assistance. The Pietist missionaries, however, preferred to stay in Tanjavur. During the mid-1720s, personal animosities among the Tanjavur missionaries isolated one of them who therefore decided to move to Madras in 1726. See: AFSt, M I B2:18: letter by Schultz to Danish Mission Collegium, Tarangambadi, 10/11/1725. AFSt, M I B3:6: letter by Dal, Bosse, Pressier, Walther to Danish Mission Collegium, Tarangambadi, 10/20/1726, p. 9-10. AFSt, M I B3:7: letter by Schultz to Tarangambadi missionaries, Madras, 08/09/1726, p. 1. SPCKA, ME CS2, p. 2-4: letter by Newman to Court of Directors of the United East India Company of England, London, 12/19/1727.

When this missionary was later joined by another two Pietist missionaries in Madras, new personal conflicts emerged and he moved on to Kadalur in 1734 to establish a mission there. See: SPCKA, ME CS2, p. 116-120: Newman to Madras missionaries (Schultze, Sartorius, and Geister), London, 11/26/1734.
1740s, their views could not have differed more radically from those of Pietist missionaries in British Arcot from the late 1740s and early 1750s.

What imperialist views or ideology could Pietist clerics pick up from British East India company clerks in the 1730s? Much of the secondary literature tells us there was none, at least not prior to the British takeover of Bengal in the late 1750s and early 1760s. Some historians conceive of the British Bengal conquest and extortion as a kind of virgin birth with the Battle of Plassey (1757) being the Annunciation. They emphasize that Europeans did not have the military means to attempt territorial conquests in the Indian subcontinent prior to the mid-eighteenth century. Yet, as others have pointed out, such conquests had not been beyond the dreams and objectives of previous decades and centuries.

The European presence in Tanjavur had begun in the sixteenth century. And the European presence in the wider Indian ocean became a significant factor in the overseas trade and related industries of Tanjavur and, more importantly, in the coastal trade and related agriculture from the mid-seventeenth century. Imagined as well as actual territorial conquests played an important role in this development and had an ideological basis. To better understand European involvement in Tanjavur and other parts of India in the mid-eighteenth century, this earlier European presence in the wider Indian ocean must be reconstructed as the proper context. Banda in what now is Indonesia, Sri Lanka, and Iran serve as clarifying illustrations.

The Dutch VOC’s presence in the Indian ocean involved fairly large territorial conquests and extortion in Indonesia from the early seventeenth century and in Sri Lanka from the mid-seventeenth century. The former directly affected Tanjavur’s overseas trade and textile exports. The latter affected Tanjavur’s coastal trade and rice exports. The purpose of these Dutch conquests was to secure supply monopolies in spices. Lanka also served as a strategic post to control maritime traffic between the eastern and western Indian ocean. Moreover, it provided convenient access to the textile production of the Coromandel coast. The Dutch conquest of Nagappattinam in the late 1650s took this a step further.

The bigger territorial conquests were island polities, such as in Banda, that simply had too much coastline and too little interior to escape European means of maritime violence. During the second half of the seventeenth century, Lanka was still too large for the Dutch VOC to swallow. But the only surviving polity in the interior had little contact to the outside world without Dutch permission. The VOC controlled almost the entire coastline and the ocean around it.²¹⁹ By the late seventeenth century, the Dutch were joined by the English East India company and thus enabled to take on even bigger prey when they threatened to cut off Iran’s access to the Indian ocean. Iranian emigrants had established networks in the Indian ocean that reached as far as Southeast Asia. Some of them played a significant role in the overseas trade and administration of Golconda on the northern Coromandel coast. Yet, from point of view of the big East India companies, Iran’s preferred role was to supply involuntarily a considerable part of the

²¹⁹ On the Dutch VOC’s approach to Indonesia in the seventeenth century, see: Prakash, "Restrictive trade regimes."

The Dutch VOC’s entry into Sri Lanka in the mid-seventeenth century is discussed in: Arasaratnam, "Dutch sovereignty in Ceylon: A historical survey of its problems."

Information on the Dutch conquest of Nagappattinam is provided in: Subrahmanyam, Political economy of commerce, 211-213.

On Lanka’s only surviving polity during the second half of the seventeenth century, see: Arasaratnam, "The kingdom of Kandy: Aspects of its external relations and commerce, 1658-1710."
precious metals that they needed to control Coromandel textiles. By the early eighteenth century, the British East India company felt comfortable enough to attack areas claimed by the even bigger Mughal empire. In 1710, the British went on a rampage of murder and destruction around Kadalur, only a few dozen kilometers north of Tanjavur, in which they burned down over fifty villages.

A closer look at territorial conquests is valuable because it reveals important aspects of the conquerors’ underlying views and ideology. Historians have neglected the issue and downplayed European violence until recently when a new interest in conflicts began to emerge. One historian has characterized violent episodes in South Asia as a contained conflict. This was probably true for much of the Indian subcontinent in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. But the histories of Banda and Lanka are an entirely different matter. If one considers the sequence of violent incidents and episodes in Banda, Lanka, Nagappattinam, Iran, and Kadalur, it seems as though geographical features played the major role in containing Dutch, English, and later British violence and territorial conquests in the Indian ocean during the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Simply put, less coastline and more hinterland produced less violence.

Other factors played a role as well. Society in the Kaveri delta differed from society in Banda. But decision makers in the Dutch, English, and British East India companies did not spare people in the Kaveri delta until the mid-eighteenth century because they preferred Tamil over Bandanese culture. Their views were primarily based on economic objectives and on the means of maritime violence at their disposal. If economic gain was at risk and the available means of violence seemed sufficient to solve the problem in their favor, they encouraged rather than contained conflict. This aggressive and violent attitude toward people, polities, and entire cultures in the Indian ocean also became enshrined in some of the institutions that the East India companies built in the aftermath of territorial conquests. Massive fortifications were among the most visible manifestations. It is worth recalling in this context that an enclave of Portuguese traders had been able to live in Nagappattinam for decades without fortifications. The situation only changed when the Dutch VOC conquered the city in he mid-seventeenth century.

When Central European Pietists first arrived in Tanjavur in 1706, they had little knowledge of the European violence of the previous century. But they entered into an environment that was not free of memories, institutions, and tensions that had been influenced by and built on this violence. Danish Tarangambadi and the British enclaves Kadalur and Madras were no exceptions. Some Tamil Pietists were directly affected by racist institutions when European colonists sold them as slaves to Dutch South Africa and Indonesia. Moreover, social life in

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220 On the big East India companies’ methods of extracting precious metals from Iran from the mid-seventeenth to the early eighteenth century, see: Floor and Clawson, "Safavid Iran's search for silver and gold," 358-362.


colonial enclaves was generally segregated according to early racist concepts. In the South Indian context, the spatial divisions of colonial towns were to a large extent in line with local distinctions between corporate groups. But Pietist missionaries who worked in Kadalur and Madras had access to the private lives and households of British colonists where they were confronted with additional aspects of colonial society and underlying British views of South Indian people.

A Telugu language textbook written by a Pietist in British Madras reflected attitudes of this private world. The book consists of ‘thirty familiar dialogues’ on private household matters. It was originally written for British colonists—perhaps mainly women—of the upper crust. In the dialogues, British colonists are consistently referred to as ‘gentlemen,’ ‘ladies,’ ‘masters,’ and ‘mistresses.’ The ‘natives,’ on the other hand, are for the most part servants, such as ‘his tupass,’ ‘his boy,’ ‘the cook,’ and ‘the house-maid-servant,’ or they are external service providers who were also considered inferior by the intended audience. None of the servants were of European background. It is hard to imagine that British colonists who permanently lived in such an environment and learned to act accordingly did not feel superior to ‘the natives.’ Routinely repetitive behavior of a whole social group constitutes a social institution, in this case, a racist institution. The Telugu textbook has its comical side as well. Since it was intended for readers who were new to the colony, most dialogues consist of British ‘masters’ and ‘mistresses’ asking questions about the most basic things in life, such as how to acquire food, and of ‘native’ servants giving instructions.223

Violent practice and ideology: The conquests of Banda and Lanka, 1610-1680

Most polities in the Indian subcontinent could resist European military conquest until the mid-eighteenth century. This does not mean, however, that the conquests of the mid-eighteenth century happened by accident or chance. Europeans had perceived Indian polities as potential conquests much earlier. According to early modern European ideologies, ‘Heathen’ polities had no legitimacy, which made them legitimate prey. From this point of view, there was no conceptual difference between a Heathen polity in the Indian subcontinent and a Heathen polity in Indonesia or America where conquests did occur much earlier. There was not much more conceptual difference between a Muslim polity and a Heathen polity either. Yet, the term ‘polity’ is as important here as the terms ‘Heathen’ or ‘Muslim.’

When Europeans conquered and, from their perspective, legitimately destroyed a ‘Heathen’ polity, they were confronted with the question of how to integrate ‘Heathen’ individuals into an extended ‘Christian’ polity. This is where the uniform aspects of European
ideologies ended, since, in theory, every individual had the capacity to become a Christian. Some Europeans transferred and applied to individuals the conceptual inequality derived from the distinction between ‘Heathen’ and ‘Christian’ institutions. The legal foundations of early modern slavery and the occurrence of genocide or even serial genocide attest to it.\footnote{Fitzmaurice, "Anticolonialism in Western political thought," 56-67.}

Other Europeans disagreed. Early eighteenth-century Lutheran Pietists, for example, would have found it difficult to accept outright genocide. In the mid-eighteenth century, Moravians needed three generations to accept African American slavery and other features of the institutionalized racism practiced in British North America.\footnote{Moravian attitudes toward African American slavery are discussed in: Sensbach, A separate Canaan: The making of an Afro-Moravian world in North Carolina, 1763-1840.} Only from the late eighteenth century, did Europeans find the basis for a broader consensus when they developed new racist theories that fully legitimized the practice of applying presumptions of inequality to individuals. This also served to retrospectively legitimize institutions of inequality. Racist theories and ideologies were inspired by established practice rather than the other way round. But the lack of fully developed racist ideologies and vocabularies in earlier periods, such as the seventeenth century, should not keep us from calling racist practices by their name.\footnote{A useful normative definition of racism is provided in: Glasgow, "Racism as disrespect," 80-89. For a critique of historical definitions, see: Glasgow, A theory of race, 40-44.}

When the Dutch forced their way into the Indian ocean economy in the early seventeenth century, they were predominantly interested in spices that promised huge profits in emerging European consumer markets fueled by Native American gold and silver. Consequently, they put a focus on Maluku, also known as the Spice islands, in what now is eastern Indonesia. Indonesians used their spices to buy South Indian textiles, most of which came from producers along the Coromandel coast, and were not overly enthusiastic about Dutch products.\footnote{Prakash, "Restrictive trade regimes," 110, 117-118.} Since decision makers in the Dutch VOC had little experience in this trade and considerable means of maritime violence at their disposal, they instructed their maritime foot soldiers to monopolize supplies by the use of force.

In Banda, where polities were unwilling to abandon alternatives to Dutch nutmeg buyers in the late 1610s, the Dutch VOC carefully planned an executed a genocide to replace the Bandanese people with Dutch settlers in 1620 and 1621.\footnote{Jacobus Anne Van der Chijs, De vestiging van het Nederlandsche gezag over de Banda-eilanden, 1599-1621 (Batavia, 1886).} The small number of survivors of the Banda genocide were enslaved and deported.\footnote{Van der Chijs, De vestiging van het Nederlandsche gezag over de Banda-eilanden, 1599-1621 (Batavia, 1886). An overview is provided in: Van den Berg, Het verloren volk.} The small number of survivors of the Banda genocide were enslaved and deported.\footnote{For additional sources, see also: Loth, "Pioneers and perkeniers: The Banda islands in the 17th century."} Since the Dutch wanted nutmeg production to continue after the genocide, a few of the enslaved Bandanese were to stay in Banda to provide the required know-how.\footnote{For some of the variety and destinations of Coromandel textiles exported to Indonesia during the first half of the seventeenth century, see: Babu, "Commodity composition," 262-264.}

Historians have written little on this type of violence and even less on how and why available means of violence were employed to such an extent.\footnote{For an exception, see: Subrahmanyam, Political economy of commerce, 275-281.} The Banda genocide suggests that five conditions had to coincide for such a violent episode to occur—divergent economic...
interests, an uneven distribution of the means of violence, an occasion for violence to occur or trigger events, the absence of an institutional framework that could restrain violence, and an ideology that legitimized extreme forms of violence and protected perpetrators at the same time.

Aspects of ideologies underlying Indian ocean trade can be elucidated by considering how violence was used. If one takes a closer look at the Banda genocide, one finds that the Dutch wanted to murder all Bandanese but spared their direct competitors, the English, most likely for the simple reason that they were European. One particularly telling episode involved a contingent of Japanese soldiers in Dutch service which came upon three English who mingled with Bandanese. Dutch troops were culturally diverse and, besides Europeans, included contingents from Japan, India (Gujarat), and other parts of Indonesia. According to Dutch sources, the Japanese soldiers were ready to kill the three English, but some Dutch intervened and saved them.\(^{232}\) The Dutch obviously believed that the Bandanese on the one hand and the English or fellow Europeans on the other generally deserved differential treatment. This distinction was apparently less obvious from the perspective of Japanese soldiers, which seems to make more sense, since both Bandanese and English were enemies.\(^{233}\)

An examination of other incidents yields additional aspects of European attitudes in the Indian ocean. The violence of the Dutch VOC had reached Sri Lanka by the 1640s and also spread to Madurai. Several printed ‘travel accounts’ by soldiers in Dutch service exist for this region and period. Violent episodes were frequently accompanied by desecration of temples. One of these episodes occurred in Madurai from January 28 to March 23, 1649, another in Kandy from August 16 to October 6, 1679.\(^{234}\)

In the Madurai case, the main temple at Tiruchendur and a Catholic church in Tuticorin became targets. The Dutch considered the Portuguese their direct competitors in this region, similar to the English in Banda three decades earlier. Yet, their approach to the targeted temple was much more severe than their approach to the targeted church. While they simply plundered the church for economic gain, they went further in the case of the temple and completely destroyed its interior. They even put considerable effort in an attempt to burn the major gopuram. ‘{...} we also wanted to take down the beautiful, delicately built tower and therefore carried much wood and straw into the interior of the tower and put it on fire, but it did not work, and the tower was left standing without damage, {...} ( {...} wollten auch den schönen zierlich gebauten Thurm herunter haben, derohalben wir inwendig in Thurm viel Holtz und Stroh zusammentrug en, und ansteckten, welches aber nichts fruchtete, sondern es bliebe der Thurm ohne Schaden stehen, {...})’

Expressions like ‘beautiful (schönen)’ and ‘delicately built (zierlich gebauten)’ show that the author found the temple aesthetically appealing and also appreciated some of its structural features. Other Dutch soldiers most likely shared these perceptions. So why did they

\(^{232}\) Van der Chijs, *Banda-eilanden*, 126.

\(^{233}\) This is not to say that stereotypes were an exclusively European property, but European stereotypes and related violence are the focus here. For other stereotypes in and around the Indian ocean, see for example: Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyan, "Southeast Asia as seen from Mughal India: Tahir Muhammad's 'Immaculate garden' (ca. 1600)," *Archipel* 70 (2005): 224-226, 229, 232-235. Velcheru Narayana Rao and Sanjay Subrahmanyan, "An elegy for niti: Politics as a secular discursive field in the Indian old régime," *Common Knowledge* 14 (2008): 413-414.

destroy the temple? It did not pose a security risk. The most likely explanation is ideology, which is also indicated by the fact that soldiers focussed on sculptures when they destroyed the interior of the temple. From the authors point of view, these sculptures had ideological significance.  

Some historians have argued that the severity of Dutch actions in the Indian ocean was to a large extent caused by a Dutch hatred of the Portuguese whom they tried to dislodge and of Catholicism. But the Madurai episode suggests that Dutch views of South Indian temples and associated ideas were more significant. When the Dutch destroyed two temples near Sitawaka in Sri Lanka on October 5, 1679, this was recorded by another Dutch soldier. Like his predecessor in Madurai, he explicitly mentioned that he found the two temples beautiful, which of course did not save them. In this case, the Dutch even held a Catholic church service in one of the ruined temples, because some of the Dutch soldiers were Catholics, and one had formerly been a priest.  

As in previous examples, potential causes of conflict between Europeans, such as the confessionalist divide, subsided into the background in the Indian ocean. Disagreements with local people, on the other hand, triggered excessive use of violence. The term ‘racism’ seems like an appropriate name for this phenomenon, though early modern forms of racism certainly differed from the racisms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—just as political states or any other phenomenon of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries differed from their equivalents of later periods.  

Excessive use of violence did not end in the 1670s, and it was not an exclusively Dutch problem. In 1710, the British East India company at Kadalur attacked and burnt over fifty villages. We do not know how many unsuspecting villagers escaped with their bare lives. In any case, the number of people affected by this violence was similar to the Dutch genocide in Banda ninety years earlier. To some extent, the British were able to do this, because the South Indian ‘enemies’ did not expect an attack. But the scale of this land-based invasion still indicates that the British East India company had built up military resources and capabilities that were not designed to secure maritime trade routes. The scale is the more surprising if one considers that the violence had been caused by a brawl between a few officials. None of the targeted villagers had anything to do with this argument. The senseless violence illustrates how much the agents of the British East India company valued the lives and livelihoods of South Indians.  

Trade as a racist institution: Europeans and slavery in the Indian ocean  

The Dutch VOC planned to develop a large-scale slave trade between the South Indian Coromandel coast and Dutch Indonesia in the 1620s. Since no consistent supply of slaves was available in India, these plans failed. The English also made efforts to develop this kind of trade in the seventeenth century. During ‘bad times’ caused by crop failures and other calamities, the number of South Indians who were kidnapped and transported into a life of slavery across the ocean could reach several thousand in some years. But for the most part, South Indian polities  

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238 Efforts by the Dutch East India company to develop a slave trade between the Coromandel coast as supplier and Dutch Indonesia from the 1620s to the 1660s are described in: Raychaudhuri, Jan Company in Coromandel, 1605-1690: A study in the interrelations of European commerce and traditional economies, 165-167. Arasaratnam, "Slave trade.".
were successful in suppressing the trade. The efforts by the Dutch and English East India companies still tell us something about the ideologies and attitudes prevalent in institutions envisioned by them. While they had no qualms about kidnapping South Indians and people of mixed, South Indian and European background, they did not attempt to transport Europeans into slavery, even if the latter were their enemies. Their conduct in the slave trade is also telling. Though the numbers of transported South Indians remained relatively small, many of those who were transported died due to inhumane treatment.\(^{239}\)

The Dutch and English failure most likely indicates that trade in slaves had already been outlawed by Indian states on the Coromandel coast in the seventeenth century. The Dutch still continued to buy the relatively small numbers of people who became available during bad times and transported them to the Dutch colonies in Indonesia, Sri Lanka, and South Africa. Even in the early eighteenth-century, the Dutch continued their efforts. The British began to bring in slaves from the southeastern coast of Africa at this time.

In the early to mid-eighteenth century, the Tamil concept of ‘slavery’ was quite different from contemporary European understanding. In Tamil society, a form of debt slavery existed. People who were bankrupt and had no means of survival could sell themselves into servitude. Considerable numbers of agricultural workers had to rely on this backup-system when crop failures occurred. During local droughts, the fertile, artificially irrigated Kaveri delta became an oasis of survival surrounded by areas with greater dependence on local rainfall. As a result, many people from neighboring polities, such as people from Maravar country, moved to Tanjavur. The state of Tanjavur appreciated these migrations, because they replenished its labor supply. They also allowed the state to settle new villages and, as a result, increase agricultural production, expand tax farming, spread its core political economy over a larger area, and stabilize its borders. Those who moved to Tanjavur and could not find any other means to support themselves sold themselves as ‘slaves.’\(^{240}\)

Pietist sources frequently pointed out that these Tamil ‘slaves’ were not perceived as being much different from other workers. A Pietist author described the major difference to European concepts of slavery in a letter to a German orientalist by referring to a Tamil proverb which states that a person who was born in one’s household (maṇaiyil), gets treated like one’s own child. He went on to point out that, ‘according to Tamil law (nach dem Recht der Malabaren),’ owners were not allowed to sell the children of their slaves. Even slaves themselves were only sold locally, in contrast to European practice.\(^{241}\) European ships transported many Tamils against their will to Indonesia, Sri Lanka, South Africa, and perhaps other places where they had to endure the type of slavery common in European colonies.\(^{242}\)


\(^{240}\) Migrations from Maravar country to the Kaveri delta were quite common. See, for example: HB, vol. 3 (1735), no. 30 (1732), p. 544-545. Many people returned after conditions improved. From the late 1730s and early 1740s, violence caused by the intensifying imperialist conflict disrupted rice production in the Kaveri delta for extended periods. In addition, increasingly large armies demanded provisions. As a result, the Kaveri delta began to experience famines as well. See, for example: HB, vol. 5 (1746), no. 58 (1747), p. 1510-1511.

The idea of selling oneself into servitude for economic reasons had its European analogy in indentured systems rather than slavery.


\(^{242}\) Markus Vink, "'The world's oldest trade': Dutch slavery and slave trade in the Indian Ocean in the seventeenth century," *Journal of World History* 14 (June, 2003). This article has some quantitative data on the Dutch slave trade in the Indian Ocean. It could also be used to illustrate some of the limits of conventional world history,
In Tanjavur, slave traders were severely punished. On September 5, 1741, the Tamil Pietist Muttnunayakkkan traveled from Tarangambadi to Puttakudi. When he walked down a tree-lined road, he saw a hand hanging from a tree. It had belonged to a convicted slave trader and had been cut off as a punishment. The slave trader supposedly died of the injury.\textsuperscript{243} The Tamil Pietist cleric Aaron mentioned in a report that he saw two former slave traders on a kālu or stake near Kollimankudi on September 5, 1743. They were usually executed prior to being impaled for display.\textsuperscript{244}

Although authorities in Tanjavur did not take the slave trade lightly, they could not stop it in European enclaves. In 1729, Abishegam who had earlier joined the Pietists was sold to Aceh, supposedly for having committed theft in Tarangambadi.\textsuperscript{245} In November 1730, Pietists gave several Tamil books to a slave to take with him to South Africa.\textsuperscript{246} In 1741, Engebert was sold to Pegu, others were sold to Nagappattinam.\textsuperscript{247} In 1747, Caesar and Cassander were sold to South Africa, Ignasia to Lanka.\textsuperscript{248} One finds such entries in Pietist records for almost every year. Pietists did not own or sell these slaves. Their names were recorded because they belonged to Pietist communities and were forced to leave. Slaves who did not belong to Pietist communities did not enter Pietist records, except in a few cases.

Records for 1741 have entries indicating that seventeen Tamil boys and young men were sold to South Africa. Nine of them were from eight to twelve years old, seven from sixteen to nineteen, and one was twenty-two. Apart from their age, the source mentions their hometowns and corporate affiliation. Eight were of paraiyar background, five vellālar, three paḷḷi, and one Telugu.\textsuperscript{249} These unfortunate people are mentioned in Pietist baptismal records, because they happened to be on the same ship as a Pietist cleric who traveled from South India to Europe. Somewhere on the way between South India and South Africa, he gave them catechism lessons. They wanted to be baptized prior to reaching South Africa.\textsuperscript{250} In 1743, another Pietist cleric who was on his way from South India to Europe mentioned in an account of his trip, how two slaves destined for South Africa were badly whipped on board his ship.\textsuperscript{251}

In Danish Tarangambadi, slaves could officially be sold overseas if they were convicted of a crime. Most people were simply kidnapped by slave traders. This was a problem for Pietists, because they had to deal with rumors claiming that they lured people to the Danish colony to sell them as slaves. The Danish administration was officially opposed to kidnappings and tried to make its view publicly known, but it did little to stop the practice. It certainly did not do anything because the author jumps to conclusions about the involvement of South Indian polities without knowing much about the South Indian political and social context.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{243} HB, vol. 5 (1747), no. 54 (1745), p. 1003.
\item \textsuperscript{244} HB, vol. 5 (1747), no. 60 (1746), p. 1802-1803.
\item \textsuperscript{246} HB, vol. 3, no. 31, p. 701.
\item \textsuperscript{249} AFSt, M II C15:3, p. 3, 5.
\item \textsuperscript{250} HB, vol. 5 (1747), no. 53 (1743), p. 786.
\item \textsuperscript{251} AFSt, M I K5:14: letter by Benjamin Schultze to Tarangambadi clerics, Copenhagen, 11/21/1743, p. 3.
\end{itemize}
to enable kidnapped people to return from Dutch colonies. In 1741, a Pietist cleric complained to his headquarters in Halle that people from Tanjavur and Maravar country did not dare to attend catechism lessons in Tarangambadi, because they were afraid of being kidnapped and sent to Aceh in what now is Indonesia.  

The British went a step further and transported slaves from Africa to South India as well. They were most likely Xhosa people from the east coast of South Africa. In the sources, they are referred to as ‘Caffreys,’ which is an English corruption of kāfir, the Arabic word for infidel. Various forms of the word had been adopted into European languages to denote people from the east coast of South Africa. Several children of South African slaves attended Pietist schools in British colonies such as Kadalur in 1751. Some African slaves belonged to the British East India company, others to private households of British colonists. Pietists were concerned about the children’s development, because they had no contact with adults who spoke their native language.

Maritime violence and the Iranian invasion of Mughal India, 1640-1740

If someone had reported the story of the Dutch Banda conquest and genocide to the Mughal emperor Jahangir (r. 1605-1627) and predicted that farangs or Europeans were going to conquer the mighty Mughal empire one and a half centuries later, he would perhaps have found the implied comparison amusing or insulting. Yet, by the mid-seventeenth century, the Dutch East India company was already out for bigger prey. The Dutch had soon learned that Indonesians imported South Indian textiles which could be used to pay for spices. Sri Lanka promised more spices, especially cinnamon, and a strategic base to access South Indian textile supplies.

Tanjavur’s rice and textile exports were directly affected by the Dutch conquest of coastal Lanka in the mid-seventeenth century. Business in Tanjavur fluctuated during the following decades. In the early eighteenth century—Tanjavur’s most peaceful and prosperous period in the eighteenth century—some local historians in Tarangambadi described the second half of the seventeenth century as a golden age. They claimed that trade had grown, because the Danish presence in Tarangambadi had attracted large capital. The Dutch presence in Lanka and Nagappattinam possibly drove demand for nellu and textiles as well, but the Dutch also tried to restrict imports at times. Some people in Tanjavur probably profited from some of these developments, at least in the short run.

Further afield, the Dutch VOC now believed itself ready to bully a state the size of Iran, which had established links throughout the Indian ocean. Iran also played a significant role in overland connections between the Indian ocean and Europe. Iranian economic and political initiatives reached as far as Southeast Asia and Central Europe. Yet, the joint efforts of Dutch and English maritime violence threatened to cut off Iran’s access to the Indian ocean. In the early

252  AFSt, M I B29:29: letter by Tarangambadi clerics to Francke, 12/20/1741, p. 2.
253  From an English point of view, ‘Caffrey’ was also the name of Irish nobility who had been driven out of Ulster in the late seventeenth century.
255  AFSt, M I B43:55: ‘A Short Abridgement of the Chief Matters deliberated and resolved upon, in a weekly Conference about the Concerns of the British Mission at Cuddalore in the Year 1753,’ p. 5-6.
eighteenth century, Iran’s economy imploded, and the state collapsed soon after when it was threatened by foreign invasion.

The big East India companies’ approach to Iran affected the Coromandel coast in many ways. In the mid-seventeenth century, Masulipatnam on the northern Coromandel coast had been the major port for overseas trade on this coast. Most of its trade and shipping had been in the hands of Indians and Iranians who resided in the area. They had conducted trade with the Red sea, Persian gulf, Aceh, and Pegu. By the 1680s, much of this trade was controlled by Europeans, mainly English and some Dutch private traders. The big European companies had already shifted their focus to trade between Asia and Europe. According to the historical record, not a single Asian-owned ship made the trip from Masulipatnam to the Red sea or the Persian gulf in the 1680s. With regard to overall Asian shipping, only one or two Thai ships continued trade to Masulipatnam from Mergui (or Tenasserim) and Ayuthaya. In the 1690s and the early eighteenth century, the only Asian ship that came through was an annual ship belonging to the Thai ruler. The Dutch had used much violence to dominate the trade in spices and Coromandel textiles in Indonesia. Yet, they still feared the power of the Thai ruler who continued to have considerable influence in some Indonesian polities. The Thais also continued to maintain diplomatic relations with Iran.

As early as the 1640s, Iranians had complained that the Dutch VOC forced them to accept spices of an inferior quality. The Dutch had already established supply-side monopolies of the most important Indonesian spices at this time. Later in the century, the VOC was joined by the English East India company in its efforts to force Iran into disadvantageous trade agreements. In the Indian ocean, the massive presence of their maritime gun platforms succeeded in depriving Iran of viable alternatives. Yet, Iran did not consist of islands like Banda or Lanka. It had overland connections as well.

Bandanese polities had not been able to resist Dutch incursions, because their islands had been too small to retreat from maritime violence. Lanka had a considerably better ratio between coastline and landmass. The Kandy state could survive in the interior. But since the Dutch came to control much of the coastline and all major ports, Kandy could not maintain foreign relations without Dutch consent. The sovereignty of the polity was severely restricted. Polities on the mainland had more options. Even decades later, the Dutch were not able to destroy small polities

258 Prakash, "Restrictive trade regimes."
of runaway slaves in the Guianas, in mainland South America. They retreated into the interior, above the fall line of major rivers where the Dutch could not follow and where they were tolerated by Native Americans who had adopted a similar strategy.  

In Iran, the Dutch and English East India companies failed to monopolize access to silk and other Iranian products in the late seventeenth century, because the country had overland connections to the Mughal empire, Central Asia, Russia, and the Ottoman empire. But since the Dutch and English had the capability to control much of Iran’s access to products from across the Indian ocean, they were able to smuggle large amounts of precious metals out of the country. More importantly, they could apply enough political pressure to be able to continue this practice over half a century and virtually drain Iran of precious metals. When the Iranian government made serious moves to stop the illegal practice, the East India companies threatened to cut off Iran’s access to the ocean, which would have further damaged the country’s economy.

Despite overland connections, the state lost important resources. In the 1720s, Iran’s neighbors exploited this weakness. Afghans, Russians, and Ottomans invaded, occupied, and thoroughly militarized Iran. The resulting wars destroyed much of the country and disrupted overland trade. Nader Shah’s invasion of the Mughal empire in the late 1730s and early 1740s and its consequences for India and Tanjavur were caused by these earlier developments. The invasion further weakened the Mughal center relative to regional polities and encouraged Europeans, mainly British and French, to directly intervene. The previous turmoil in Iran and adjacent areas in the 1720s had also alarmed the French, who had still relied on overland connections and the Mediterranean to access the Indian ocean economy, and convinced them to establish a stronger presence in the Indian ocean.

British imperialism and the transformation of Pietist ideology

Tanjavur’s experience with European interests assumed an even more ominous nature as the imperialist violence between Britain and France escalated in the mid-eighteenth century. Changes in the political environment and power relations influenced communication and exchange across cultural boundaries. British and French involvement in the politics of Tanjavur during this period differed from earlier involvement of Indian polities. Perspectives shaped by imperialist interests contributed much of this difference. Since some Pietist clerics who had moved to British enclaves became dependent on the emerging infrastructure of the British empire in the 1730s, it is not surprising that Pietist sources of the 1730s to 1760s document a transformation of Pietist ideology. European Pietists who lived and worked in British enclaves began to identify with British imperialist interests.

Accounts of violence illustrate how such identification with British interests evolved over time. Pietists witnessed numerous incidents in which British troops initiated violence and used it in a very callous way. Due to their religious convictions, they were initially appalled by this. Yet by the late 1740s, European Pietists began to celebrate and legitimize the successes of British violence. Many Tamil Pietists, by contrast, had difficulty adjusting to this change in perspective.

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263 Floor and Clawson, “Safavid Iran's search for silver and gold,” 358-362. The violent approach of the big East India companies toward Iran in the 1680s is noted in: Fabritius, "Letter to Steno Bjelke."
A closer examination of this transformation elucidates the relationship between Pietist individuals, their ideology, and the changing institutional framework in which they operated.

On April 9, 1746, in the evening, five British ships arrived in Tarangambadi from the north. They intended to attack a French ship that had arrived a few days ago. British warships had followed the French ship earlier. The French stayed in Tarangambadi to seek protection under the Danish coastal batteries. Just after 7:00 p.m., two British ships opened fire on the French who returned fire. As a result, more than a hundred artillery balls hit Tarangambadi or flew over the city. For this reason, the commander of the Danish fortress opened fire on the British. The French eventually sank their own ship to end the battle and retired on land. The British entered the sinking ship and waved their flag. One Danish soldier had been killed at his post in the fortress. Several residents of Tarangambadi had been wounded in their houses. Two of them died of their wounds. One artillery ball hit the Pietist school and destroyed part of a wall and the roof. According to the Pietist source, many more artillery balls flew over the building. The author thanked his ‘Lord (HErr)’ for protecting the Pietists and the school children. The new destructive power deployed by the British and French was quite frightening.

Despite the blatant British aggression against Tarangambadi and the danger it posed to members of Pietist communities there, some European Pietists soon became fervent supporters of British violence. In 1747, a Pietist from Madras happily reported that he had received what he considered good news lately. British warships had repeatedly defeated French ships between Kadalur and Puducheri. He expressed hope that the British would be able to retake Madras in the near future. The French had taken the British fort St. George at Madras in September 1746. But the Catholic French showed little interest in supporting Lutheran Pietists.

By the early 1750s, the European war was no longer confined to the coast. On November 12, 1750, a European Pietist from Kadalur expressed joy over a Mughal military success. Why did he appreciate a victory of a ‘Heathen’ polity? Some of Nazir Jang’s troops had defeated a small French contingent that had tried to bring ammunition from Puducheri to Senji. So, the Pietist author even appreciated a ‘Heathen’ military success over a ‘Christian’ polity. If this was not enough, he complained that Nazir Jang treated his prisoners, such as Muzaffar Jang and the French, too well. Where did the European Pietist from Madras get these ideas and how could they be reconciled with earlier Pietist beliefs? He clearly perceived the current conflict as a war between Britain and France rather than two Mughal factions led by Nazir Jang and Muzzafar Jang. And he obviously identified with the British camp and its supporters, independent of the Heathen-Christian dichotomy in official Pietist ideology. Though the Catholic French were unlikely to support Pietist missions, it is worth noting that European Pietist authors never used explicitly anti-Catholic rhetoric in this context. Their writings clearly suggest that their attitudes were shaped by their dependence on British infrastructure and opportunism rather than a confessionalist impulse. They did not perceive the war as a religious struggle between Protestants and Catholics.

Further to the south, the situation was not much different, in the sense that violence continued to escalate. But Pietists’ loyalties could be more complex. The Pietist assistant cleric Vallattumuttu was on a trip to a French military camp near Tiruchirappalli from January 18 to February 6, 1752. He wanted to visit his Catholic son-in-law who was stationed at the French

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265 HB, vol. 6, no. 65, p. 842-843.
266 AFSt, M II H8:1: Fabricius, Madras journal, 1746, p. 17.
267 AFSt, M II L7:1: Kiernander, Kadalur journal, 1750.
camp. To some Tamil Pietists, even if they were clerics, family ties seemed more important than imperialist conflicts. Military service in the enemy’s army was not to be taken personal. After all, alternative economic opportunities were scarce in the war zone. By this time, the destructive power brought on by the British and French had moved inland near the Kaveri delta as well. British and French troops engaged in two major battles in the area around Tiruchirappalli in February.  

European Pietists did not only perceive the British and French as major parties in the war, but they also identified them as the major cause of violence. In 1753, the British attacked a French camp near Kadalur but lost due to Maratha support of the French. Afterward, there was a lull in fighting. A Pietist author commented that the violence was likely to resume as soon as the expected European ships arrived. He apparently believed that this war was predominantly fueled by the resources of the British and French empires.

The role of the northern Marathas had radically changed in the imagination of European Pietists. The Marathas had initially emerged as the great protectors of Tanjavur in the early 1740s and had taken considerable pressure off the local population, including Pietists. But now they were portrayed as villains in Pietist publications. European Pietist authors in Kadalur and Madras adapted to British standards. ‘Those Members of this {Tamulian} Congregation particularly, who live without the Honourable Companys limits, in the Country, have been great sufferers by the plundering Maratters, having often been dispersed and obliged to run to & fro, for Shelter and Protection; {...}’ The description is taken from the ‘Short Account,’ an annual English publication that provided a few pages of information on the Pietist communities in Kadalur every year. In this official, published account that was intended for a British audience, the British had undergone a miraculous transformation and appeared as heroic protectors of the local Tamil populace rather than aggressors and invaders who caused and fueled the war. The bad-guys role was left to the northern Marathas.

Apart from violence, the strong European military presence brought about many other problems and inconveniences. In 1753, a European Pietist from Kadalur mentioned British reluctance to take responsibility for children who had been fathered by British soldiers. Yet, the author’s loyalty to the British cause was not shattered. His criticism focused on the supposed irresponsibility of the Portuguese Creole mothers, although they did their best to raise the children. In 1754, four British warships burdened the town with an additional eight-hundred soldiers who had been picked up in Ireland. Four British company ships brought another seven-hundred. Since all of them stayed in Kadalur, Pietists expected food to become scarce in the near future. The French company ships had supposedly burdened Puducheri with nine-hundred soldiers, and French warships were expected to bring additional troops. Local society was supposed to feed these soldiers who fought for imperialist interests, despite the fact that the local economy was in shambles due to the imperialist war. In a journal entry for January 13, 1755, a Pietist from Kadalur pointed out that no food was available because the British confiscated

269 AFSt, M II L9:1, Kiernander and Hüttemann, Kadalur journal, 1753, p. 10.
270 Kadalur Pietists, A Short Account of the present State of the British Mission at Cuddalore, near Fort St. Davids, given the 31st. of December 1753 (Tarangambadi, 1754). A copy of this is available in AFSt, M I B43:42.
271 AFSt, M II L9:1, Kiernander and Hüttemann, Kadalur journal, 1753, p. 20.
272 AFSt, M I B44:43, letter by Kiernander and Hüttemann to Francke, Kadalur, 09/24/1754 and 10/07/1754, p. 3-4.
everything. In December 1756, the British demolished almost all houses of Devanapattinam near Kadalur because they were supposedly too close to the British fort.

Reports of British aggression in other parts of India came in as well. In a letter dated July 12, 1757, a German military officer described how he had participated in a British military campaign in Bengal that had brought him to a small forest near a town called Palashi or Plassey in the night from June 22 to June 23. The officer informed the Pietists that, after the scuffles between the Nawwab Siraj-ud-Daulah and the British late in 1756 and early in 1757, a peace agreement had been reached. Since the British remained paranoid about the Nawwab’s intentions, they decided to carry out another invasion which led to the so-called battle of Plassey on June 23. According to this officer’s account, the British invaded without any reason just a few months after they had agreed on a peace settlement. Yet, European Pietists continued their policy of being loyal to the British cause, no matter what it was.

Many Pietist accounts of war episodes exhibit a strange tension between factual statements and value judgements. On the factual side, Pietists consistently reported morally correct behavior of French soldiers and morally questionable behavior of British soldiers. But their value-judgements consistently condemned the French and favored the British. The French siege of Kadalur illustrates the problem. When the French put Kadalur under siege in May 1758, they gave European Pietists little reason to complain. The facts reported by European Pietists clearly suggest that the French consistently treated them in a decent manner. But European Pietist authors never expressed any form of gratitude toward the French in their writings. The same Pietist authors reported several episodes of completely useless violence committed by British soldiers during this siege. But they did not condemn this behavior in their writings. It is worth noting in this context that Pietist missionaries were otherwise quite judgmental.

On May 2, the French asked the British to hand over Kadalur to avoid violence. The British promised to respond to the offer within twenty-four hours. Soon after, karaiyâr or Tamil coastal traders used the cease fire to do their job and tried to deliver two calańku or boats with nellu to the French up the river. The British knew nothing better than to fire at them with their batteries. This was completely senseless murder. The lives of Tamil coastal traders obviously did not count much from the point of view of some British soldiers. In the afternoon, the British advised the European Pietists, Dutch resident of Kadalur, and an engineer to visit the French camp. They followed the British advice and talked to the French commander Lally and Fischer, a colonel from Württemberg, who commanded the German brigades. The Pietists later met another German officer, a captain, who was from Hanover. Most of Lally’s ‘French’ regiment was Irish. During the brief meeting, Lally promised to take measures to protect the European Pietists, Dutch resident, and engineer if an attack was necessary and let them return to Kadalur. The diverse backgrounds of ‘French’ officers and soldiers suggest that European regional and confessionalist identities did not define friends and enemies in this war.

In the night from May 2 to May 3, a British officer who was drunk ordered his artillery to open fire. The French responded in kind, but immediately stopped after the British had corrected their error. On May 3, the British informed the French that they were ready to hand over...
Kadalur. The French promised all residents personal safety and safety of their property. Yet, when the British capitulation was made public, British troops looted Kadalur prior to leaving the town. They broke into people’s homes and took whatever they could find. They also looted all merchandise they could find at the market. On May 4, the French took over. On the same day, they provided the European Pietists with a passport which gave them permission to leave Kadalur. On May 5, the French received three *calaňku* with provisions from Porto Novo. They gave the Pietists two of the boats to enable the Pietists to transport their belongings to Tarangambadi. Despite all these experiences, European Pietists from Kadalur and Madras continued to identify with and praise the British. Reading European Pietists’ accounts of war episodes, one almost feels sorry for the authors. They would certainly have relished any opportunity to report incidents of British kindness or heroism or of French depravity, but both war parties consistently disappointed them.

Tamil Pietists did not necessarily agree with the biased views of their European missionaries. On March 15, 1756, a European Pietist from Kadalur mentioned that many Tamil Pietists from Kadalur, Madras, and Tarangambadi had joined the French. This does not necessarily mean that they identified with the French or the French cause. A year later, early in 1757, several Tamil and Portuguese Creole Pietists from Tarangambadi worked on British fortifications near Kadalur. It does not seem as if local people had a clear preference for any of the European parties involved in this war. Most likely, contracting and employment conditions did not differ much in both European camps, and other economic opportunities continued to decline as the war was dragging on.

European Pietist clerics, to the contrary, did have a clear preference due to the fact that the French were not interested in hiring or supporting them. Pietist clerics who worked in Madras and Kadalur almost completely depended on British support. This was a significant departure from the situation in Tarangambadi where Pietist clerics remained fairly independent of the Danish. Much of the Tarangambadi Pietists’ funding came from Central European sources. Danish support came from the Danish crown rather than the Danish East India company or colonial administration. This had led to serious conflicts between Pietist clergy and the Danish company in the 1710s. The land and buildings used by Pietists in Tarangambadi had been purchased rather than provided by Danish authorities. Most of the Tarangambadi missionaries had been approved by Danish church authorities, but they were recruited from various German states. Pietist clerics and their headquarters in Halle frequently discussed potential problems of ‘nationalism (*Nationalismo*)’ as they called jealousies between Europeans of differing national backgrounds. The Tarangambadi missionaries advised their headquarters against selecting Danish candidates because they were afraid that Danish clerics would become too cozy with Danish colonists and the Danish colonial administration. One of the few Danish missionaries at Tarangambadi was among the strongest supporters of this policy. He explained his views in a letter to the Pietist headquarters in Halle, in 1741. Despite being Danish himself, he argued against training Danish candidates. He wrote that Danish clerics would be more likely to socialize with Danish colonists since they spoke the same language. This would have adverse effects on Pietist communities because Tamils despised European colonists and their culture. He

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277 AFSt, M II L11:1: Kiernander and Hüttemann, Kadalur journal, 1756.
also preferred the German language over Danish. He argued that German was more beneficial to the Pietist enterprise due to its wider use.

Most of the Pietist clerics in Madras and Kadalur were from various German states as well. Yet, they received much of their salaries and general funding from British sources, mainly the SPCK. They also relied on British support for land, buildings, and most other needs. Moreover, they departed from the policy of avoiding private contacts to colonial officials. Pietist clerics in Madras and Kadalur frequently socialized with members of the British colonial administration. And they had another major reason to identify more and more with British interests. Rapidly increasing British power manifested itself in a number of practical conveniences. The Danish missionary mentioned above did not only advise against using Danish candidates and the Danish language. He also advised against relying on Danish transport due to its erratic nature. He even argued against using Danish transport when it was available. Apart from the greater frequency and reliability of British transport, he claimed that Pietists preferred the food on British ships and found accommodations more healthy. He also mentioned that Danish ships were likely to expose Pietist travelers to other unspecified inconveniences and even life-threatening risks that Pietists could avoid by using British transport. Though he did not specify the life-threatening risks associated with Danish ships, it is obvious that the British had more maritime posts along the way, which eliminated possible supply problems. Moreover, the British had far greater potential for maritime violence. Some Pietists and other passengers probably believed that this made traveling on their ships safer.

Although European Pietists in Tarangambadi did not want to be perceived as being too closely associated with the Danish colonial administration, they also generally preferred ‘Christian’ over ‘Heathen’ polities. Due to the escalating imperialist conflict, they were forced to choose sides more often from the late 1740s and especially during the 1750s and 60s. European Pietists at Tarangambadi had already cheered for the Danish rather than Tanjavur in 1739. When the Danish exploited a temporary weakness of Tanjavur to annex four villages, European Pietists appreciated the move. On March 16, 1756, European Pietists had again reasons to be cheerful, because the Danish claimed to have conquered one of the Nikobar islands and intended to conquer the others as well. Moreover, the French had conquered the Maldives. From a European Pietist point of view, even a Catholic conquest was better than a sovereign ‘Heathen’ polity. ‘These are wonderful occurrences. God who governs everything will certainly further guide these developments to make them serve the expansion of his empire of grace. (Es sind wunderbahre Phaenomena. Gott der alles regiret wird ja auch diese umstände mit dahin lenken, daß sie zur erweiterung seines gnaden=Reiches dienen müssen.)’

Invaders’ defeat: Tanjavur and Danish ambitions in the 1750s

In 1756, Pietists at Tarangambadi had another opportunity to identify with the Danish colonial administration, this time, in a direct conflict with Tanjavur. Perhaps inspired by British and French activities in South India, the Danish tried a more violent approach in their relations to Tanjavur. In June 1756, they invaded Anandamangalam, a town just outside the Danish leasehold, which belonged to the local jurisdiction of the North Nāyakkar.
After Ramalinga Nāyakkan’s death on August 10, 1754, Ramaya Nāyakkan had taken his position on August 23. Yet, Ramaya’s succession did not remain uncontested. Ramaya was the oldest son of Karta Nāyakkan, Ramalinga’s brother who had died on December 2, 1738. Ramaya’s mother had been a secondary wife of Karta.282 Perumal Nāyakkan who had challenged Ramalinga in the early 1740s came back to challenge Ramaya as well. On January 5, 1755, Perumal appeared in Tarangambadi. He had regained the favor of Pratapasimha Raja who had put him in charge of the Mayavaram area for the time being. Since Perumal supposedly intended to replace the South Nāyakkar Irāchiappa as well, it seems like Pratapasimha tried to use power transfers to consolidate the nobility.283 Perumal’s challenge of Ramaya was successful. On April 5, 1755, the Danish administration officially confirmed Perumal Nāyakkan as their liaison with Tanjavur. The Tarangambadi Pietists had doubts whether this would prove to be a lasting relationship.284

By late May, Pietists decided to avoid traveling around Tarangambadi because a conflict between Perumal and the Danish administration had emerged. They no longer considered the area safe.285 By early 1756, the conflict between Perumal and the Danish had so far escalated that Perumal withdrew from the company leasehold’s territory. His talaiyāri supposedly began to carry out thefts and robberies in the villages belonging to the Danish leasehold.286 In the night from June 16 to 17, 1756, Perumal kidnapped forty cows and oxen that belonged to residents of the Danish company. On the next day, the Danish moved troops to Tilaiyari and threatened to attack towns in Tanjavur unless they received compensation. As a result, the sūbadār of the neighboring province became involved. Yet, the Danish were not satisfied with his efforts to resolve the matter. In the evening of June 18, the Danish ordered some of their troops to invade the town of Anandamangalam, which belonged to Tanjavur, and to occupy the local temple. The next day, the Danish began to fortify the temple, erected a battery, and cut down the trees around it. On June 23, the sūbadār tried again to resolve the matter peacefully. The Danish rejected his offers and sent thirty European and an unspecified number of Tamil soldiers to Tilaiyari instead. The Danish felt quite strong. ‘They prided themselves of wanting to occupy this and that, talked big, dismissed the enemy as weak {…} (Man rühmte sich, daß man noch dis u{nd} d{a}s occupiren wolte, redete fertig, achtete den Feind gering, {…}).’

On June 30, Tanjavur troops attacked Tilaiyari and killed most of the Danish soldiers there. The maniyakkāraṇ of Tilaiyari was also killed. On July 1, the Danish occupiers gave up the temple at Anandamangalam and retreated to Tarangambadi. While Pietist authors applied clearly derogatory expressions, such as ‘thieving rabble (Räuber-Pack),’ to Tanjavur’s troops, they applied neutral expressions to Danish troops. Pietists came up with quite apocalyptic visions about the intentions of Tanjavur’s troops. ‘{…}, if god had not prevented it and saved us, the enemy {…} could have easily overwhelmed us and finished all of us. (…) wenn Gott es nicht gehindert und uns bewahrt hätte, der Feind {…} uns gar leicht hätte überrumpeln und alle danieder machen können).’ There is no evidence that Tanjavur’s troops ever contemplated such a move. The Pietist author also noted that he observed ‘hesitation, fear, and horror (Zaghaftig{eit}, Furcht und Schrecken)’ among Danish ‘leaders (Chefs)’ and those who had boasted only a few days earlier.

282 HB, vol. 7, no. 82, p. 1415.
286 HB, vol. 8, no. 86, p. 253-255.
During the next few days, Tanjavur’s troops looted towns belonging to the Danish leasehold. The Danish asked for help from the French at Puducheri who promised to send several hundred soldiers. On July 5, the Danish received ṣulai from the sūbadār and the Raja offering peace negotiations. Some in the Danish colonial administration began to fantasize about an alliance with the French and responded to the ṣulai by threatening to invade Tanjavur. By July 12, the Nawwab at Tiruchirappalli, the French, and the English had all promised to help with negotiations. Yet, bad feelings lingered. In 1757, a Pietist cleric traveled to Srirangam near Tiruchirappalli to visit a sick French officer who had asked for a preacher. The cleric noted in his travel journal that this was a welcome opportunity, since European Pietists had not been able to travel in Tanjavur for a whole year due to the trouble between the Danish and Tanjavur.

Pietist missions in the Seven Years’ War

In the late 1750s and early 1760s, the militarization of the Cormandel coast and the intensity of violence reached new heights. For Pietists in Madras, the year 1761 was the first in a few years that gave them a break from the ‘heavy war (schwere Kriegs-Unruhen)’ and allowed them ‘to live without fear in our huts again (wieder ohne Furcht in unsern Hütten haben wohnen können).’ By the 1760s, troops from all over Europe moved through the region around the Kaveri delta.

In August 1763, a Pietist missionary reported from Tiruchirappalli that he discontinued German church services because most German speakers had moved on with their army units. One could argue that this was not a bad thing, because a decline in violence was likely to follow. Yet, Pietists also lost an opportunity to improve the spiritual condition of some of their compatriots. From a European Pietist point of view, compatriots who committed acts of violence in a war were not a problem as long as they supported a ‘Christian’ polity. But if they moved beyond the reach of Pietist spiritual guidance, they were likely to turn into an embarrassment. As early as 1756, a German corporal warned Pietists in Kadalur that many of his soldiers indulged in ‘utterly atheistic talk (ganz atheistische Reden).’ They denied the eternal life of the soul and mocked the most cherished truths of Christian religion.

The Tiruchirappalli missionary who discontinued German services in August 1763 still had plenty of work. Apart from Tamil and Portuguese, he continued English services. By January 1764, even the Nawwab at Tiruchirappalli spoke some English. In June and July 1764, the missionary had the chance to catch up with his former German audience. He had traveled to Tarangambadi in January and had decided to stay there. But he returned to Tiruchirappalli in February because an English physician was seriously sick and wanted to see a preacher. Over the next few months, a British major repeatedly asked him to visit his military camp. The missionary steadfastly refused until fellow Pietists from British Kadalur and Madras asked him to do it. This

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288 AFSt, M II D 34:3: Kohlhoff, travel journal to Srirangam, 1757, p. 1. AFSt, M II D34:5: letter by Taranangambadi Pietists to Danish king, 12/31/1757.
289 AFSt, M II H14:2: Fabricius and Breithaupt, Madras journal, 1761, p. 1.
291 AFSt, M II L11:1: Kiernander and Hüttemann, Kadalur journal, 1756, entry for March 30.
decision was likely to get him very close to the very essence of war—large-scale violence and its
byproducts.

He left Tiruchirappalli on June 10 and arrived at the British camp near Madurai on June 13. The commanding officer and the major who had insisted on his visit received him at the camp and brought him to a hospital crowded with two-hundred sick and wounded Europeans. Six kilometers from the British camp was another hospital with several hundred sick and wounded. Over the next two weeks, he visited one of the hospitals in the morning and sick officers in their tents in the afternoon. The new job came with some inconveniences. He mentioned, that the smell of soldiers with gangrene and dysentery was particularly bad. On Sundays, he provided church services. German speakers met in a spacious tent at 8:00 a.m. and English speakers at 10:00 a.m.

On June 26, as the British carried out an attack on Madurai, the missionary got up at 4:00 a.m. The major had already left because he was supposed to command the assault. The Nawwab of Tiruchirappalli visited the missionary and asked him to pray for his people. ‘The murder began toward 6:00 a.m. (Gegen 6 Uhr fing das Morden an.)’ The missionary had never been enthusiastic about getting close to the essence of war. His use of the term ‘murder (Morden)’ suggests that he had not changed his mind. Most soldiers had already trouble getting through the water ditch and had to pull each other out. The major supposedly made it up the wall. Soon after, he was ‘hit by a case-shot in the backside (mit einer Cartetsche im dicken Fleische verwundt).’ When he was brought back to the camp he was covered with blood and feces. When the missionary visited the hospital the next time, he saw a scene unlike anything he had seen before. ‘{...} the misery was great. Some prayed, some cursed their enemy, some whined {...} (das Elend war gar gros. Einige betheten, einige fluchten ihren Feind, Einige wimmerten, {...})’ Only officers had opium.

The British tightened the siege of Madurai, but had no plans to attack again soon. The major who had asked the missionary to visit died on July 12. The commanding officer asked him to stay. By July 23, the missionary had become sick himself. He left the British camp on August 6 to return to Tiruchirappalli. When he had left the camp behind, he noticed how fertile the region around Madurai was, with a wide river and beautiful nellu fields. The mountains were all covered with green. He even realized that the larger hospital had been in a very beautiful building. ‘Never before had I seen such a beautiful guest house. (Ich habe solch schönes Ruhe Haufje noch nicht gesehen.)’

This rather peaceful scenery reminded the missionary of better times. He had not enjoyed his closest experience of war. The context of Pietist communities in South India had radically changed from the 1720s to the mid-1760s. Yet, the Pietist enterprise had used aggressively expanding states as a conduit for its growth from the late seventeenth century. During this early period, ambitious continental European states, such as Prussia and to some extent Russia, rather than emerging maritime empires figured most prominently in Pietist expansion plans. The Pietist focus was on providing services in regions like the eastern Baltic rather than South India. But some Central Europeans even envisioned overland connections to Asia and its riches. In the worst case, they could walk.

293  A FSt, M II D41:3: Schwartz, Tiruchirappalli and Madurai journal, 1764.1, p. 2-3, 14-25.
Toward a counterfactual perspective: Land between Asia and Europe, 1620-1720

During the second half of the seventeenth century, overland trade between the Indian ocean and Europe grew rapidly. Iran played a key role in this development because it provided a crucial link between South Asian producers and European consumers. Overland trade between South Asia and Iran had been well established by the mid-seventeenth century. In the second half of the century, increasing European violence in the western Indian ocean caused additional Asian shipping between India and the Ottoman empire to shift from maritime to overland routes through Iran.295 Iranian and Indian merchants traded into the Ottoman empire and beyond. Some Iranians had participated in Central European trade fairs, such as Jaroslaw in southern Poland, at least as early as the 1620s.296 By the late 1630s, Iranian cultural and economic initiatives in Central Europe reached as far as Gottorp on the westernmost tip of the Baltic sea.297

Iranian merchants and the Iranian state tried to develop alternatives to their major export routes through the Ottoman empire because access was difficult at times for a variety of reasons such as political conflicts with the Ottomans, social unrest in Ottoman Anatolia, and war in the eastern Mediterranean. Russia was an alternative to Ottoman transit routes to Europe. Iranian merchants took their goods across the Caspian sea and through Russia to Arkhangelsk on the White sea in the mid-seventeenth century and to Narva in what now is Estonia on the Baltic sea and beyond in the late seventeenth century.298 In the 1690s, a 'Persian house' was established in Narva to provide accommodation for Iranian merchants.299 During the last third of the seventeenth century, Armenian Iranians from Isfahan were a major force in establishing trade links between the Caspian sea and the White and Baltic seas. The Iranian and Russian governments strongly supported them during this period. Like Iran, Russia could profit from

296 Poland, The travel accounts of Simeon of Poland, 310-312.
298 On transit trade through the White sea port Arkhangelsk, see: Kotilaine, Russia’s foreign trade and economic expansion in the seventeenth century: Windows on the world, 262-263, 454-466.

diverting transit trade between the Indian ocean and Europe away from the Ottoman empire. Russia could also profit from transit of Iranian exports to Europe.\footnote{300} Indian merchants used these overland routes as well. They had already traded through the Ottoman empire to Cairo, Aleppo, and other cities in the eastern Mediterranean in the early seventeenth century. Indians had established an important base in Iran and, from the mid-seventeenth century, extended their reach across the Caspian sea to Astrakhan in Russia and further north along the Volga river.\footnote{301} During the late 1670s and early 1680s Indian merchants established a base in Moscow.\footnote{302} By 1720, Indians had extended their reach to other Russian cities including St. Petersburg.\footnote{303} In 1723, the Indian merchant Anbu Ram applied to the Russian tsar for permission to participate in the transit trade from Astrakhan to Europe through the Russian White sea port Arkhangelsk and to China through Siberia. He claimed that Indians had used these routes in previous years.\footnote{304} Ironically, his application marked the end rather than the beginning of an era. In the mid-eighteenth century, the focus of Indian merchants’ activities in Russia shifted east from Astrakhan to Orenburg which connected South Asia through Central Asia rather than Iran.\footnote{305}

Central European merchants were also involved in this overland trade. Merchants from Lwow in what used to be southern Poland and now is Ukraine had extended their reach to Ankara in the Ottoman empire at least as early as the 1620s.\footnote{306} Trade along the Danube river grew during much of the seventeenth century.\footnote{307} When a direct trade link between Vienna and Istanbul was established again in the 1660s after a period of hostilities, even spices were still traded along this route. But the direction of the spice trade had changed compared to the early seventeenth century. Spices were now transported from west to east.\footnote{308}

\footnote{300} George A. Bournoutian, ed., Armenians and Russia, 1626-1796: A documentary record (Costa Mesa, 2001), 15-17, 22.
\footnote{301} For a brief summary of diplomatic exchange between Iran and Russia from the 1650s to the 1670s, see: Rudi Matthee, "Anti-Ottoman politics and transit rights: The seventeenth-century trade in silk between Safavid Iran and Muscovy," Cahiers du Monde russe 35 (1994): 750.
\footnote{303} Gopal, ed., Indians in Russia in the 17th and 18th centuries, 100-126.
\footnote{304} Ibid., 146-148.
\footnote{306} One Polish Armenian cleric who visited Ankara in the second decade of the seventeenth century claimed that he met many Polish merchants there: Poland, The travel accounts of Simeon of Poland, 277.
\footnote{308} Pach, "Hungary and the Levantine trade in the 14th-17th centuries," 26.
Astrakhan and the Pietist discovery of Asian riches

When Lutheran Pietists first arrived in Tanjavur in 1706, they became part of a larger European presence in the Indian ocean. They arrived on Danish ships headed for the Danish leasehold Tarangambadi which belonged to Tanjavur. By the mid-eighteenth century, British East India company ships became Pietists’ preferred means of transport. Most Lutheran Pietists were subjects of various Central European polities rather than Danish or British. Religious affinity played the defining role in their headquarter’s connections to institutions of both the Danish and British states. In the early eighteenth century, Halle’s connections to the Danish court provided the initial opportunity to travel to Tanjavur. Over the next decades, Lutheran Pietists gravitated toward British shipping because the British provided the most frequent, reliable, and convenient transport available. As a result, Pietists came to depend on the emerging infrastructure of British imperialism. Moreover, British administrators who governed British enclaves in India, such as Madras and Kadalur, invited Pietists to expand their mission beyond Tanjavur.

From a teleological perspective, the connection between Lutheran Pietists’ missionary enterprise in South India and British imperialist interests may seem almost inevitable. Yet, in the late seventeenth century, the world had been more complex from both Central European and South Asian perspectives. Lutheran Pietists had first met people from South Asia in Astrakhan on the Russian side of the Caspian sea in 1701, five years prior to their first trip to Tanjavur on Danish ships. This encounter was no coincidence since South Asians and Central Europeans had extended their reach in Russia throughout the seventeenth century. When Lutheran Pietists visited Astrakhan at the turn of the eighteenth century, they followed in the footsteps of Central European artisans, merchants, administrators, and soldiers who had established a presence in Russia in the seventeenth. Pietist clerics provided services to Lutheran Protestants there.

The South Asian merchant community in Astrakhan had roots in the first half of the seventeenth century.
century when the South Asian power base in Iran had extended its reach to Astrakhan and also begun to trade in other Russian cities.  

When two Lutheran Pietists traveled down the Volga river to Astrakhan in 1701, they met a Central European ship captain who was the commander of a Russian fleet in the Caspian sea and also had the task of mapping the sea. The captain offered the Pietists business contacts in Astrakhan. Goods from Iran and other neighboring regions, such as silk, gold brocade, cotton, various qualities of wool, camel hair, tea, coffee, rhubarb, and caviar, were available at low prices. Iran produced and exported a broad variety of textiles at the time. Much of it was produced in rural industries by women rather than the famous workshops run by the state. Pietists also reported on Iranian cotton, fruit, pickled garlic, saffron, salt, and wine production and exports. Moreover, Europeans were interested in more exotic Iranian products, such as mineral oil, bezoars, balm, asafoetida, and other substances, which they used for medicinal purposes and magic. Iranians produced some of these, such as asafoetida, predominantly for export.

The ship captain also promised supplies of 'diverse East Indian goods at prices that were much lower than those in Holland or England (allerlei ostindische Sachen viel wohlfeiler als sie aus Holland oder England haben können).’ He claimed that more Iranians and Indians were coming to Astrakhan than ever before. One Pietist concluded that his god had provided Iranians and Indians with a path across the Caspian sea. Among goods traded by Indians in Astrakhan, Most South Asian immigrants in seventeenth-century Astrakhan and Moscow were merchants, but Russia was also interested in Indian artisans such as cotton weavers and dyers: Gopal, ed., Indians in Russia in the 17th and 18th centuries, 22-23, 62-63, 70-73, 116-125. For overviews of South Asian merchants in seventeenth-century Astrakhan, see: Dale, Indian merchants and Eurasian trade, 1600-1750, 86-98. Kotilaine, Russia's foreign trade and economic expansion in the seventeenth century: Windows on the world, 479-484.

Winter, Halle als Ausgangspunkt, 290-291.


Contrary to claims by some historians, Iranians also produced cotton textiles in the early eighteenth century. A list of some Iranian textiles exported to Russia in 1711 is provided in: Bournoutian, ed., Armenians and Russia, 1626-1796: A documentary record, 67-72.

Crete, The chronicle of Abraham of Crete, 121.


Asafoetida was considered a drug wonder in Europe and elsewhere at the time. Iranian physicians did not use it because of its smell. Local people in Lar recommended it for colics and flatulency: Engelbert Kaempfer, "Aomoenitatum exoticarum politico-phlsico-medicarum fasciculi V, quibus continentur variae relationes, observaciones et descriptiones rerum persicarum et ulterioris Asiae, multâ attentione, in peregrinationibus per universum Orientem, collectae, ab Auctore Engelberto Kaempfero," in Seltsames Asien: Amoenitases exoticae in Auswahl übersetzt, ed. Karl Meier-Lemgo (Detmold, 1933, 1712), 110.

Scharschmid, "Letter to August Hermann Francke, Pavlovo, 1701."
textiles probably played a role, but the Pietist was more interested in their precious stones. The second Pietist who was from Narva, the city on the eastern Baltic sea where the ‘Persian house’ had been established in the late 1680s and 1690s, stayed with the ship captain for some time to help him map the Caspian sea and explore business opportunities across the sea in Shamakhi where Indian precious stones and pearls were also available from Armenians. He suspected that prices were even better in the Iranian capital Isfahan.

Iranian exports and transit trade

Some historians have reduced the Iranian economy of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century to exports of Iranian silk, imports of precious metals and Indian textiles, and reexports of precious metals and Indian textiles. Iran certainly produced much more than silk. But silk was a major concern of the big European East India companies. And these companies have been a major concern of historians. Silk was also a major means of the Iranian government to generate income from exports. The government of Shah ‘Abbas I (1587-1629) had centralized the silk trade and forged a strategic alliance with Armenian merchants whom the Iranians had forced to leave Armenia and resettle in Isfahan. Since Iranian silk also played a major role in the rapidly expanding overland trade between Iran and Europe during the second half of the seventeenth century, some aspects need to be considered.

In the late 1660s and early 1670s, the Dutch and English applied their superior means of maritime violence to control trade in the western Indian ocean. Iran exported most of its silk through the Ottoman empire to Mediterranean ports, but the big East India companies were pushing to establish monopolies. Ottoman overland routes and the eastern Mediterranean posed their own problems at times. Relations between neighbors, such as Iran and the Ottoman empire, were not always friendly, and conflicts could hamper Iranian silk exports. Politics could also clash in the eastern Mediterranean such as during the War of the Holy League (1683-1698) when Venice attacked the Ottomans. Iranian dependence on Ottoman ports in the eastern Mediterranean could therefore cause problems for Iranian silk exports. Moreover, social unrest in the form of celalis or rebels continued to be a problem in Ottoman Anatolia during the second half of the seventeenth century. Celalis extracted payments from cities in Anatolia and from merchants who traveled through the region.

When Iran considered overland trade alternatives to the Ottoman empire, it had to deal with the fact that most of them were claimed by the rapidly expanding Russian state. The Russian government was interested in closer diplomatic ties with the Iranian government, to forge an alliance with an anti-Ottoman bent, and also in diverting part of the lucrative transit trade in Iranian silk from the Ottoman empire to its own territory. The Iranian government and Armenian Iranians who had a monopoly in the silk trade in Iran were initially skeptical about the Russian capacity to handle large trade volumes, but eventually went as far as promising to ship all silk through Russia. This was certainly not possible in the short run for logistic reasons and

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323 An Armenian merchant from Agulis in what now is Azerbaijan left a note on one celali called Sayyid Ahmad Pasha who was supposedly accompanied by 12,000 horsemen when he visited Tokat in Anatolia in 1656 to extract payment from the city. Tokat was on a major trade route between Iran and the Mediterranean sea: Zak'aria of Agulis, The journal of Zak'aria of Agulis, George A. Bournoutian trans. (Costa Mesa, 2003), 57.
324 Bournoutian, ed., Armenians and Russia, 1626-1796: A documentary record, 15-17, 22.
also not desirable with regard to Iran’s relations to the Ottomans. Most Iranian silk continued to be shipped through the Ottoman empire. Yet, the Russian routes provided an interesting alternative.325

Trade through Russia had its own problems. But after the Russians had suppressed Stepan Razin’s revolt (1667-1671) which had affected the northern Caspian sea and lower Volga basin, the transit trade in Iranian silk through Russia increased rapidly.326 During the 1670s and 1680s, most went to the Russian White sea port Arkhangelsk.327 During the late 1680s and 1690s, most of it shifted to the Swedish Baltic sea port Narva in what now is Estonia. Sweden and other polities around the Baltic sea had an obvious interest in diverting trade in Iranian silk from the White sea to their own sphere of influence. Iranian merchants also complained about European piracy in the White sea. Since Sweden controlled much of the Baltic sea, it could guarantee safe passage there.328

Iranian diplomatic initiatives in the Baltic began at least as early as 1639 when an Iranian delegation visited Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp at the western end of the Baltic sea. They reached a peak half a century later when an Iranian guesthouse was established in Narva at the eastern end of the Baltic sea in the late 1680s and 1690s. The small Gottorp polity was a direct neighbor of the more powerful Danish state, which made Gottorp a natural ally of Sweden. The court at Gottorp had close personal and family ties with the Swedish government in the seventeenth century.329 An envoy from Gottorp who had visited the Iranian government in Isfahan in the late 1630s joined Swedish service in the late 1640s and became Vice Governor in Tallinn (Reval) in what now is Estonia. He continued to advocate trade with Iran until his death in 1676.330 Soon after, the Swedish government promoted this idea with increasing success until the turn of the eighteenth century.331 The question arises, why all these initiatives failed in the long run.

Russian southward expansion

Apart from European piracy in the White sea, safety remained a concern in another section of the Russian transit route. From a Russian perspective, the northern Caspian sea and the lower Volga basin, which Russia had claimed since the mid-sixteenth century, continued to pose challenges even after the Russians had suppressed Stepan Razin’s revolt in 1671. Merchants and

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325 Ibid., 92-93.
326 On Stepan Razin’s revolt, see: Brian J. Boeck, Imperial boundaries: Cossack communities and empire-building in the age of Peter the Great (Cambridge, 2009), 73-79.
327 Kotilaine, Russia’s foreign trade and economic expansion in the seventeenth century: Windows on the world, 262, 456-463.
329 In the early seventeenth century, for example, Christina of Holstein-Gottorp (1573-1625) had been consort of king Charles IX of Sweden (r. 1604-1611), regent, and mother of king Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden (r. 1611-1632). In the second half of the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, Hedwig Eleonora of Holstein-Gottorp (1636-1715) was the consort of King Charles X of Sweden (r. 1654-1660), three times regent, and mother of King Charles XI (r. 1660-1697).
other travelers between Iran and Russia who made arrangements with the Iranian and Russian governments but ignored the interests of smaller polities in-between sometimes paid the price for their negligence or excessive trust in Russian views of the political landscape.332

The Russian state took strides to turn its views into reality and achieve closer integration of its territory. The above-mentioned mapping expedition to the Caspian sea in 1701 was part of the Russian government’s efforts to consolidate its rule.333 Further to the west, on the Black sea, the Russians and Ottomans attempted to divide the steppe and its inhabitants between them.334 One of the Lutheran Pietists who had traveled down the Volga in 1701 commented on the huge resources which the Russian government employed to construct a canal between the Don and Volga rivers and connect the Caspian and Black seas.335 The project ultimately failed, but its dimensions illustrate the Russian state’s commitment to southward expansion.

The Pietist married in 1707. Both his wife’s father and uncle were Central European generals in Russian service, most likely from the eastern Baltic. Her previous husband had been a Central European colonel in Russian service.336 He had also been the voevoda of the newly founded town Kamyziak which is about thirty kilometers south of Astrakhan. He had been stationed there with his ‘regiment and German officers (regiment und deutschen Officiren)’ when the Pietists visited the region in 1701.337 After his marriage, the Pietist stayed in the region for five years and, on invitation of his wife’s uncle, visited the Terek fort which was located on the northwestern coast of the Caspian sea and was part of Russian initiatives to push its southern border toward Iran.

The Pietist reported on some of the political complexity of the region that posed challenges to merchants, traders, and others who were interested in easy, cheap, and rapid transit rather than concerns of the local populace. As a potential missionary, he was interested in the small polities between Russia and Iran and was able to contact some of their political leaders and their families such as the sister of the Kalmyk Khan Ayuka and the Kumyk Shamkhal of Tarki. But no lasting relations came out of this. From the perspective of Russian authorities, the Lutheran Pietist was supposed to provide services to German-speaking Lutherans in Russian military service. They were generally opposed to foreign proselytizing among prospective subject populations since they tried to use their own religious institutions to tie these populations to the Russian empire.338 It took over a decade, until 1717, before the Russian government dispatched another Pietist to the Terek region to gather intelligence on its cultures, geography, and natural history.339 Moravian missionaries were better equipped than Lutheran Pietists to establish an independent livelihood in an environment dominated by small independent polities. They tried their luck in another region claimed by the Russian empire in the mid-1730s and were expelled as spies by Russian authorities.340

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333 Franck, "Halle als Ausgangspunkt."
334 Boeck, Imperial boundaries: Cossack communities, 134-158.
336 Winter, Halle als Ausgangspunkt, 78, 295.
338 Winter, Halle als Ausgangspunkt, 78, 295.
339 Khan Ayuka was the political leader of a Kalmyk polity in the area. Shamkhal was the title of the political leader of Tarki. The location of the Terek fort is shown in: Boeck, Imperial boundaries: Cossack communities, xiii.
339 Winter, Halle als Ausgangspunkt, 313.
Efforts by the Russian state to tie regions more closely to its central administration also caused resistance within the Russian polity. A cossack revolt on the Don river affected the Caspian region from 1691 to 1692. Renegade cossacks even attacked the Terek fort. When the Russian government imposed new taxation, a ban on beards, and rules on clothing, a rebellion resulted in Astrakhan and on the lower Volga from 1705 to 1706. While Cossacks helped to put down the Astrakhan rebellion, another Cossack revolt, the Bulavin uprising, emerged on the Don river from 1706 to 1709. The latter was perhaps the biggest challenge to the Russian state’s internal expansion at the time, but it was also suppressed with unprecedented violence and no longer affected the lower Volga and Caspian region. In the following years, the Russian gubernia reform aimed at further strengthening the central state administration in regional governments. Since Russian ambitions had to take into account all these challenges, it is not surprising that they did not have much patience for foreigners of various stripes, such as traders and missionaries, who could cause additional problems. Almost half a century later, in the 1760s, the Russians opened the lower Volga region for large-scale settler colonization. Moravians established a settlement called ‘Sarepta’ about twenty-five kilometers south of Volgograd (Tsaritsyn). At this time, the region had lost much of its earlier political complexity, but Moravians still saw a need to fortify their settlement. Since the Russian empire had not been the only one to expand and consolidate its position, conflicts with competing neighbors, such as the Ottomans, were likely to ensue (1768-1774). The land between Asia and Europe continued to pose its challenges to those who were predominantly interested in easy, cheap, and rapid transit.

Initiatives by the Russian state to better control and further expand its territory in the lower Volga and Caspian region did not necessarily help transit trade between Iran and the Baltic sea in the short run. But the major setback came when the imperialist conflict between Russia and Sweden escalated over the eastern Baltic and resulted in the Great Northern War (1700-1721). Sweden controlled much of the Baltic sea at the time. A major Russian goal in the Great Northern War was to regain access to it. During the last third of the seventeenth century, the Swedish government had initiated brisk trade in the Baltic. Much of it had been achieved by diverting trade from the Russian White sea port Arkhangelsk to the Swedish Baltic sea port Narva in the late 1680s and 1690s. This was a major reason why the Russians decided to attack Sweden and try to curtail Swedish influence in the eastern Baltic. As a result of military campaigns, trade through the eastern Baltic sea fell off immediately. Narva with its ‘Persian house’ was soon conquered by the Russians. One Lutheran Pietist who was living in Swedish Narva (now Estonia) at the time left a brief German chronicle in his Russian copy of the Book of Psalms:

In the year 1704, month of August, the city Narva was stormed and conquered by the Moscovites.

In the year 1708, April, all inhabitants of the cities Narva and Dorpat (= Tartu) were led to Vologda.

In the year 1711, I came to the city Moscow.

In the year 1716, all were given liberty to return to their fatherland, and I came to Halle.  

Transit trade through Russia continued despite the temporary interruption of the Baltic link. It shifted back from the Baltic to the White sea. During the second decade of the eighteenth century, the Russian government renewed initiatives to increase its share of the transit trade between Iran and Europe. In 1719, it reminded Armenian Iranians, that they had promised to ship all silk through Russia, and complained about their continued practice of shipping much of it through the Ottoman empire. Indian merchants continued to play a dominant role in the transit trade in South Asian products. The Indian merchant community in Astrakhan probably reached its peak in the mid-1720s.

In 1725, a Pietist in Narva reported to a colleague in Halle that Iranians had visited him several times during a week in the previous year. Unlike Iranians in the past, they had not come to the Baltic for trade or cultural exchange. They were prisoners of war. The Russians brought them to Rogervik, in what now is Estonia, where the Russians established a new port. On the way, they had been allowed to stay in Narva for a week.

The end of the Great Northern War in 1721 roughly coincided with an indisposition of the Iranian government in early 1722. During previous decades, small polities and regional governments on the border between Iran and the Mughal empire had profited from increasing overland trade between India and Iran, but they had also asserted their autonomy from Iranian and Mughal rule. In 1722, leaders of a Ghilzai Afghan polity in the Kandahar region of Afghanistan who had fought the Iranian regional government and Iranian troops for two decades decided to strike at the Iranian center in Isfahan. They invaded parts of eastern Iran and put Isfahan under siege. The Iranian capital fell after six months and Shah Sultan Hussein (r. 1694-1722) abdicated.

When the Russians learned about this, they lost no time to lead part of their now idle army south to Iran. In the summer of 1722, over 80,000 Russians marched on Derbent, the gate between the Caucasus mountains and the Caspian sea. By the end of 1723, they had turned the

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348 The original German reads:
Ao. 1704. mense Augusty ist die Stadt Narv a von den moscowiten mit Sturm eroberte.
Ao. 1708. April. sind alle Einwohner der Stadt Narva und Dorpat nach Wologda geführet.
Ao. 1711 bin ich nach der Stadt Moscou kommen
Ao. 1716 Kriegten sie alle die Freiheit nach ihr Vaterland zurück zu kehren, da ich nach Halle gekomen.

349 Bournoutian, ed., Armenians and Russia, 1626-1796: A documentary record, 92-93.


352 Boeck, Imperial boundaries: Cossack communities, 237-238.
Caspian Sea into a Russian lake—a situation that was to prevail for over a decade. Pietists followed in the footsteps of the Russian army and extended their reach to Baku. Yet, their stay expired when the Russian army had to leave. Roman Catholic clerics, such as Jesuits, had been tolerated in Shamakhi and elsewhere in Iran for some time to provide services to various Christian groups. Pietists failed to establish themselves because they tried to distribute Arabic pamphlets that criticized Islam.

When the Ghilzais and Russians invaded Iran, the Ottomans did not want to stay behind. They attacked and conquered parts of Iran further to the west. After all these invasions, military skills were more in demand than business skills in Iran. One Nader Khan Afshar rose to prominence as a military leader. By the end of 1735, Nader Khan and his armies had reconquered Iran. They had defeated the Afghans and Ottomans and had convinced the Russians to leave as well. After more than a decade of invasion, foreign occupation, resistance, and reconquest, parts of Iran were devastated, depopulated, and thoroughly militarized. Some cities, such as Hamadan, and their surroundings had been put under siege, conquered, and plundered several times. In 1736, Nader had himself elected Shah by an Iranian qurulta’i or national council. In the same year, Nader Shah launched a punitive expedition against the region of the Ghilzais. By summer 1737, his army had razed its major towns Kandahar and Ghazni and attacked Kabul. They took Jalalabad the next year and probed into what now is Pakistan.

When Nader Shah invaded the Mughal empire, led an army to Delhi, and captured the city and Mughal treasury in 1739, he followed the example of the Ghilzais, in a sense, who had led an army to the Iranian capital in the early 1720s. He also had to find a way to rehabilitate government finances after one and a half decades of war in Iran. Since he was fond of history, he charged Iran’s rich neighbor, the Mughal empire, for Iranian services provided to the Mughal emperor Nasir ud-din Muhammad Humayun (r. 1530-1540, 1555-1556) two hundred years earlier. Humayun had been ousted by the Afghan Sher Khan Suri, had found refuge in Iran, and had been reinstated with Iranian help. Nader asked the Mughals to reimburse Iran for related expenses and return the descendants of the Iranians who had gone to India to support Humayun. History provided a creative pretext for his invasion.

Nader Shah was not the only one to come up with fanciful demands at the time. Iran had been forced to deal with outside aggressors prior to the Afghan, Russian, and Ottoman invasions of the early 1720s. Irrespective of whether Iranian silk had been shipped through Russia or the Ottoman empire, Iranian commitment to overland trade had caused considerable irritation in the Dutch, English, and later British East India companies. Viewed from the Indian ocean, the big

355 A contemporary Armenian account is provided in: Erevan, *History of the wars, 1721-1738*, 14-37.
356 Ibid., 36-48, 57-60.
357 An account of the qurulta’i that elected Nader is provided in: Crete, *The chronicle of Abraham of Crete*, 56-118.
358 Kalushkin, "Extracts from the reports of I. Kalushkin, Russian Consul, April 25, 1736 to February 16, 1740: Invasion of India by Nadir, the Shah of Persia," 184-190. For other sources, see: Axworthy, *Sword of Persia*.
359 The Humayun episode is alluded to in: Kalushkin, "Extracts from the reports of I. Kalushkin, Russian Consul, April 25, 1736 to February 16, 1740: Invasion of India by Nadir, the Shah of Persia," 183, 185-186.
East India companies could control and dominate access to Europe around the African cape, but they could not control access through overland connections. They used all means at their disposal to pressure the Iranian government to give in to their demands. In the mid-1680s, for example, they cut off Iranian access to the Indian ocean.\textsuperscript{360}

At around the same time, Sweden offered Iran to help build a trade fleet in the Caspian sea to increase carrying capacities on the overland trade route through Russia to the Baltic sea, to bypass some of the small polities between Iran and Russia, and to forge an alliance with one of Russia’s big southern neighbors.\textsuperscript{361} North and Central Europeans had reasons to be concerned about growing Dutch and English dominance in the Atlantic and Indian oceans and continued to explore alternatives.

Others had reasons to be concerned as well. In the late 1680s and 1690s, agents of the English East India company in Iran tried to convince Armenian merchants who were in charge of Iran’s silk exports to divert the bulk of Iranian silk to the English East India company. The Armenians refused arguing that overland routes to the Ottoman ports in the eastern Mediterranean provided them with many potential buyers rather than just one. They also pointed out that the English would never transport Armenian merchants’ goods on their ships to Europe where Armenians could make better profits.\textsuperscript{362}

During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, overland trade between the Indian ocean and Europe grew rapidly. Newly established trade routes enriched competition, provided elasticity, and allowed trade to bypass political conflicts. Yet, the political destabilization and eventual collapse of Iran sent shock waves through the region and cut off overland trade. During the same period, the English and later British East India company began to rival Dutch maritime success. During the first third of the eighteenth century, the volume of overland trade from the Indian ocean to Europe stagnated compared to the volume of maritime trade around the African cape. This relative stagnation of overland trade escalated the imperialist conflict between Britain and France and therefore directly caused problems for Tanjavur and many other polities on an unprecedented scale beginning in the 1730s.

The French government had maintained good relations with the Ottoman and had continued to rely on access to the Indian ocean through the Mediterranean and Ottoman routes. In the last third of the seventeenth century, the French had the capability to cope with war in the Mediterranean and attack continental European neighbors at the same time.\textsuperscript{363} Yet, in the 1720s

\textsuperscript{360} The blockade is mentioned in: Fabritius, "Letter to Steno Bjelke." See also: Troebst, "Die Kaspi-Volga-Ostsee-Route in der Handelskontrollpolitik Karls XI," 150.


\textsuperscript{363} During the last third of the seventeenth century, the French and Ottomans had hopes to divide Central Europe between them. Matters came to a head when the Ottomans attacked the eastern, Catholic end of the Holy Roman Empire (Austria: War of the Holy League, 1683-1698) and the French attacked the western, Protestant end of the Holy Roman Empire (Palatinate: War of the League of Augsburg, 1688-1697). In the east, the Holy Roman Empire was aided by the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which had been at war with the Ottomans in the 1670s.
and 30s, the French had to face a new set of problems with respect to access to the Indian ocean. These were no longer caused in the Mediterranean. They were caused in the Indian ocean. The relative decline in the volume of overland trade from the Indian ocean to the Mediterranean coincided with increasing British maritime dominance in the Indian ocean. From the 1730s, the French tried to challenge the British by bolstering their own presence in the Indian ocean and by gaining a foothold in Tanjavur and elsewhere in India.\(^{364}\)

Considering the sheer magnitude of some of these political and economic changes, it may not be surprising that Lutheran Pietists’ approach to expanding their own communities underwent some transformations. During the earliest phase, at the turn of the eighteenth century, their major efforts were directed eastwards due to linguistic and religious affinities. Their interest in the eastern Baltic region, for example, continued throughout the period under investigation. Further afield, in the Russian empire, smaller opportunities opened to cater to Lutheran communities. Many members of these communities were linked to the Russian military and had been recruited from the Baltic region. Others were prisoners of war such as Swedish soldiers who were held in Russia during the Great Northern War. Due to the significance of overland trade between the Indian ocean and the Baltic sea during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, Pietists could hardly miss its promises when they provided services in the Caspian or met Iranian prisoners of war in the Baltic. Lutheran Pietists rose to a degree of prominence in the early to mid-eighteenth century because their headquarters at Halle were able to attract funding and government support. There is little doubt that Europeans generally perceived the Indian ocean as a source of riches during this period. But overland connections between the Indian ocean and Europe posed many logistic challenges. When overseas transport became readily available to Pietists, they naturally exploited the opportunity. The Danish option was good enough at first, but could not keep up with the standard in the mid-eighteenth century.

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Chapter 4: Social change in early to mid-eighteenth century Tanjavur: Sources of resistance and adaptability

Although Tanjavur was located near the southern tip of the Indian subcontinent, right at the center of the Indian ocean, overseas trade played a less prominent role in everyday life in the early eighteenth century than a literature based on European sources might suggest. The majority of Tanjavur’s population lived in the Kaveri river delta and was involved in wet rice agriculture. Even along the coast, numerous fishing villages and coastal trade contributed more to meeting local needs than did goods shipped on oceangoing vessels. Tanjavur’s export-oriented economy was still highly specialized and tied into interregional dependencies. Changes in the conduct of trade in the Indian ocean were therefore significant to many aspects of everyday life and society in Tanjavur. The rapidly growing influence of European interests throughout the Indian ocean, which was based on increasing European maritime dominance and the simultaneous disintegration of overland trade routes, was felt by many in Tanjavur. A closer look at the experiences of three social groups and their role in Tanjavur’s economy, that is, karaiyār in the coastal trade, paṭṭanavar in marine fishing, and paraiyar in agriculture, shows how changes in interregional dependencies manifested themselves on the local level of society. Since these groups were affected in different ways, they also differed in their response to Pietist missionaries and the missionaries’ take on European interests in the region.

In the mid-eighteenth century, three factors, namely political destabilization, militarization, and economic consolidation, brought about rapid change. The growing influence of individuals and companies with big capital in the overseas trade had begun to challenge the economic basis of karaiyār and other small producers, traders, and ship owners in the coastal trade at least as early as the second half of the seventeenth century. But this development accelerated significantly in the mid-eighteenth century, when outsiders gained political influence in Tanjavur. The central state administration actively supported export-oriented economic activities, mainly the production, trade, and shipping of rice and textiles, until the early 1730s. From the mid-1730s, external aggressors began to destabilize the state, and economic activities in the Kaveri delta were disrupted.

Subsequent invasions and the resulting militarization of the Kaveri delta led to a rapid and prolonged decline in productivity beginning in the late 1730s. To meet military challenges, the central state administration had to rely on independent military resources provided by Tanjavur’s nobility and clergy. As a result, the nobility and clergy gained political clout, and the state’s power was further undermined. The rise of the nobility and their landed interests posed a political challenge to many social groups. Most people involved in agricultural production, coastal trade and shipping, and marine fishing controlled little or no land. Karaiyār, paṭṭanavar, and paraiyar were affected by these changes in different ways and had different resources at their disposal to deal with resulting challenges and opportunities. Members of all three groups also explored new resources ranging from new economic arrangements to new forms of religiosity.
Three social groups in transition: Karaiyär, paṭṭanavar, and paṇaiyar

Karaiyär and paṭṭanavar have occasionally been confounded as ‘fishers’ or ‘marine fishers’ in the secondary literature. In early to mid-eighteenth-century Tanjavur, karaiyär were coastal traders. Only paṭṭanavar were marine fishers. While karaiyär tended to live in urban environments and were integrated in the urban society of coastal Tanjavur, paṭṭanavar lived in fairly autonomous paṭṭinaccēri or fishing villages. Paṭṭanavar women provided the major interface between paṭṭinaccēri and other social and cultural groups in the Kaveri delta.

In the early eighteenth century, rice production and export southward along the coast comprised the basis of Tanjavur’s economy. The large volume of coastal trade provided many opportunities for karaiyär and other traders and ship owners. When rapid and prolonged decline of rice production set in from the mid-1730s, however, exports and related opportunities along the coast declined. At the same time, local scarcity led to a steep increase in rice prices and drove up living costs for those who had to buy rice. Independent traders and ship owners in the coastal trade lost their economic basis. These developments were amplified by the increasing influence of individuals and companies with large capital in Tanjavur’s trade. In the long run, many karaiyär and other formerly independent traders and ship owners in the coastal trade were forced to work for wages in the overseas trade or get involved in other activities, such as fishing, which brought them into competition with those traditionally involved in these activities.

Paṭṭanavar were probably less affected by these economic changes. They sold their own produce, mostly fish, in markets along the coast. In the early to mid-eighteenth century, paṭṭanavar were interested in establishing new communication channels and exchange across cultural boundaries. In the process, they also explored the ideological and spiritual underpinnings of their new clientele. Lutheran Pietists and urban bhakti groups therefore hoped to make inroads in paṭṭinaccēri around Tarangambadi, but they had little success. Based on their economic independence, paṭṭanavar could afford to do without external ritual leaders. Moreover, paṭṭanavar were culturally distinct. Since their culture reflected the needs of marine fishing communities, their religious and spiritual needs were probably better served by existing institutions. There is evidence that some of their cultural resources were particularly well suited to deal with the mayhem and turmoil of the mid-eighteenth century and the British rule that followed. Their culture was attuned to a frequently precarious existence on the edge of an ocean that regularly turned violent during certain times of the year. This may explain why some religious rituals of paṭṭanavar culture spread to the wider society of Tanjavur and became quite popular throughout the Kaveri delta from the mid-eighteenth to the early nineteenth century.

The changing fortunes of paṇaiyar who were traditionally involved in agriculture, but did not control much land, exemplify a social group that used various forms of political protest to respond to the changes of the mid-eighteenth century. External aggressors who dismantled Tanjavur’s central state administration interfered with local interests and triggered political resistance. Since paṇaiyar were politically organized on a large scale, they could exert considerable political pressure and formed an important part of the valaṅkai or right hand section of corporate groups. ‘Political’ in this context meant that among their accomplishments, they enjoyed direct representation at the court in Tanjavur in the early to mid-eighteenth century. At least some of these paṇaiyar representatives were members of the central state’s military as well. The Pietist cleric Rajanāyakkan’s uncle Kallunāyakkan, for example, was a soldier and also an official representative of paṇaiyar in Tanjavur. His position was challenged at times by other members of his paṇaiyar community who also had access to government officials such as ‘the
Sa‘id (der Said), that is, the qil‘adār or military commander of Tanjavur to whom they reported their grievances.\textsuperscript{365}

During the 1720s and 30s, disputes had usually been small-scale and could be resolved peacefully. Beginning in the 1740s and especially during the late 1750s and 60s, however, disputes between the valaÝkai and their opponents escalated. British colonial policies had purposefully eroded the position of some social groups in Madras as early as the turn of the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{366} During the Seven Years’ War, this policy reached Tanjavur. During disputes with other social groups, paraïyar political action began to include strikes and large-scale violent protests.

**Economic policies in Tanjavur in the 1720s and early 1730s**

In January 1730, a member of a group of Pietists traveling from Tarangambadi to Nagappattinam kept a travel journal. In an entry on Naguru, the author noted that the town had grown considerably over the past few years. He observed that the ‘Little Raja’ Tukkoji had been very determined to develop ‘sea-bound trade (die Schiff-Fahrt)’ at Naguru during his residence at Madevipattinam, that is, prior to his ascension to the throne after the death of his brother Sarabhoji Raja in 1729. The Pietist author claimed that Tukkoji had cut taxes on trade or ‘fees (Gebühren)’ in half and had abolished other ‘dues (Auflagen)’ which are not specified in the text.\textsuperscript{367}

In 1730, most merchants, ship owners, and operators involved in maritime trade in Naguru were Tamil Muslims. The Pietist author who reported rapid growth of the city suggested that, ‘even from Nagappattinam, many Muslim merchants (selbst aus Nagapadtnam viel Mohrische Kaufleute)’ had been lured to Naguru due to Tanjavur’s economic policies.\textsuperscript{368} Ship owners from Naguru also provided overseas transport to merchants of other towns such as Tarangambadi. ‘A few Muslim merchants (Wenige Mohrische Kaufleute)’ based in Tanjavur and neighboring Poraiyar were involved in trade with Southeast Asia. They made the journey to Aceh on the Danish company’s ship once a year and to Melaka on ships owned by Muslims from Naguru. They exported various types of blue and white canvas, men’s and women’s cloths, tobacco, alcoholic beverages, and dealt in spices such as nutmeg, cinnamon, cloves, and locally produced salt. Among the alcoholic beverages were both the locally produced kalluccāriyam or palm arrack and an arrack imported from Colombo.\textsuperscript{369}

In the late 1720s and early 1730s, political and economic developments had begun to become visible in Tanjavur that foreshadowed the more fundamental changes that would occur due to direct external interference in the mid-eighteenth century. In February 1732, the Tamil Pietist cleric Diogo and a few other Pietists traveled from Tarangambadi to Madras to visit the small Pietist community there.\textsuperscript{370} Since the Nawwab of Arcot had recently led an army to Tanjavur, the Pietist group took a calāṅku boat from Tarangambadi along the coast to Kadalur on February 6 to

\textsuperscript{365} HB, vol. 3 (1735), no. 30, p. 542-543.

\textsuperscript{366} Niels Brimnes, *Constructing the colonial encounter: Right and left hand castes in early colonial South India* (Richmond, UK, 1999).

\textsuperscript{367} More information on the administration of Tanjavur’s territory is provided in Chapter 2.

\textsuperscript{368} HB, vol. 3, no. 30, p. 570.

\textsuperscript{369} HB, vol. 3, no. 29, p. 470.

\textsuperscript{370} HB, vol. 3, no. 34, p. 1012.
avoid Mughal troops. They arrived at Kadalur in the evening of the same day. From there, Diogo and his Pietist travel group continued their journey overland to Madras. They left Pondicheri early on February 10, 1732, and noticed abandoned Dutch and English facilities when they reached Kunimetu in the evening of the same day. On February 11, they had lunch across from ‘the new Mughal fortress of Alambaram {...} where the Dutch now establish a factory on request of the dīwān (der Mogulschen neuen Vestung Alani-paragè {...} da die Holländer, auf Begehren des Diwans, ietzo eine Factorie[!] anlegen).’\textsuperscript{371} The factory they described reflected an effort by the Arcot Nawwab to diversify overseas trade on the coast between Kadalur and Madras to keep the British from establishing a monopoly.\textsuperscript{372}

On July 26, 1732, a few months after Diogo had traveled to Madras, another Pietist who just arrived from Europe noticed three ships that were anchored at ‘the imperial fort Kovalam (das Käyserliche Fort Cambelon)’ located about halfway between Sadrasapattinam and Madras.\textsuperscript{373} Kovalam or Sa’adat Pattan was a project similar to Alambaram that had been launched by the Arcot state fifteen years earlier to diversify overseas trade on the same section of the coast. At that time, in 1717, the British at Madras had already tried to impose their will on local officials and disrespected local authorities. The project at Kovalam only experienced limited success by the late 1720s. The Arcot state therefore started additional initiatives, such as the one at Alambaram, to integrate growing overseas trade with its own needs.\textsuperscript{374} During the 1720s, Kovalam was of some significance to Tarangambadi. Shipping was provided by the Austrian Oostendse Compagnie which had a factory at Kovalam during its brief existence.\textsuperscript{375} The end of the Oostendse Compagnie came for political rather than economic reasons. It was suspended due to British, Dutch, and French pressure in 1727 (the Treaty of Paris) and dissolved due to British pressure in 1731 (the Treaty of Vienna).

Since Arcot had to deal with increasing British monopolization of overseas trade on its coast and the resulting political arrogance, the state invited the Dutch to help diversify overseas trade. Yet, Arcot was not the only polity in the area that tried to integrate an increasing volume of overseas trade. The Dutch were still somewhat over-represented on Tanjavur’s coast and further to the south. Although Naguru had become very attractive to Tanjavur’s merchants and shippers in maritime trade and transport by 1730, it was still a small player compared to Dutch Nagappattinam.\textsuperscript{376} From the point of view of Tanjavur, diversification of overseas trade was therefore contrary to Arcot’s approach. Tanjavur had to curtail Dutch influence and had an interest in developing economic relations to the British and others.

### Tanjavur’s rice production and trade

Overseas trade was only one sector of Tanjavur’s economy that was actively supported by the central state. The ‘Little Raja’ Tukkoji’s move to personally govern the southern coastal province of Tanjavur from Madevipattinam prior to his ascension to the throne had several goals. His political and diplomatic objectives were to stabilize relations with the smaller southern neighbors, such as the Maravar polities and even Pattukkottai, which was not fully integrated at

\textsuperscript{371} HB, vol. 3, no. 34, p. 1019.
\textsuperscript{372} Subrahmanyam, "Commerce, politics, and the early Arcot state."
\textsuperscript{373} HB 3, no. 34, p. 1113.
\textsuperscript{374} Subrahmanyam, "Commerce, politics, and the early Arcot state."
\textsuperscript{375} HB, vol. 3, no. 29, p. 471.
\textsuperscript{376} HB, vol. 3, no. 30, p. 570.
the time, and to keep an eye on the Europeans on the coast, especially the Dutch. His economic objectives were to channel an increasing volume of overseas trade, to oversee rice exports, and to improve agricultural production.

Tukkoji and his sūbadār Chokkāpamudaliār had already received favorable reviews on this last aspect of their economic policies between 1710 and 1715. At that time, Tukkoji had not yet founded Madevipattinam and governed with his sūbadār from Tirutturaippundi. An author of a letter intended to provide Pietists with an overview of the administrative structure of Tanjavur in the early 1710s mentioned that Tukkoji and Chokkāpamudaliār ensured that all agricultural producers of their sūba received seed grain. The sūbadār also had a reputation for putting out money on time. Where required, the government provided oxen for plowing.

The author further commended these policies by contrasting them with the policies of Annāchipāndidan, the sūbadār of Mayavaram, who had supposedly delegated much of the administration of his sūba to Ayavēiran, a man also referred to as a rich brahmin, who lived in Kaveripattinam. According to the account, Ayavēiran was primarily interested in speculating on the price of rice and cheating producers rather than increasing production. Among other shady practices, he supposedly exported too much nellu or unhusked rice and prohibited imports to drive up prices in his province. The Pietist editor of the letter claimed in a footnote that several producers and potential buyers had complained about this to Sarabhoji Raja. Yet, Ayavēiran had so far been able to talk himself out of trouble. This incident foreshadowed more serious disputes about rice exports and domestic use from the 1740s when rice production, disrupted by wars, declined and when long-term shortages began to seriously impact life in the very fertile Kaveri delta.

In the 1720s and early 1730s, Tanjavur had been capable of exporting large quantities of rice. Much of it was sent to Sri Lanka, mainly Colombo. Even during bad years, Tanjavur could keep up considerable exports. In January 1730, for example, a Pietist met a brahmin and a kanakkapillai who oversaw measuring of rice for export near a guest house between Tarangambadi and Karaikal. He asked whether rice exports would not drive up prices, considering the relatively bad harvest. They replied that this was true. Yet, the Tanjavur government still needed the money. From the mid-1730s, much of the rice produced in the Kaveri delta was redirected north to Arcot rather than south to Sri Lanka. In a letter dated October 7, 1737, Pietists at Tarangambadi complained that rice had become very scarce despite an exceptionally good harvest. Much of the grain had been shipped north. This was very unusual since rice had been shipped south for centuries. Annual weather cycles determined the availability of rice and conditions for coastal transport. The two rice harvests in the Kaveri delta coincided with wind directions and currents that favored exports to Lanka and the Malabar coast.

About two years later, in August 1739, Pietists at Tarangambadi were happy to receive two calāṅku or boat loads of rice, since no rice was available in Tanjavur, even for people who had the money to pay for it. In the same year, rice prices in Madras or, to be more precise, in the British Fort St. George fell dramatically, proof that an oversupply rather than a shortage

380 HB, vol. 5, no. 50, p. 188-190.
existed in Arcot, an area that depended on rice imports.\footnote{Parthasarathi, \textit{The transition to a colonial economy: Weavers, merchants, and kings in South India, 1720-1800}, 37.} When Pietists received the two \textit{calai\=ku} loads of rice, the Tamil cleric Sinnappen had just returned to Tarangambadi and had provided a report on July 16. Shahuji Raja, a son of the former Raja Sarabhoji, had been removed from power and imprisoned. Pratapasimha (Partapasinga), the youngest son of the former Raja Tukkoji, had taken his place. The change of government occurred while Tanjavur city was under siege by Arcot forces commanded by two sons of Dost \textquotesingle Ali Khan who supported the new candidate Pratapasimha. Almost exactly one year before, on July 10, 1738, Shahuji had ascended to the throne with support from Arcot forces on order of Chanda Sahib. Due to the volatile political situation, many wealthy landlords and other residents had been drained of their resources and others had fled to the coast. For this reason, agricultural production had fallen and was not expected to pick up in the near future.\footnote{HB, vol. 5, no. 50, p. 188-190.}

In 1743, scarcity of rice, famine, and prices reached a new peak after two relatively good years had passed, during which the presence of a large northern Maratha force in neighboring Tiruchirappalli had brought some stability to Tanjavur. Now a large Arcot army put Tiruchirappalli under siege again. The siege continued for several months, and the troops from Arcot needed provisions from Tanjavur.\footnote{HB, vol. 5, no. 58, p. 1510-1511.} In a letter written about three years later, on January 30, 1747, Pietists explained that the situation had taken yet another twist due to the outbreak of open warfare between Britain and France. Now, rice production in Arcot had been completely disrupted, and much of Tanjavur’s rice was therefore transported north, although the harvest in the Kaveri delta had been relatively meager due to lack of water in the Kaveri.\footnote{HB, vol. 6, no. 66, p. 1077-1078.} By the early 1750s, Tanjavur imported grain from Madurai. On October 1, 1751, the Pietist Sarruvayan joined a large bullock train to travel from Vallam, which is located a few kilometers southwest of Tanjavur, to his hometown Nattam, which lies a few dozen kilometers northeast of Madurai city. The bullock train had previously brought grain from the area around Nattam to Tanjavur.\footnote{HB, vol. 7, no. 76, p. 524-525.}

This negative trend in agricultural production illustrated by anecdotal evidence can be confirmed by examining the development of \textit{nellu} prices in Tarangambadi. Figure 1 gives an overview of how much \textit{nellu} or unhusked rice Pietists in the Tarangambadi area could buy for one Tarangambadi fanam from 1715 to 1764. The price of rice was always exactly twice the price of \textit{nellu}.\footnote{See Appendix for information on South Indian money, weights, and measures.}
As Figure 1 indicates, the amount of *nellu* that Pietists could buy for one fanam in the Tarangambadi area decreased considerably after the early 1730s. The real increase in prices was most likely even more dramatic. Since Pietist communities grew rapidly from the 1730s, they bought increasingly large quantities of *nellu* and, as a result, most likely received better prices toward the end of the period. Moreover, their local and regional connections gradually improved, which contributed to their ability to obtain better prices toward the end of the period.

As the development of *nellu* prices indicates, people living in Tanjavur had to deal with a serious increase in living costs, especially from the early 1740s onwards. From 1741 to 1764, Pietists in Tarangambadi paid three times as much for *nellu* as during the period from 1715 to 1726. High prices in 1728 and 1729 had been caused by drought and the resulting shortage of *nellu* and other grain supplies. Yet, Tanjavur could still export considerable amounts of *nellu* at the time. This was one of those brief periods commonly referred to as ‘bad times’ in the early modern economy. Data from other sources confirm this interpretation as Table 1 shows.

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Table 1: Amount of rice in pounds received for one star pagoda in Tanjavur and Nagappattinam from 1697 to 1733/34.\textsuperscript{388}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Tanjavur</th>
<th>Nagappattinam</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1697</td>
<td>363</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1698</td>
<td>195</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1709</td>
<td></td>
<td>70</td>
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<td>1711</td>
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<td>193</td>
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<td>1713</td>
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<td>95</td>
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<td>1714</td>
<td></td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1730</td>
<td></td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1733/34</td>
<td></td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As was to be expected, after the bad harvests in 1728 and 1729, prices fell somewhat in the 1730s. Qualitative statements in Pietist sources confirm this trend and agree with the price for 1733/34 provided in the table above. If we seek to account for the persistently high prices from the 1740s, we can no longer attribute these to the conventional explanation of fluctuations of the early modern economy. Rather than ‘bad times,’ these instabilities indicate the beginning collapse of the economy in Tanjavur and the wider region due to external, European influences.\textsuperscript{389}

The economic changes that occurred from the 1740s, provoked a serious impact on the local population. People who lived in cities and had a low income were particularly hard hit by the economic changes of the mid-eighteenth century. A few years prior to the 1740s, in September 1733, a Pietist cleric in Madras asked George, a shoemaker who had moved to the city, how Pietists could convince other shoemakers to move to the city as well. George pointed out that this would be difficult for two reasons. First, they had to acquire their raw materials in the country. It was easier to transport shoes to Madras than to transport all required raw materials to the city. Second, everyone had a big family, and rural areas offered employment opportunities to all family members. In rural areas, people could also acquire food for relatively low prices. These shrewd observations reflected the hard facts that members of some occupational groups had to develop smart economic strategies to make a living, such as exploiting economic

\textsuperscript{388} Sinnappah Arasaratnam, \textit{Merchants, companies, and commerce on the Coromandel coast, 1650-1740} (Delhi, 1986), 336.

The value for 1730, that is, 190 pounds of rice per star pagoda, pretty much agrees with the value for 1730 provided in Pietist sources, that is, 10 medidas of \textit{nellu} per Tarangambadi fanam, which equals 180 pounds of rice per star pagoda. The overall picture also agrees with Pietist sources. Apart from a few expensive years caused by bad harvests, prices were relatively stable during the first third of the eighteenth century.

The conversion of the value for 1730 works as follows:

a) 1 medida = 1.5 pounds => 10 medidas \textit{nellu} per Tarangambadi fanam = 15 pounds \textit{nellu} per Tar. fanam

b) 12 Tar. fanam = 1 Tar. pagoda => 15 pounds \textit{nellu} per Tar. fanam = 180 pounds \textit{nellu} per Tar. pagoda

c) price of rice = 2 x price of \textit{nellu} => 180 pounds \textit{nellu} per Tar. pagoda = 90 pounds rice per Tar. pagoda

d) 1 star pagoda = 2 Tar. pagodas => 90 pounds rice per Tar. pagoda = 180 pounds rice per star pagoda

\textsuperscript{389} The continuation of this trend under British domination after the imperialist wars of the mid-eighteenth century has been discussed in the secondary literature. See: Subrahmanyam, "Fiscality and politics in Maratha Tanjavur."
differences between city and country, even prior to the increase of living costs from the 1740s. Small urban artisans, workers, and service providers most likely spent a major part of their income on *nellu*. The relative weights of various living expenses of Pietist communities in Tarangambadi are shown in Figure 2 and 3.

Figure 2: Tarangambadi Pietists’ expenses on *nellu* compared to total living expenses from the accounting year 1727/8 to 1763/4.

![Graph showing the comparison of total living expenses and *nellu* expenses over the years 1726 to 1761.](image)

Figure 2 shows how fluctuations in *nellu* prices dominated the development of total living expenses. Other expenses, such as expenses on *kari* and on cloths, produced relatively little impact on total living expenses, as Figure 3 indicates.

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390 HB, vol. 4, no. 37, p. 186.
391 AFSt, M III 13:2-41.
From coastal traders to wage workers: The changing role of karaiyar

While Pietists funded from European sources—either Europeans or Tamils employed in the missions—enjoyed a fairly secure income, others suffered from economic change. When Diogo and other Pietists made their trip to Madras on February 6, 1732, karaiyar who operated the calaṅku or coasting vessel to Kadalur bravely weathered a day of Pietist sermons without complaining much until they reached Kadalur in the evening of the same day. Some karaiyar had become used to Pietist sermons, since a few families living in Tarangambadi had joined the Pietists recently.

Two of the Pietists traveling to Madras were young karaiyar apprentices. In early eighteenth-century Tanjavur, karaiyar owned and operated calaṅku, that is, boats used in the coastal trade. In fact, Pietist sources frequently use the term ‘calankar (Sellinger),’ which is derived from calaṅku, to refer to karaiyar. In addition to karaiyar, many cōnakar or Tamil Muslims were involved in coastal trade. This trade offered independent economic opportunities to people with relatively little capital who traded small quantities of goods and to people who owned a boat or several boats and provided transport. Yet, the prospects for this profitable occupation worsened over the course of the eighteenth century. The influx of larger capital and consolidation of businesses forced out karaiyar and other small traders and shippers. By the late eighteenth century, many karaiyar worked for wages. British attempts at establishing work

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392 AFSt, M III I3:2-41.
393 HB, vol. 3, no. 34, p. 1012-1013.
394 ‘Calankar’ seems to be a double borrowing between Tamil and Portuguese. According to an early eighteenth-century linguist, Tamil calankar is derived from Chelengueiro, a term Portuguese speakers applied to people who ran coastal trade and transport using Tamil calaṅku boats. See: HB, vol. 3, no. 30, p. 525-526.
discipline also included a variety of coercive means including corporal punishment. ‘Ritualized floggings were repeatedly performed on the beach and other public places as a deterrent.’

In early eighteenth-century Tanjavur, the lives of karaiyār had followed different rules. Activities in the coastal trade had followed seasonal monsoon patterns that determined major harvests, wind directions, and currents along the coast. Rice and nellu exports to Sri Lanka constituted a major portion of Tanjavur’s coastal trade. Rice and nellu were exported immediately after the two harvests in the Kaveri river delta. The first rice crop was normally harvested in the second half of September and October. This coincided with conditions that favored southward travel along the coast to Sri Lanka. From mid-October, northeast winds made coastal travel to Lanka easier. The onset of the East India Winter Jet, a strong boundary current that pushes southward along the Coromandel coast from late October, could also support coastal traffic to Sri Lanka and even to the Malabar coast. Yet, the situation drastically changed in November and December when heavy seas and cyclones brought maritime transport to a halt. The second rice crop, which was the major one, was harvested in January and February. From late January, rice and nellu of the second harvest were prepared for export to Lanka. By this time, the ocean had calmed down again. Northeast winds supported traffic to Lanka. Currents were weak. The return trip from Lanka to Tanjavur was supported by south winds in March. The East India Coastal Current provided additional support. It had now turned northward and was gaining strength.

On return trips from Lanka, cargo consisted in pepper from the Malabar coast and a broad range of goods produced from tree crops, mainly from areca, coconut, and palmyra (borassus) palms. They included stationery (ōlai), food (pickles, coconuts) drugs (areca nuts, arrack, jaggery), and materials used in construction and ship building (coir, laths, mats, timber).


Ahuja, "Labour relations in an early colonial context: Madras, c. 1750-1800," 808.


See also: Subrahmaniam, Political economy of commerce, 54-55.


On low coastal traffic, see: Subrahmaniam, Political economy of commerce, 54.


Bharathi, Coromandel fishermen, 25.


HB, vol. 3, no. 29, p. 469.
Cinnamon from Lanka had been a major trade item up to the mid-seventeenth century, but was no longer available or only in small quantities since the Dutch had seized much of Sri Lanka’s economy and monopolized the cinnamon trade. Pietists were particularly fond of őlai, the palmyra palm leaves used for writing. The best quality came from Lanka.

Coastal trade also provided raw materials for textile production and other industries in Tanjavur and played a role in the distribution of finished products. On their way back from Madras to Tarangambadi in March 1732, Diogo and his Pietist travel group took a boat that originated from Naguru. Part of the crew were cânakar or Tamil Muslims. In Porto Novo, passengers had to leave the ship temporarily and were brought to land on kaṭṭumaram or rafts common on the Coromandel coast because the crew had to deliver part of its cargo, that is, ‘a few sacks of indigo seeds (eineige Säcke Blaufarb=Samen).’ Pietist sources mention numerous examples of this kind of small-scale coastal trade and transport that was organized and operated by karaiyär and cânakar.

Many other goods were traded along the coast. Although goods destined for local use played a significant role in the coastal trade, they were unlikely to enter European records. On February 11, 1732, Diogo and his Pietist travel group had entered a large forest between Maraikanam and Sadrasapattinam where exceptionally promising palmyra palms grew. They were told that őlai imported from Lanka were still of superior quality. They also noticed many cēnkkoṭṭai or ‘Indian cashews (Elephanten=Läuse).’ Washermen used their sap to mark cloths. Indian cashews were also used to enhance fermentation in the production of ariciccārāyam or rice arrack, an important trade good that was exported overseas as well.

When coasting vessels returned from Sri Lanka after delivering rice and nellu of the second harvest, oceangoing ships began to arrive in Tanjavur and provided opportunities for coastal traders and shippers. Most arrivals were in March and April. Some of the goods imported by oceangoing ships were then distributed in the coastal trade. Coastal traffic also provided overseas traders and shippers with goods destined for export. Many oceangoing ships left the Coromandel coast in August and September. They left no later than October to avoid the heavy seas and storms that occurred in November and December. After the departure of most oceangoing ships, karaiyär could already shift their focus to exporting the next rice crop.

Karaiyär also assisted oceangoing ships in other ways. Since the Coromandel coast had no natural harbors, ships anchored far off the coast. Karaiyär were experienced in dealing with the strong surf along the coast and provided transport between ships and shore. When, over the course of the eighteenth century, bigger merchants and shippers pushed into coastal trade and traffic and geared it more toward serving overseas business, karaiyär with their relatively small calaṅku and otherwise limited resources became more and more confined to this secondary role.


Subrahmanyam, Political economy of commerce, 54.

of loading and offloading larger vessels. In the process, they lost much of their economic 
independence and political clout, many becoming wage workers. Some karaiyār seeking 
alternatives switched to fishing in a bid to preserve some degree of economic independence.  

History and power in Tanjavur’s coastal towns

Karaiyār in the Tarangambadi area had already experienced competition based on a 
gradual decline in influence in the early eighteenth century. Around the year nantana of the 
Tamil sixty-year cycle (1712-1713), a local historian whose name is not mentioned in the 
sources provided Pietists with an account of how this section of Tanjavur’s coast had developed 
over the previous century. Although the historian’s social background is not provided, his view 
of history reveals part of it, since he attempted to legitimize a newly evolving but still contested 
social hierarchy.

The local historian began his account by stating that karaiyār had already lived in the 
towns Tirumullaivasal, Tirukkadaiyur, and Tirukkilacheri three hundred years prior to his 
writing, that is, in the early fifteen century. Since he did not mention anyone else for this 
period, he obviously saw a need to acknowledge that karaiyār had played a central role in the 
area for generations. Yet, his intention was to point out that karaiyār had not been present in 
Tarangambadi itself. Tirukkilacheri and Tirukkadaiyur lie about ten kilometers from 
Tarangambadi. Tirumullaivasal about thirty kilometers. After the historian had confined karaiyār 
to these three towns, he went on to claim that, in the early fifteenth century, Tarangambadi had 
only consisted of a sand dune with the gopuram of a ruined temple peeking out of it.

The suggested lack of karaiyār in early fifteenth-century Tarangambadi served a purpose 
in the historian’s account. It provided space for southern pioneers in the form of one 
Nellaiinapillai and his brahmin teacher to move in. The historian then added weight to this 
budding pīḷḷai presence by associating it with the state of Tanjavur and its rulers. For this 
purpose, he provided a chronology of Tarangambadi which consisted in a sequence of 
maṉiyakkārār or local state administrators. Only one of the nine maṉiyakkārār he noted had not 
been a pīḷḷai.

The historian also pointed out that big merchant capital had only come to the 
Tarangambadi area about a hundred years prior to his writing, that is, in the early seventeenth 
century. The Danish came first followed by two merchant families, one marakkayar and one 
chetti. Modalināmaraikkayar, the Muslim merchant, arrived just before Pōtpadachetti.  
Our local historian did not mention when the first karaiyār had moved to Tarangambadi. By 1730, 
they had their own street in the walled city. Their street formed the center of occupational 
neighborhoods in the walled town and connected the Muslim neighborhood in the west with the 
bazaar in the east.

This brief local history suggested that various social groups competed for power in early 
eighteenth-century Tarangambadi. According to later eighteenth-century sources, karaiyār were

\[\text{\textsuperscript{415}}\] On the late eighteenth century, see: Ahuja, \textit{Erzeugung kolonialer Staatlichkeit}, 69-83. On wages in late 
eighteenth-century Madras, see: Ahuja, \textit{Erzeugung kolonialer Staatlichkeit}, 114.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{416}}\] HB, vol. 1, no. 11, p. 881-885. The text has the term ‘\textit{calāṅkaṟ}’ to refer to karaiyār. Pietist editors added a 
footnote that describes a \textit{calāṅku} or coasting vessel.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{417}}\] See the map ‘Das Königl{ich}. Dänische Castel Dansburg und die Stadt Trankenbar, auf der Custe 
unlikely contenders due to their occupational role and associated social status in British South India. Yet, in the second decade of the eighteenth century, our local historian had seen a need to question and undermine *karaiyâr* legitimacy. There would have been no need to do this unless they still enjoyed some influence in Tarangambadi at the time.

In the early eighteenth century, *karaiyâr* were present along most of the Tamil-speaking coast, from Sri Lanka in the south to Madras in the north. If our local historian was right, this presence had begun much earlier. Rice exports southward along the coast were certainly not a novelty in the early eighteenth century. It may be worth recalling that Vasco da Gama had seized several coasting vessels off the Malabar coast in 1498. These boats had brought rice from the Kaveri delta. In 1506, Ludovico di Varthema noted that most exports from Nagappattinam and neighboring ports went to Sri Lanka. During the first half of the sixteenth century, Portuguese settled at Nagappattinam because they were attracted by the profits of the rice trade to Jaffna in northern Lanka.\(^ {418} \)

A hundred years later, during the early seventeenth century, relations between Jaffna and Tanjavur were not limited to trade. Portuguese sources mention diplomatic relations between *karaiyâr* in Jaffna and the state of Tanjavur. As one Portuguese historian of the seventeenth century noted, some *karaiyâr* put up stiff resistance when the Portuguese Estado da Índia tried to annex Jaffna in 1619.\(^ {419} \) The state of Tanjavur supported *karaiyâr* resistance in Jaffna.\(^ {420} \) After the breakdown of resistance and during Portuguese rule in Jaffna, which lasted from 1619 to 1658, some *karaiyâr* expressed their allegiance to the Portuguese Estado by becoming Catholics. In this, they followed the example of *karaiyâr* in Mannar and Kotte on Lanka’s western coast who had become Catholics earlier.\(^ {421} \)

When the Dutch VOC forced its way into Lanka, it was also met with resistance. According to some historians, *karaiyâr* were among the leaders of anti-Dutch resistance in 1658. The leaders were eventually caught and publicly executed in a gory spectacle. There is some indication that the Dutch later sidelined *karaiyâr* and favored other social groups. Yet, as late as 1760, some *karaiyâr* still shared in the considerable tax farm of the Jaffna port.\(^ {422} \)

For people in the coastal trade, the Dutch presence proved a mixed blessing at best. During the second half of the seventeenth century, Dutch economic policies had consistently aimed at controlling as much of Lanka’s trade as possible.\(^ {423} \) Restrictive policies led to war with Kandy, the only remaining independent polity, in the 1670s and had other adverse effects. In the

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\(^ {418} \) For Portuguese comments on the coastal trade, see: Subrahmanyam, *Political economy of commerce*, 53.

\(^ {419} \) In Portuguese sources, *karaiyâr* are referred to as ‘Careas’ or ‘Careaz.’ On *karaiyâr* resistance in Jaffna, in 1619, see: Fernão de Queyroze, *The temporal and spiritual conquest of Ceylon*, S. G. Perera trans. (New Delhi, 1992), 631.

\(^ {420} \) Ibid., 633, 638.


\(^ {422} \) Arasaratnam, "Social history of a dominant caste society: The vellalar of North Ceylon in the 18th century," 383-384, 390.

\(^ {423} \) The public execution is described in: Philippus Baldaeus, "Beschryving van het machtige Eyland Ceylon, met zijne onderhoorige Vorstendommen, Steden en Sterkten," in *Nauwkeurige Beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel, derzelver aangrenzende Ryken en het machtige Eyland Ceylon* (Amsterdam, 1672), 159-160.

\(^ {424} \) Arasaratnam, *Dutch power in Ceylon, 1658-1687*, 159-177.
early 1680s, textile imports on Lanka’s east coast virtually came to a halt.\textsuperscript{424} In the mid-1680s, many coasting vessels based in Dutch Nagappattinam returned empty from Lanka.\textsuperscript{425} Dutch attempts to enforce monopolies on areca nuts, cinnamon, and textiles had upset trade. Yet, karaiyár possibly suffered less than others. Fewer and fewer of the large ships from Bengal that used to bring considerable quantities of rice to Lanka arrived in the 1680s and early 1690s. Some of the smaller coasting vessels from Tanjavur could perhaps evade Dutch controls and even profit from these developments. From 1694, the Dutch began to change their policies since their own rice supplies were in danger. From 1697, they relaxed monopolies on areca nut exports and textile imports.\textsuperscript{426}

Karaiyár, paṭṭaṅavar, and the local autonomy of marine fishing communities

In the recent past, that is, the 1950s, karaiyár in Sri Lanka were associated with marine fishing.\textsuperscript{427} There is some evidence that Jaffna karaiyár were involved in fishing as early as the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{428} Some historians have projected this occupation of Jaffna karaiyár onto karaiyár in early modern Tanjavur and other locations on the Tamil section of the Coromandel coast. When no other work was available in early eighteenth-century Tanjavur, some karaiyár did get involved in fishing and pearl diving.\textsuperscript{429} Yet, their major occupation remained coastal trade and transport. Fishing became more important later in the century when karaiyár were pushed out of the coastal trade. The discrepancy between occupations of Jaffna and Tanjavur karaiyár makes sense if one keeps in mind that the major direction of coastal trade along the Coromandel coast was southward. Most coastal traders and shippers who did business in Lanka were based in Tanjavur. Some karaiyár who had migrated south and had stayed in Lanka had become involved in other occupations such as marine fishing.

Early eighteenth-century Tanjavur had no shortage of fishing communities such as cempaṭavar, vaḷaiyar, paṭṭaṅavar, and paravar. Cempaṭavar were river fishers.\textsuperscript{430} Some vaḷaiyar, such as the twenty-seven from the area around Tanjavur city who joined the Pietists in 1734, were also involved in riverine fishing.\textsuperscript{431} Paṭṭaṅavar were marine fishers on Tanjavur’s coast and to the north along the Tamil section of the Coromandel coast. They had their own distinct settlements called paṭṭiṇacakkeri or fishing villages.\textsuperscript{432} Paratavar who were also referred to as ‘paravar’ were involved in marine fishing at the southernmost end of the Coromandel coast. Many paratavar were Catholics. A few of them who had migrated north to Tanjavur joined the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[{424}] Arasaratnam, “The kingdom of Kandy: Aspects of its external relations and commerce, 1658-1710,” 117.
\item[{425}] Subrahmanyam, \textit{Political economy of commerce,} 55.
\item[{426}] Arasaratnam, “Dutch commercial policy in Ceylon and its effects on Indo-Ceylon trade, 1690-1750,” 111.
\item[{427}] In the 1950s, karaiyár made up about ten percent of the Tamil population of Sri Lanka’s Jaffna peninsula. ‘Deep sea fishing’ as opposed to ‘lagoon fishing’ was seen as their ‘traditional’ occupation at the time. See: Bryan Pfaffenberger, \textit{The religious foundations of Sudra domination in Tamil Sri Lanka} (Syracuse, 1982), 39, 47. See also: Bharathi, \textit{Coromandel fishermen}, 8-10.
\item[{429}] HB, vol. 3, no. 32, p. 766.
\item[{430}] HB, vol. 5, no. 52, p. 600.
\item[{431}] HB, vol. 4, no. 39, p. 367, 390.
\item[{432}] See the map ‘Trankenbar samt denen dazu gehörigen Flecken und Dörffern’ in: HB, vol. 3, no. 29, between p. 480 and p. 481.
\end{footnotes}
Pietists in Tarangambadi early on.\textsuperscript{433} Shavrimuttu, one of the first Tamil Pietist assistant clerics, was most likely a \textit{paratavag} since his family was Catholic and from a marine fishing community.\textsuperscript{434} \textit{Paṭṭanavar}, the dominant marine fishing group in Tanjavur, by contrast, showed little interest in joining Catholics and Pietists and were also reluctant to participate in festivals and rituals of the dominant bhakti groups.

Like marine fishing communities, \textit{karaiyār} communities were located on or near the coast. ‘\textit{Kara}’ actually means ‘coast,’ and ‘\textit{karaiyār}’ literally means ‘coastal people.’ But most European colonists lived on the coast as well. No historian refers to them as ‘fishers.’ \textit{Karaiyār} communities differed in many respects from marine fishing communities. Different occupations required different skills, work organization, and equipment. Among the biggest investments of the two groups were trading and fishing craft. While \textit{karaiyār} used \textit{calaṅku} in coastal transport, marine fishers used \textit{kattumaram} or rafts that were easier to maintain and better suited for relatively short fishing trips. Even nowadays, many fishers in South India rely on \textit{kattumaram} rather than boats. Differences between \textit{karaiyār} and marine fishing communities, such as \textit{paṭṭanavar}, ran much deeper than occupational specialization in early eighteenth-century Tanjavur. Other major differences included settlement patterns, gender roles, and ritual practice. This indicates that their occupational distinctiveness was not of recent origin.

\textit{Karaiyār} inhabited a more extensive stretch of coastline than either \textit{paṭṭanavar} or \textit{paravar}. Their presence was more drawn out and scattered. The network of \textit{karaiyār} settlements, which covered the entire length of the Tamil coast, probably served them well in conducting coastal trade and transport. The spatial distribution may indicate that \textit{karaiyār} had been involved in coastal trade and transport for some time. In the Tarangambadi area, many \textit{karaiyār} lived in the urban center where they had their own street in the walled town in the early eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{435} Fishers lived in \textit{paṭṭinaccēri} or fishing villages. The Danish leasehold included several \textit{paṭṭinaccēri} such as \textit{Veḷḷaikkovilpaṭṭinaccēri}, \textit{Naṭṉaṭṭinaccēri}, and \textit{Uḷḷaṭṭinaccēri}.\textsuperscript{436}

Information provided by Tarangambadi’s local historian gives additional clues on locations preferred by \textit{karaiyār}. The towns for which the local historian claimed a \textit{karaiyār} presence in the early fifteenth century were Tirumullaivasal, Tirukkadaiyur, and Tirukkilacheri.\textsuperscript{437} Tirukkilacheri is located about ten kilometers west of Tarangambadi on the Nandalaru or Nandal river, a major channel of the Kaveri river.\textsuperscript{438} Tirukkadaiyur is about ten kilometers northwest of Tarangambadi on another major Kaveri branch.\textsuperscript{439} Tirumullaivasal is on the coast, thirty kilometers north of Tarangambadi.

This brief social geography provided by our local historian indicates that some owners and operators of \textit{calaṅku} or coasting vessels had preferred inland locations over the coast. This made perfect sense for people involved in coastal trade and distinguished them from marine fishers. The latter lived more or less on the beach, which was a necessity since they went on

\textsuperscript{433} HB, vol. 3, no. 32, p. 766.
\textsuperscript{435} For \textit{karaiyār} in Tarangambadi, see the map ‘Das Königl[n]iche Castell Dansburg und die Stadt Trankanbar, auf der Custe Coromandel in Ost=Indien’ in: HB, vol. 3, no. 29, between p. 480 and p. 481.
\textsuperscript{436} See the map ‘Trankanbar samt denen dazu gehörigen Flecken und Dörfern’ in: HB, vol. 3, no. 29, between p. 480 and p. 481.
\textsuperscript{437} HB, vol. 1, no. 11, p. 881-882.
\textsuperscript{438} See the map ‘Trankanbar samt denen dazu gehörigen Flecken und Dörfern’ in: HB, vol. 3, no. 29, between p. 480 and p. 481.
\textsuperscript{439} See the map ‘Carte zu dem Itinerario von Anno 1728. ingleichen Zu der Majaburamischen Dioeces’ in: HB, vol. 3, no. 26, facing the title page.
relatively short fishing trips on *kaṭṭumaram* and had to return to their village after a successful catch or failure, sometimes several times a day. The former went on extended trips that took several days or even weeks. They had no need to live on the beach with its heightened risk of floods and tropical cyclones.  

Tirumullaivasal, the only coastal town which our local historian associated with a longstanding *karaiyār* presence, lies thirty kilometers north of Tarangambadi and provided a major access point to oceangoing ships. According to Portuguese and early Dutch navigation instructions and travel accounts, oceangoing ships had to approach the coast near Tirumullaivasal due to currents. This most likely applied to ships headed for locations on the southern and central Coromandel coast, that is, the Tamil-speaking section of the coast. In Tirumullaivasal, *karaiyār* enjoyed a great base to receive from oceangoing ships the imported goods which they could then further distribute along the coast.

There is little doubt about the major occupational focus of *karaiyār*. As coastal traders, they had their own corporate identity, but were closely tied into interregional dependencies. This may have been part of the reason why some *karaiyār* were curious about Pietists. But *karaiyār* had little capital compared to European trading companies and were vulnerable to the effects of economic shifts from regional to European interests. They had therefore reasons to be skeptical of European economic interests and also of Pietist missionaries who increasingly began to endorse such interests when they were forced to take sides.

*Paṭṭaṇaṇavar* autonomy and the conversion of the Kaveri delta, 1720-1820

Compared to *karaiyār*, *paṭṭaṇaṇavar* communities were fairly autonomous. Gender roles were quite distinct in *paṭṭaṇaṇavar* culture and may have been part of the reason why the latter had little use for ritual leaders from urban bhakti and Lutheran Pietist groups. In early eighteenth-century Tanjovur, women provided the major interface between the public of *paṭṭinaṭcēri* and other public spheres in the region. This feature of *paṭṭaṇaṇavar* communities distinguished them from most others in the region. Men remained focussed on fishing and related activities such as maintaining *kaṭṭumaram*, nets, *kampi*, and other essential equipment. *Kampi* were large tree-like structures made of coconut palm leaves that were set up in fishing grounds during the summer. They attracted fish by providing shade and cover. Most men’s work was done on the sea or on the beach around the village. Women were responsible for selling produce and making acquisitions. Since Pietist clerics had little success in gaining access to the men of *paṭṭaṇaṇavar* communities, they derided them as ignorant and praised the women. One Pietist cleric claimed that the women were ‘generally smarter and more sensible (gemeiniglich klüger und verständiger)’ than the men. Since they sold all produce, they had more opportunities to socialize ‘with Europeans and other people (mit Europäern und andern Leuten).’ Men, he claimed, did not

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get any further ‘than their kaṭṭumaram and mending nets (als zu ihrer Kadumaram und Netze=flicken).’

In early eighteenth-century Tanjavur, these paṭṭaṇavar men still explored new opportunities for communication and exchange across cultural boundaries. On May 17, 1714, one Pietist cleric visited the three paṭṭinaccērī just north of Tarangambadi, which belonged to the Danish leasehold. In one of them, he found several men were mending nets. When the Pietist approached the group, he realized that a paṭṭaṇavar boy was reading aloud from a book. The villagers had sent one of their sons to a Tamil school in the town to learn to read because they wanted to have access to books. One of their interests was to learn more about the bhakti religions of their more urban neighbors. The Pietist disapproved of the reading because of its origin in a ‘false’ religion and in addition because it had sexual contents that is not specified more clearly in the source.

The same source suggests that paṭṭaṇavar encounters with urban bhakti religiosity were not always voluntary. When the Pietist criticized the men for their new religious interest, they argued that the maṇiyakkārar or local administrator in Tarangambadi forced them to carry the images of bhakti celebrities at all religious festivals in the town. Since they had to get involved in festivals, they felt that they needed to get more background information. Some paṭṭaṇavar pointed out that the Danish company also seemed to support bhakti groups and their religious festivals. It even provided the heavy anchor ropes which they had to use to pull the temple cars in some festivals. Paṭṭaṇavar apparently sensed a contradiction between the actions of the Danish colonial administration and the claims of the Pietist cleric.

The paṭṭaṇavar interest in accessing written information may also indicate that they wanted to form an opinion on bhakti religions independent of local priests. Though literacy was limited in this paṭṭaṇavar community, books were widely used by many social groups in early eighteenth-century Tanjavur. In a letter dated October 15 of the year nantaṇa (1712-1713), a local informant of the Tarangambadi area whose name is not given in the sources provided Pietists with a detailed description of Tamil formal education. He included the titles of books and described the methods employed to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic. For the most part, formal education was provided to boys. If a girl was trained as a tēvāṭāci or ritual dancer, she also received formal education. Literacy occurred in most social groups. Rama Nāyakkan of Poraiyar who belonged to the local nobility actively supported a project to promote paṟaiyar literacy in 1726. One Tamil school teacher of karaiyar background is mentioned in the sources because he expressed interest in joining the Pietists in 1727, but then changed his mind. A potter whom Pietists visited in 1729 had a whole library of oḷai books at home. Some people interested in political power envisioned mass circulation of books. In 1730, Muttuvijaya Raguṇāṭa Setupati Kāṭṭa

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On gender roles in paṭṭaṇavar communities in eighteenth-century Tanjavur and related attitudes of Pietist clerics, see for example: HB, vol. 5, no. 51, p. 450.

The basic division of work along gender lines is still practiced in South Indian fishing villages nowadays. A comprehensive account of gender roles in a South Indian fishing village in the late twentieth century is provided in: Busby, The performance of gender.

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443 On gender roles in paṭṭaṇavar communities in eighteenth-century Tanjavur and related attitudes of Pietist clerics, see for example: HB, vol. 5, no. 51, p. 450.

444 HB, vol. 1, no. 9, p. 747-748.


Tēvan, the new ruler of Ramanathapuram, tried to enlist Pietist support to have the Ramayana printed, perhaps to impose his own view of what the epic and its characters were about. Pietists eventually tried to exploit the pāṭṭanavar interest in accessing written information. Residents of one of the pāṭṭinaccēri just north of Tarangambadi gave them permission to run a school, which they opened on August 11, 1727. Pietists were hoping to introduce religious topics, but pāṭṭanavar made sure that only reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught. The Danish leasehold had half a dozen pāṭṭinaccēri. By January 1730, after almost a quarter century of Pietist presence, only two or three pāṭṭanavar expressed interest in joining the Pietists. All of them lived in the same pāṭṭinaccēri. A few months later, on August 9 of the same year, Pietists reported that one of them had lost interest again. They suspected that a competitor, a pāṭṭāram who supposedly lived of alms of the village, was responsible. Though bhakti groups and Lutheran Pietists put a sustained effort into converting pāṭṭanavar, it appears that the latter preferred to stay independent. Their specific ideological and religious needs were probably best served by resources available in their own distinct culture. A closer look at some aspects of pāṭṭanavar culture elucidates the point.

Though fishing in itself did not necessitate much cooperation between pāṭṭinaccēri in the region, close contacts existed and were based on a shared culture, ritual practice, and kinship ties. Religious festivals constituted a significant part of this wider pāṭṭanavar public. One of the pāṭṭinaccēri just north of Tarangambadi hosted an annual festival to honor Ellamman, one of the most important deities of fishing communities in the region. She was particularly adept at providing practical support to pāṭṭanavar and helping people in trouble. ‘the woman who moves the sea (die Frau, die das Meer beweget),’ was another important celebrity. Around the time of the Ellamman festival or soon after, Kaṭalpirāṭiyammān was expected to move the sea quite a bit, which brought more fish, but also made work on the sea and life on the beach dangerous. Pietist sources provide three dates for the festival in the 1720s and 1730s. The first of these was on October 3, 1721, the second on October 19, 1725, and the third on October 3, 1738. All three dates were Fridays around full moon. The two dates in the 1720s fell two days prior to the full moon, the date in 1738 six days after. In all three years, it was the last full moon before the northeast monsoon brought heavy seas and tropical cyclones.

The Ellamman festival drew pāṭṭanavar from the whole region. It also attracted the attention of European observers due to some of its more picturesque features such as hook swinging, a form of ritualized bodily mortification that employed a line and hook similar to those

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450 HB, vol. 3, no. 25, p. 43.
454 HB, vol. 2, no. 21, p. 763.
455 Bharathi, Coromandel fishermen, 24-25, 39-43.
457 In some late twentieth-century pāṭṭanavar communities, the Ellamman festival was still the last before the stormy season, but it was celebrated a few weeks earlier. See: Ibid., 224.
used to catch particular fish. *Paṭṭanavar* had themselves suspended from a wooden beam that could be raised, lowered, and rotated. They were attached to the wooden structure by a rope and by two iron hooks that pierced the skin of their backs. *Paṭṭanavar* stayed on the hooks for five to fifteen minutes and performed various tasks to do penance, honor Ellammaṉ, and ask for her continued support.

Pietists pointed out that only *paṭṭanavar* participated in hook swinging in early eighteenth-century Tanjavur. This was not a coincidence, since it was ‘only the fishers who can claim this ancient privilege (allein die Fischer, als welche dieses uhralte Recht für sich haben).’ One of the first Pietists who visited this ‘fisher festival (Fischer=Fest)’ referred to the iron hooks as ‘fish hooks (Angel=Hacken).’ The whole structure seemed to him like a huge ‘fishing rod (Angel).’ Another Pietist referred to the hooks as ‘heavy fish hooks, but without barbs (starcke Fischer=Haken, doch ohne Wieder=Haken).’ *Paṭṭanavar* who had themselves suspended from the structure reminded him of ‘a fish alive on the hook (einen Fisch lebendig am Angel).’

*Paṭṭanavar* participated in hook swinging after they had made vows for a variety of reasons. Some had confronted serious diseases, others had been in need of a good catch. Since it was October and Kaṭalpirāṭṭiyamman was about to bring heavy seas and plenty of fish, it was time to make good on vows and secure the help of Ellammaṉ that was needed to make it through a potentially bountiful but also very dangerous season.

One and a half centuries later, in late nineteenth-century Nagappattinam, hook swinging remained the domain of *paṭṭanavar*. One British administrator claimed that a *paṭṭinaccēri* near Karaikal, which is about twenty kilometers south of Tarangambadi, hosted a festival that included hook swinging ‘as a yearly penance for the offence given to the goddess by the killing of fish.’ Yet, by the nineteenth century, the custom had spread to other social groups in Tanjavur and along the Tamil coast. This entirely new phenomenon peaked in the early nineteenth century and declined again toward the mid-nineteenth century. The new, broad appeal of mortification was most likely related to social change brought about by the calamities of the mid-eighteenth century and the British rule that followed. One historian has compared hook swinging to the Sun Dance in the North American Great Plains in the late nineteenth century, but he failed to see the most significant parallel. In both cases, the relatively broad appeal of mortification appears to have been a recent phenomenon brought about by foreign rule rather than the remnant of an indigenous custom that had been widely practiced in the distant past.

Though *paṭṭanavar* had shown an interest in exploring new communication and exchange across cultural boundaries in the early eighteenth century, they were able to retain much of their economic independence and autonomy in the turmoil that followed. Therefore, *paṭṭanavar* had little reason to adopt new economic opportunities and related forms of religiosity such as those suggested by urban bhakti groups and Lutheran Pietists. In the long run, social change even caused some *paṭṭanavar* cultural resources to become attractive to the wider society in the Kaveri delta and beyond.

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463 Ibid.
Paraiyar power in early eighteenth-century Tanjavur: Local resources and their limits

In early eighteenth century Tanjavur as in later times, paraiyar had their own villages, which they called ‘cēri.’ To distinguish them from cūṭṭirar and brahmin villages, they were also referred to as ‘paraicēri.’ Most rural paraicēri were associated with a cūṭṭirar village and agricultural land. Together they formed an agricultural settlement. The Danish leasehold around Tarangambadi encompassed close to a dozen paraicēri in the 1720s. Paraiyar tilled the soil, planted the rice crops, and harvested. They also performed much of the work required to maintain villages, roads, and irrigation systems in the Kaveri river delta. The role of cūṭṭirar and brahmins in an agricultural settlement was, in a sense, similar to the role of women in a paṭṭinaccēri or marine fishing village. They formed an interface between the grain-producing paraiyar public and surrounding public spheres, making acquisitions and selling produce. In this, they were supported by the central state, which supplied money and other resources. In turn, they had to respect the government’s pricing guidelines for rice and nellu, which were set every year once the results of the major harvest were known, usually in March. Pricing guidelines combined with granaries kept speculation at bay and helped avoid the frequent food riots typical of some European polities.

Paraiyar claimed a fixed portion of the rice harvests of their agricultural settlement based on customary law. The paraicēri provided additional resources such as garden crops, tree crops, water, and livestock. Since paraiyar did much of the physical work required in agriculture, protein intake was a crucial factor of their diet. Some people who did not have to eat meat had a sense of superiority and derided paraiyar as pulutta maṭṭuṁni or rotten cattle eaters. Paraiyar used their food habits to demarcate their culture and territory. Pietists noted that a paraicēri ‘at times looks like a knacker yard because of the many bones lying around, some from slaughtered animals and some from fallen animals which they ate (mannichmal einem Schindanger nicht ungleich aussieht, wegen der vielen da liegenden Knochen theils von lebendig geschlachteten, theils von todtem Vieh, das sie verzehret haben).’ The bones were a good means to protect their resources and to ward off people who believed in other forms of ritual purity.

Some paraiyar who felt that members of other social groups now encroached on their resources sent clear signals. In January 1714, one brahmin near Tarangambadi complained that paraiyar of a settlement to the south were in the habit of throwing stones at brahmins who passed their cēri. This incident suggested that paraiyar had failed to fully internalize concepts of ritual inferiority. This negative affection between paraiyar and brahmins was mutual. Some contemporaries claimed that brahmins threw stones at paraiyar as well. Although paraiyar had not internalized concepts of inferiority, they were subject to various forms of intended discrimination and humiliation. For the most part, they were not allowed to enter the homes of

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464 The paraicēri of the Danish leasehold and associated cūṭṭirar villages of the 1720s are shown on the map ‘Trankenbar samt denen dazu gehörigen Flecken und Dörfern’ in: HB, vol. 3, no. 29, between p. 480 and p. 481.
465 The major rice harvest began in January. Pricing guidelines were set in March after threshing had been completed. See: HB, vol. 3, no. 29, p. 459.
469 HB, vol. 1, no. 9, p. 711.
470 Ahuja, Erzeugung kolonialer Staatlichkeit, 148.
and brahmins. Many temples and religious festivals were closed to them.\textsuperscript{471} Neither were they allowed to enter public guest houses. They were served water outside, but only at the end of a halfpipe that measured several feet and created what some considered the proper distance.\textsuperscript{472} Many \textit{cútirar} and brahmins found this type of intended discrimination and humiliation appropriate, but it was not universally observed. In 1730, one \textit{paraiyar} who was an \textit{ ähn} or Saiva mendicant ran himself a \textit{tannirppantal} or water stall in exchange for tax-free temple land.\textsuperscript{473} At the other end of the spectrum, a \textit{paraiyar} was verbally abused by a local guard for peacefully passing a \textit{tannirppantal} on the road near Kollumangudi in 1737. He had no intention to ask for water or even approach the \textit{pantal}, but he had supposedly passed too close. A friend who protested received a beating. When he sat down to write a formal complaint, bystanders begged him not to send it. They were afraid of being held responsible because they had not intervened to prevent the violence. The state of Tanjavur did not support this type of discrimination because it needed the services of \textit{paraiyar}. The behavior of the local guard could possibly be attributed to the fact that violence had been brought to the Kaveri delta on a larger scale by 1737.\textsuperscript{474}

Power relations within agricultural settlements could be complex as well. On May 24, 1730, one Ramalingapillai and four of his fellow \textit{nättär} or \textit{cútirar} leaders of Uluttukuppaipai tried to force Sinnappen, a \textit{veṭṭiyān} who had joined the Pietists, to tie the \textit{kāppu} or string with Piṭāri.\textsuperscript{475} \textit{Veṭṭiyār} had a variety of official functions in \textit{paraićerći} such as providing funeral services. In the annual ritual of tying the \textit{kāppu} with Piṭāri, which was performed in April or May, a \textit{veṭṭiyān} took the role of the \textit{kāgam itaiyağ} or forest herdsman to marry Piṭāri as the \textit{kāgam itaiiccì} or forest herdsman.\textsuperscript{476}

In our particular case, the \textit{cannatam} or oracle of the temple was quite irritated by the \textit{nāṭṭar} way of exerting pressure on the \textit{veṭṭiyān}. The \textit{cannatam} vented its displeasure by possessing the \textit{kōvilānti} or temple priest and revealing its opinion through him. In no uncertain terms, it told the assembled \textit{cútirar} residents that it was going to kill the five \textit{nāṭṭar} and vacate the place if they did not leave Sinnappen alone. The \textit{nāṭṭar} did not dare to oppose the \textit{cannatam} and agreed to have Sinnappen’s brother perform the ritual.\textsuperscript{477} The power of these \textit{cútirar} leaders obviously had its limits. Piṭāri was a major player because she had the power to protect the borders of a settlement against external intruders. In this capacity, she also decided border disputes between settlements. In a ritual called ‘walking the \textit{ellai} or border,’ Piṭāri revealed her opinion to the two parties of a dispute by guiding a \textit{veṭṭiyān} to walk the correct border.\textsuperscript{478} Though the \textit{cannatam} supported Sinnappen in this incident, the fact that its intervention was required also implied a power relation between its temple and the Lutheran Pietist god, since the latter was obviously unable to control the \textit{nāṭṭar} in Uluttukuppaipai without the former’s support.

\textsuperscript{471} HB, vol. 3, no. 26, p. 110.
\textsuperscript{472} HB, vol. 3, no. 27, p. 184.
\textsuperscript{474} HB, vol. 4, no. 45, p. 1128-1129.
\textsuperscript{475} HB, vol. 3, no. 30, p. 553-554.
\textsuperscript{476} HB, vol. 3, no. 28, p. 387-388.
\textsuperscript{477} HB, vol. 3, no. 30, p. 553-554.
Beyond the cēri. Sources of paraiyar mobility in early eighteenth-century Tanjavur

To a large extent, in the early eighteenth century, paraiyar could rely on the resources of an agricultural settlement, that is, the paraiccēri and their share of harvests. The significance of the cēri as an independent resource base within an agricultural settlement becomes clear if one considers cases of British enclosure near Madras during the second half of the eighteenth century. Paraiyar who lost the cēri and its resources became dependent on wages and subject to British attempts at instilling work discipline. Much later in the eighteenth century, the British also would attempt to control paraiyar in rural areas by curtailing their mobility and tying them to particular agricultural settlements.

Pietist sources provide ample evidence for paraiyar mobility in early eighteenth-century Tanjavur. The resources of paraiyar were by no means limited to their paraiccēri and the larger agricultural settlement to which they belonged. Paraiyar were connected throughout the territory of Tanjavur and beyond. These paraiyar connections were based on kinship ties, a shared culture, ritual practice, political representation, participation in corporate groups, interregional dependencies between the Kaveri delta and surrounding dry lands, and occupational mobility supported by the state of Tanjavur.

The position of paraiyar in the Kaveri river delta was, as the sources have made clear, periodically undermined when ‘bad times’ typical of the early modern economy affected surrounding areas. ‘Since the territory of Tanjavur, which is called Cōḷamāṇṭalām, is water-rich, grain-producing land, many people of neighboring lands seek refuge here after crop failures. (Weil das Tanschaursche Gebieth/ Sōrhamandalam genannt/ ein Wasser=reiches Korn=Land ist/ so pflegen viel Leute aus den benachbarten Landen/ wenn Mißwachs gewesen/ ihre Zuflucht in dis Land zu nehmen.)’ When crops failed in the dry lands around the delta, starvation, famine, and epidemic disease forced people and whole families to move to the delta where they worked for little or sold themselves into bondage. This vast periodic labor supply undermined and eroded the position of people who performed agricultural and other work in the delta.

But these migrations did not take place on a one-way road. People who moved to the delta continued to be connected to the dry lands through kinship ties and other means. Migrations provided residents of both the delta and dry lands with many opportunities ranging from business to marriage. When foreign invaders brought war to the Kaveri delta from the mid-1730s, residents of the delta used these links to escape violence and move to the dry lands north and west of the delta. Migrations were not limited to the Kaveri delta and surrounding regions. At the end of the Second Karnatic War (1749-1754), prices exploded in Kadalur. Many residents including Tamil Pietists left the town. Two years later, Muttu who was a Pietist assistant cleric from Tarangambadi went on a search for Pietists in the region. Early in 1757, he found several families who had moved to a number of villages northwest of Kadalur.

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480 Ibid., 147-148.
481 Historians have described the methods employed by the British to curtail the mobility of paraiyar and other agricultural producers, but they have failed to provide much evidence for earlier paraiyar mobility. See: Irschick, Constructing South India.
482 Ibid., vol. 3, no. 28, p. 306.
483 AFSt, M I B29:29: letter by Tarangambadi Pietists to Francke, 12/20/1741, p.4.
484 HB, vol. 8, no. 89, p. 608.
war, another Pietist noted that many paraiyar from inland locations visited the funeral of a female relative in a paraicci for Madras.\footnote{Ahuja, Erzeugung kolonialer Staatlichkeit, 147.}

The kinship networks of paraiyar from Tanjavur could cover considerable distances. Nyanayudam who was a paraiyar from Uluttukuppi near Mayavaram visited a relative in Arcot to join his wedding in 1730.\footnote{HB, vol. 3, no. 31, p. 685. Nyanayudam’s paraiyar background is mentioned in: HB, vol. 3, no. 28, p. 355.} Due to these networks and related travel, paraiyar knew their way around. Aaron, the Tamil Pietist cleric, who was of cüttiar background noted in his vitae how a paraiyar had first brought him to Tarangambadi. He lived in the Tirumullaivasal area at the time and did not know how to get to Tarangambadi. At a ferry which was run by relatives, he met a paraiyar who knew the way and brought him there.\footnote{HB, vol. 4, no. 37, p. 169.}

Not all paraiyar lived in agricultural settlements in early eighteenth-century Tanjavur. Many lived in urban areas, such as Tanjavur city and Madevipattinam. Some paraicci, such as the one near Karuppur, just north of Kumbakonam, had themselves urban character. Several hundred people lived there in the late 1730s. Anaikudi, another paraicci in this area, was of a similar size.\footnote{HB, vol. 4, no. 47, p. 1371.} Pietists criticized drug use and changing sexual relations among paraiyar in such urban areas at times. This type of criticism was not unusual for Pietists, but it did not occur in relation to agricultural villages. In June 1734, Pietists had reason to applaud the leaders of one paraicci near Madras who ordered all ‘loose womenfolk (liederliche Weibes=Personen)’ to move to one end of the céri. Pietists believed that this would keep soldiers from causing disturbances and making noise at night.\footnote{HB, vol. 4, no. 39, p. 440.} Like all urban areas, these large paraicci certainly depended on immigration and, therefore, on the availability of migrants. Though Pietists despised some aspects of urban life, their god was probably more powerful here than in agricultural villages where it had difficulty with relatively simple tasks such as dealing with náttár.

A significant number of paraiyar were soldiers, an occupation that increased their mobility. Male subjects of Tanjavur could voluntarily join military service irrespective of their social background whenever demand existed. They were also free to quit at any time.\footnote{HB, vol. 3, no. 26, p. 4-6.} Some complained about irregularities, such as officers who kept part of their final pay if they quit, but this was a minor problem compared to places where soldiers could not quit at all.\footnote{HB, vol. 3, no. 26, p. 11.} If there was an oversupply of personnel, soldiers were occasionally released against their will.\footnote{HB, vol. 4, no. 37, p. 67.} Yet, the option to join military service was not limited to Tanjavur. Rajanāyakkan who had been a cērvaiikkāray in Tanjavur and his brother went to Ramanathapuram in 1727 where they joined the Ramnad army. They participated in a campaign against Sivaganga and were stationed in Cholavaram and Nalukottai.\footnote{HB, vol. 3, no. 26, p. 11.} From the mid-1730s, Mughal armies also became a convenient option since they visited Tanjavur and Madurai on a regular basis. Many made use of it.\footnote{HB, vol. 4, no. 37, p. 67.} When the imperialist conflict between Britain and France escalated, war was everywhere. At the end of the First Karnatic War (1746-1748), quite a few residents of the Kaveri delta worked for...
Europeans. Others were in Maravar as part of Tanjavur’s army.\textsuperscript{494} The militarization of the Kaveri delta became quite comprehensive, many \textit{para\text{"{i}yar} became victims of violence and other adverse effects, some joined military service. These developments also affected communication across cultural boundaries and the methods employed to resolve disputes between social groups.

\textit{Para\text{"{i}yar} and politics

\textit{Para\text{"{i}yar} were politically organized in early eighteenth-century Tanjavur. Every \textit{para\text{"{i}yar} community had representatives. In the 1720s, \textit{para\text{"{i}yar} representatives in Tanjavur city and Madevipattinam had access to the courts of the Raja and his brother, the ‘Little Raja.’ Moreover, \textit{para\text{"{i}yar}} played a significant role in the larger corporate organization that represented agricultural interests. Corporate groups were organized into \textit{vala\text{"{i}kai} or ‘right hand (\textit{dextra manus})’ and \textit{i\text{"{a}nkai} or ‘left hand (\textit{sinistra manus}).’ While most agricultural groups were \textit{vala\text{"{i}kai}, artisan and trader groups were \textit{i\text{"{a}nkai}. Some people were undecided because they belonged to corporate groups in transition. ‘Boatmen’ in Madras, possibly \textit{karaiy\text{"{a}r}, joined a \textit{vala\text{"{i}kai} protest in 1707, but then changed their mind.\textsuperscript{495}

\textit{Para\text{"{i}yar} were \textit{vala\text{"{i}kai}, and many of them actively participated in this organization in Tanjavur. On August 7, 1740, the Pietist Rajan\text{"{a}yakkan who was of \textit{para\text{"{i}yar} background reported that he had participated in a delegation of several hundred \textit{vala\text{"{i}kamatt\text{"{a}r} or friends of the right hand to the Raja of Tanjavur.\textsuperscript{496} \textit{Para\text{"{i}yar} were by far the most numerous \textit{vala\text{"{i}kai group. Some bore arms, such as their customary long spears, in early eighteenth-century Tanjavur.

In the mid-eighteenth century, when some \textit{i\text{"{a}nkai} groups, such as big merchants and ‘capitalists (\textit{Capitalisten},’ began to project their growing power into the agricultural sector, members of the \textit{i\text{"{a}nkai} felt increasingly emboldened to challenge privileges of the \textit{vala\text{"{i}kai}. As in the case of \textit{karaiy\text{"{a}r} and other groups involved in small trade whose situation deteriorated from the mid-eighteenth century, direct interference of European colonial administrations played a significant role in undermining the status of social groups in the agricultural sector. As a result, conflicts between \textit{vala\text{"{i}kai} and \textit{i\text{"{a}nkai} became more frequent in Tanjavur in the mid-eighteenth century. These conflicts escalated and turned violent during the Seven Years’ War, when the British made their influence felt all over Tanjavur.

In the early eighteenth century, the state of Tanjavur had successfully tried to strike a balance between agriculture and trade. Wet rice cultivation was the basis of Tanjavur’s economy. But since Tanjavur had to export rice and other products, it also had to keep up with changing conditions in the coastal and overseas trade. While the state of Tanjavur had to consider the interests of agricultural producers, artisans, and traders, European colonial administrations had little reason to care about the interests of agricultural producers. If agricultural production declined in one area, they simply bought their supplies somewhere else. It is therefore no coincidence that \textit{i\text{"{a}nkai} challenges to the status of \textit{vala\text{"{i}kai} and the latter’s responses started in and around European colonial enclaves on the coast and spread to inland locations during and after the Seven Years’ War. Due to the militarization of the region, forms of protest also changed from formal complaints and peaceful strikes to violent protests.

\textsuperscript{494} HB, vol. 6, no. 70, p. 1608.
\textsuperscript{495} Ahuja, \textit{Erzeugung kolonialer Staatlichkeit}, 79.
\textsuperscript{496} HB, vol. 5, no. 52, p. 599-600.
In July 1759, the valaṅkamattār of Tarangambadi went on strike, because the Danish administration had refused to rectify violations of valaṅkai privileges by the īṭaṅkai. The immediate cause of the protest was repeated īṭaṅkai use of pantal and palanquin during wedding ceremonies and celebrations. From a valaṅkai perspective, this was a provocation that challenged fundamental rules in society. After formal valaṅkai complaints to the Danish administration had proved ineffective, valaṅkamattār collectively withdrew from the Danish company’s territory and gathered in Anandamangalam. A Pietist remarks in a journal entry, that ‘All stores are closed, the fishers do not fish, the washer does not wash, etc., and victuals do not reach the city (Alle Kaufladen sind verschlossen, die Fischer fischen nicht, der Wäscher wäscht nicht etc. und keine Victualien kommen in die Stadt).’ This situation continued for several days. Paṟaiyar played a leading role in enforcing the strike. When European Pietist clerics tried to convince paṟaiyar Pietists, that collective action against Christian political authorities, such as the Danish colonial administration, was a violation of Christian principles, paṟaiyar Pietists disagreed.⁴⁹⁷

Although conflicts grew and caused collective action by valaṅkamattār in colonial enclaves, protests remained peaceful. Relations in Tanjavur only turned sinister after the British had established a permanent presence in Tiruchirappalli during the Seven Years’ War. The British had already developed a system of actively eroding the position of social groups with relatively little individual capital in Madras from the turn of the eighteenth century. As a result, conflicts between valaṅkai on the one hand and the British and īṭaṅkai on the other erupted in Madras during the early eighteenth century.⁴⁹⁸ By the mid-1760s, the British system had reached Tanjavur. Yet, valaṅkamattār were not willing to submit without resistance.

On August 28, 1767, Muttu, the Pietist junior catechist of Tiruppalaiturai, reported that he had tried to calm ‘paṟaiyar who belong to the valaṅkai (Parrier, so zur rechten Hand gehören)’ and ‘artisans of the īṭaṅkai (Künstler von der linken Hand)’ in his district. They had been engaged in disputes for several months. The conflict finally turned so bad, ‘that they went to war against each other (daß sie zu Felde gelegen haben).’⁴⁹⁹ A few months later, on December 8, 1767, Rajanāyakkan delivered a report, in which he claims that a ‘terrible tragedy (eine fürchterliche Tragödie)’ had occurred in the capital Tanjavur on November 14. Some members of the īṭaṅkai had fled the city due to militant valaṅkai resistance. The Raja ordered them to return and sent them a coach for transport and a hundred infantry and fifty cavalry soldiers for protection. When they reached the gate of Tanjavur in the evening of November 14, they were allegedly attacked ‘by several thousand paṟaiyar (von einigen tausend Parriern)’ who belonged to the valaṅkai. Some paṟaiyar were armed with their customary ‘long spears (grosen Lanzen).’ According to Rajanāyakkan’s account, they smashed the coach into pieces, killed or wounded seventy members of the īṭaṅkai, and threw some of them in the moat around the city where the crocodiles could feed on them. The hundred infantry soldiers did not intervene because they belonged to the valaṅkai. The Pietist editor speculates that the fifty Muslim cavalry stood by and watched because they considered involvement in this brawl too low a task. If the figure of several thousand attackers is correct, this was probably a wise decision.

The Raja was furious, supposedly fired the hundred infantry soldiers, and ordered his most trusted Maratha minister Valasindai to arrest the paṟaiyar. Those who had been involved in the ambush had already left the area as a precautionary measure. Pietist paṟaiyar also fled the city. Rajanāyakkan and a Pietist school teacher from Tanjavur found refuge in Nanjiikottai.

⁴⁹⁷ HB, vol. 8, no. 92, p. 812-813.
⁴⁹⁸ Brimnes, Constructing the colonial encounter.
which was a kaḷḷar town at the time and is about five kilometers south of Tanjavur. Four paṟaiyar who did not take this precaution, most likely because they had not been involved, were caught and publicly executed at the place of the ambush. According to the Pietist source, about fifty infantry soldiers and a few military servants were able to locate Rajanāyakkan a few days later, on November 19. The next day, he was supposedly brought before the Raja and asked to become the head of the paṟaiyar in the capital. Close relatives of Rajanāyakkan had held similar positions in the suburbs and in Madevipattinam. The Raja supposedly offered him up to ten gold fanam per day as compensation for this public service. Rajanāyakkan claims that he brought up every excuse he could think of. Over the following week, he was called to the court four times. When he felt that he could no longer turn down the appointment, he supposedly announced that he was going to move to Tarangambadi. He left Tanjavur very early in the morning of November 30 and, after a few detours, arrived in Tarangambadi in the evening of December 5.  

Once the formerly peaceful Kaveri river delta had been thoroughly militarized, it did not require ‘warrior rule’ to suffer from violence. Many people had learned how to use violence, and they had many reasons and ample opportunity to apply their new skills. Political destabilization, militarization, and economic consolidation brought about rapid change. Karaiyār, paṭṭaṇavar, and paṟaiyar were affected in different ways. Their responses to resulting challenges and opportunities depended on the resources at their disposal. Consequently, their approaches differed when they attempted to extend their resource base and explored new opportunities for communication and exchange across cultural boundaries. Lutheran Pietism was one of many resources available. A few karaiyār used it, paṭṭaṇavar did not find it appealing, some paṟaiyar came to rely on it, but had to question its validity during times of conflict when Pietist clerics revealed new facets of its meaning such as appreciating change that clearly put paṟaiyar at a disadvantage.

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Part 3: Lenape country

The early to mid-eighteenth century was no less eventful in Lenape country than it was in Tanjavur. As in Tanjavur, the period began in relative peace and ended with escalating conflicts, violence, and war, in this case, between Lenape polities and British colonies, mainly the proprietary colony of Pennsylvania. Situated in the North American Middle Atlantic, Lenape country consisted of parts of what now is eastern Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and southern New York. During the first half of the eighteenth century, the aggressive expansion of British colonies in this area robbed Lenape polities of their land base. From the 1740s, Lenape polities utilized the escalating imperialist conflict between Britain and France to address this problem.

Lenapeyok were unlikely contenders in a violent conflict in the mid-eighteenth century. Martial prowess was not part of their reputation. In diplomatic exchanges, delegates of Lenape and neighboring polities used kinship terms to address each other. Lenapeyok were generally addressed as ‘Grandfather’ in the mid-eighteenth century. This title implied certain qualities, such as experience and wisdom, but was unlikely to suggest martial prowess. Lenapeyok were also referred to as ‘women’ by some of their neighbors. This nickname had its origin in the late seventeenth century and did not suggest martial prowess either. Despite their nonviolent reputation, even Lenapeyok were increasingly unable to avoid violence in the eighteenth century.

Linguistic note: ‘Lenapeyok’ is the plural form of ‘Lenape.’ It consists of the noun ‘Lenape’ and the plural suffix ‘ok,’ which is connected by the glide ‘y.’

For an example of how the address ‘Grandfather’ was used in diplomatic exchange, see: RMI, box 119, folder 1, item 9: Mahoning conference, 04/05/1753.

The origin of the nickname ‘women’ is provided in: Robert Steven Grumet, The Munsee Indians: A history (Norman, 2009), 203-204. For the most detailed recent discussion of the nickname’s meaning, see: Gunlög Maria Fur, A nation of women: Gender and colonial encounters among the Delaware Indians (Philadelphia, 2009).
By the 1740s, much of Lenape country and its neighbors had been flooded. America had not seen anything like it since the late cretaceous—ninety million years earlier—when a total melt-down of the polar ice caps had produced similar results. The blue areas west of the black coast line indicate the resulting raise in sea level of about 175 meters. But this time, the flood consisted in colonists who ironically separated Lenapeyok from marine resources. The blue life bubbles indicate areas of Native American survival within a rapidly expanding sea of increasingly racist institutions. (Data courtesy of USGS.)
From the 1620s to the 1720s, several Lenape polities had given Dutch, Swedish, English, and British colonies permission to use land for various purposes, such as settlement, agriculture, hunting, fishing, and logging, in specified areas. These land use agreements were just one of many means employed by Lenapeyok to maintain relations with neighbors. From a Lenape perspective, intermarriage was perhaps the most important, and gift exchange played a vital role, as well. Some colonial polities used violence and extortion to extend their access to land and other resources in Lenape country. As early as the mid-seventeenth century, New Netherland and New England colonists used extreme forms of violence against Lenapeyok toward such ends.

From the 1720s, Pennsylvania increasingly relied on extortion to expand its land base in Lenape country. As in Tanjavur, conflicts with British colonies escalated into war when the imperialist competition between Britain and France intensified from the late 1730s. When German-speaking Protestants arrived in Lenape country in the early 1740s, they became caught up in these developments.

To understand conditions that had produced an uneasy but relatively peaceful coexistence between Lenape and colonial polities in the early eighteenth century, we need to explore how Lenapeyok had experienced European colonists during an earlier period, from the mid-seventeenth century. In fact, the term ‘Lenape country’ denotes an area in what now is eastern Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and southern New York that Lenapeyok inhabited in the seventeenth century, prior to migrations forced by European colonists. In the mid-seventeenth century, relations with Europeans differed significantly between regions within Lenape country. In the 1640s, for example, experiences of Lenape polities ranged from mutually beneficial exchange relations with New Sweden at the southern end of Lenape country to genocide emanating from New Netherland and New England at the northern end. A close look at these early relations is required to understand the strategies that Lenape polities developed and employed in their dealings with European colonies.

503 For an example of a land use permission from northern Lenape country in the late 1630s, see: Grumet, *Munsee*, 92-93. An example from southern Lenape country in the early 1650s is provided in: Fur, *Nation of women*, 31-36.


506 The most recent work on relations between Lenape polities and New Sweden is: Fur, *Nation of women*, 15-36.

By the late seventeenth century, most Lenape polities used strategies of disengagement that consisted of diplomatic exchange and efforts to keep their population centers at a safe distance from European colonies. They slowed and channeled colonial expansion by giving colonies access to land use and other resources in areas specified in contracts. European colonies still continued to grow and forced many Lenapeyok to leave Lenape country from the late seventeenth century. Due to the aggressive expansionism of British colonies in the first half of the eighteenth century, remaining Lenape polities ran out of space in Lenape country by the early 1740s. Their strategy of disengagement came to an end or, better to say, it was applied on a much larger scale by their northern Mengwe neighbors, the Six Nations. In this scheme, Lenape and other Native American polities, mainly Conoy, Mahikan, Nantiko, Shawano, Tutelo, and Wampano, were supposed to populate a buffer between Mengwe country and British colonies, on the Susquehanna north and west branches. Most Lenapeyok who remained in this area in the 1740s and 50s realized that this solution was not likely to last and prepared for the larger move to Alligewining that others had made two generations earlier.

Some of the German-speaking Lutherans who immigrated into Lenape country in the early 1740s and came to be known as ‘Moravians’ in North America brought memories of forced migrations from Europe. In the second and third decade of the eighteenth century, Moravians had fled confessionalist persecution in Central European polities and eventually founded separate communities. Due to this background, Moravian communities had members of a variety of regional and cultural backgrounds. In some cases, Moravians were forced to relocate towns later-

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507 Robert Steven Grumet, "'We are not so great fools:' Changes in upper Delawaran socio-political life, 1630-1758" (Diss, Rutgers University, 1979).
508 Lenapeyok used the term ‘Mengwe’ for most northern Iroquoian people and their polities such as the White Mengwe or Susquehannocks, the Five or later Six Nations, and the Black Mengwe from the upper Ohio. This term is often spelled ‘Minqua,’ which leads to bad pronunciation.
509 Linguistic note: The name ‘Nantiko’ is often rendered ‘Nanticoke’ in the literature. This English corruption is based on the plural form ‘Nantiko-ak’ or ‘Nantikowak,’ which consists of the singular form ‘Nantiko’ plus the plural suffix ‘ak’ connected by the glide ‘w.’ An early seventeenth-century English map had it spelled ‘Nantaquack.’ See: John Smith, "Virginia map," in The Generall Historie Of Virginia, New=England, and the Summer Isles: with the names of the Adventurers, Planters, and Governours from their first beginning Ano: 1584. to this present 1624. With the Procedings of those several Colonies and the Accidents that befell them in all their Journyes and Discoveries. Also the Maps and Descriptions of all those Countryes, their Commodities, people, Government, Customs, and Religion yet knowne. Divided into sixe Bookes. By Captaine Iohn Smith, sometymes Governour in those Countryes & Admirall of New England, ed. John Smith (London, 1624, 1612).
510 The Lenape term ‘Shawano’ means ‘Southerner’ and was later transformed into ‘Shawnee’ in English.
511 A brief overview of Native American use of the Susquehanna valley in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century is provided in: Schutt, Odyssey of the Delaware, 65-74. For the early to mid-seventeenth century, see: Sharon D. White, "To secure a lasting peace: A diachronic analysis of seventeenth-century Susquehannock political and economic strategies" (Diss, Pennsylvania State University, 2001), 6, 39-47, 238. Other migrants to the upper Susquehanna originated in the Hudson: Grumet, Munsee, 201-208.
512 In the mid-1740s, Moravians played an active role in efforts to draw the mixed Mahikan and Wampano community of Xekomeko in what now is eastern New York to the Wyoming valley on the Susquehanna north branch. See: Corrina Dally-Starna and William A. Starna, "Introduction," in Gideon’s people: Being a chronicle of an American Indian community in colonial Connecticut and the Moravian missionaries who served there, ed. Corrina Dally-Starna and William A. Starna (Lincoln, 2009), 22-23.
on. Some Moravians eventually migrated to the North American Middle Atlantic and settled in Lenape country.

These Moravians became caught up between Lenape polities, British colonies, and Mengwe interests from the early 1740s. During the next two decades, they played a somewhat contradictory role. Some Moravians engaged in religious missions. These missionaries closely associated themselves with Lenapeyok and Native Americans of other cultural backgrounds to spread their ideas and ritual practice. Unlike Anglican and Puritan missionaries, Moravians did not identify with the British monarchy or its colonial polities. Neither were they integrated in institutions controlled by British colonial administrations. Moravian missionaries lived in Lenape and other Native American towns for months or years. Some became closely acquainted with Lenapeyok. As a result of Native American attempts to integrate European Moravians in their communities, a minority of missionaries married into Native American families. The ultimate failure of these early experiments and its causes reveal the contradictions in which European and Native American Moravians found themselves. Due to their close association with Lenapeyok and other Native Americans, European Moravian missionaries had numerous first-hand encounters with the increasingly racist aspects of colonial institutions, ranging from marriage practice to territorial administration, and also with the everyday grass roots racism in British colonies, mainly in Pennsylvania, New York, and Connecticut. In Pennsylvania, for example, some Lenapeyok shared land use in areas open to colonial settlement until the 1730s, but the dominant faction of the colony’s government then opted for complete Lenape removal.

Apart from missionaries, most Moravians migrated to North America or Russia for the same reasons as other Europeans during the mid-eighteenth century. Economic motives played a major role with access to agricultural land being most prominent. Many Moravians were artisans, but, due to their religious convictions, they preferred to live in separate communities that required an independent land base. They also belonged to a global Moravian network and depended on the means of communication and transport provided by empires. Since Moravians in Pennsylvania shared interests with other colonists, most were drawn to the British rather than Lenape camp when war and racism forced them to choose sides. Moravians still insisted on a pacifist stand during the wars of the mid-eighteenth century. They refused to bear arms and join militias, which caused them considerable trouble with other colonists. Their non-violent attitudes were related to experiences of religious persecution in Moravia in the early eighteenth century.

In the first years after their arrival in North America, Moravians had difficulty understanding the significance of racist institutions and how they worked. They learned fast because colonial society rewarded them for acting within the scope of racist institutions and abused and threatened them for transgressions. Moravian missionaries were ridiculed, harassed, and imprisoned for their close association with Native Americans. Yet, as Whites, Moravians could enjoy certain privileges, such as secure titles to land—mainly land that had previously been extracted from Lenape polities by means of extortion and violence. Moravians initially tried to find a compromise. They bought land to use it for their own purposes, but allowed some Lenapeyok to stay on it. This practice rapidly declined because the dominant faction in Pennsylvania’s government insisted on the complete removal of Lenapeyok and other Native Americans. At the beginning of the Seven Years’ War only few remained, but even those were forced to leave by hostile neighbors during the war. In the process, Moravians had to find ways

513 Encounters with grass roots racism in New York and Connecticut are discussed in: Dally-Starna and Starna, "Introduction," 14-27.

For the increasingly racist land policies of Pennsylvania, see: Harper, Walking Purchase, 46-71.
to reconcile contradictions between practical decisions that allowed for a convenient life, moral concerns, and religious ideology. Compared to other racist institutions, Moravians gave in to demands of racist territorial administration rather quickly. In the case of African American slavery, it took them three generations.\footnote{Aspects of Moravian approaches to sharing land and other resources with Lenapeyok are discussed in: Schutt, \textit{Odyssey of the Delaware}, 94-103. On Moravians’ gradual acceptance of African American slavery in North Carolina, see: Sensbach, \textit{A separate Canaan: The making of an Afro-Moravian world in North Carolina, 1763-1840}.}

From the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century, four sets of racist institutions played a major role in the persecution of Native Americans and their exclusion from territories claimed by British colonial polities—marriage, landed property, Native American slavery, and religion. Native American slavery rapidly declined in British North America from the second decade of the eighteenth century. The large Native American alliance of the Yamasee war dealt it the decisive blow.\footnote{William L. Ramsey, \textit{The Yamasee War: A study of culture, economy, and conflict in the colonial South} (Lincoln, 2008), 75, 164-165, 179-180.} After the decline of Native American slavery, colonial land rights remained the most significant economic incentive that encouraged persecution and exclusion. The racist dimension becomes most obvious if we consider changes in Pennsylvania’s policies, namely the drive toward removal of all Lenapeyok from territory controlled by the colony. Marriages between people of Native American and European backgrounds were encouraged by Lenapeyok and most of their Native American neighbors, but rejected in most British colonial contexts. A discussion of how Native Americans used intermarriage to achieve integration of culturally mixed communities serves to elucidate the problem.

Religion also continued to play a role in hostile attitudes toward Lenapeyok. In the mid-eighteenth century, little tolerance existed toward independent Native American religious groups within colonial society, even if their members considered themselves Christians. And even Moravians who cherished their own separatist history failed to accept Native American spin-offs of their group. They regarded Native American Christians who followed independent Native American spiritual and ritual leaders as apostates. Most of the colonists whose views have been recorded claimed that Native Americans could not be true ‘Christians’ without proper supervision by colonial authorities. Such attitudes are worth exploring since they indicate that religious definitions remained at the heart of racist perceptions and institutions. In its most extreme form, colonists used religious ideology to legitimize genocide from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century.\footnote{For a mid-eighteenth-century sample of religious ideology used to justify the Pequot genocide of 1637, see: Thomas Prince, "Introduction," in \textit{A Brief History of The Pequot War: Especially of the memorable Taking of their Fort at Mistick in Connecticut in 1637. Written by Major John Mason, a principal Actor therein, as then chief Captain and Commander of Connecticut Forces. With an Introduction and some Explanatory Notes by the Reverend Mr. Thomas Prince}, ed. Thomas Prince (Boston, 1736).}
Chapter 5: Lenape regional polities and European settler colonialism: A longterm perspective

When Moravians first arrived in Lenape country in the early 1740s, they did not know much about its history. Lenape country had radically changed during the preceding century. To better appreciate Lenape achievements of this period and to better comprehend the situation in which they found themselves in the mid-eighteenth century, we need to take a close look at Lenape culture and explore how Lenapeyok had coped with colonial expansion, demographic decline, loss of ancestral lands, and declining access to customary resources from the mid-seventeenth century.

Lenape country was located in the North American Middle Atlantic, in what now is eastern Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and the southern tip of New York including western Long Island. It consisted of the Delaware river basin and the area east of the basin, from Delaware bay in the south to the lower Hudson basin and Bronx river in the north. With a land area about five times the size of Tanjavur, it extended about 360 kilometers from north to south along the Atlantic coast and 150 kilometers inland.

The term ‘Lenape country’ has a cultural rather than political connotation. In the mid-seventeenth century, Lenape country consisted of a number of regional polities. Yet, all Lenapeyok shared a common culture and spoke closely related languages. Their regional polities were based on similar social institutions and connected through diplomacy, kinship ties, ritual practice, and exchange of resources. All Lenapeyok belonged to one of three phratries that cut across regional political boundaries. Social status and political power were handed down from one generation to the next through matriline. Families maintained their social positions through distribution of resources and marriage alliances. Lenape festivals that brought members of various regional polities together entered the written record as early as the 1640s. The Lenape word ‘kinteka’ and its variants, which mean ‘dance’ or ‘feast,’ are among the most frequently occurring Lenape expressions in seventeenth-century European documents. Lenape festivals were associated with life cycle and seasonal changes of humans, plants, and animals.517

The most important festivals of the annual ritual calendar were associated with the xaskwēm or maize harvest and the passing of winter and were celebrated around the autumnal equinox and after the winter solstice during new or full moon.518 Since these large festivals were

517 The political significance of matrilineal descent was noted, for example, in: William Penn, "Letter from William Penn to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders," in Narratives of early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707, ed. Albert Cook Myers (New York, 1967, 1683), 234-235.


518 For the annual ritual cycle and earliest description of what later became known as the Big House ceremony, see: RMI, box 131, folder 7, item 1: Schmick, Wixlusing journal, entry for 09/23/1770.
indispensable for the social fabric of Lenape culture, even Moravian Lenapeyok participated without the knowledge of European missionaries. On September 18th, 1753, for example, ‘some Indian brothers (einige Indianische Brüder)’ left the predominantly Moravian town in Mahoning after they had told the missionaries that they were going to hunt for ‘10, 14 days or 3 weeks (10, 14 Tage oder 3 Wochen).’ Hunting was common among Moravian Lenapeyok, but the duration of their proposed absence was unusual. On the same day ‘some sisters (einige Schwester)’ left the town to supposedly make brooms and baskets. Three days later, on September 21, most Lenape brothers of the neighboring Meniolagomeka town went hunting as well. New moon was on September 26. On September 29, most Meniolagomeka brothers returned home and brought two Mahoning brothers along. On September 30, most Mahoning brothers returned home as well, but they did not bring much venison, which was unusual. Instead, they ‘brought warm regards from the Meniolagomeka brothers and sisters (brachten herzliche Grüße mit von den Meniolagomeka Geschwistern).’ Deer meat, which was associated with hunting and male gender, was needed as an offering in the harvest festival because it was complementary to xaskwēm, which was associated with cultivating plants and female gender. Apparently, it had been the Mahoning brothers’ turn to supply the meat for the harvest festival.\(^\text{519}\)

A Moravian who lived in Wixlusing on the Susquehanna north branch noted in 1770 that Lenapeyok addressed eight manetuwak or spirits and four groups of spirits in one of the two major festivals. The most prominent manetu was Gettanettowit or Paxtamaus. The other seven—Kèshōx, Kèshōx nepähān, Haki, Tendai, Mbei, Weket, and Xaskwemī—were associated with the sun, night sun (moon), earth, fire, water, house, and xaskwēm. The four groups of spirits were the Wampanoak (Easterners), Taxgamoak (Westerners), Shawanoak (Southerners), and Ponoak (Northerners).\(^\text{520}\)


For the date of the new moon, see the website: http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/phase/phases1701.html. I accessed the NASA website on March 13, 2011.

The significance of the new moon for the xaskwēm harvest festival is evident from yet another example. On September 19, 1737, a colonist noted that Lenapeyok had a festival in Haxiyentaxqua in the lower Lexa. New moon was on September 24. See the NASA website for the date of the new moon and: Harper, *Walking Purchase*, 68.

As early as 1670 and 1683, observers noted the role of deer meat in the xaskwēm harvest festival. See: Robert Steven Grumet, *Voices from the Delaware Big House ceremony* (Norman, 2001), 28, 30. Two accounts of the mid-eighteenth century are provided in: Fur, *Nation of women*, 146.

A list of twenty-four manetuwak provided by Witapanoxwe (C. J. Webber), a Lenape ritual leader, in the early twentieth century contained all eight manetuwak of the mid-eighteenth century except Weket (house). Witapanoxwe related each manetuwak to one of five kinship categories. The seven mid-eighteenth-century manetuwak were representative of all five kinship categories. Xaskwemi (maize) represented ‘our grandmother.’ Mbei (water) and Tendai (fire) represented ‘our grandfather,’ Haki (earth) ‘our mother,’ Kèshōx nepähān (night sun) and Kèshōx (sun) ‘our brother,’ and Gettanettowit ‘our father.’ Witapanoxwe’s list of manetuwak and kinship relations is provided in: Frank G. Speck, *A study of the Delaware Indian Big House ceremony: In Native text dictated by Witapanoxwe* (Harrisburg, 1931), 32.
The basic units of society throughout Lenape country were matrilocal households. They were made up of a mother, her daughters, their families, and possibly adult granddaughters with their families. A Dutch traveler who visited the Nayak area of western Long Island in the late 1670s made a few observations on the physical layout of a Lenape household. According to his estimate, it consisted of ‘seven or eight families’ with a total of ‘twenty or twenty-two’ people. They lived in a longhouse which was about sixty feet long and fifteen feet wide. Each family of the household occupied its own space along the longitudinal axis of the longhouse. ‘They build their fire in the middle of the floor, according to the number of families which live in it, so that from one end to the other each of them boils its own pot, and eats when it likes,’ [...]\(^{521}\) The size given for this longhouse is in line with archaeological evidence from the Menising area of the upper Delaware valley and the Rancocas area of the lower Delaware.\(^{522}\) An early Dutch manuscript map placed three similar longhouses at the southernmost end of Lenape country (Cape Henlopen).\(^{523}\) A Swedish surveyor also observed longhouses in southern Lenape country in the 1650s. ‘And the length of the house they then plan according to the multitude of people, that they can all be accommodated under one roof, {...}.’ The interior was decorated with ‘very fine, strong and artistic mats of finely painted spruce roots and strong straw, with all kinds of figures {...}’ The same author noted that Lenapeyok used longhouses primarily as a winter residence. ‘In this house they now dwell while the winter lasts, and if the Christians then had in mind to exterminate them, it could then be readily done; but that would be of no value or advantage to the Christians, {...}’\(^{524}\) The question of whether ‘Christians’ ‘had in mind to exterminate’ Lenapeyok is discussed in detail below. By the mid-eighteenth century, many Lenapeyok lived in smaller buildings, but clusters of smaller buildings still formed larger matrilocal households.\(^{525}\)

Political boundaries within Lenape country roughly coincided with the boundaries of watersheds such as those of the Lexa or Lehigh river, Schuylkill, Delaware, Raritan, Hackensack, lower Hudson, and Bronx rivers. Lenapeyok relied on rivers for travel and transport, they depended on the fertile flood plains for agriculture, and, after a long winter, relished the large numbers of anadromous fish that moved up the rivers to spawn. The Raritan watershed, for example, was the

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\(^{524}\) Peter Mårtensson Lindeström, "Geographia Americae," in *Geographia Americae with an account of the Delaware Indians, based on surveys and notes made in 1654-1656*, ed. Amandus Johnson (Philadelphia, 1925, 1691), 211-212, 222. The English translation of the Lindeström text gives the size of longhouses as ‘about 100, 200, or 300 ells in length.’ Something is wrong here, either the numbers or the unit.

\(^{525}\) *Fur, Nation of women*, 55, 61-63.
land of the Raritan polity. The Hackensack watershed was the land of the Axkinges polity. The Delaware and lower Hudson basins each hosted over half a dozen regional Lenape polities. Each of them occupied one or more tributaries of the Delaware or Hudson rivers such as the Esopus and Wappinger creeks whose names are derived from the Sopus and Wapping polities.

Lenape polities used the most fertile flood plains of their watersheds for agricultural purposes. The most important agricultural products were various types of xaskwēm or maize, malaxksitall or beans, and squash. The special status of xaskwēm in Lenape subsistence was noted by early European observers in almost every region of Lenape country including coastal areas. The fact that Xaskwemi, one of the eight main manetuwak, was associated with the plant proves that its cultural significance went far beyond subsistence. In recent years, the wide distribution of xaskwēm in Lenape country has been confirmed by archaeological evidence, which also suggests that Lenapeyok used a wide range of other plants unknown to European observers. As one Dutch colonist observed in northern Lenape country in the mid-seventeenth century, their ‘food provisions are diverse, and maize is the most important (Provisie tot Lijftochten zijn veelderhand, en voor eerst Mayes).’ A Swedish colonist added in southern Lenape country that Lenapeyok grew several varieties of xaskwēm. ‘Black and blue maize,’ the most desirable variety, could not be grown in the ‘somewhat sandy’ soil that was ‘light in color’ and occurred in areas on the lower Delaware east bank that were ‘overgrown with spruce forest.’ But this ‘somewhat sandy’ soil was still ‘well suitable’ for the cultivation of ‘maize of yellow, red, white and pink color’ and also for ‘Turkish beans’ and tobacco. The Dutch colonist in northern Lenape country also noted that Lenapeyok made ‘much use of Turkish beans of various colors which they plant among the maize or Turkish wheat as we call it (gebruycken sy veel Turkse Boontjens van alderhande coleuren dewelcke sy planten manck haer Mayes ofte Turkse Tarruw by ons genaemt).’ And he mentioned that Lenapeyok grew ‘much squash (veel Pompoenen).’ Another Dutch colonist described the intercropping system in detail. He also pointed out that xaskwēm was ‘a grain to which much labor must be given, with weeding and earthing-up, or it does not thrive; and to this the women must attend very closely.’ Plants that did not mature were considered a special treat by Lenapeyok. ‘Those stalks which are low and bear no ears, they pluck up in August, and suck out the sap, which is as sweet as if it were sugar-cane.’

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526 Linguistic note: From Dutch records of the mid-seventeenth century, it is obvious that the English place name ‘Hackensack’ has been derived from two Lenape names, that is, ‘Axkinges-haki,’ which means ‘Axkinges country,’ and ‘Axkinges-(s)-ak,’ which is the plural form of ‘Axkinges’ and means ‘Axkinges people.’


530 Lindeström, "Geographia Americae," 164-165, 223.


Land that was not under cultivation had a park-like appearance. Our Swedish colonist of the mid-seventeenth century observed in southern Lenape country that there was ‘no thickly-grown forest but the trees stand far apart, as if they were planted.’ A Dutch colonist from northern Lenape country explained the reason. ‘The Indians are in the habit—and we Christians have also adopted it—once a year in the fall to burn the woods.’ This practice improved overland travel, minimized the risk of uncontrolled forest fires, and gave Lenapeyok much better access to forest resources such as wood, game, herbs, nuts, and fruits. It also supported annual plant species that provided starchy or oily seeds. To the west of Lenape country was a wilderness. One Moravian observed in 1745 that overland travel was very difficult in the area between the Susquehanna west and north branches because the forest was dense and the forest floor littered with dead trees and tree limbs.

Political alliances in Lenape country

In the seventeenth century, Lenape political affinities and divisions had been influenced by the fact that Lenape country belonged to eight ecological regions. Each provided access to distinct resources. This ecological diversity within Lenape country provided the basis of four alliances or groups of regional Lenape polities (the northern, western, eastern, and southern group). The four groups and their somewhat divergent experiences are significant because they shaped the development of new Lenape polities and identities from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century and beyond. Due to heavy population losses and numerous forced migrations, polities frequently merged during this period. Each merger continued to be associated with one of the four groups, which gained increasing political unity during the process. Three of the groups—the northern, western, and southern—emerged as major players at various stages during the wars and diplomacy of the mid-eighteenth century. In a diplomatic exchange in the Lenape town of Koshkoshking in Alligewining, in 1758, the Lenape sachem Delaware George pointed out that ‘we are here of three different {Lenape} Nations. I am of the Unami Nation {...}’

The resource base of some Lenape polities had dramatically fluctuated during the seventeenth century. The four groups provided small regional polities with the means to deal

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533 Lindeström, "Geographia Americae," 213.
535 RMI, box 223, folder 7, item 1: Spangenberg, Travel journal, Tulpemoking to Onondaga, 05/30/1745 to 07/13/1745, entry for 06/10/1745.
536 Christian Friedrich Post, "The Journal of Christian Frederick Post, in his Journey from Philadelphia to the Ohio, on a Message from the Government of Pennsylvania to the Delaware, Shawanese and Mingo Indians settled there, and formerly in Alliance with the English," in An enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest, And into the Measures taken for recovering their Friendship. Extracted from the Public Treaties, and other Authentic Papers relating to the Transactions of the Government of Pensilvania and the said Indians, for Forty Years; and explained by a Map of the Country. Together with the remarkable Journal of Christian Frederic Post, by whose Negotiations, among the Indians on the Ohio, they were withdrawn from the Interest of the French, who thereupon abandoned the Fort and Country. With Notes by the Editor explaining sundry Indian Customs, &c. Written in Pensilvania., ed. Charles Thomson (London, 1759, 1758), 160.
with these fluctuations. Population losses and the loss of land were the most serious problems. Other resources caused considerable concern as well. In the mid-seventeenth century, all groups except the northern had direct access to the Atlantic ocean. Use of marine resources played a significant role in Lenape country. Foodstuffs included tubers typical of marshes, migrating waterbirds, seabirds, their eggs, fish, shellfish, and marine mammals. Lenape access to these resources changed dramatically over the course of the seventeenth century. Right whales (*eubalaena glacialis*), for example, were a resource during winter months when they visited shallow coastal waters such as Delaware bay. But they rapidly disappeared from coastal waters of Lenape country in the seventeenth century due to excessive hunting by Europeans. The production of shell beads is another significant example of wildly fluctuating resources. It assumed great significance in early relations between Lenapeyok and Europeans, but Lenapeyok soon lost direct access to the resources required to produce shell beads when European colonies expanded along the Atlantic coast.\(^{537}\)

The four alliances of regional Lenape polities

The four groups of polities were based on the ecological diversity of Lenape country. They provided regional polities with access to resources that were not available within their own territory. During early colonial times, the four alliances assumed new roles because they enabled regional Lenape polities to cope with demographic decline, land loss, and related changes in their resource base.

The northern group of regional Lenape polities was located in the area that stretches from the upper Delaware basin just north of the Delaware Water Gap to the lower Hudson basin just north of the Hudson Highlands. This area belonged to four ecological regions—the northern end of the Ridge and Valley, the easternmost part of the North Central Appalachians, the southern part of the Hudson Lowlands, and a southern portion of the Northeastern Highlands. The northern group did not have direct access to the Atlantic ocean. Major polities in this group included Menising (Minisink) in the upper Delaware and Sopus (Esopus) and Wapping in the lower Hudson. Early ties between these polities are evident from Dutch sources of the mid-1660s.\(^{538}\) This northern group provided Lenape country with important links to northern neighbors, mainly Mahikan and Mengwe.

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Ties between these regional Lenape polities are indicated by the following journal entries:

July 8: ‘[…] 9 Wappingers and 30 Manissings were with the Esopus Indians […]’

July 13: ‘[…] said that 40 Manissing Indians had arrived at their {Sopus} fort, and that 40 more were to come on the next day […]’

August 19: ‘[…] the Esopus Indians together with the Manissings and Wappingers were prepared to attack […] with four hundred men […]’
In the early eighteenth century, Menising had a population of about two and a half thousand people. This estimate is based on a ‘warrior count’ of ‘three hundred fighting Men’\(^539\). Unlike some of their neighbors, Lenapeyok had large families with many children. ‘Fighting Men’ only made up about a quarter of the male population. About half of the males were children, an eighth were too old, and another eighth were not involved in military activities for other reasons. Since the male and female population were about equal in size, ‘fighting men’ made up about one eighth of the total population, which puts the total population of Menising at 2,400 people.\(^540\)

Menising was one of the last Lenape strongholds in Lenape country when Moravians first arrived in the early 1740s. The Menising region was then most affected by the land extortion schemes of the Pennsylvanian colony. By the beginning of the Seven Years’ War, Lenapeyok had evacuated the Menising region, but the name ‘Menising’ and later ‘Munsee’ continued to be used for one of the three major Lenape polities that succeeded the regional polities of Lenape country.

The eastern group of regional Lenape polities was centered around New York bay and the lower Hudson from its mouth through the Tappan Zee to the Hudson Highlands. Its area stretched from the Passaic and Hackensack watersheds in the west to the Bronx river watershed and western Long Island in the east. The group was located at the intersection of six ecological regions—the Atlantic Coastal Pine Barrens, Northeastern Coastal Zone, Northern Piedmont, Ridge and Valley, Northeastern Highlands, and Hudson Lowlands. Its polities suffered most from Dutch and English violence in the mid-seventeenth century. The Axkinges, Manhattan, Nayak, and Wikquasgek\(^541\) polities belonged to this group. The Wikquasgek polity was extinguished by genocide in the 1640s. The Dutch colonial administration at Fort Amsterdam decided to carry out this genocide on November 1, 1641. Dutch decision makers believed that Wikquasgek was an easy target.\(^542\) On February 26, 1643, the day after Dutch colonists and soldiers had carried out the first two massacres of the genocide, the eastern group of regional Lenape polities became fully visible to the Dutch for the first time. Most polities of the group carried out coordinated attacks on Dutch settlements in retaliation. The political leaders of these polities halted the attacks within days and initiated peace negotiations. The Wikquasgek genocide still found its conclusion in a final massacre that targeted the major Wikquasgek town


\(^540\) Moravian journals and community records, such as baptismal registers, provide excellent data for demographic analysis. In the 1740s and 1750s, many Lenape women had children every two to four years. For adult Lenapeyok, it was not unusual to have five or six surviving siblings. ‘Siblings’ here means people who had the same mother. The following examples only consider surviving siblings who entered the record. They are most likely incomplete and underestimate family sizes.

The Menising man Nolematwenat (Heinrich 123) had at least three sisters and three brothers in the late 1740s. The Lenape sachem Mamanawad (King George, Augustus 174) had at least three sisters and two brothers. The Lenape sachem Tadeyuskund (Tđeyuscutg, Honest John, Gideon 259) had at least two sisters and three brothers in the early 1750s when he was probably in his mid-thirties. This demographic profile reached back further in time. The sachem Nutumer (Nutimus), who was a maternal uncle of Tadeyuskund and had already been a sachem in the early 1730s, had at least two surviving sisters and one surviving brother in the early 1750s. The Lenape sachem Tammekappei (Keposh as a child, Salomo 133), who had been born in 1672, still had two sisters and one brother in the late 1740s. This demographic profile also applied to less prominent Lenape families.

The Wikquasgek polity occupied the watersheds of several rivers east of the Hudson, such as Wickers creek and Saw Mill river, that run parallel from northeast to southwest and empty into the Hudson. The Bronx river, which is the easternmost of these, empties into the East river.

\(^541\) The Wikquasgek polity occupied the watersheds of several rivers east of the Hudson, such as Wickers creek and Saw Mill river, that run parallel from northeast to southwest and empty into the Hudson. The Bronx river, which is the easternmost of these, empties into the East river.

in January 1645. The Dutch had hired one John Underhill and troops from New England who had made themselves a name in the Pequot genocide a few years earlier.\(^{543}\) By 1649, the Wikquasgek polity had seized to exist. The Manhattan sachem Pennekek claimed to speak for Wikquasgek at a diplomatic exchange in 1649 because the polity ‘had no chief’ as he put it. The source refers to the Wikquasgek polity as ‘the tribe called Raretanoos, formerly living at Wiqaeskeck,’ which indicates that a substantial portion of those who had survived the genocide had joined the Raritan polity of the western alliance.\(^{544}\) Some of their descendants probably reached the central Delaware basin by the early eighteenth century. By this time, only few Lenape regional polities of the eastern alliance still existed. Most had probably merged with polities of the northern alliance.

The major settlement area of the southern group of regional Lenape polities had originally been the lower Delaware river basin and bay including the Schuylkill river. Polities of this group extended into the watersheds of the Mullica and Great Egg Harbor rivers, which empty into the Atlantic ocean in what now is southeastern New Jersey. In terms of ecological regions, this group was centered around the northernmost part of the Middle Atlantic Coastal Plain and reached into the Northern Piedmont in the west and Atlantic Coastal Pine Barrens in the east. Early Dutch and English visitors noted that close ties existed between the polities of the lower Delaware. According to these accounts, Lenapeyok from this area only occasionally ventured further north than the Delaware falls at what now is Trenton. One attractive destination beyond the falls were the mountains of the upper Delaware where ‘great store of Elkes’ were available.\(^{545}\) The name ‘Lenape’ was first recorded by Swedish authors in the lower Delaware in the mid-seventeenth century.\(^{546}\) One Swedish author provided insights into how polities of the lower Delaware were connected at the time. He pointed out that much of the west bank of the lower Delaware had very fertile soils, while the east bank was less productive agriculturally. The Mantes polity of the east bank provided west bank polities with fish and venison, while west bank polities provided Mantes with \textit{xaskwēm} when shortages occurred on the east bank.\(^{547}\) The author further claimed that the area around the confluence of the Delaware and Schuylkill hosted half a dozen Lenape towns—‘Poaetquessingh, Pemickpacka, Wickquaquenscke, Wickquakonick’ on the Delaware river and Passayong and Nittabakong on the Schuylkill. These six towns belonged to as many Lenape polities. Several hundred people supposedly lived in each of them and, according to the author, were ‘the most intelligent savages’ of each polity.\(^{548}\) It seems worth noting in this context that some late prehistoric archaeological sites in the central and upper Delaware valley (western and northern groups of Lenape polities) display a bewildering variety of contemporaneous ceramic styles. Some of these are in close proximity to sites that exhibit no such diversity.\(^{549}\) Most Lenapeyok were forced to leave the lower Delaware

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\(^{543}\) The Wikquasgek genocide is discussed in detail below.


\(^{545}\) Yong, "Relation of Yong," 41-43.

\(^{546}\) Various cognates of ‘Lenape’ were recorded in: Lindeström, "Geographia Americae," 125, 161-162, 204, 208, 229.

\(^{547}\) Ibid., 167. See also: Allitt, Stewart, and Messner, "Dog bone," 357.

\(^{548}\) The Mantes polity was located on the Delaware east bank, opposite the mouth of the Schuylkill. See also: De Vries, "Korte historiesl ende Journaels Aenteyck eninge," 159.

\(^{549}\) Lindeström, "Geographia Americae," 170-171.

in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. The Schuylkill watershed provided the link for migrations in northwestern direction to the Susquehanna basin. Many Lenapeyok of this area and their descendants eventually came to live in Shamoking—a cluster of Native American towns and hamlets at the confluence of the Susquehanna west and north branches—where they came into close association with Mengwe. Some moved north to the central Delaware and Lexa watersheds. People of this group and their descendants later referred to themselves as ‘Unami’ in Alligewining.

The western group of regional Lenape polities occupied the central Delaware basin from the Delaware falls to the Delaware Water Gap and also the neighboring Raritan basin and bay including Staten Island. This area belonged to three ecological regions, the Ridge and Valley, Northern Piedmont, and Atlantic Coastal Pine Barrens. Close links between Lenape polities of the Raritan and central Delaware basins are evident from Dutch and English sources of the early to mid-seventeenth century. The Dutch at Fort Amsterdam relied on Lenape messengers to communicate with the lower Delaware in the late 1620s. For this purpose, the Dutch passed messages to their closest neighbors who belonged to the Manhattan polity of the eastern group. Since Manhattan was on bad terms with the Sankikan polity of the southern group, Manhattan messengers did not travel to the lower Delaware. Instead, they passed Dutch messages on to members of the Raritan polity who carried them to the Delaware basin. The Dutch author who described this messaging system also noted that not all Manhattanak had trouble with Sankikanak. Some did travel to the lower Delaware themselves. This indicates that existing animosities were based on feuding between kinship groups rather than war between polities.

A few years later, an English trader who had sailed up the Delaware river to the falls confirmed that Lenapeyok from the falls area traveled to Fort Amsterdam. They also had close contacts to the northern group of Lenape polities beyond the Delaware Water Gap. Links between the Delaware falls, Lexa or Lehigh, Raritan, and Staten Island have also emerged from archaeological evidence, particularly from the distribution of ceramic styles in late prehistoric sites. Many Raritannak relied on these links when they were forced to migrate up the Raritan watershed in the late seventeenth century and to eventually move in with the polities in the central Delaware basin in the early to mid-eighteenth. Their destinations at this time included the Lexa watershed, which also became the center of Moravian settlement in the mid-eighteenth century. When they were forced to relocate again, many moved to the Susquehanna north branch.

Neighbors

Lenape country was a relatively quiet corner of the wider Native American world prior to European intrusions. Sparsely populated highlands to the west separated it from the Great Lakes and from Alligewining with its direct access to the Mississippi basin, a major Native North American thoroughfare. Lenape country certainly moved more into focus when Europeans began to frequent the coast on their search for gold, fish, and furs in the early seventeenth century. But

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550 Schutt, *Odyssey of the Delaware*, 63-64.
551 De Rasière, "Rasière to Blommaert," 103-104.
552 Yong, "Relation of Yong," 44.
there is no reason to assume that relations between Lenape polities and their neighbors radically changed during this period. The existing evidence and cultural affinities suggest a remarkable continuity. Regional Lenape polities maintained close relations to some of their southern neighbors on the Atlantic coast and also to northern neighbors in the Hudson basin. The incentives to maintain such relations were similar to those within Lenape country. Political stability and access to important resources were certainly among them. But the means to maintain relations with geographically more distant and culturally more different neighbors were perhaps more limited. Diplomacy probably played a more significant role among them. In Lenape polities, social status and political power were primarily based on personal relations. Political leaders who extended their personal relations beyond the limits of their own polities could gain additional prestige.

Lenapeyok frequented the rivers and coastal waters of Lenape country and beyond in their amoxōl or dugouts which, according to the experiences of one Dutch colonist who traveled with a delegation of over a dozen Lenape sachems in 1643, could carry twenty people and more. Another Dutch colonist noted in western Long Island in the late 1670s that Lenape amoxōl were ‘sometimes full forty feet in length.’ For coastal travel over longer distances, Lenapeyok connected two amoxōl by means of a platform. This provided more stability and space for a sail and fireplace. Due to the available means of transport, cultural affinities between Lenapeyok and their neighbors occurred along major waterways such as the Atlantic coast and the Hudson river. Yet, early historical and archaeological evidence also indicates regular contact with culturally and logistically more distant Mengwe neighbors. Late prehistoric sites in the central and upper Delaware that display a wide range of contemporaneous ceramic styles also contain styles associated with Mengwe neighbors to the west and north.

Close ties between some Lenape polities in the lower Delaware (southern group) and culturally and linguistically related Nantiko polities to the south are suggested by Swedish accounts of funerals and archaeological evidence. Swedish observers of funerals mixed Lenape and Nantiko practices in their accounts. This may indicate that they had witnessed both types of rituals in Lenape country. One Swedish colonist described how participants in a funeral separated the flesh and bones of the deceased and wrapped them into chestnut bark in preparation for a ceremony that was to be performed at a later time. Stage burials were typical of Nantiko culture and other cultures of the Chesapeake and adjacent areas further to the south rather than Lenape culture. Archaeological investigations have shown that Lenape sites as far north as Menising (northern group of Lenape polities) have small numbers of bone bundles that are associated with stage burials. The occurrence of stage burials in Lenape country suggests that

556 Lindeström, "Geographia Americae," 237-238.
557 Lattanzi, "Upper Delaware ceramics." Freyermuth and Staats, "Late Woodland Overpeck."
558 Nowadays, some people prefer the name ‘Kuskarawaok’ or ‘Kuskarowak’ over ‘Nantikowak.’ On a map of the early seventeenth century, both appear as the names of two out of three towns that belonged to the Kuskaraawa culture and were located in the ‘Kus[karawa]: flu[vius]:’ or Kuskaraawa river valley in the Chesapeake, which is now called Nanticoke river valley. Kuskaraawa residents (‘Kuskarawaok’) formed the largest of the three towns, which was located on the upper river. Nantiko residents (‘Nantaquack’) lived further down, on the upper tidal part of the river. The third town, Nause, was located closest to the mouth of the river. I use the name ‘Nantiko’ because Native Americans in the Middle Atlantic used it in the mid-eighteenth century, and because ‘Nanticoke,’ an English version of its plural form ‘Nantikowak,’ has become most common. See: Smith, "Virginia map."
559 Lindeström, "Geographia Americae," 250.
Lenapeyok had close relations to their southern neighbors. The Sirones polity, which occupied the southern end of Delaware bay (Cape Henlopen), probably played a major role in relations between Lenapeyok and Nantikowak. As one Swedish observer of the mid-seventeenth century put it, the ‘savage tribe, living there, Sironesack by name, is a powerful nation and rich in maize plantations.’

In 1753, the Mahikan sachem Mamanettsekan addressed a Lenape audience in the Lexa valley (western group of Lenape polities) to propose the renewal of an old union that had become dormant. He pointed out that Nantikowak had been part of this union as well. ‘You know that we had a house so big, it extended down the seashore to the Nantikowak. The house had a gate for us and one for them, and there we made a union. (Ihr wisst, wir haben ein Haus gehabt, das ist so groß die See Kante hinunter gewesen, bis zu den Nantikoks. Das Haus hat ein Thor für uns und ein Thor für sie gehabt, und da haben wir einen Bund gemacht.)’ According to Mamanettsekan, the earlier alliance between Lenape, Mahikan, and Nantiko polities had been associated with Menising.

Ties between Mahikan and Lenape polities as far south as the Delaware falls are also suggested by earlier European accounts. An English observer who had sailed up the Delaware river to the Delaware falls in the mid-1630s reported that he had met a Lenape sachem a few kilometers above the falls (western group of Lenape polities) who referred to himself as the ‘Brother of the king of Mohigon.’ What the term ‘Brother’ meant in this context becomes clearer if we consider that this Lenape sachem had traveled ‘in a Canoa 20 dayes journey up the River’ to meet ‘a king of his Alliance.’ He had apparently been to Mahikan country to maintain relations with a Mahikan sachem. He even provided information on how to get to Mahikan country from the Delaware, which was news to Europeans who could not sail beyond the Delaware falls. He explained that the Delaware has a fork two days above the falls and that the eastern branch leads toward the Hudson. It is conceivable that the Menising area (northern group of Lenape polities) played a role in this type of travel and diplomacy because it provided a bridge between the Delaware and Hudson basins. The Lenape sachem from the central Delaware valley certainly had his reasons for visiting Mahikan country. He probably enjoyed traveling. Moreover, by extending relations beyond the borders of his own polity and even beyond his cultural area, the sachem could display his leadership skills and gain prestige. He proved that he could fill out the role associated with his inherited, slightly elevated social status and therefore gained more political influence in his polity. The fact that alliances between Lenape polities and their neighbors existed does not imply that all Lenape polities maintained friendly relations with all neighbors at all times. Neighbors had their quarrels as well. Some evidence suggests, for example, that a Mahikan group attacked Wikquasgek (eastern group of Lenape polities) a few years later.

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561 Linguistic note: Sironessak or ‘Sironesack’ is the plural form of Sirones.

562 The quotation is from: Lindström, "Geographia Americae," 154.

563 RMI, box 119, folder 1, item 9: Mahoning conference, 04/05/1753.

564 Yong, "Relation of Yong," 47.


Some sources claim that the attackers were Mohawk rather than Mahikan. For a discussion, see: Grumet, Munsee, 58, 321.
Relations between Lenape polities and Mengwe neighbors were perhaps most frequently mentioned in early European sources. To some extent, this was due to the fact that the Lenape term ‘Mengwe’ referred to a lot of people. Lenapeyok used the term for most northern Iroquoians and their polities. Lenapeyok had certainly more specific terms for neighboring Mengwe polities, but, in most cases, early European visitors to Lenape country only recorded the term ‘Mengwe.’ One Dutch administrator at Fort Amsterdam, for example, reported in 1626 that a delegation of ‘the Mengwe from the south (de Minguaes om de Zuyt)’ had visited. In this context, the term ‘south’ referred to the ‘South river (Zuyriviere)—the lower Delaware—and the region around it. ‘The Mengwe from the south’ were probably Susquehannok who lived in the lower Susquehanna basin at the time and were the closest Mengwe neighbors of the southern Lenape polities.\(^565\) But we do not know for sure. In later years, other Mengwe, such as Black Mengwe from as far as Alligewining and the Great Lakes, frequently visited the lower Delaware.\(^566\) The Dutch author who reported this visit definitely applied the term ‘Mengwe (Minguaes)’ to a variety of northern Iroquoian groups in his letter. He mentioned, for example, the recent violent conflict between the Dutch at Fort Orange and ‘the Mengwe (de Minguaes).’ In this case, the term ‘Mengwe’ probably referred to Mohawks.\(^567\)

Though we do not know much about the Mengwe who visited Fort Amsterdam in 1626, we do know that they had been brought there by a Lenape sachem from the vicinity of Fort Amsterdam (eastern group of Lenape polities) ‘who was at peace with them (die met haer vreede heeft).’ Why did this Lenape sachem from the New York bay area initiate diplomatic relations between the Dutch at Fort Amsterdam and Mengwe from the Susquehanna basin or further west? Most likely, he and his people had little interest in hunting or trapping fur-bearing animals and selling them to the Dutch. Otherwise he would not have brought potential Mengwe competitors to Fort Amsterdam. But by brokering this meeting, the sachem could exhibit his skills as a political leader and, in the process, enhance his political power. If he received customary gifts from his diplomatic acquaintances, this was even better because he could distribute them among the people of his polity and prove that he was worthy of his position.

Though some Lenape polities of the eastern group maintained peaceful relations with ‘the Mengwe from the south’ at the time, this peace did not apply to all Lenape and Mengwe polities. The Dutch author noted that Lenape polities in the lower Delaware (southern group) were at war

\(^565\) Isaack De Rasière, "Document F: Letter from Isaack de Rasière to the directors of the Amsterdam chamber of the West India company, Fort Amsterdam on Manhattan island, September 23, 1626," in *Documents relating to New Netherland, 1624-1626, in the Henry E. Huntington library*, ed. Arnold J. F. Van Laer (San Marino, 1924, 1626), 208-211. This book has facsimiles of the Dutch manuscript.


A group of about ten Swedes visited more distant Mengwe, most likely Black Mengwe, in the mid-1640s. The distance between New Sweden in the lower Delaware and the country of these Mengwe was greater than three-hundred fifty kilometers (fifty German miles): Johan Printz, "Report to the right honorable West India company in Old Sweden, sent from New Sweden, February 20, 1647," in *The instruction for Johan Printz, Governor of New Sweden*, ed. Amandus Johnson (Philadelphia, 1930, 1647), 132-133.

\(^566\) De Rasière, "Rasière to the directors," 212-213. De Rasière consistently applied the term 'Mengwe (Minguaes)' to all northern Iroquoians. Only in one instance, he used the term 'Maquaes' (see pages 230-231). In this part of the letter, he discussed Native American preferences in textiles and Dutch supply problems, ‘which give the Mohawks reason to seriously complain and ask, why should we hunt if you have no cloth half the time (daer de Maquaes wel stoutelyck over durven claghen ende seggen wel waerom souden wy jaeghen, den halven tyt en hebt gly[uyden] geen laecken).’
with some Mengwe. He claimed that they could not hunt in the winter because ‘the Mengwe constantly harassed them with war (sy altyt met oorloghe van de Minquaes ghequet werden).’ Again, ‘the Mengwe (de Minquaes)’ are not more clearly specified. In any case, Lenapeyok in the lower Delaware preferred to stay close to home to protect their towns against Mengwe raids. They were perhaps even afraid of Mengwe trying to dislodge them from the area.\(^{568}\)

Over the course of the next decade, hostilities between Lenape polities in the lower Delaware and Mengwe were reported by another two European observers. On February 11, 1633, a Dutch visitor to the lower Delaware was near the mouth of the Schuylkill river when he encountered about fifty ‘Mengwe who live above English Virginia (Minquasen die boven d’Engelse Verginnes woonden).’ According to the Dutch author, the fifty Mengwe had come to make war and expected another six-hundred to arrive soon. The expression ‘above English Virginia’ applied to all Mengwe with the Susquehannok admittedly being closest to Virginia and the lower Delaware. Two days later, the same Dutch met Lenapeyok who provided information on recent Mengwe raids. These Lenapeyok belonged to the Armewamen polity. They supposedly told the Dutch visitors that their own town had been attacked, that some of their people had been killed, that they had been robbed of all their xaskwēm, and that their houses had been burnt. According to the Dutch account, they claimed that Mengwe had attacked the Sankikan polity further up the Delaware as well.\(^{569}\) On July 27, 1634, an English visitor to Delaware bay was supposedly told by a Lenape man that his people ‘were at warre with a certaine Nation called the Minquaos, who had killed many of them, destroyed their corne, and burned their houses {...}.’ The list of suggested Mengwe depredations is remarkably if not suspiciously similar to the previous account. The English visitor claimed that this Lenape man’s people who are not more clearly specified in the text had temporarily abandoned the west bank of this section of the Delaware, ‘which was next to their enimies,’ and had moved their town across the river to an inland location. The next day, the English met a boat full of ‘Minquaos’ who supposedly confirmed the story, though it is not clear how they communicated, since the English author explicitly mentioned that their interpreter only knew a few words of the Mengwe language. During the following days, the English sailed up the Delaware river to the falls. On the way, they met many Lenapeyok some of whom supposedly told more stories about Mengwe raids.\(^{570}\)

Four years later, when the Swedes arrived in the lower Delaware, the Armewamen and Mantes polities were apparently at peace with a ‘Mengwe (Minqua)’ group. The Swedes intended to establish a permanent presence in the lower Delaware. On March 29, 1638, they negotiated toward this end with a Lenape delegation on ‘Minquas Kill,’ now Appoquinimink creek, which is one of the closest links between the lower Delaware and Susquehanna rivers. The Lenape sachems who participated in these negotiations belonged to the Armewamen and Mantes polities. During negotiations, a ‘Mengwe (Minqua)’ sachem was also present. Most likely, the Lenape sachems had brought him in because the Swedes wanted furs and this Mengwe sachem and his people were ready to supply them. The Mengwe must have been a close neighbor, that is, a Susquehannok, otherwise the Armewamen and Mantes sachems could not have brought him in on short notice. After all, they had not expected Swedish ships to arrive. This raises the question

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\(^{568}\) Ibid., 208-211.

\(^{569}\) Yong, "Relation of Yong," 161-163.

\(^{570}\) Yong, "Relation of Yong," 38-40.
whether the raids of previous years had really been carried out by Susquehannok. The term ‘Susquehan’ and its plural form ‘Susquehannok’ do not appear in any of the sources pertaining to Mengwe raids in the lower Delaware, but Susquehannok did carry out raids in the Chesapeake during this period. In sources relating to the Chesapeake, they are even referred to as Susquehan. Lenape sachems of the southernmost polities now had an opportunity to enhance their political stature by using the method that an eastern polity sachem had used twelve years earlier at Fort Amsterdam.  

The sources on relations between Lenape polities and their Native American neighbors in the early to mid-seventeenth century are quite sketchy. Since many of the most attractive regions of Lenape country have become densely populated during the past hundred years, much of the archaeological record has been destroyed. Preservation of organic materials, which is generally poor, is even worse in the sandy soils of much of the coastal plain. As a result, the available archaeological evidence allows for a wide range of interpretations. In recent years, the introduction of more refined research methods has enabled archeologist to extract new insights from the limited evidence available. Documentary evidence of relations between Lenape polities and their Native American neighbors is quite scarce, imprecise—in many cases, not even the polities involved are clearly specified—and often based on a combination of hearsay and the imagination of European authors who were not directly involved. European authors were better informed about relations between Lenape polities and Europeans. These accounts are certainly biased, but nevertheless shed light on how Lenapeyok maintained relations with their neighbors. Early Lenape approaches to Europeans probably resembled Lenape approaches to Native American neighbors in many ways.

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571 For the negotiations between southern Lenape sachems and a Swedish delegation, see: Four men from the Key of Calmar, "Affidavit of four men from the Key of Calmar," in Narratives of early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707, ed. Albert Cook Myers (New York, 1967, 1638), 87. The names of the sachems were: 'Mattahorn, Mitot Schemingh, Eru Packen, Mahamen, and Chiton.' Chiton was probably Mengwe. Conflicts between southern Lenape polities and Mengwe are also discussed in: Schutt, Odyssey of the Delaware, 51-56.

On Susquehan raids in the Chesapeake, see: White, "Susquehannock political and economic strategies", 68-69, 101-102.


The arrival of Europeans in Lenape country

In the spring of 1765, Lenapeyok shot two seals in the Susquehanna north branch in Wyoming. Since Lenapeyok had become isolated from their homeland, which had included a considerable part of the Atlantic coast, none of the people present had seen a seal before. They called a meeting to determine what to do. After a thorough discussion, an elder proposed to eat the seals. Since a god had sent the seals for the benefit of people in Wyoming, he argued, they had to accept them as a gift and make use of them. The two seals were prepared for consumption, and everyone present received a part. If Lenapeyok had perceived the first Europeans as god-sent beings in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, it would have saved them a lot of trouble. Yet, they recognized them as ordinary humans. A strong taboo prohibited them from consuming fellow humans. From some of the behavior displayed by European colonists toward Lenapeyok from the early seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century, one gets the impression that the former either failed to recognize the latter as humans or did not have such a taboo. The European enterprise to extend access to territory and other resources of Lenape country consumed most Lenape polities and many of their people. This was not a coincidence. Formally trained Europeans believed that Lenapeyok and other ‘Heathens’ were lacking the human capacity to form legitimate polities. Some Europeans disagreed. A few actually joined Native American polities. In 1647, for example, the governor of New Sweden reported that ‘some of the Hollanders have entirely quitted the Christians, and [resorted] to the Minquas.’ They were probably a small minority and certainly disappeared from the colonial record.

Europeans had appeared in Lenape country at least as early as the late sixteenth century. More followed and tried to establish permanent settlements from the 1620s. As a result of the growing European presence in coastal regions, Lenape country also attracted the attention of neighboring Native American polities further inland, mostly Mengwe. Even before the beginnings of permanent European settlement, Lenapeyok had felt the impact of the Old World. Europeans first appeared as porters and traders who brought new resources and diseases from distant places across the Atlantic ocean. Initially, diseases had the most significant impact. According to a report by a Dutch colonist from eastern Lenape country, some people of the area estimated in the late 1630s or 1640s that their polities had lost more than ninety percent of their populations. Though the number may have been an exaggeration, it certainly suggested a sense of dramatic demographic decline. European colonizers, such as the Dutch West India company, had a competitive advantage because they could draw on a vast supply of people who had lost access to vital resources in Europe.

574 RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Manuscript book: Native American history, 1780, p. 44.

For archaeological evidence of demographic decline in a neighboring polity, see: Dean R. Snow, "Mohawk demography and the effects of exogenous epidemics on American Indian populations," Journal of Anthropological Archaeology 15 (1996). The Mohawk population possibly declined by almost two thirds—from under eight thousand people to under three thousand—during the first smallpox epidemic in Mohawk country, which occurred in 1634.

Lenape polities had most likely been affected earlier. When a smallpox epidemic occurred in the lower Delaware valley in the late 1670s, a Lenape delegate mentioned that there had been an epidemic in his grandfather’s time and in his father’s time as well. See: James O’Neil Spady, “Colonialism and the discursive antecedents of Penn’s treaty with the Indians,” in Friends and enemies in Penn’s woods: Indians, colonists, and the racial construction of Pennsylvania, ed. William A. Pencak and Daniel K. Richter (University Park, PA, 2004), 28.
Apart from diseases, Lenape experiences with European colonists were a mixed blessing at best. In southern Lenape country, in the lower Delaware basin, where the Swedish West India company established Nya Sverige or New Sweden in 1638, relations were at times strained, but for the most part peaceful and mutually beneficial. In eastern Lenape country, around New York bay and the lower Hudson basin, where the Dutch West India company had established colonies from the mid-1620s, violence became a permanent factor for over two decades from the early 1640s. From a Lenape perspective, developments took another unfavorable turn when the Dutch expelled the relatively inoffensive Swedes from southern Lenape country in 1655. Only a decade later, the English took over, and the Dutch colonial administration became history as well.

In early contacts between Lenapeyok and Europeans, diplomatic relations were established according to Lenape customs. Lenapeyok initiated various forms of exchange toward this end. They also tried to integrate individual European colonists into Lenape polities and culture. On March 5, 1643, an official Lenape speaker mentioned some of the methods that Lenapeyok had employed toward these ends in an address to Dutch delegates. He pointed out that Lenapeyok had offered the Dutch food, shelter, protection, exchange of goods, and intermarriage during the previous two decades. Intermarriage played perhaps the most prominent role among Lenape institutions used to achieve cultural integration. To emphasize closeness between Lenapeyok and Dutch colonists, the Lenape speaker mentioned the existence of ‘many Native Americans who had been fathered by a Dutch (menigh Wildt die van een Swanneken toegestelt was).’ Since Lenapeyok recognized matrilineal descent, they considered descendants of such mixed marriages Lenape. But the comment and how the Lenape speaker used it also suggest that he was aware of European customs. He knew that patrilines dominated descent from a European perspective.577

Exchange of gifts was another important factor in early relations between Lenape polities and Europeans. Lenapeyok allowed Dutch colonists to use land for a variety of purposes in specified areas. Yet, they did not invite Europeans to stay in their country as freeloaders. Lenapeyok believed in reciprocity and expected something in return. Early colonists accepted obligations that came with land use. In the early fall of 1626, for example, a Dutch administrator at Fort Amsterdam advised his superiors of the West India company to send ‘3000 or 4000 mattocks’ prior to spring. He was afraid to run out of them ‘by the time the Indians will wish to plant.’578 Lenapeyok benefited from access to iron hoes, which they could not produce themselves, because these hoes made agricultural work easier compared to hoes made of stone, wood, or bone. Dutch colonists could not produce iron hoes either, but the Dutch colonial administration at Fort Amsterdam had a monopoly on imports from Europe. Lenapeyok had limited options to bypass this monopoly. They did not have the means of transport required to cross the Atlantic and establish contacts in Europe. But they could try to establish contacts to other Europeans in and around Lenape country who were not controlled by the Dutch at Fort Amsterdam.

From the 1620s to the 1640s, Dutch colonists benefited from sharing access to European iron hoes and other imports with Lenape neighbors. During this period, Lenapeyok provided Dutch and, from the late 1630s, Swedish colonists with considerable quantities of victuals—especially xaskwēm—when the Dutch and Swedes were not able to produce their own. In 1644, the governor of New Sweden reported to the Swedish East India company why his colony depended on Lenape xaskwēm supplies. The previous year, the Swedes had tried to produce

578 De Rasière, "Rasière to the directors," 232-233.
enough *xaskwém* to feed the whole colony, but they had miserably failed and had only produced a fraction of what they needed. The governor noted that food supplies were expensive in neighboring colonies, but ‘maize can be bought cheaply from the savages here in the [Delaware] river.’ His thoughts took a more sinister turn when he contemplated alternatives. He believed that colonists could possibly support themselves if they were able to remove their Lenape neighbors from the most productive lands.  

The Dutch also still depended on Lenape *xaskwém* at this time, but they had been trying to impose an even cheaper solution from the late 1630s and early 1640s. The Dutch colonial administration at Fort Amsterdam attempted to extract *xaskwém* from their Lenape neighbors for free, as a tributary payment.  

When some European colonists violated Lenape concepts of reciprocity, Lenapeyok simply invited others. Southern Lenape polities, for example, invited Swedes to stay in the lower Delaware when the opportunity arose in 1638. The Swedes then occupied places in the lower Delaware, but soon after failed to deliver much in return. Mattahorn was one of the Lenape sachems who had been present during initial negotiations with the Swedes and who had allowed them to stay on March 29, 1638.  

He was from Passayong, one of the half dozen Lenape towns in the region at the confluence of the Schuylkill and Delaware. Since the Swedes had supply problems and soon began to look like freeloaders, Mattahorn invited some English to settle in this region on April 19, 1642. When nothing came out of the invitation and the Swedes continued to have supply problems, he asked some Dutch to settle on April 24, 1648. Mattahorn was supported by Wissemenetto, another sachem of the same region. They tried to settle the Dutch group soon after the Dutch at Fort Amsterdam had at least temporarily ceased hostilities with eastern Lenape polities. When the Swedes protested the new Dutch presence, Mattahorn and Wissemenetto insisted on their decision. Mattahorn’s diplomacy clearly showed that Lenapeyok had not lost the initiative and political control over the lower Delaware. The Lenape approach was quite similar that of authorities in Tanjavur. Competition among Europeans strengthened the position of local polities.

Lenapeyok also established clear boundaries. Two years earlier, in the summer of 1646, when the Dutch at Fort Amsterdam had been at war with eastern Lenape polities, the Dutch had tried to explore the Delaware beyond the falls, supposedly in search of minerals. Wirakehen, a Sankikan sachem, stopped them at the falls and told them that they were not allowed to go any further. Wirakehen had been previously informed about Dutch movements by Meerket, a sachem from Tinnekong, which was a few kilometers down the Delaware on the east bank.

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581 Four men from the Key of Calmar, "Affidavit," 87.  
585 Chronic Swedish supply problems are mentioned in: Printz, "Report from New Sweden, 1647," 132, 140.  
587 Ibid., 263-264.
Apart from offering intermarriage, land use, and xaskwēm, Lenapeyok employed other means to maintain relations with their neighbors. The Dutch administrator at Fort Amsterdam who had ordered mattocks in 1626 noted two years later that Lenapeyok provided wampum, beaver, and otter furs in exchange for mattocks. Historians have made much of the fur trade, but there is no evidence that Lenapeyok ever procured large quantities of furs in Lenape country. The fact that Lenapeyok of the eastern and southern polities put Mengwe in touch with Dutch and Swedish colonists in 1626 and in 1638—at the very beginning of the permanent European presence at Fort Amsterdam and in New Sweden—indicates that Lenapeyok had little interest in chasing fur-bearing animals. This attitude did not change in the following years. In 1644, the governor of New Sweden complained with regard to his Lenape neighbors that ‘we have no beaver trade whatsoever with them but only the maize trade.’ Lenapeyok were not in a habit of hunting or trapping fur bearers, and they obviously had no interest in changing their lifestyle just to please European colonists.

The existing evidence also suggests that Lenapeyok did not need large quantities of European imports. The imports used by Lenapeyok were quite durable. An iron hoe or a brass kettle could probably last a few years if not a lifetime. Moreover, Lenapeyok had no taste for hoarding European imports. Lenape demand for imports was probably most pronounced during the first few years of regular contact, but dropped dramatically afterward. This is confirmed by the archaeological record. Compared to Mengwe sites, archaeologists have found very few European imports at Lenape sites. Instead of hoarding, Lenapeyok preferred to circulate goods in gift exchanges that served to maintain relations with their neighbors. No large quantities of goods were needed for this purpose. In the lower Delaware, for example, Lenapeyok continued to collect European imports from Swedish colonists as compensation for land use. When Swedish colonists forgot about their obligations, Lenapeyok reminded them. The governor of New Sweden expressed his concern about being short of the upcoming rent in 1653. ‘With the Savages we have hitherto practiced peace, as long as our cargoes lasted, but when they run out there is no friendship any longer with the savages either, […]’ From point of view of his office, the logical alternative to paying rent was waging war rather than moving out. In 1655, his successor reported that Lenapeyok carried some of the imports collected for land use to Mengwe towns where they received ‘beavers and elk-skins’ in return. They then carried some of these beaver furs and elk skins to New Netherland where they again exchanged them for European imports. In this way, they could maintain relations with Mengwe, Dutch, and Swedes without chasing elks or beavers. According to the Swedish governor, they even made a profit along the way because European imports were cheaper in New Netherland than in New Sweden. Lenapeyok who made this circuit had more imports at its end than at its beginning and could use the surplus for other purposes.

586 De Rasière, "Rasière to Blommaert," 107.
587 Printz, "Relation from New Sweden, 1644," 117.
588 Mounier, Archaeology in New Jersey, 121.
Lenapeyok also used shell beads or wampum to maintain relations with their neighbors. Production of *wapapi* (white wampum) and *nsukgehak* (black wampum) gave Lenapeyok considerable control over a means of exchange that was much desired by Mengwe fur suppliers and, for this reason, by European colonists who wanted to buy furs. Mengwe had become accustomed to rely on wampum in diplomatic exchange and for ritual purposes, but did not have direct access to the Atlantic and the marine resources required to produce them. From the perspective of European colonists, wampum was the major currency of the fur trade. In 1644, the governor of New Sweden reported to the Swedish West India company that he needed wampum to buy furs from Mengwe. He noted that ‘half or at least one-third of the cargoes must be sold for *sewant*’ or wampum. Three years later, he reiterated his observation in another report to the West India company. ‘It is not possible to keep up the trade with the Savages [= Mengwe] by means of cargoes only, because the Savages always want *zewandt* besides, {...}.’

This was another reason why Lenapeyok did not have to go through the rather strenuous exercise of hunting and trapping fur bearers to maintain relations with Europeans. At first, Lenapeyok had exchanged wampum for furs provided by neighboring cultures and had then exchanged these furs for European imports. Once wampum had been firmly established as the major currency of the fur trade, they directly exchanged wampum for European imports. Black Mengwe from Alligewining and White Mengwe or Susquehannok tried to introduce red beads, most likely catlinite from what now is Minnesota, but without much success. Catlinite beads were only occasionally used as an alternative to *nsukgehak* or black wampum, which was considered twice as valuable as *wapapi*. As one Swedish colonist observed in the 1650s, ‘the third kind, which comes from the Black and White Minquas, is red. These red stones and the black-blue are valued in the place of gold; three of these stones are worth one styver {...} But the white stones are counted as silver, and 6 pieces of them are worth one styver {...}’

According to common wisdom, much wampum came from New York bay, which was occupied by eastern Lenape polities, and from coastal New England. In 1644, the governor of New Sweden confirmed this when he reported that wampum ‘can be bought cheaply there from the Savages.’ He complained that he had to procure wampum from these places because Lenapeyok in the lower Delaware were ‘poor, so that one can secure from them little and nowadays practically no *sewant* at all.’ Yet, Lenape polities in the lower Delaware were wampum producers as well. Rather than being ‘poor’ as the Swedish governor put it, southern Lenape polities restricted wampum production to avoid misuse and inflation. The output was limited by the number of people who were allowed to produce beads. Lenapeyok in the lower Delaware still had enough wampum to use large quantities in rituals and for decorative purposes in the mid-seventeenth century. Lenape use of wampum in funerals attracted some colonists who robbed it from the graves. The situation radically changed within a few decades. By the late

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591 Printz, "Relation from New Sweden, 1644," 118.
594 Printz, "Relation from New Sweden, 1644," 118.
595 Early colonists used ‘*sewant*’ and similar terms to refer to wampum. In the seventeenth century and beyond, wampum came to play a major role in diplomatic relations, initially in polities without direct access to the Atlantic: William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the longhouse: A political history of the Iroquois confederacy* (Norman, 1998), 224-239.
seventeenth century, most Lenapeyok had lost direct access to the Atlantic ocean and its resources.\textsuperscript{595}

European violence and ideology

Early Lenape experiences with Europeans differed from region to region. The Swedes maintained peaceful relations with the southern group of Lenape polities from New Sweden’s inception in the late 1630s to its end in the mid-1650s. The Dutch at New Amsterdam brought large-scale violence to the eastern group of Lenape polities in the early 1640s. The northern group of Lenape polities was affected by this violence from the mid-1640s. This early violence is significant to our story because it influenced Lenape polities and their approach to expanding European colonies during the century that followed. Lenape attempts to integrate neighbors including Europeans continued, but, in response to European violence, Lenapeyok kept their major population centers at a safe distance from European colonies. Archaeological evidence in the lower Susquehanna river basin—namely postmold patterns at the Strickler site—even suggests that a considerable number of Lenapeyok left Lenape country as early as the mid-seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{596}

The attitudes of Swedish and Dutch political leaders toward Lenapeyok and their polities had not differed much during the mid-seventeenth century. One Swedish observer of the period noted that Lenapeyok lived in longhouses during the winter, ‘and if the Christians then had in mind to exterminate them, it could then be readily done; but that would be of no value or advantage to the Christians, {...}’\textsuperscript{597} The author contemplated the feasibility and drawbacks of genocide because many colonists had genocide on their minds. The governor of New Sweden expressed his attitude toward Lenapeyok in the lower Delaware in an official report to the Swedish West India company in 1644. ‘Nothing would be better than to send over here a couple of hundred soldiers, and {keep here} until we broke the necks of all of them in this River, {...}’ This was not a casual remark. The Swedish governor asked the West India company to provide additional means of violence. He repeated and detailed his request further down in the same report. ‘{...} if I should receive a couple of hundred good soldiers and in addition necessary means and good officers, then, with the help of God, not a single savage would be allowed to live in this River.’\textsuperscript{598}

\textsuperscript{595} Lindeström, "Geographia Americae," 196-199, 229-231, 251.

Lenape polities in the lower Delaware also used wampum belts in religious festivals and to document important diplomatic transactions and historical events: Johan Printz, "Printz to Brahe, July 19, 1644," in The instruction for Johan Printz, Governor of New Sweden, ed. Amandus Johnson (Philadelphia, 1930, 1644), 166-167.

On colonists who robbed Lenape graves in the lower Delaware in the mid-seventeenth century, see also: Kraft, The Lenape: Archaeology, history, and ethnography, 203.

The emphasis is on ‘major’ population centers. Small Lenape groups continued to live in close proximity to colonies. The Strickler site was occupied from 1645 or 1650 to 1660 or 1665. Though the site is usually linked to Susquehannok in the literature, most excavated buildings closely resembled Lenape rather than Susquehan longhouses. They measured sixty feet by eighteen to twenty-two feet, which is in line with the size of longhouses excavated in Lenape country. Susquehan longhouses and those of other Northern Iroquoians were much larger. The small longhouses of the Strickler site also had the entrance on the long side of the building, which was typical of Lenape longhouses and unusual for Iroquoian. See: Kent, Susquehanna's Indians, 348, 350, 357. White, "Susquehannock political and economic strategies", 238.

\textsuperscript{596} Lindeström, "Geographia Americae," 211-212, 222.

\textsuperscript{597} Printz, "Relation from New Sweden, 1644," 117-118.
Despite such attitudes among political leaders, relations between New Sweden and neighboring Lenape polities remained peaceful. In New Netherland, one finds similar attitudes among political leaders. But in the case of New Netherland, such attitudes and ideas were put into practice. What caused Dutch political leaders to opt for violence and genocide? Tensions between individual colonists and Lenapeyok occurred in the lower Delaware as well as in the lower Hudson. In both places, competing Lenape and European jurisdictions turned common crimes into government affairs. Both Dutch and Swedish political leaders wished to impose their ideas of government on Lenape populations. Such wishes did not originate in the minds of colonial governors. An instruction for the governor of New Sweden, for example, explicitly stated that Native American neighbors were to be ‘informed in the true Christian religion and worship {...} (in der wahren Christlichen Religion und Gottesdienst informiret {...})’ In this context, ‘true Christian religion’ and ‘true Christian worship’ were not abstract phrases. They were tied to concrete political goals, that is, making Native Americans submit ‘to orderly conduct and good public administration (zur Civilitet und gutem policey wesen).’ In early modern European ideology, ‘true Christian religion and worship’ were not just a set of ideas and rituals. They were tied to particular forms of political organization. ‘Heathen’ polities were illegitimate from this point of view. They had to be destroyed and replaced by ‘Christian’ polities. The governor of New Sweden had to contemplate how to put conversion into practice. ‘But if it shall happen, it must happen with compulsion, so that one would strike to death and destroy the greatest part of the older {people} and bring the remainder under the obedience of H{er} R{oyal} Maj{esty} and then compel and force them to a knowledge of God, {...}’

Nonetheless, there is no reason to believe that stakeholders in the Dutch or Swedish West India company had a pronounced interest in engaging in a crusade to eliminate ‘Heathens.’ But ideology played a significant role when it came to the practical task of murdering people for economic gain. Ideology legitimized murder and therefore lowered the psychological threshold for those who ordered and executed murders. Moreover, those who were in the business of ordering and executing murders had to be kept from murdering the wrong people. European officers and foot soldiers of the seventeenth century participated for economic gain as well—usually in the form of plunder and booty. In this context, ideology was needed to establish boundaries and channel violence. It defined who was a legitimate target and who was not.

Unsurprisingly, in both the Dutch and Swedish case, neighboring Lenapeyok rejected approaches that aimed at destroying their polities. So why did this constellation result in peace in the lower Delaware and in genocide in the lower Hudson? The most significant difference between the lower Delaware and lower Hudson was European access to means of violence. The Swedes maintained peaceful relations with Lenape neighbors and even grudgingly accepted Lenape justice and methods of preventing crime because they did not have the military means to

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599 In the early to mid-1640s, both the Dutch and Swedish colonial administration claimed in about half a dozen crime cases that Lenapeyok were responsible for the deaths of colonists. Whenever Lenape sachems could verify such an accusation, they offered customary compensation for the relatives of the murder victim. The kinship group of the murderer had to provide this compensation. The Lenape system of dealing with crime achieved two things. It provided the material aid needed by the relatives of the victim. And it put a heavy burden on the criminal’s kinship group, which, in this way, was encouraged to reign in the criminal. Since Lenape polities were quite small, they could not afford a police and prisons. Neither could they afford to waste human life. The Lenape system effectively prevented crime, and it also prevented feuding—a more costly way of dealing with crime that could break a polity. Criminals who could not be reigned in were expelled from their polity.


601 Printz, "Printz to Brahe, July 19,1644," 164.
put violent fantasies into practice. The governor of New Sweden never received the soldiers and other means of violence he requested. The Dutch, in contrast, believed that they had sufficient military capabilities—not to destroy all Lenape polities in the lower Hudson, but to completely destroy one of them and its people. When the Dutch found out that they were mistaken, they procured additional means of violence from New England.  

The Wikquasgek genocide

From the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century, four sets of racist institutions played a major role in excluding Native Americans from colonial society—marriage, landed property, Native American slavery, and those promoting religious uniformity. These institutions also provided colonists with incentives to use extreme forms of violence against Native American polities. Genocide was the most radical form of exclusion. Suppression of mixed marriages—especially between Native American men and European women—was another form of exclusion. From the point of view of educated Europeans, European women who associated themselves with Native American men were considered ‘whores’ and their children ‘bastards.’ Control over agricultural land and the way it was defined were the most important economic incentives in North American genocides with the possible exception of the southeast where Native American slavery played a major role until the early eighteenth century when Native Americans formed a broad alliance in the Yamasee war and made an end to this institution.  

Native American slavery had also played a role in genocides in the northeast and Virginia in the mid to late seventeenth century. European polities in conjunction with religious institutions demanded political obedience and ritual uniformity. These goals played a significant role in legitimizing genocide. The mid-seventeenth century northeast is perhaps the best example.

The problems and events surrounding the Wikquasgek genocide of the early to mid-1640s provide significant insights into early European approaches toward Lenape polities and into Lenape responses. Wikquasgek was a regional Lenape polity of over a thousand people and belonged to the eastern group of Lenape polities. It was located in the lower Hudson basin, southeast of the Tappan Zee—the widening of the Hudson river about forty kilometers north of what now is New York City. Wikquasgek country consisted of the watersheds of several rivers.

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602 In 1644, the Swedes grudgingly accepted the Lenape system of dealing with crime in cross-cultural murder cases with Swedish victims. This effectively prevented such murders during the following decade. The Dutch refused to accept the Lenape system. This refusal led to genocide, two and a half decades of war, and the eventual departure of the Dutch from North America. On the Swedish acceptance of Lenape justice and crime prevention, see: Printz, "Relation from New Sweden, 1644," 116-117. Rising, "Report, 1655," 157. On the Dutch rejection of the Lenape system and resulting problems, see: De Vries, "Korte historiael ende Journaels Aenteyckeninge," 248-249, 252-253, 264-265, 268-269.

603 Examples are the Apalachee and Tuscarora genocides. See: John H. Hann, Apalachee: The land between the rivers (Gainesville, 1988), 264-283.


605 For a recent work on Puritan ideology and views of Native Americans, see: Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Puritan conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700 (Stanford, 2006), 68-71.
such as Wickers creek and Saw Mill river, that run parallel to each other from northeast to southwest and empty into the Hudson. The Bronx river is the easternmost of these and empties into the East river.

The Wikquasgek genocide is fairly well documented. Though Wikquasgek seemed like an easy target to the Dutch colonial administration at first, the initial two massacres committed by the Dutch in February 1643 triggered a broad response from the eastern group of Lenape polities. When several Lenape polities simultaneously attacked the Dutch colonies in retaliation, the public mood in the colonies turned against colonial administrators. But Lenape polities were not interested in a prolonged war and offered peace negotiations after a few days. Dutch colonial administrators initially responded to Lenape peace proposals, but soon broke their promises. Instead, they secured the support of one John Underhill from New England and his troops to complete the Wikquasgek genocide. Underhill had made himself a name a few years earlier when he had played a major role in the Pequot genocide. Despite support from New England, some Dutch colonists who were opposed to the militant faction that dominated the colonial administration reported what they perceived as misconduct of colonial administrators to authorities in the Netherlands. These opponents and the investigation that followed produced valuable sources. Public responses to the New Netherland and New England genocides significantly differed. There is no evidence that a significant opposition to or criticism of genocide emerged in New England. Quite to the contrary, the Pequot genocide was publicly celebrated and glorified. As a result, more genocides followed. Even the centennial of the Pequot genocide was still celebrated in the 1730s. One spiritual leader of New England used the occasion to glorify the genocide as 'the most daring Enterprizes in the Cause of God and of his People,' which 'went a great way to their wonderful Successes.'

Dutch colonists who were opposed to large-scale violence sent complaints about colonial officials to the Netherlands. The Dutch West India company (WIC) investigated and eventually recalled Kieft, the Director General at Fort Amsterdam. A report by the WIC recommended that 'the advice of the present Director {Kieft}, utterly to exterminate all enemies by force, be, by no means, adopted; not only because it is impossible and unchristianlike so to do, but it would not be advantageous to the Company to incur so great an expense as it requires.' The recommendation came too late for Wikquasgek and most of its people. There are also questions about the sincerity of these statements. The person who had played the major role in organizing and executing the Banda genocide twenty years earlier had also been recalled to the Netherlands for an investigation by the Dutch East India company (VOC). Yet, Coen was cleared of all charges and returned as Director General to the Indian ocean. After all, the Banda genocide had laid the foundation for the VOC’s global nutmeg monopoly. After Coen’s return to the Indian ocean, the VOC experienced its most aggressive expansion. By the early 1640s, Coen had become a hero. It is quite possible that Kieft and the dominant faction at Fort Amsterdam tried to style themselves after Coen. Kieft could not return to Fort Amsterdam because he died in a ship wreck on his way to the Netherlands. But his successor at Fort Amsterdam continued Kieft’s policies. He refused to compensate the families of Lenape victims and, in this way, laid the foundation for another twenty years of war. The war only ended when the Dutch finally left Lenape country in the mid-1660s.

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A few Dutch colonists who were opposed to violence occasionally voiced ethical and moral concerns, but the feasibility of genocide clearly dominated discussions. De Vries, one of the most prominent and outspoken opponents, repeatedly pointed out that New Netherland lacked the manpower and resources required to carry out a genocide. He frequently compared the inaptitude of the WIC and its officials to what he considered the superior performance of the VOC. De Vries had been to the Indian ocean, starting his eastern journey in 1627. What may seem like a detail of his biography appears in a different light if one considers that De Vries sailed with Coen when the latter returned to the Indian ocean a few years after the Banda genocide. Though we cannot reconstruct Kieft’s psychology, it is conceivable that unfavorable comparisons to the VOC’s supposedly superior performance encouraged him to follow Coen’s violent example rather than to abandon it.\(^\text{608}\)

There are parallels between the Wikquasgek genocide and the Banda genocide. The greatest threat to Dutch authority in New Netherland in the late 1630s and early 1640s lay in the rapid expansion of New England colonies. Dutch settlers were harassed and attacked by English invaders in the lower Connecticut valley. English settlers also crossed over into Long Island. The Dutch colonial administration avoided direct confrontations with English intruders. It tried to employ the superior manpower of New England for its own purposes by integrating English settlers in its own colonies. As in Banda, violence against native polities facilitated bonding between Dutch and English colonizers. The Wikquasgek genocide itself is an excellent example. The actual large-scale violence began with the two massacres carried out by Dutch troops and militia in February 1943. The use of violence further escalated once the Dutch colonial administration had employed Underhill and New England troops who contributed their expertise acquired in the Pequot genocide a few years earlier.

The major events of the Wikquasgek genocide can be summarized thus: The Dutch colonial administration and twelve representatives of the freemen decided to completely destroy the Wikquasgek polity and its people on November 1, 1641. Decision makers agreed to be patient and wait for a good opportunity.\(^\text{609}\) In February 1643, this opportunity arose, when several dozen Wikquasgek refugees stayed in the vicinity of Fort Amsterdam. They had been granted refuge in the lands of the Manhattan and Askinges polities. The former group was just north of Fort Amsterdam and the latter just west of it, across the Hudson river. Since these Wikquasgek refugees were an easy target, Dutch troops and militia used the opportunity to carry out the first two massacres of the Wikquasgek genocide. The two massacres were carried out in the night from February 25 to 26, 1643. The Dutch troops and militia murdered indiscriminately, about eighty people in Askinges and forty in Manhattan.\(^\text{610}\) Though most of the victims were from Wikquasgek, many Lenape polities of the eastern group attacked the Dutch colonies in

\(^{608}\) De Vries, "Korte historiael ende Journaels Aenteyckeninge," 81, 84.

\(^{609}\) Van Laer, Scott, and Stryker-Rodda, eds., Council minutes, 1638-1649, 124-126.


My focus is on the Wikquasgek genocide. For other aspects of conflicts between Dutch colonists and Native American neighbors, see: Trelease, Indian affairs in colonial New York: The seventeenth century, 60-84. Evan Haefeli, "Kieft’s war and the cultures of violence in colonial America," in Lethal imagination: Violence and brutality in American history, ed. Michael A. Bellesiles (New York, 1999), 26-34.
retaliation. The Lenape response was swift. Dutch sources indicate that officials who had ordered
the massacres were surprised by the quick Lenape response and its effectiveness. As a result of
the devastation brought about by these attacks, dissent emerged within the colony.611

Only a few days later, on March 4, the Lenape polities that had carried out attacks sent
devotes to Fort Amsterdam to offer peace negotiations. It turned out that not all victims of the
two massacres had been refugees from Wikquasgek. The next day, sixteen Lenape sachems
traveled from Rexquawank in Long Island to Fort Amsterdam to initiate peace negotiations.612
On March 25, Penhawits, a Long Island sachem, visited Fort Amsterdam and confirmed friendly
relations between Long Island Lenapeyok and the Dutch. A month later, on April 22, Oratamin,
an Axkinges sachem, visited Fort Amsterdam. He had been sent by the Rexquawank, Tappan,
Kixtawank, and Sintsing polities of Long Island and the lower Hudson to conclude peace with
the Dutch.613

The Dutch colonial administration agreed to provide compensation to the relatives of
people who had died in the massacres. But the Dutch never paid. On July 20, a Lenape sachem
informed the Dutch that the situation was getting difficult to control because relatives of murder
victims were dissatisfied.614 On September 15, the Dutch Director General and his associates
made concrete plans to resume violence.615 On October 6, the Dutch made moves to employ
troops from New England.616 Two days later, De Vries, one of the most prominent and
outspoken Dutch opponents to the violent approach, left the colony for good.617 On October 17,
John Underhill participated in an official council meeting in New Amsterdam. The council
resolved ‘to make a hostile attack’ on Wikquasgek.618 The genocide found its conclusion over a
year later, in the winter of 1644/45, most likely in mid-January, when a combined Dutch and
English force destroyed the major Wikquasgek town in the upper Bronx river watershed. They
murdered all residents indiscriminately. Since Underhill was among those who were in charge of
the attack, it is not surprising that the technique employed was similar to the major event of the
Pequot genocide—the famous massacre on the Mystic river. Dutch and English troops
surrounded the Wikquasgek town, set it on fire, and murdered anybody who tried to escape the
flames. Dutch witnesses estimated the number of victims at from over five to seven hundred.619

The Dutch had not been able to find the Wikquasgek town for some time. An old Native
American prisoner led them to three fortified Wikquasgek towns at some point, but all had been
abandoned. The Dutch only found one or two men whom they murdered, a few women and
children whom they took prisoners, and large quantities of xaskwēm which they burnt. In April
1644, the Dutch temporarily turned their attention to Long Island. English colonists from
Stamford, Connecticut, who had settled Hempstead in Long Island earlier in the year imprisoned

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611 Van Laer, Scott, and Stryker-Rodda, eds., Council minutes, 1638-1649, 188.
613 Van Laer, Scott, and Stryker-Rodda, eds., Council minutes, 1638-1649, 189, 192.
615 Van Laer, Scott, and Stryker-Rodda, eds., Council minutes, 1638-1649, 203.
617 De Vries, "Korte historiael ende Journaels Aenteyckeninge."
618 Van Laer, Scott, and Stryker-Rodda, eds., Council minutes, 1638-1649, 207.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, historians invented the idea that a Tankiteke town had
been the target of this Dutch attack. Until recently, this error has been reiterated by every historian who has written
on the subject. The sources clearly say that the Dutch continued to target Wikquasgek in late 1643 and 1644. The
only account of the massacre itself placed it squarely in Wikquasgek country. More details are provided below.
seven Lenapeyok. Long Island Lenapeyok were not at war with New Netherland at the time. When Underhill arrived with over a dozen soldiers, they murdered three prisoners on the spot. On the way back to New Amsterdam, they threw two prisoners over board with ropes around their necks and left them to drown. The remaining two prisoners were tortured to death in New Amsterdam. Long Island Lenapeyok avenged these murders. A combined Dutch and English force then attacked Matsepe, the major Lenape town near Hempstead, and another Lenape town in the area and murdered anybody they could find.

Wikquasgek moved back into focus when Stamford connections provided Underhill with intelligence on the location of the major Wikquasgek town. Most Wikquasgek people had retreated to the upper Bronx river—from the Dutch perspective, the remotest corner of Wikquasgek country. In the winter of 1644/45, a combined Dutch and English force was shipped to Greenwich, Connecticut. From there they marched a whole day in northwestern direction. At eight o’clock in the evening they were five kilometers from the major Wikquasgek town and took a break. At ten o’clock they moved to attack the town. The upper Bronx river is only twenty-five kilometers northwest of Greenwich. The march had taken the whole day because the previous night had brought heavy snow and the terrain had been difficult at times.

After this massacre, Wikquasgek faded out of the Dutch record and was no longer referred to as an independent polity. According to Dutch sources, Aepjen, a Mahikan sachem, claimed to speak for Wikquasgek on August 30, 1645. Four years later, on July 19, 1649, a group of Lenape sachems from Manhattan, Axkinges, the lower Hudson, and Long Island spoke for Wikquasgek because the polity had seized to exist. The Dutch source referred to Wikquasgek people as ‘Raretanoos, formerly living at Wiqaeskeck.’ This indicates that survivors of the genocide had moved to Raritan country. By the early 1670s, some Lenapeyok had returned to Wikquasgek. Romackqua and others offered land use to the New York colony.

At the time of the Dutch and English attack, the major Wikquasgek town had hosted a regional festival. According to Dutch witnesses, twenty-five of the five to seven hundred people murdered were of Wapping background. Since the festival had foreign guests, it was most likely the main winter festival, which was usually celebrated soon after the winter solstice. The author of the only account noted that the massacre occurred during a full-moon night. In January 1645, the moon was full in the night from January 11 to 12.

Historians usually claim that Kieft’s war ended in the 1640s. This is true insofar as Kieft was unable to continue the war. Lenapeyok and some Dutch colonists had demanded his removal for some time when he was recalled to the Netherlands and died in a ship wreck. But his
successor Stuyvesant continued the policy of not compensating relatives of Lenapeyok who had been murdered by Dutch troops and militia. Since people of various Lenape polities, such as the twenty-five from Wapping, had been murdered in the final Wikquasgek massacre and since Stuyvesant refused to compensate the relatives of victims, the conclusion of the Wikquasgek genocide can be seen as the beginning of the Esopus wars that gained momentum in the 1650s and 1660s and eventually convinced the Dutch to abandon their North American colonies.  

Causes of violence

Historians of early modern North America have done little to address the inconsistent manner in which genocide was deployed by Europeans. The same could be said about historians of the early modern Indian ocean. This is true in particular with respect to the important question of why available means of violence were employed to this extent. It may be worth recalling the five conditions that led to the Banda genocide—divergent economic interests, an uneven distribution of the means of violence, an occasion for violence to occur or triggering events, the absence of an institutional framework that could restrain violence, and an ideology that legitimized extreme forms of violence and protected perpetrators at the same time.  

Events surrounding the Wikquasgek genocide help to further elucidate these conditions. Historians who have tried to explore the causes of extreme forms of violence emanating from New Netherland have focused on a few violent crimes that preceded the first two massacres of February 1643. In this, they have followed a line of argument that Dutch perpetrators introduced to legitimize their actions and defend themselves. When Lenapeyok began to attack Dutch colonists in response to the two initial massacres, some colonists accused and even threatened the Director General who had ordered the massacres. He saw a need to defend himself and claimed that Lenapeyok had committed seven murders over the previous years. He was able to specify only three of these. In one case, which had occurred in late 1640 or early 1641, the suspect had been from Wikquasgek. This murder had actually played a role in discussions among Dutch colonial administrators and the twelve representatives of the freemen who decided to completely destroy the Wikquasgek polity and its people on November 1, 1641. But this single murder needs to be put in perspective. One of over a thousand people who belonged to the Wikquasgek polity had been accused of a murder. This was hardly a reason to target all Wikquasgek people. And this murder had occurred two years prior to the two initial massacres. Obviously, something else must have been at work.

In this context, it may also be worth noting that colonists committed many violent crimes including murders in and around New Amsterdam. On July 11, 1642, for example, the colonial administration passed new legislation to deal with problems caused by ‘turbulent persons, murderers and other lawless people.’ The earliest murder that is mentioned in sources that relate to the Wikquasgek genocide had occurred as early as the mid-1620s. This was at the very
beginning of permanent European settlement in the area when Fort Amsterdam was being built. The murderers were colonists. They murdered a Wikquasgek man to steal furs. A little Wikquasgek boy witnessed the murder. The victim was his uncle. This boy later became the murder suspect of late 1640 or early 1641.632

Violent crimes cannot explain why Dutch colonial administrators and the twelve representatives of freemen decided to murder all Wikquasgek people in November 1641. Neither can they explain why administrators ordered the two massacres in which a hundred and twenty people were murdered in February 1643. Dutch perceptions of violent crimes and racist discussions about them possibly contributed as trigger events. The same is true for the arrival of the two Wikquasgek refugee groups in Manhattan and Axkinges and their perceived vulnerability. Yet, trigger events are just one of the five conditions that led to the Banda genocide. The perceived vulnerability of Wikquasgek refugees related to a second condition—uneven distribution of the means of violence. The two Wikquasgek groups had fled to Manhattan and Axkinges in response to a Mahikan attack. According to Wikquasgek accounts, they had fled because each of the eighty or ninety Mahikan attackers had carried a Dutch gun while people in Wikquasgek had none. This turns the explanation of the Dutch Director General on its head. He had ordered his soldiers and militia to murder Wikquasgek refugees because they were an easy, badly armed target rather than dangerous murderers and criminals.633

A third condition that played a role in the Banda genocide was divergent economic interests. Early in 1640, Lenapeyok in Long Island had been forced to take measures to protect their resources. Colonists began to spread in uncontrolled ways and to encroach on agricultural land and other resources needed by Lenapeyok. Colonists tended to waist more than necessary. Their growing numbers and increasingly dispersed settlement patterns came with packs of free-ranging pigs and other livestock that uprooted Lenape xaskwēm fields. Lenapeyok tried to work with the Dutch colonial administration at Fort Amsterdam to solve these and related problems. Prior to the planting season in 1640, the Director General and Council of New Netherland passed laws that required colonists to control their livestock by means of herding or fences.634

Though the population of New Netherland had grown during previous years, the increase was modest compared to other European colonies. In 1640, New England colonists crossed over into Long Island at the northeastern end of Lenape country. By 1642, English colonists had also moved into the Schuylkill at the southwestern end. In 1642, English colonists used violent means to drive the few Dutch settlers out of the lower Connecticut river valley. Dutch colonial administrators at Fort Amsterdam contemplated ways to curtail English expansion. Yet, they did not have the people required to settle the Schuylkill, maintain their presence in the lower Connecticut, or keep English settlers out of Long Island.635

When English colonists began to appear in Lenape country, they posed new challenges to Lenape polities. These English settlements were more dispersed than Dutch. And they did not have a proper political representation in Lenape country. Lenapeyok did not know who to talk to

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634 The government of New Netherland ordered colonists to prevent livestock from damaging Native American maize fields in March and May 1640: Van Laer, Scott, and Stryker-Rodda, eds., Council minutes, 1638-1649, 73-74.
635 Ibid., 139-140, 144.

On Dutch attempts to expel English settlers from the Schuylkill: Van Laer, Scott, and Stryker-Rodda, eds., Council minutes, 1638-1649, 144-146, 151-153.
when English colonists caused problems. Penhawits, the head of a Lenape polity in Long Island, granted New Netherland use rights for land in Long Island to control English incursions. The Dutch eagerly seized on the opportunity and put up their arms as sign of Dutch authority. In May 1640, Penhawits reported to the Dutch colonial administration that strangers had removed the Dutch arms and had begun to cut trees and build houses.\footnote{Van Laer, Scott, and Stryker-Rodda, eds., \textit{Council minutes, 1638-1649}, 75-76.} The Dutch Director General distrusted the account of Penhawits for unknown reasons. But the Dutch still decided to investigate in Long Island, brought in six English settlers, and interrogated them at Fort Amsterdam. All six confirmed on May 16, 1640, that English colonists had removed the Dutch arms and replaced them with a ‘fool’s face’ or ‘fool’s head.’ They refused to name the person who had done it. The interrogation was recorded in detail in the council minutes. It is very clear from this interrogation that Lenapeyok had nothing to do with the incident.\footnote{Ibid., 78-84.}

A few months later, on August 9, 1640, the Dutch colonial administration ordered a punitive expedition against Lenapeyok in Long Island because ‘the arms of their High Mightinesses the Lords States General [...] were torn down by the natives [...] and in the place of said arms a fool’s head was set up.’ The purpose of the expedition was ‘to reduce the said savages to our obedience and make them pay tribute.’\footnote{Ibid., 89.} None of the English culprits had been punished for the ‘fool’s head’ incident. Why was it used months later as a pretext to attack a Lenape polity? In this and later incidents, Lenapeyok served as scapegoats who enabled mediation and bonding between the Dutch colonial administration and the multitude of English colonists who invaded New Netherland. The Dutch administration understood that it could not fight the demographic pressure emanating from New England and other English colonies. The solution to the problem was to integrate English settlers into the Dutch colonies. The reservoir of English colonists could be used to push the boundaries of Dutch colonies deeper into Lenape country.

This relates to a fourth condition that contributed to the Banda genocide—an ideology that legitimated extreme forms of violence and protected perpetrators at the same time. Why did the Dutch colonial administration perceive Lenape allies, such as Penhawits, as enemies and English intruders as potential allies? On August 9, 1640, the Dutch claimed that they wanted to wage war against Lenapeyok ‘to reduce’ them ‘to our obedience and make them pay tribute.’ The issue was the same as in the Indian ocean. From point of view of Europeans with a formal education, ‘Heathen’ polities had no legitimacy. They had to be reduced and their population incorporated into proper, that is, ‘Christian’ polities. Educated Europeans were only split on how to achieve this goal. The Dutch Director General at New Amsterdam favored violent means.

In 1643, the Christian god had occasion to enter the Dutch council minutes in more concrete form. The day after the two initial massacres of the Wikquasgek genocide, several Lenape polities began to attack the New Netherland colonies. Another day later, on February 27, the Director General and his associates tried to legitimize the two massacres in a council meeting. ‘Our God, not wishing to tolerate these iniquities any longer, has moved our community to seek justice and to avenge this Christian blood.’ The expression ‘Christian blood’ referred to the three murders that had probably been committed by Lenapeyok over previous years. Two of the victims had been Dutch, one English. On March 4, the council made the new ideological lead public by ordaining a day of general fast and prayer. Council members explained that, otherwise, the Christian god’s ‘holy name, by reason of our sins, may be profaned
by these heathens.'\textsuperscript{639} But what exactly was a ‘Christian’ and what was a ‘Heathen’ from point of view of Dutch colonial administrators who were paid by the WIC?

Kieft did not do much to promote religious services in and around the Dutch colonies. In the late 1630s and early 1640s, some Lenapeyok still considered themselves Christian. One Dutch colonist visited Tappan on October 20, 1640 to buy \textit{xaskwēm}. Tappan was a regional Lenape polity located west of Wikquasgek, just across the Hudson. The Dutch colonist noted that the West India ‘company’s sloop (\textit{Companies Sloepen}) was there, ‘which wanted to levy a tax from the Indian Christians, a portion of their corn: \{\ldots\} (\textit{dewelcke Contributie wilden hebben van de Wilde Christenen van een partye Koorns: \{\ldots\}})’ In this observation, the terms ‘tax (\textit{Contributie})’ and ‘Christians (\textit{Christenen})’ were closely associated. Lenape residents in Tappan asked the colonist to come back later, after the sloop had left. They did not want to show their \textit{xaskwēm} while company servants were around. According to the author, Tappan Lenapeyok were quite annoyed at the Director General. They found it hard to believe that a guest could have the arrogance to ask for taxes.\textsuperscript{640} These Lenape Christians had no intention to join a European polity. They did not see a contradiction between belonging to a Lenape polity and being Christian. The Dutch author did not see a contradiction either. But from the point of view of Kieft and other administrators, a ‘Christian’ was a subject of a European polity and paid taxes. As expressed in the statement of August 9, 1640, the goals of a war against Lenapeyok were ‘obedience’ and ‘tribute.’ People who were not subjects of a European polity and failed to pay taxes belonged to ‘Heathen’ polities and were legitimate targets of violence. In this constellation, religious categories and the underlying ideology established boundaries to channel politically and economically motivated violence.

A fifth condition that contributed to the Banda genocide was the absence of an institutional framework that could have restrained violence. This also applied to the Wikquasgek genocide. Kieft and some of his associates aspired to be powerful leaders and, to some extent, abused the little power they could have in New Netherland.\textsuperscript{641} Lenapeyok. Dutch colonists, and even the WIC had to pay for it. Kieft and his associates were eventually removed from office. But Stuyvesant, the new Director General, followed in many ways in Kieft’s footsteps. This continuity was another parallel to the Banda genocide. Stakeholders in the WIC and VOC rhetorically distanced themselves from extreme violence, but they did little to stop it as long as it generated income. Lenape polities eventually dislodged the Dutch colonial administration in the 1650s and 1660s. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Lenape polities were able to channel colonial expansion and keep their population centers at a safe distance from colonial enclaves. In the late 1720s and 1730s, this strategy reached its limits. Most Lenapeyok were forced to leave Lenape country.

\textsuperscript{639} Ibid., 187-188.
\textsuperscript{640} De Vries, "Korte historiael ende Journaels Aenteyckening," 246.
Historical memory played a significant role in Lenape culture and political relations. Lenape delegates on diplomatic missions usually opened talks by recounting past relations between the polities involved. In the early 1640s, an official speaker reminded Dutch delegates of early Dutch beginnings in Lenape country. ‘Is it not true, you Swannekens, that is, Germans or Hollanders, when you first came here and had no amoxol (that is, ships), we provided you with food for two winters, and you would have starved to death without it. (Hebben wy niet doe ghy Swannekens/ dat is/ Duytschen of Hollanders/ als ghy eerst hier quamet en geen Mochols/ (dat is te seggen Schepen) haddet u Spijse twee Winters langh versorgt/ en dat ghy/ sonder dat/ van honger had moeten vergaen.)’

In the mid-seventeenth century, Lenapeyok used mnemonic devices to record historical events and contracts. In the diplomatic exchange above, speakers used sticks to document every point they made. ‘The delegates of each Indian nation, that is, the Raritan, {...} The Axkinges, the Wappenas, Highland, Wikquasgek, Recke, Merecke, Tappan, Massapein, Zinreuw, and others had as many little sticks as points to discuss, which they then laid down for each. (De Gecommitteerde uyt alle Natien der Wilden/ als de Raritans/ {...} De Hacquinsacks/ de Wappenas/ Hogelanders/ Wicquasgecks/ Reckewacki/ Mereckewacks/ Dappanders/ Massapeins/ Zinreuw ende andere hadden soo veel Stockjes/ als sy Poincten te debatteren hadden/ die sy dan t’elekens daer voor leghten).’ Lenapeyok generally used such mnemonic sticks in the mid-seventeenth century. For important occasions, they used oxkwasōn (belts) of wapapi (white wampum) and nsukgehak (black wampum). By the mid-eighteenth century, wampum sheyēk (strings) and oxkwasōn had completely replaced sticks and were generally used to record contracts and history, but the principle remained the same.

Lenape history was not confined to mnemonic devices. It was part of social institutions that preserved memory through oral practice. A Moravian referred to a Lenape collection of records as an ‘archive (Archiv)’ in the mid-eighteenth century. He noted that the ‘Chief’ was in charge of it. Recording, maintenance, and oral presentations were done by specialists who had been selected for their aptitude and trained from an early age. The records were orally rehearsed by these experts and political leaders on a regular basis. Apparently, various social institutions were directly concerned with preserving historical memory.

As a result of violence and related problems with European colonists, Lenapeyok had decided to keep their distance from European settlements by the mid-seventeenth century. They developed strategies of interaction that allowed them to disengage. They slowed and channeled the expansion of European colonies by giving colonists certain use rights, such as hunting or planting, for specific areas but not for others. The success of these strategies influenced more powerful Mengwe neighbors. In the early to mid-eighteenth century, the Iroquois Five and later Six Nations adopted them on a much larger scale.

Lenape strategies that dealt with European expansion also formed a type of historical memory. Colonists who relied on written records were frequently surprised when Lenapeyok recalled historical details. In 1734, for example, land speculators in the Pennsylvania government

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642 Anonymous, *Breeden-Raedt*, 16. I have omitted part of the first sentence to make it more readable.
643 Another example of how sticks were used as mnemonic devices in diplomatic relations is provided in: De Vries, "Korte historiael ende Journaels Aenteyckeninge," 267-268.
644 RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Manuscript book: Native American history, 1780, p. 143-149.
claimed that Lenapeyok had allowed Pennsylvania colonists to settle in the Delaware basin above Tohikan in the mid-1680s. To prove their point, they showed a flimsy document that was a draft of a land use contract, but had no clearly defined boundaries and had not been signed by anyone. Lenapeyok recalled negotiations of the period, but pointed out that only land below Tohikan had been concerned and that, even for this land, no agreement had been reached. As has been recently demonstrated, the Lenape version agrees with other documents of the mid-1680s. Yet, the land speculators of the Pennsylvania government had more power than Lenape polities by the mid-1730s. When Lenapeyok disagreed, land speculators simply moved from attempted fraud to extortion. The final outcome of this particular case was the so-called Walking Purchase that forced most Lenapeyok who still lived in Lenape country to move to the Susquehanna and Alligewining.645

Though Lenapeyok slowed and channeled colonial expansion from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century, they still had to move. In the process, Lenape polities had to integrate Lenape refugees of other polities. Lenapeyok also allowed people of other cultural backgrounds to settle in Lenape country. Shawanoak,646 for example, settled in the central and upper Delaware basin from the late seventeenth century. As late as the 1740s and early 1750s, refugees of Mahikan, Nantiko, and Wampano background arrived in Lenape country. In the mid-eighteenth century, Lenapeyok and their neighbors were no longer hoping to integrate colonial polities, but they still integrated individual colonists. A few Moravians initially accepted such offers and married into Native American families. Yet, they were soon confronted with racist attitudes in British colonies, namely Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania.

Forced migrations, the changing demography of Lenape country, and mixed communities formed yet another type of historical memory. Even after a century of migrations, Lenapeyok in Alligewining remembered how all had begun. The violence of the mid-seventeenth century had not been forgotten. In 1762, John Doubty, a Lenape man in Alligewining, mentioned the Wikquasgek genocide of the early to mid-1640s and pointed to the causal relationship between the genocide and the so-called Esopus wars of the 1650s and 1660s. ‘[…] the Indians being settled thick in a Town near the Dutch, in very deep snow, the Dutch taking the advantage killed the Indians; only one made his escape, who alarmed others so that two other wars and peace ensued.’ This brief statement said more about the causes of the Esopus wars than historians during the past hundred years.647

Lenape country in the mid-eighteenth century

When Lenapeyok and their neighbors were forced to migrate, they had to find land that was not occupied. Their options were limited by the availability of land suitable for Lenape agriculture, that is, by the availability of floodplains. A Moravian who lived in Lenape communities for several decades from the mid-eighteenth century and experienced many forced migrations and beginnings of new Lenape towns put it as follows. ‘[…] for Native Americans to make their fields and plant, the best land is required […] wo die Indianer Felder machen

646 Linguistic note: ‘Shawano’ or ‘Savannah,’ which means ‘Southerner,’ was later transformed into ‘Shawnee’ by English speakers. I use the name ‘Shawano’ because Native Americans in the Middle Atlantic used it in the mid-eighteenth century, and because it allows for a proper plural form, that is, Shawanoak.
647 Grumet, Munsee, 68.
When European colonists flooded the Delaware and lower Hudson, Lenapeyok first migrated within Lenape country. But the few and relatively small floodplains that existed adjacent to the Delaware and lower Hudson valleys were already occupied. Local and in-migrating Lenapeyok had to share these limited resources. In some cases they shared them with Native Americans of other cultural backgrounds. Though strangers of different regional backgrounds and, in some cases, of different cultures were forced to live side by side, they found ways to coexist peacefully.

Yet, expansion of the British colonies continued to accelerate. In the late 1730s and early 1740s, when Moravians first arrived in Lexawoxanek (Lehigh forks) —the confluence of the Lexa (Lehigh) and Delaware rivers—and in Monokasi (Monocacy creek) in the lower Lexa, many of the living arrangements that Lenapeyok had made as recently as the mid-1730s already belonged to the past. Lenapeyok had begun to abandon Lexawoxanek and Monokasi under colonial pressure. Moravians observed that neighboring cultures made similar experiences when they contacted mainly Mahikan and Wampano communities in Stissing and Wanaxquatigok near the upper Housatonic river. The situation of Lenapeyok in Lexawoxanek and Monokasi had radically changed due to the insecurity brought about by the so-called Walking Purchase—the biggest of the colonial extortion schemes motivated by profits in land speculation that intended to clear Lenapeyok out of most of the Delaware basin north of the Pennsylvania colony. Apart from residents of Lexawoxanek and Monokasi, this scheme also affected Lenapeyok who remained in the formerly large population centers further up and down the Delaware valley such as Menising and Tohikan. In the early eighteenth century, about two and a half thousand Lenapeyok had lived in Menising alone.

Though the Walking extortion covered a considerable part of what had previously remained of Lenape country in the central and upper Delaware, some Lenapeyok tried to stay close to home and either moved in with people further up the Lexa, north of the Blue Mountain, or with people on the east bank of the Delaware river, which was not claimed by the Pennsylvania colony. Since Lenapeyok realized that this could only be a short-term solution, most left Lenape country altogether and either moved to the Susquehanna west or north branch, or they made the big move to a strange land which they called Alligewining.

Lenapeyok who migrated to the Susquehanna had to move in with Shawanoak, Nantikowak from the Chesapeake, and people of other polities and cultural backgrounds. Many Mahikannak and Wampanoaok from Stissing and Wanaxquatigok were forced to move there as well. As a result, resources on the Susquehanna west and north branch soon became strained. One Moravian author reflected in retrospect on the situation in Wixlusing during the late 1760s.

On the Susquehanna, where our (=Moravian) Native Americans lived, that is, in Friedenshütten {Wixlusing}, the land is beautiful and very good close to the river. But away from the river and into the country, it is very mountainous and of no use to Native Americans apart from hunting, {...} (An der Susquehanna, wo unsre Indianer gewohnt haben, nemlf[ich]. in Friedenshütten {Wixlusing}, hat es am Revier schön und sehr gutes Land, aber vom Revier ab und ins Land hinein ist es sehr bergigt und vor die Indianer zu keinem andren Gebrauch als zur Jagd; {...})

Other areas on the Susquehanna, such as a stretch of land on the west branch from Ostonwaking.

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648 RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Native American history, 1780, p. 43.
650 The population estimate for Menising is based on: Wolley, "A word-list of Manhattan," 63.
651 Moravian manuscripts, such as baptismal registers and journals, provide information on the origin of many individual Moravian Lenapeyok, Mahikannak, Wampanoaok, and their relatives.
651 RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Native American history, 1780, p. 43.
to Shamoking and on the north branch from Shamoking to Xwyoming were more spacious and sustained several large Native American towns and numerous smaller towns and hamlets during the mid-eighteenth century. Yet, the Susquehanna solution was to last less than two decades, until the next forced migration, which began in the early 1760s.

On the move

During forced migrations, many Native American communities were torn apart because not everyone who belonged to a community could or wanted to move to the same place or at the same time. Despite continuous harassment by neighboring colonists, the decision to leave a place forever was not an easy one to make and depended on individual circumstances. Friends, family, and other social relations certainly played an important role in people’s decisions. Many other attachments ranging from a person’s material circumstances to memories and the spirits and remains of deceased relatives played an important role as well. Communities were also torn apart because vacant areas in floodplains of small creeks could not sustain nearly as many people as the much larger floodplains of major rivers, which they had previously inhabited and cultivated. In the mid-eighteenth century, Lenapeyok used at least one acre (about 0.4 ha) per adult to plant their main intercropping system consisting in xaskwēm, malaxksitall or beans, and squash. In addition, they planted many other crops ranging from turnips to watermelons and fruit mhittkwak or orchards. Some had domesticated animals such as dairy cows and horses.

During and after forced migrations, Native Americans adapted their lifestyles, social institutions, and political organization to deal with new social realities, cultural contacts, political relations, and environments, but famine, disease, and loss of human life were unavoidable. Famines often occurred because colonists forced Native Americans to move on short notice without being able to plant and harvest. In a conversation with Moravians at the coffee table in Bethlehem, in August, 1757, the Lenape sachem Tadeyuskund (Tēdyuscung, Honest John, Gideon 259) remembered how Moravians had supported Lenapeyok who had been forced to leave Meniolagomeka in 1754 by providing temporary refuge on land owned by Moravians in Mahoning. ‘When they had to leave their land in Meniolagomeka and it was too late to move to the Susquehanna in time for planting, we {Moravians} allowed them to live and plant in Gnadenhütten {Mahoning}. (Als sie hernach ihr Land in Meniolagomekah verlassen missen u{nd}. nicht mehr Zeit genug gehabt hatten vor der Pflanzzeit nach der Susquehanne zu ziehen; hätten wir {Herrnhuter} ihnen erlaubt in Gnadenhütten {Mahoning} zu wohnen u{nd}. dort zu pflanzen).’

Moving a whole town was always a major challenge and put considerable stress on a community. If the move was forced at the wrong time of the year or even at the right time of the year without allowing for adequate preparations, it was nothing less than murder. In fact, the annual cycle of the Native American subsistence economy only provided a very narrow time window for a successful relocation, that is, between the end of seasonal high water in creeks and rivers during spring and the planting season for xaskwēm or maize from April to May. The

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652 RMI, box 116, folder 7, item 1: Mahoning journal, entry for 04/02/1750. RMI, box 119, folder 3, item 6: Diagram of land used by Moravian Lenapeyok on the Lexa in April 1755.
653 RMI, box 227, folder 4, item 1: Cammerhoff, Travel journal, Bethlehem to Onondaga, 05/14/1750 to 08/17/1750, entry for 05/30/1750 and 06/01/1750.
654 RMI, box 223, folder 10, item 1: Spangenberg, Notes on conference with Tadeyuskund, Bethlehem, 08/27/1757, p. 5 (=3rd page in sequence of microfilm).
economy of most colonists and their governments was primarily based on agriculture as well. Since they had adopted Native American agricultural plants including xaskwēm, one can safely assume that they were well aware of the consequences of forced migrations at the wrong time of the year. Among these were starvation, disease, death, malnutrition, increase in child mortality, and decline in fertility.

When Nantikowak moved their town from Xwyoming to Chenango (‘Zenüenge’), in 1753, they traveled up the north branch of the Susquehanna as early as conditions allowed in spring. By this time, they had made many preparations beginning in the previous year during planting season, if not earlier. Though Nantikowak had been in a position to prepare for this move, it still took them until May 31 to reach Chenango paddling up the Susquehanna in twenty-five amoxōl. The community probably consisted of fifty to sixty adults plus children. Moravians who had lost their way on a trip from Mahoning to Onondaga stayed with them to recover for a few days, just after the Nantikowak’s arrival in Chenango. Though the Nantikowak’s resources were stretched to the limit due to the move, they kindly received the Moravian travelers and provided them with food. On the day of the Nantikowak’s arrival, they immediately called a council with Mengwe representatives who had expected them. The Mengwe delegation informed them that they could permanently settle any vacant place between the forks at Tioga (‘Tiaogu’) and the northern limit of Native American immigrant towns in Mengwe country. Mengwe knew about the hardships and logistic problems associated with the relocation of a whole town. Apart from kind words, they had prepared several sacks of woxganīm or seed maize for planting.

By June 2, the Nantikowak had picked a place for permanent settlement. This place lay five kilometers down the river from Chenango. They moved there without delay to establish their new town. On the same day, one of the Moravians went to this new site to ask Nantikowak for provisions again, since the Moravians wanted to continue their journey to Onondaga. He received more than he had expected without having to pay. At the new site, he observed that ‘All both Old & Young were busy in planting Indian Corn, The Men hough’d & ye Women planted, for none were permitted to be Idle.’ Since it was already late in the planting season, all Nantikowak who belonged to this town planted all agricultural land together to avoid competition between families. ‘When the whole is planted every one gets his Piece assign’d him to take care of, & thus they all will have as much as they want.’ When the Moravian travel group visited the Nantiko town again five months later, from October 21 to October 24, on their way back from Onondaga, they found the residents in the middle of the xaskwēm harvest. ‘They were all busy in their Harvest, tho’ they begun late yet they had plant’d 40 Acres of Indian Corn.’ One could add that they had planted these forty acres of xaskwēm besides building a new town in an unknown place and starting new fields from scratch after an exhausting journey.

Forced migrations were usually preceded by severe restrictions imposed on Native American communities by neighboring colonists and their governments. Just prior to a forced Mahikan migration from Xekomeko to Monokasi, a Moravian reported the situation in Xekomeko. ‘The white people who are the Native Americans’ next neighbors occupy their land by violent means. For Native Americans, only little remains and the fear to lose everything. (Die weißen Leute, der Indianer nächste Nachbarn, bemeistern sich ihres Landes gewaltsamlich, und. den Indianern bleibt nichts übrig, als etwas weniger, mit der Furcht, alles zu

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655 RMI, box 227, folder 5a, item 1: Frey and Zeisberger, Travel journal, Bethlehem to Onondaga, 1753/04/23 to 1753/11/12, 05/27/1753 to 06/03/1753.
656 RMI, box 227, folder 5a, item 1: Frey and Zeisberger, Travel journal, Bethlehem to Onondaga, 1753/04/23 to 1753/11/12, 10/20/1753 to 10/24/1753.
Apart from land enclosure, strategies of colonists included restrictions on Native American mobility and confiscation of the guns that usually existed in a community and were needed for hunting. Native Americans who had lost most or all of their resources were forced to work for colonists for little pay which was often withheld for flimsy or invented reasons. When occasionally an individual reacted violently to such circumstances, colonists invented conspiracy theories and imposed more drastic regulations and abuse on whole communities. By the time a community’s resources had declined to the point where residents could no longer support themselves and had no choices left besides leaving, the involuntary migrants had little means to acquire the provisions and other resources needed to travel to a new place and establish themselves.

Racist violence in the mid-eighteenth-century Middle Atlantic

Native Americans who lived in close proximity to British colonies found themselves dealing with escalating threats of violence. On June 19, 1744, a Moravian who returned from Sharon (‘Scheeren,’ Connecticut colony) to Xekomeko reported ‘that the white people there {Sharon} are all in arms and have been the whole week because they are in fear of our Indians (daß die weißen Leute daselbst {Scheeren} alle in Gewehr sind und sind schon die ganze Woche gewest aus Furcht vor unsren Wilden).’ In the afternoon, the judge and chief sheriff of Poughkeepsie (‘Pickipsi,’ New York colony) arrived with a posse in Xekomeko, since ‘the whole area there {Poughkeepsie} was in alarm because of us {...} (die gantze Gegend daselbst {Pickipsi} in Alarm wäre unserwegen, {...}).’ A few days earlier, on June 16, many Mahikan and Wampano women from Wexquadnak near Sharon had fled to Xekomeko. They feared for their lives because neighboring colonists had spread rumors about ‘French savages (französische Wilde)’ who had supposedly killed ‘three English families (3. englische familien)’ near Wanaxquatigok which was only a few kilometers away. Another six-thousand ‘French savages’ were supposed to lurk in the bushes. No Native American allies of France were anywhere near the place. The story was freely invented. Yet, rumors about violence committed by ‘French savages’ could trigger violence against local Native Americans who had neither the intention to attack British colonists nor the means to defend themselves. For this reason, the women from Wexquadnak had decided to seek refuge in Xekomeko. Their fears were confirmed the next day, on June 17, when the mood of British colonists had already turned against local Mahikannak and Wampanoak in Xekomeko as well ‘because five-hundred Indians supposedly congregated here {Xekomeko} and we {Moravians} provided them with ammunition, {...} (weil hier {Xekomeko} 500 Indianer solten versammet seyn, und wir {Herrnhuter} selbige mit Amunition versorgten, {...})’ Xekomeko had a total population of less than a hundred people and no Native American strangers had been anywhere near the town. Since colonists knew that local Native Americans had almost no resources left, they had to add a Moravian role to their fictional accusations by claiming that Moravians brought in arms and ammunition. Due to widespread racist attitudes and

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657 RMI, box 111, folder 1, item 1: Xekomeko journal, report following entry for 10/10/1745, p. 186.
paranoia among colonists, Native American residents of Xekomeko, Wexquadnak, and other towns in close proximity to British colonies had good reasons to fear for their lives.\(^\text{659}\)

Native Americans elsewhere along the Atlantic coast, such as Nantikowak, suffered similar experiences. When Nantikowak left the Eastern Shore in the mid-1740s, they had been subject to harassment by colonial neighbors for years. Their property had been destroyed, they had been assaulted, and had received threats. All of this was based on a combination of institutional racism and grassroots racism aimed at evicting Nantikowak from the small piece of land they had been left on the Eastern Shore. In the early 1740s, the Maryland administration invented a conspiracy story accusing all Nantikowak of attempted rebellion against the colony and of planning to ‘poison the wells of the English.’ The Maryland administration prohibited Nantikowak from assembling, receiving visits, choosing their own political leaders, carrying guns for hunting, and from other essential activities. Obviously, social and political conditions in their place of origin had deteriorated to the point where they were no longer acceptable. When, in 1743, a Nantiko delegation informed the Mengwe at Onondaga of their intention to move to the Susquehanna, they explicitly asked the Mengwe council whether, in the new location, Nantiko women would be save from harassment and sexual assault by colonists during the hunting season when Nantiko men were not at home. Most likely, this inquiry was inspired by earlier experiences on the Chesapeake Eastern Shore.\(^\text{660}\)

As imperialist conflicts between Britain and France escalated, paranoia among colonists in the Wanaxquatigok region grew apace. When a Moravian from Xekomeko reported on the behavior of neighboring colonists in May 1746, his observations were not much different from those reported two years earlier. ‘\{...\} this night, everyone in the whole country was driven out again to fight, just because of new lies. (\{...\}, diese nacht ist wieder alles in ganzen lande auf getrüben [=aufgetrieben] zum fechten, nun wieder neuer liegen (=Lügen) halber.\)\(^\text{661}\)

Mahikan and Wampano residents of Xekomeko and other towns in the region were forced to abandon their home in 1746. They moved to Wanaxquatigok, the Susquehanna, or further west. Some Xekomeko residents found temporary refuge in Monokasi and Mahoning on land purchased by Moravians.\(^\text{662}\) In the early to mid-1750s, after imperialist violence between Britain and France had lasted for almost ten years, and the Middle Atlantic was becoming fully militarized, many more Mahikannak from the Wanaxquatigok region had to leave their home and moved to the Susquehanna or further west.\(^\text{663}\) Though Mahikannak had access to better resources on the Susquehanna, they did not escape harassment by colonists for long. In July 1754, a Moravian already reported that colonists from New England were invading Xwyomong. Neither did they escape the imperialist war.\(^\text{664}\)

At the Moravian coffee table in Bethlehem, in August, 1757, the Lenape sachem Tadeyuskund who lived on the Susquehanna at the time told his hosts that he intended to do everything in his power to secure peace. He pointed out that many journeys would be required to achieve this goal. His Moravian hosts understood the significance of what he said and expressed their encouragement. ‘Since peace is a magnificent thing, it is worth it, even if he

\(^{659}\) RMI, box 112, folder 2, item 2: Xekomeko journal, entry for 06/16/1744, 06/17/1744, and 06/19/1744.  
\(^{660}\) Weslager, The Nanticoke Indians: Past and present, 145.  
\(^{661}\) RMI, box 113, folder 1, item 1: Xekomeko journal, no. 60, entry for 05/25/1746.  
\(^{662}\) RMI, box 111, folder 1, item 1: Xekomeko journal, entry for 04/18/1746.  
\(^{663}\) RMI, box 223, folder 11, item 3: Spangenberg to Mack, 10/25/1753.  
\(^{664}\) RMI, box 223, folder 11, item 4: Spangenberg to Zinzendorf, Bethlehem, 07/08/1754, p. 2-3. On Connecticut colonists invading Xwyomong, see also: Paul Benjamin Moyer, "Wild Yankees: Settlement, conflict, and localism along Pennsylvania's northeast frontier, 1760-1820" (Diss., College of William and Mary, 1999).
{Tadeyuskund} will have to risk his life or lose it in the process. (Denn der Friede sey eine grosse Sache, u[nd]. wenn Er [Tadeyuskund] auch das Leben dran wagte, oder drüber lassen solte, sey es nicht zu viel.) They knew that it was dangerous for a Lenape or any Native American to travel through a racist colonial environment, even if he was on an official diplomatic mission to promote peace.\textsuperscript{665}

The few small and defenseless Native American communities that remained in areas surrounded by colonial society during and after the imperialist wars between Britain and France were as much threatened by violence and murder committed by their colonist neighbors as by their enemies. Although the Conestoga massacre of 1763, in which Native American residents became victims of a pogrom carried out by their colonist neighbors, is often described as a singular incident, it rather represented the general experience of Native Americans who lived in colonial society by the time of the Seven Years’ War. Colonists repeatedly threatened to murder all residents who lived in predominantly Native American Moravian Wexquetank, which was located just north of Mahoning. Native American residents of Nain in Monokasi also received death threats from their colonist neighbors.

From the summer of 1763, colonists ordered Native American residents of Wexquetank and Nain to wear special ‘marks (Kennzeichen).’ Any Native American who did not wear them was considered an enemy by paranoid and murderous colonists. This included relatives of Wexquetank and Nain residents who came to visit from the Susquehanna and Alligewining. Some of these visitors were getting concerned about the safety of their relatives in Wexquetank and Nain. For example on August 9, a son of Anna Maria (352) from Alligewining visited Wexquetank to convince the two sons of his maternal aunt Theodora (246) to leave the place for security reasons. Yet, Georg (238) and Jonathan (262) decided to stay like most residents of Wexquetank and Nain.\textsuperscript{666}

Soon after, Native American residents of Wexquetank and Nain could no longer dare to leave their hometowns, with or without special marks and passports. On August 25 or 26, 1763, the Lenape man Zacharias (210), the Mahikan woman Wawotackehon (Zippora 099), and her son Benjamin (263) who were residents of Wexquetank stayed over night on Buxkabuxka creek, a few kilometers from their hometown between Monokasi and Mahoning. They were murdered by soldiers from Fort Allen who knew them well. Wawotackehon had been a Moravian for sixteen years. But this did not protect her from racist hatred. The murderers continued to walk in and out of Wexquetank as if nothing had happened. They knew that they were safe in colonial society and that residents of Wexquetank could not dare to touch them.\textsuperscript{667}

\textsuperscript{665} RMI, box 223, folder 10, item 1: Spangenberg, Notes on conference with Tadeyuskund, Bethlehem, 08/27/1757, p. 3-4 (=11th to 12th page in sequence of microfilm).

\textsuperscript{666} RMI, box 124, folder 4, item 1: Wexquetank journal, entries for 08/02/1763, 08/09/1763, and 08/11/1763. RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 25-26. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer, 1742-1753, no. 238, 246, 262. RMI, box 313, folder 4, item 1: Baptismal register, 1742-1764, no. 352.

\textsuperscript{667} RMI, box 124, folder 4, item 1: Wexquetank journal, entries for 08/26/1763, 09/03/1763, and 09/18/1763. RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 4, 23. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer, 1742-1753, no. 099, 210, 263. The deaths of Zacharias, Wawotackehon, and Benjamin are recorded in: RMI, box 313, folder 4, item 1, no. 099, 210, 263. The death date entered in this register is August 14, 1763, old style, that is, August 25, new style. According to the Wexquetank journal, Zacharias, Wawotackehon, and Benjamin left Wexquetank on August 26. This would mean that they were murdered on August 26 rather than August 25. An account of the murders is provided in: Georg Heinrich Loskiel, \textit{Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder unter den Indianern in Nordamerika} (Barby and Leipzig, 1789),
Quite to the contrary, aggression and hostility against Native American residents increased in the aftermath of these murders. All local Native Americans were suspected and accused of plotting revenge against colonists. A few days after the murders, a Moravian from the nearby town of Nazareth warned Wexquetank residents that soldiers had vented their intention to murder any Native American who was found anywhere outside the two Native American Moravian towns. On September 3 and 5, officers from Fort Allen who passed through Wexquetank with their troops uttered similar death threats. Native American residents of Wexquetank had reason to feel let down by their European Moravian brothers and sisters as well. Although the European Moravian ritual leader who lived in Wexquetank knew of the murders at least from September 3, he did not bother to inform the victims’ relatives who lived in Wexquetank including Justina (203), the mother of Zacharias. Young Captain Harris (Petrus 245), an uncle of Zacharias, only found out about the murders on September 6.668

While regular officers stationed at Fort Allen threatened to murder friendly Native Americans who dared to leave their hometowns, local militias, that is, colonist neighbors of Wexquetank and Nain residents were even worse. They threatened to attack these towns and murder all residents. Moravians finally evacuated Wexquetank on October 11, 1763. They had to leave behind most of their belongings including much of the year’s xaskwēm harvest and garden crops.669 Even in Moravian Bethlehem, Native American residents were no longer safe because refugee colonists assaulted them. Later in the year, all Native American Moravians who remained on the Lexa were forced to move to prison camps in Philadelphia for their ‘protection.’ Almost half of them died due to despair, grief, lack of food, and unsanitary conditions in the Philadelphia camps in 1764. Among them were the Mahikan couple Johannes (064) and Eleonora (167) and their children. Their daughters Martha (357) and Sophia (405) died in May 1764. Eleonora died in June. Their nine months old daughter Elisabeth (524), their four years old daughter Anna Maria (473), and Johannes died in July. Johannes had been a Moravian for twenty years. While Native American Moravians were in Philadelphia, their hometown Wexquetank was burnt down by colonists. In 1765, eighty survivors of the Philadelphia camps moved to Wixlusing on the Susquehanna north branch, where they established a new community and were able to stay for a few more years.670

A few Lenapeyok had probably believed that Moravian communities could provide a basis for coexistence with colonial society. They were obviously mistaken. Moravian communities provided a temporary refuge at best. Most Lenapeyok relied on lessons learned from previous generations and kept their distance from the colonies. For them, the only option was migration. The decision to leave Lenape country was not an easy one to make. A multitude of personal circumstances played a role when people decided to leave or stay a bit longer. Some Lenape Moravians had perhaps been more attached than others who had left earlier. But the former eventually followed the example of the latter and took their missionaries along.

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668 RMI, box 124, folder 4, item 1: Wexquetank journal, entries for 09/03/1763, 09/05/1763, and 09/06/1763.
669 RMI, box 124, folder 4, item 1: Wexquetank journal, entries for 09/20/1763, 10/09/1763, and 10/11/1763.
670 RMI, box 127, folder 1-4. The deaths in Philadelphia are recorded in: RMI, box 313, folder 4, item 1. The baptismal register numbers of Johannes and Eleonora are taken from: RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer des Nordlichen Theils von America, 1742-1753.
Chapter 6: Lenape forced migrations, cultural integration, and Moravian interests

Lenape country had radically changed from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century. Most Lenape polities of the mid-seventeenth century did no longer exist. Some had been extinguished by genocide. Many had merged in response to forced migrations. From the turn of the eighteenth century, increasing numbers of Lenapeyok had been forced to leave Lenape country. A deluge of European colonists and their increasingly racist institutions flooded much of the Atlantic coastal plain and major adjacent river valleys, such as the Delaware and Hudson, that had formerly been inhabited and cultivated by Lenapeyok, Mahikannak, Nantikowak, Wampanoak, and members of other Native American cultures and polities. As the British colonies continued to expand, new Lenape polities emerged in the watersheds of the Susquehanna and eastern Alligewining where Lenapeyok had to arrange themselves with new neighbors and form new alliances.

Due to these developments, some historians of the mid-eighteenth century have depicted Lenapeyok as a failure. A recent essay blames ‘lack of unity and inexperienced leadership’ among Native Americans in Alligewining for the outbreak and outcome of the Seven Years’ War. One could as easily argue that Lenapeyok made the most of an impossible situation. When the imperialist conflict between Britain and France escalated in the mid-eighteenth century, the political options of Lenape polities were limited. It was impossible for them to stay out of the conflict. To support the British and their increasingly racist institutions seemed undesirable because the British colonies had expanded most aggressively, had forced Lenapeyok to leave Lenape country, and were likely to expand further into Alligewining. Yet, this was precisely the reason why supporting the French was unrealistic. Lenape polities had not been able to withstand English and later British population pressure. Lenapeyok had also seen Europeans come and go. They knew that the Dutch had been able to dislodge New Sweden in 1655 because its population had been too small to defend the colony. They also knew that the English had been able to dislodge New Netherland only a decade later for the same reason. Due to their own history and the history of former neighbors, Lenapeyok knew prior to the Seven Years’ War that New France with its small population was not a serious obstacle to the expansion of British colonies. Although France and its colonies posed less of a problem to Lenape polities than Britain and its colonies, there was no point in supporting France, the prospective loser of the conflict.

Lenapeyok made the best out of this situation. In the beginning of the conflict, most Lenape polities used French support to send a stern message to Britain, its colonial administrations, mainly Pennsylvania, and its colonial populace. Lenapeyok did not have the military resources to strike at the center of British power. The best they could do was to send a

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672 For the demographic development of European colonies at the southern end of Lenape country under successive Swedish, Dutch, and English rule from the late 1630s to the early 1670s, see: Terry G. Jordan and Matti Kaups, The American backwoods frontier: An ethnic and ecological interpretation (Baltimore, 1989), 52-54, 79-81.
stream of colonial refugees to centers of British colonial power, ideally Philadelphia. Their goal was to slow down British expansion into the upper Susquehanna and Alligewining and, if possible, bring it to a temporary halt. They achieved all of these goals. Later in the conflict, most Lenape polities drew closer to the British to end the war on the winning side and use diplomatic means to control British colonists. As a result, the British promised to stop western expansion. Lenapeyok could not have achieved more than this. Due to their keen awareness of historical realities, Lenapeyok were able to make the most of a very difficult situation.

Lenape communities and regional backgrounds in the mid-eighteenth century

Prior to exploring the dynamics of imperialist violence, racist institutions, and Moravian interests in the mid-eighteenth century, we need to explore how Lenapeyok coped with colonial expansion, demographic decline, loss of ancestral lands, and declining access to customary resources. In the mid-eighteenth century, few adult Lenapeyok lived in the place where they had been born. Most had been forced to relocate several times. Moravian sources provide details of Lenape biographies that are not found in other sources. This information suggests that regional identities continued to play a role during forced migrations. In May 1748, Laoxalent (Thomas Evans, Tobias 326), a Lenape man from Monokasi (Monocacy creek, western group of regional polities), told Moravians in the same place that Awiulshas’huak (Elisabeth 121), a Lenape woman from the Shinnekok area in southeastern Long Island, and her children wished to join his people. Prior to European intrusions, several Lenape polities had occupied western Long Island (eastern group of polities). In the mid to late seventeenth century, Dutch and English colonists forced Lenapeyok to withdraw to eastern Long Island. By the early eighteenth century, most Lenapeyok had to leave Long Island. By the time Awiulshas’huak and her family arrived in Monokasi, they had relocated half a dozen times on their involuntary journey from Long Island along the Atlantic coast, up the Delaware river, into upper Raritan, and eventually to the central Delaware. On their long journey, Awiulshas’huak and her family had initially preferred to stay on the coast. When this was no longer an option, she moved in with people of the western group of polities in the upper Raritan and central Delaware. Close contacts between eastern and western Lenapeyok had existed at least as early as the mid-seventeenth century.673

A few years earlier, in 1742, Laoxalent and others had allowed Moravians to settle in Monokasi where Moravians then founded Nazareth and Bethlehem.674 Monokasi was located on the Lexa (Lehigh) river, about thirty kilometers above the confluence of the Lexa and Delaware, which was known as Lexawoxanek (Lehigh forks). Until the late 1730s, at least three Lenape towns and many smaller hamlets existed in Monokasi and Lexawoxanek. Moravian sources are not explicit about the size of the population in Monokasi in 1742, but they provide some clues. They mention an unusually large peach orchard near the site of Nazareth. This means that a large town, most likely Welagameka, must have existed there. If one considers that this particular site was of minor interest to Lenapeyok because it was several kilometers from the major floodplains


According to an early eighteenth-century author, Shinnekok constituted the largest polity in Long Island at the time. They had probably been joined by refugees from western Long Island and other places: Wolley, "A word-list of Manhattan,” 63.

674 RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 31.
of the Lexa and Delaware rivers, that is, from the land most suitable for Lenape agriculture, it is obvious that the population must have been close to the size that this area could sustain. Some immigrant Lenapeyok, most likely from Raritan, had apparently established a sizeable town near what later became Nazareth because better locations had already been occupied.\footnote{John Heckewelder, "An account of the history, manners, and customs, of the Indian nations, who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighbouring sates," in Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society, ed. American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia, 1819), 34. The Lenape town near the Nazareth site is confirmed by other sources. See: Schutt, Odyssey of the Delaware, 83, 98. Harper, Walking Purchase, 75. Schutt has a map on page 83. Harper refers to the town as 'Meniolagomeka,' which is wrong. Meniolagomeka was north of the Blue Mountain. The approximate locations of Welagameka and Meniolagomeka are provided on Schutt’s map.}

In Monokasi and throughout the Lexa, the population had probably increased from the late seventeenth century to the 1730s since colonists had pushed more and more Lenapeyok out of the Raritan and lower Delaware basins during this period. Though most immigration into the Lexa and other regions of the central Delaware probably originated in Raritan, some people from the lower Delaware (southern group of polities) had also come here via Neshamini and Tohikan. Meskikonant (Big Jacob, Paulus 287), a Lenape man who joined the Moravians in 1751, had been born in Neshamini (‘New-Shammony,’ Neshaminy creek) in the lower Delaware, just north of what now is Philadelphia, in 1713. According to Meskikonant, many Lenapeyok had still lived in Neshamini during his childhood. By the early 1740s, he had moved to Lexawoxanek and lived in a community that also included local Lenapeyok and migrants from the upper Raritan. By the early 1750s, he had moved across the Blue Mountain to Meniolagomeka. Since Lenapeyok preferred matrilocal residence, it was not unusual for Lenape men to change location after marrying a wife from a different town. Yet, the principal direction of Meskikonant’s migration is representative of the general Lenape migration during this period, that is, away from British colonies. This is confirmed by the residence of his sister Louisa (224) and maternal household who had been forced to leave Neshamini as well. They had also moved to the central Delaware basin and lived in Haxiyentaxqua (Hockendauqua creek), which was on the Lexa, about thirty kilometers up the river from Monokasi and sixty from Lexawoxane. The presence of Louisa’s household may indicate that many people in Haxiyentaxqua were from the lower Delaware.\footnote{RMI, box 117, folder 1, item 1: Mahoning journal, entry for 01/10/1751 (12/30/1750 old style). On Raritan backgrounds, see: Schutt, Odyssey of the Delaware, 102.}

The experience of Wuntshimaxqua and Nexshintshaxqua, two Lenape sisters, and their family show a different migration pattern. They were originally from the lower Delaware (southern group of polities) like Meskikonant and his family. But by the late 1740s, they lived in Shamoking at the confluence of the Susquehanna west and north branches. Their brother Tep’hakossi (Joseph Growden, Christian Renatus 117), a Lenape man who joined Moravians in 1748, told Moravians that he had been born near Christiana Bridge, in 1689. His birthplace was south of what now is Wilmington on the lower Delaware estuary. He could not stay there for long. After taking temporary refuge in Tulpehoking in the Schuylkill valley, he moved on to Conestoga on the lower Susquehanna and to Shamoking, which was located several dozen kilometers further up the Susquehanna. His two sisters Wuntshimaxqua and Nexshintshaxqua, his adult daughter Nahalemhigau, and their families still lived there in 1748 when Tep’hakossi joined the Moravians. He had temporarily moved in the opposite direction to Meniolagomeka.
near Monokasi, in 1744, after his first wife had died in Shamoking and he had decided to marry a second time. Most likely, his second wife was from Meniolagomeka. She died there in 1746.677

Among Lenapeyok in Shamoking, the regional background of Wuntshimaxqua, Nexshintshaxqua, and their family was not unique. In June 1745, John Hickman, a Lenape man from Shamoking, told a Moravian visitor that many Lenapeyok who lived in the town had moved there from Tulpehoking in the Schuylkill (southern group of polities). Many of them had earlier roots in the lower Delaware valley.678 To Lenapeyok who had been forced to leave the lower Delaware and move in with people elsewere in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the nearest choices for relocation had been Tulpehoking, Tohikan, and upper Raritan. Tulpehoking had three advantages. Since the Schuylkill was traditionally associated with the southern group of Lenape polities, earlier social ties probably existed between Tulpehoking and the lower Delaware. Tulpehoking was also further removed from British colonies than Tohikan or Raritan. Moreover, Tulpehoking was very fertile.

As early as 1684, British colonists had become aware of Tulpehoking’s fertility. ‘I can say of my own Knowledge, yt for 50 miles up Skulkill falls, generally, one acre is worth two on delaware, & often more.’679 By the early eighteenth century, several prominent members of the Pennsylvania government, such as James Logan and the governor William Keith, tried to get their hands on parts of this fertile agricultural land. In 1730, the land speculator Logan boasted to one of his helpers that he had sold land that belonged to Lenapeyok and gleefully remarked that he was ‘really ashamed of the price that they {settlers} are very free to give. I answer myself, however, with this, that I had no mind to sell, and if they will tempt me I cannot help it. But I desire thee to be entirely silent in it and to injoin those concern’d, as I have done, {...} to observe the secret.’ Logan had good reasons to be secretive about his designs because he sold land that belonged neither to him nor the Pennsylvania colony. Moreover, he intended to keep the profit for himself rather than share it with other members of the Pennsylvania government. When Lenapeyok expressed their concern about Logan’s design to the colony, he tried to solve the problem by bribing the Lenape sachem Allumapis. ‘This honest man, Chris. Stump, having settled on the west side of Skuylkill about half a day’s journey from it, tells me the Indians say that the Land where he lives has not been purchased, but I believe he mistakes and that Allummapis being a very true honest man, will not say so, because the Indians long agoe sold the Lands on the West side of Skuylkill.’ Allumapis had made concessions to the Pennsylvania government and Logan before, but this was too much. He was unwilling to put up with ever greater demands and outright fraud.

In the long run, Allumapis and his people were forced to leave Tulpehoking. Many of them, such as Allumapis himself and the family of the siblings Wuntshimaxqua, Nexshintshaxqua, and Tep’hakossi, moved to Shamoking. For the latter, this was at least the second forced migration.680 By the time Moravians established themselves in Monokasi, most Lenapeyok were about to leave Shamoking and move to Alligewining. The Mengwe portion of Shamoking had become a colonial establishment with a rapidly changing population. Many

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677 RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p.7-8.
678 RMI, box 223, folder 8, item 1: Spangenberg, Notes on journey to Onondaga, 05/30/1745 to 06/05/1745, entry for 06/03/1745.
679 On early connections between the lower Delaware, Schuylkill, and Susquehanna, see also: Schutt, Odyssey of the Delaware, 63-66.
680 Jennings, "Incident at Tulpehocken," 339-347.
temporary visitors had little to do with people who permanently lived in Shamoking and had little concern for their interests. After the death of the most influential Mengwe sachem Swatana on December 6, 1748, few Lenapeyok and other permanent residents remained in Shamoking.  

Regional backgrounds and forced migrations

Like people elsewhere, Lenapeyok had many identities based on membership in a polity, place of origin, language, ritual practice, family, gender, age, talents, intellectual interests, and acquired skills. Some of these identities contributed to regional divisions within Lenape country, but many allowed for integration of regional backgrounds after forced migrations. The language spoken in Menising, for example, was somewhat different from the language used in the lower Delaware basin. Language therefore contributed to regional divisions and identities within Lenape country. Yet, the two Lenape dialects were much more closely related to each other than to languages spoken by Shawanoak and Mengwe, for example, with whom Lenapeyok came into closer contact after forced migrations. The differences between Lenape dialects therefore lost some of their significance after migrations.

Lenapeyok were connected to local communities and regional polities through family ties. At the same time, Lenapeyok in all localities and regions recognized similar family ties with an emphasis on matrilineal descent. Their matrilocal households were organized in a similar way throughout Lenape country. And each family, household, and individual belonged to one of three phratries—peleo (turkey), ptuksit (wolf), and pukowango (turtle)—which were present throughout Lenape country. The internal organization of local and regional polities was also similar throughout Lenape country. And they coordinated their relations to polities outside Lenape country if local and regional interests allowed it.

When Lenapeyok from Long Island or the Delaware estuary were forced to move to the central Delaware or upper Susquehanna basins, they had to deal with new environments. Awielushas’huak’s people in the Shinnekok area of Long Island and Tep’hakossi’s people in the lower Delaware estuary had made heavy use of marine resources. Some skills acquired by Lenapeyok in these regions, such as those related to marine fishing, were of little use after forced migrations. Other skills continued to be useful. The major division of work along gender lines, with women being responsible for agriculture, was similar in all regions of Lenape country. A Dutch colonist who had visited the Nayak area of Long Island in the late 1670s had made a few observations on Lenape agriculture there. ‘[...] we came to the plantation of the Najack Indians, which was planted with maize, or Turkish wheat. We soon heard a noise of pounding, like thrashing, and went to the place whence it proceeded, and found there an old Indian woman busily employed beating Turkish beans out of the pods by means of a stick, which she did with astonishing force and dexterity.’ Despite the availability of marine resources, coastal Lenapeyok did not neglect the agriculture practiced throughout Lenape country. Due to the Lenape division of labor along gender lines, with women being in charge of agriculture, women’s skills were perhaps more easily transferable from the coast to inland locations than men’s skills.  

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For coastal Lenapeyok, a move to the central or upper Delaware basin meant losing some skills and having to acquire new ones. Since these destinations still belonged to Lenape country, immigrants could at least rely on the experience of local Lenapeyok with whom they could easily communicate. When Lenapeyok were pushed to move further away to the Susquehanna north or west branch, they had to leave Lenape country, but remained in an environment that was in many respects similar to that of the central and upper Delaware basin. On the Susquehanna, they could even continue part of their marine diet. Lenapeyok heavily relied on anadromous fish in the spring and also consumed considerable quantities of the catadromous *shaxamēk* or American eel (*anguilla rostrata*). According to one Moravian author, *maskanamēk* or striped bass ('Rockfish', *morone saxatilis*) was the favorite fish of Lenapeyok when they lived on the Susquehanna in the mid-eighteenth century. *Maskanamēk* is an anadromous fish that moved up the rivers of Lenape country and Susquehanna to spawn. Lenapeyok also caught and ate huge quantities of another anadromous fish, the *shawanammēk* or American shad (*alosa sapidissima*). ‘{*...*} in spring, these {the shad or May fish} come in large numbers from the sea into the rivers, where they get caught with the bush net by the hundreds and thousands in one haul. ({*...*} diese {der Shad oder May-Fisch} kommen im Frühjahr in großer Menge aus der See in die Flüsse, da sie denn mit dem Busch=Netz zu hunderten und tausenden auf einen Zug gefangen werden.)’ The term ‘bush net (Busch=Netz)’ refers to an *axkwonikan*—a combination of dams and nets installed by Lenapeyok in river beds to catch fish. Since *shawanammēk* was such an important food source, especially during spring, Lenapeyok used the name ‘shad moon’ to refer to the lunar cycle during which *shawanammēk* began its run up the rivers of Lenape country. Both species of anadromous fish had been an important part of the Lenape diet for some time. A Dutch colonist noted in eastern Lenape country in the early 1640s that *maskanamēk* entered the Hudson from late March to late May and that ‘large quantities were then caught and dried by Native Americans {*...*} (word als dan by groote quantiteyt gevangen ende gedrooght by de Wilden {*...*})’ He also mentioned that the women were busy sowing *xaskwēm* and working the land at this time. ‘{*...*} their men then go out to fish to provide their women with food from their catch {*}...* ({*...*} dan gaen haer Mannen uyt visschen om haer Vrouwen wat te koesteren met haer vanghst {*}...*). In the lower Hudson, Lenapeyok used large seines rather than bush nets to catch anadromous fish in the early 1640s.

Alligewining: Another world

Lenapeyok who made the big move to upper Alligewining were confronted with a completely new situation, in every respect—social, political, and economic. They used the name Alligewine and its locative form Alligewining for the Ohio river basin from what now is western Pennsylvania to the Mississippi. Alligewi *sipo* is the Lenape name of the Ohio river including the part that is now called Allegheny, an English corruption of Alligewi. Small Lenape groups had first moved to Alligewining in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. They found that Alligewining was very different from Lenape country. In fact, the name Alligewining expressed

683 RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Native American history, 1780, p. 43.
684 RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Native American history, 1780, p. 43.
685 Heckewelder, "History, manners, and customs," 304.
distance. According to a Moravian linguist of the late eighteenth century, the name means land of those who have gone far away (from Lenape country). 687

In Alligewining, Lenapeyok met different people who had different cultures, polities, languages, and social institutions. They had to establish and maintain relations with all of them, from Cherokee polities on the southeastern edge of Alligewining to Anishinabe polities north of the Great Lakes and Kaskaskia (Illini) polities on the northwestern fringe of Alligewining. Apart from Mahikannak, Nantikowak, Shawanoak, Wampanoak, and others who had accompanied Lenapeyok on their move, their closest neighbors in upper Alligewining were people whom they called Delamatteno (Wyandot, Wendat, Huron). West of Lake Erie, at a good distance from the lake, Ottawa (Odawa) and Putewoatamen (Potawatomi) polities existed side by side. Further down the Alligewi basin, between the Scioto and Wabash rivers, Twixtwe (Twightee, Miami) and Wawiaxtano (Wea, Miami) polities had established themselves. Again further down the Alligewi, on the Wabash, Kikapu (Kickapoo), Moshko (Mascouten), and Tuckaxsha polities existed side by side. Apart from initial problems with Cherokee polities, Lenapeyok established and maintained amicable relations with all new neighbors. This in itself was certainly an achievement. 688

Alligewining also provided direct access to the much larger universe of the Mississippi basin. The ‘Tuckaxsha’ polity which, according to Moravian sources, was located on the lower Wabash river may point to a long-distance connection. The name is remarkably similar to those of Dhegiha Siouan groups, namely Uka’sa (Kansa) and Ugaxpa (Quapaw, Akansea). Oral histories of the latter cultures mention a common Dhegiha Siouan homeland at the confluence of the Alligewi and Mississippi rivers. These and other people along the Mississippi certainly had relations to lower Alligewining and the western Great Lakes and were also involved in the French fur trade at one time or another from the late seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century. It is conceivable that an Ugaxpa group could have been in lower Alligewining in the mid-eighteenth century. 689 A few decades later, in May 1801, several Moravians met a ‘Tuckashaw’ man near the Moravian town of Goshen, that is, near what now is Cincinnati. He was on his way back home from Philadelphia. The source gives the geographical location of Tuckaxsha country. ‘The Tuckashaws live at the distance of above 1000 miles S{outh}. W{est}. from here.’ If one follows the bends of the Alligewi and Mississippi rivers, this puts the major Tuckaxsha polity into what now is Arkansas, that is, Ugaxpa country. 690 After the Seven Years’ War, references to more distant polities entered Moravian sources from Alligewining. Upper Alligewining and the Alligewi river were a gateway to a vast new world, the Mississippi basin and its cultures. Some Lenapeyok had tapped into this new world decades earlier.

687 RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Native American history, 1780, p. 38.
688 RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Native American history, 1780, p. 169-173.
690 RMI, box 171, folder 8, item 1: Goshen journal, entry for 05/20/1801.
Subsistence in Alligewining

Apart from new neighbors, Lenapeyok had to deal with a new natural environment in Alligewining which was in many respects different from what they were used to and was lacking familiar resources. Since Lenapeyok predominantly relied on a subsistence economy, their livelihood heavily depended on their natural environment and its resources. The absence of important resources could make life inconvenient if not difficult. Moreover, resources of Lenape country had been closely intertwined with many aspects of Lenape culture from cosmology to ritual practice. Loss of resources required cultural adaptations.

Subsistence was among the most pressing concerns during and after forced migrations. A few examples of Lenape reliance on marine resources in the seventeenth century, such as marine fish, right whales, and wampum, have been noted above. Lenapeyok had been cut off from direct access to most of these by the early eighteenth century. They again lost many familiar resources when they were forced to move on to Alligewining. While migrating waterbirds, for example, were abundant in most regions of Lenape country during the fall and winter months, they were comparatively scarce in upper Alligewining with the exception of the southern shore of Lake Erie. Much of the waterfowl, that bred in what now is eastern Canada, used the Atlantic flyway to reach their wintering quarters and congregated in the estuaries of the Delaware and Susquehanna (Chesapeake bay) during their annual migrations. Lenapeyok knew the route of these migrations to Canada, as one Dutch colonist had noted as early as the early 1640s, and they made use of the large numbers of waterfowl that visited Lenape country during the fall and winter months. Brant (branta bernicla), a tasty goose, for example, wintered in Lenape country, but did not migrate through upper Alligewining. Other waterfowl, such as black duck (anas rubripes), enjoyed Lenape country throughout the year, but only wintered in upper Alligewining.

The favorite fish of Lenapeyok in their homeland, the delicious maskanamēk or striped bass, was completely absent from Alligewining. A Moravian who had lived in Lenape country and on the Susquehanna was also disappointed about the lack of shaxamēk in upper Alligewining. ‘Eels are very scarce here, but there are a few. (Aale sind hier sehr rar, doch gibt es einige wenige.)’ A rather smallish shad species (alosa alabamae) entered the Mississippi basin from the Gulf of Mexico, but never made it to upper Alligewining. Apart from being a culinary disappointment, the lack of maskanamēk, shaxamēk, and shawanammēk had a negative impact on protein intake during difficult periods of the annual cycle. When Lenapeyok could no longer count on shawanammēk after their move to upper Alligewining, they eventually dropped the name ‘shad moon’ and used a name that referred to the making of maple sugar, which was another important activity in the spring. Although the Alligewi or Ohio river provided new resources, including many fish species, these could not necessarily serve as a substitute since

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695 RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Native American history, 1780, p. 105.
697 Heckewelder, "History, manners, and customs," 304.
Lenape subsistence and use of resources were closely intertwined with other aspects of Lenape culture. While colonists who invaded Lenape country welcomed the longnose gar (lepisosteus osseus), another fish species, as a major food source, Lenapeyok did not eat this fish at all. Longnose gar was probably much more abundant in Alligewining than in Lenape country. But it could not contribute to the Lenape diet—most likely due to a culturally prescribed food prohibition. There is evidence for other such prohibitions in Lenape culture. Archaeologists have noted, for example, that common and easily harvested crustaceans, such as the blue crab (callinectes sapidus), are almost completely absent from Lenape archaeological sites.  

Resources, exchange, and ideology

The availability of the four fish species mentioned, waterfowl, marine fish, right whales, and wampum are just a few examples of many environmental differences between Lenape country and upper Alligewining ranging from climate and soil characteristics to the availability of medicinal plants, resources needed in ritual practice, guardian spirits, and ancestral spirits. The loss of such resources required a broad range of cultural adaptations. Since our knowledge of Lenape culture in the seventeenth and early to mid-eighteenth century is rather fragmentary, a few simple examples of lost resources and required adaptations must suffice to illustrate the problem.

Guardian spirits exemplify how aspects of Lenape spirituality were connected to specific environments. Lenapeyok had individual guardian spirits. These were usually associated with an animal, often a bird, that first appeared in a vision during adolescence. Having such a vision and getting adopted by a guardian spirit was part of growing up in Lenape country. People who had been adopted by a spirit associated with certain birds of Lenape country, such as black skimmer (oxyura jamaicensis) or great egret (ardea alba), were unlikely to ever see these birds again after a forced migration to Alligewining. This situation was less than comforting. Repeated forced migrations called for new guardians and strengthened those aspects of Lenape religion and spirituality that were not tied to particular localities.

In Alligewining, Lenapeyok were also cut off from animals that were closely linked to Lenape cosmology. In creation accounts, for example, a mythical figure known as 'the Great Turtle' figured prominently. According to versions recorded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, our planet had once been covered with water. The land on which Lenapeyok and other people depended had been formed on the back of the Great Turtle. This story entered the written record as early as October 16, 1679, when Dutch visitors heard it from Jasper, an old Lenape man who was from Long Island and lived in Axkinges at the time. Most likely, the character

698 RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Native American history, 1780, p. 43. The author of the German source refers to the longnose gar (lepisosteus osseus) as 'Horn=Fisch.' This German name is normally used for members of the needlefish (belonidae) family. The longnose gar probably reminded the author of needlefish because both have 'a long snout like a duck, just more narrow (einen langen Schnabel wie eine Endte, nur schmäler),' and many 'very sharp teeth (sehr scharfe Zähne)’ as he put it.

699 On crustaceans at Lenape archaeological sites, see: Mounier, Archaeology in New Jersey, 142. On blue crabs in Lenape country, see: De Vries, "Korte historiael ende Journaels Aenteyckeninge," 260.


of the Great Turtle had been inspired by Lenapeyok’s close association with the Atlantic ocean and encounters with large sea turtles such as the leatherback (dermochelys coriacea).

Pukowango, one of the three phratries that were a fundamental feature of Lenape social organization, was named after the Great Turtle.

In Alligewining, no animals that were close relatives of the Great Turtle could be found. Even more distant relatives, such as tūlpe or freshwater turtles, could be very different from those in Lenape country. The familiar redbelly turtle (pseudemys rubriventris), for example, was nowhere to be found in Alligewining. Instead, one was likely to encounter the rather outlandish eastern spiny softshell turtle (apalone spinifera spinifera).

A Moravian who had moved from Lenape country to Alligewining rightly complained how ‘{...} turtles are of a different kind here compared to those one sees in Pennsylvania, where they have a hard shell, whereas here their shell is soft ({{{...}} Schild=Kröten sind hier von einer andern Art als man sie in Pensylvanien sieht, da sie eine harte Schale haben, hier aber ist ihre Schale weich {...}}).’ If soft shell turtles deserved to be considered turtles at all, their shell was certainly unfit to serve as a ritual rattle in Lenape religious ceremonies. Many other turtle species familiar from Lenape country, such as mud turtle (kinosternon subrubrum), bog turtle (clemmys muhlenbergii), and diamondback terrapin (malaclemys), were completely absent from Alligewining as well.

We do not know how much significance Lenapeyok attributed to the presence or absence of these animals, but, in the early to mid-twentieth century, Lenapeyok used the shells of particular turtle species for ritual rattles. Lenapeyok in Ontario, for example, made ritual rattles from the shells of midland painted turtles (chrysemis picta marginata). This subspecies of chrysemis picta had been an unlikely candidate in the seventeenth century, since it only occurs in a few regions of Lenape country. But another subspecies, the eastern painted turtle (chrysemis picta picta), occurs throughout Lenape country. Lenapeyok in Oklahoma used the shells of common box turtles (terrapene carolina) in the early twentieth century. Box turtles do not occur in Ontario, but the eastern box turtle (terrapene carolina carolina) occurs everywhere along the path of forced Lenape migrations from Lenape country to Oklahoma. Use of this widely distributed subspecies had possibly resulted from cultural adaptations to frequent forced migrations. The turtle species or subspecies used to make a ritual rattle may seem like an insignificant detail. But collective rituals often depended on detailed prescriptions and strict adherence to the details involved. Neglect of details could break a ritual and render it ineffective.

Moravians recorded the story in the eighteenth century: RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Native American history, 1780, p. 212. See also: Speck, Big House ceremony, 44-47.


RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Native American history, 1780, p. 140.


RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Native American history, 1780, p. 105, 221.

not a trivial matter if one considers that collective rituals were invoked to minimize serious risks such as crop failures or severe winters.\textsuperscript{706}

Missing plants could pose a problem too. Lenapeyok used plants in ritual practice, as food, dyes, medicines, and for many other purposes. One Moravian commented on Lenape expertise of medicinal plants. ‘Someone who is interested in medicinal roots and herbs and wants to do some research could find a great treasure among Native Americans. {[...]} Almost every Native American man and woman has some knowledge of this and insight into it {[...]} (\textit{Von Medicinischen Wurzeln und Kräutern könnte einer, der sich damit abgeben und nachforschen wolte, bey den Indianern einen großen Schatz finden, {[...]} fast ein jeder Indianer und Indianerin hat etwas Wissenschaft und Kenntniz davon, {[...]}).’ Part of this knowledge was rendered useless after forced migrations to environments where some of these plants did not grow. The marshes and wetlands of Lenape country had provided a wide range of plants that were difficult to find in upper Alligewining.\textsuperscript{707}

Lenapeyok had to explore new resources to replace at least some of those that were no longer available. A Moravian observed, for example, that Native Americans experimented with mineral oil in Alligewining and tried it for a variety of medical applications. They preferably harvested mineral oil from springs that formed closed pools. ‘When Native Americans want to scoop oil, {[...]; they first throw out as much of the old {oil} as possible, because it has a stronger smell than the one that comes fresh out of the ground (\textit{Wenn nun die Indianer von dem Oel schöpfen wollen, {[...]; so werfen sie das Alte erst hinaus, so viel möglich, weil es einen stärckern Geruch hat als dasjenige, welches frisch aus der Erde kommt}).’ After removing old oil from the pool, Lenapeyok stirred up the remaining water to draw new oil into the pool. ‘{[...] the more one stirs, the stronger the oil comes up (\textit{je mehr drinne gerührt wird, je stärcker kommt das Oel herauf}).’ After it cleared again, Lenapeyok scooped the oil into kettles, refined it, and stored it. ‘{[...] since it always contains some water, which cannot be avoided, they boil it and then store it for use (\textit{weil immer etwas Wasser drunter ist, welches nicht zu vermeiden ist, kochen sie es aus und heben es dann auf zum Gebrauch}).’\textsuperscript{708}

In their explorations of Alligewining, Lenapeyok could rely on the knowledge and experience of other cultures. Shawanoak probably introduced Lenapeyok to some of the resources that were new to them. Shawano people were originally from Alligewining. Many had left the area in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries when European intruders had destroyed the delicate equilibrium of political relations in the Great Lakes and adjacent areas. According to oral histories recorded by Moravians in the mid-eighteenth century, Shawanoak had come into conflict with Moshko (Mascouten) people who had been forced to leave the Great Lakes and pushed into lower Alligewining. Shawanoak moved to various places in what now is the Middle Atlantic, Southeast, and possibly the Great Plains as well. Some visited Lenape

\textsuperscript{706} On turtle species used to make Lenape ritual rattles in the early to mid-twentieth century, see: Speck and Moses, \textit{Celestial Bear}, 46-47. Speck, \textit{Big House ceremony}, 31, 46.


\textsuperscript{707} RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Native American history, 1780, p. 72.

On plants available in marshes and wetlands of Lenape country, see: Messner, "Starch grain analysis", 13-14, 31, 40-41.

\textsuperscript{708} RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Native American history, 1780, p. 68-69.
country and received permission to stay there. From the 1720s, they returned to Alligewining accompanied by Lenapeyok, Mahikannak, Nantikowak, Wampanoak, and other easterners.\(^{709}\)

Some of the resources found in Alligewining encouraged exchange between Lenapeyok and other cultural groups and polities. Lenapeyok produced a ‘beautiful red paint (schöne rothe Farbe),’ for example, by burning ‘a type of yellow soil (Eine Art gelbe Erde)’ ‘of orange color (von Orannien Farbe).’ They used the pigment to produce body and facial paint, ‘since their head always has to be red as fire (denn ihr Kopf muß immer feuer roth seyn).’ Lenapeyok were not the only ones who appreciated this mineral resource. ‘The Wyandots do not consider it too much trouble to come here to Tuscarawi (= Tuscarawas river) to supply themselves with paint, though it is over a hundred miles distance. (Es ist denen Wiondats gar nicht zu viel, hieher nach Tuscarawi zu kommen, welches doch viel über 100 Meilen ist, um sich da mit Farbe zu versehen.)’ Though use of body and facial paint was not new to Lenapeyok, the custom of painting the whole head red may indicate new cultural influences after the move to Alligewining.\(^{710}\)

Apart from exchange within Alligewining, mineral and other resources also encouraged trade and cultural exchange between Alligewining and other areas such as the Southeast and Great Plains. Tobacco offerings had played a prominent role in Lenape ritual practice and tobacco pipes had been associated with diplomatic exchange for some time. The governor of New Sweden had sent a Lenape pipe to Sweden as a present for the Swedish queen in 1644. ‘{I} also {send} a tobacco pipe, which the Savages themselves have made of stone, from which H{e}r R{oyal} Maj{esty} can graciously see what the best gifts and splendor of the Savages are, as well as how artistic they are, not only in wood, but also in stone and in other metals, to do and to worck.’\(^{711}\) In mid-eighteenth century Alligewining, visiting Cherokees always brought pipes from Cherokee country ‘{...} which they make there entirely of a white stone that can be worked and cut very easily, probably white marble {...} (die sie dort von ganz weißen Steinen machen, die sich sehr leicht arbeiten und schneiden laßen, vermutlich. weißer Marmor, {...})’ The Moravian author added that these pipes were worked very nicely and that they were not heavier than European pipes. Cherokees gave these white pipes a permanent black finish. Visitors from the Mississippi brought ‘{...} red marble every time they come this way of which they make beautiful pipes as well {...} (rothen Marmor, so oft sie des Weges kommen, wovon sie ebenfalls schöne Pfeiffen machen, {...})’ This red stone had entered Lenape country in small quantities as beads in the seventeenth century and was later named catlinite. The Moravian author pointed out that, for the most part, only ‘chiefs or captains (Chiefs oder Capitains)’ had these pipes, since they were pretty rare. These pipes were also used in councils for special occasions. In this case, the highest member of the council carried it around to serve everyone present and ensure that everyone could take a few puffs. In this context, it ‘is called the pipe of peace (und wird die Friedens=Pfeiffe genannt).’\(^{712}\)

Although the use of pipes and tobacco in diplomatic exchange and religious ceremonies was not new to Lenapeyok, the concept of a ‘peace pipe’ may indicate cultural influence from the Plains that went beyond catlinite imports. To some extent, this may also explain why some

\(^{709}\) On Shawano migrations, see: Callender, "Shawnee," 623, 630-631.

\(^{710}\) Early contacts between Lenapeyok and Shawanoak are discussed in: Kent, Susquehanna's Indians, 79-81.

\(^{711}\) The Lenape pipe for the Swedish queen is mentioned in: Printz, "Printz to Brahe, July 19,1644," 167.

\(^{712}\) RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Native American history, 1780, p. 71-72.
Lenape intellectuals, such as Neolin, advocated import substitution for European goods in the mid-eighteenth century. Historians have made much of European influences on Lenape ideas and ideology in the mid-eighteenth century. Yet, regular European contact had begun in Lenape country in the early seventeenth century and was nothing new from a Lenape point of view in the mid-eighteenth. This was the period when more and more Lenapeyok moved to Alligewining and came into closer contact to western cultures from the Plains, either directly or through intermediaries from lower Alligewining and the western Great Lakes who had established such contacts much earlier. In the 1770s, one Moravian wrote about a nation beyond the Mississippi, ‘{...} that is called Su Indians. They live on the Su river far above the Illinois where Plains of many day’s journeys exist {...} ( {...} die werden Su Indianer genannt, sie wohnen am Su River, weit über den Illinois, daselbst hat es Plains von vielen Tagereisen, {...} ) Sioux and other Plains cultures certainly reminded easterners that life without European imports was possible. ‘Their cooking vessels or kettles they make {...} from clay which they fire. Their arms and hunting tools are bows and arrows. (Ihre Koch=Geschirre oder Kessels machen sie, {...} von Thon und brennen es. Ihr Gewehr und Jagd=Geräthe ist Bogen und Pfeil).’

The fact that Neolin considered import substitution as an economic alternative to European imports and was able to convince others did not imply that Lenapeyok were backward oriented and did not keep up with the latest developments including technological innovations. ‘The Lenape Indians use no other guns but rifles, since they have realized that these are the best and have the widest range. They are very talented and skilled at this and shoot with great accuracy. (Die Delawar-Indianer brauchen kein ander Gewehr als gezogene Büchsen, nachdem sie ausgefunden, daß dieses die besten sind, womit sie am weitsten schießen können und worinnen sie sehr geschickt und fertig sind und sehr accurat schießen können.)’ Apparently, Lenapeyok were rather quick to fully embrace new technologies, such as rifled gun barrels, in the mid to late eighteenth century. In many European armies, plain gun barrels were still common in the nineteenth century. Besides use of ‘traditional’ technologies, acquiring new skills was a promising approach to successful import substitution. ‘There are also several among them {Lenape Indians} who make gun stocks and assemble guns in a very neat and clean fashion, {...} (Es gibt auch verschiedene {Delawar-Indianer} die Büchsen schäften und ganz nett und sauber machen können, {...} )

Sources of the mid-eighteenth century do not provide a comprehensive picture of Lenape culture or even Lenape subsistence in Alligewining. But the available anecdotal evidence gives an impression of some of the challenges and opportunities Lenapeyok had to face and how they dealt with them. While Lenapeyok built relations with new neighbors and learned new environments, their culture and social organization underwent significant changes.

Integration of regional backgrounds

Lenapeyok with origins in the western, southern, and, to a lesser extent, eastern groups of regional polities developed a more pronounced Lenape identity and closer political association in
the mid-eighteenth century. At the same time, Lenapeyok with origins in the northern and eastern groups of regional polities developed a more pronounced Menising or Munsee identity, which they used to some extent to distinguish themselves from Lenapeyok. In the 1740s, people from Menising either referred to themselves as Lenapeyok or Menising. In some contexts, it made more sense for them to mention their regional background, while, in others, it made more sense to mention their Lenape background. Nolematwenat, for example, who had been born in Menising (northern group of polities) referred to himself as Lenape when he lived in Monokasi, which was about a hundred kilometers down the Delaware and up the Lexa from Menising. For this reason, Moravians entered the nationality ‘Delaw{are}’ in his baptismal record. In Monokasi, Nolematwenat emphasized an identity that he shared with Lenapeyok from Monokasi and with those who had moved there from other regions. There was no need to mention that he was from Menising, since people could tell from his accent. The same is true for Ruth (147) who was married to Nolematwenat’s brother Daniel (143). Her family had separated when they had been forced to leave Menising. Ruth had moved south and lived in Mahoning (western group of polities) where she referred to herself as Lenape, which resulted in the entry ‘Delaw{are}’ in her Moravian baptismal record in 1750. Her sister had moved north, ‘toward Sopus (nach Sopus zu),’ and probably lived in Shawangunk (northern group), which connects the upper Delaware river basin and the lower Hudson. Hendrix (Michael 021), on the other hand, who lived in predominantly Mahikan and Wampano Xekomeko, not far from Wanaxquatigok (Housatonic), referred to himself as Menising. For this reason, Moravians entered the nationality ‘Menising Indian (Mennissing Indianer)’ in his baptismal record. He emphasized his regional rather than Lenape background because Menising was close to Mahikan country. This indicated to Mahikannak that Hendrix had always been as close a neighbor as a Lenape could be. Moreover, Menising had played an important role in diplomatic relations between Lenape and Mahikan polities. Hendrix had moved to Mahikan country because he had married a Mahikan woman. Though his wife was no longer alive in the early 1740s, her cultural background is indicated by the cultural identity of Hendrix’s adult son Selikes (Benjamin 098) who considered himself Mahikan. When racist colonial neighbors and land speculators forced the residents of Xekomeko to abandon their town in the mid to late 1740s, some residents moved to Mahoning. Hendrix joined them and came to live in a predominantly Mahikan town just a few dozen kilometers from Menising for a few years.

From the mid-1750s, some Lenapeyok with origins in Menising and other regions in the upper Delaware and lower Hudson began to use the name ‘Menising’ to distinguish themselves from people with a Lenape identity rather than to designate a regional background. Among the factors

717 RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 9-10. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer, 1742-1753, no. 123.
718 RMI, box 116, folder 7, item 1: Mahoning journal, entry for 04/04/1750. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer, 1742-1753, no. 143, 147.
719 RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer, 1742-1753, no. 21.
720 RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 4.
721 RMI, box 117, folder 1, item 1: Mahoning journal, entry for 12/13/1750.
that contributed to the emergence of this separate identity were certainly cultural affinities and a shared political background among Lenapeyok of the northern group of regional polities. The Walking Purchase extortion, which had climaxed in the early 1740s, probably played a role in this development as well. Lenape residents in and around Menising (northern group of regional polities) were directly affected by this scheme. But only Lenapeyok from the central Delaware (western group), immigrants to the central Delaware from Raritan (also western group), and possibly immigrants to central Delaware from the lower Delaware (southern group) had participated in related negotiations and discussions with Pennsylvania officials in the mid-1730s. The western Lenape sachems who participated in these talks believed that the land speculators in Pennsylvania’s government coveted Tohikan in the central Delaware, which belonged to the western group of polities. This seemed obvious because the speculators based their claims on earlier talks and a flimsy text of the 1680s. Moreover, the speculators intentionally reinforced this false impression among western Lenape sachems by furnishing a misleading map.

Since the western sachems involved had no idea that the speculators wanted much more than Tohikan, they had no reason to consult with Menising or other northern sachems. After Pennsylvania officials had revealed their real intentions and had pushed through their fraud by threatening violence, there was no doubt that they had intentionally sidestepped Menising. The western sachems were not to blame for this. But from Menising’s perspective, the western sachems were still to blame for signing a poorly understood document without informing Menising—their direct neighbors—in 1737. This document gave Pennsylvania’s land speculators a means to manipulate Pennsylvania’s colonial administration and the British government and it provided a pretext to force all Lenapeyok out of the Delaware valley including Menising.722

Apart from cultural affinities, longstanding political ties, and Pennsylvania’s Walking extortion, there were other reasons why Lenapeyok from Menising and other northern polities developed an identity that was distinct from the westerners and southerners in the mid-eighteenth century. The emergence of three Lenape ‘nations’—Unami, Munsee, and the somewhat enigmatic Unalaxtigo—was caused by the configuration of alliances between regional Lenape polities. The three nations pretty much coincided with the southern, northern, and western groups of regional polities. But this does not entirely explain why two of these nations drew closer to each other, while the third remained separate. The distribution of the three Lenape phratries across Lenape country and related social stratification probably played a significant role in this development.

Prior to forced migrations, each of the three Lenape phratries—peleo, pukowango, and ptuksii—had gained a certain degree of political dominance in some regions of Lenape country. When Lenapeyok of various regional backgrounds were forced to move to the same location and share relatively little space, the question of political leadership was likely to arise. In the lower Delaware (southern group of regional polities) and upper Raritan (western group), many political leaders and their families had belonged to the pukowango phratry. For example, the sachem Tixkohan, the sachem Nutumer, the sachem Tadeyuskund, and the sachem Mamanawad (King George, Augustus 174) belonged to the pukowango phratry. Since some people in the upper Raritan had roots in regions further down the Raritan and along the Atlantic coast of what now is

722 The names of the sachems who signed the Walking extortion document are legible on a reproduction in: Randall M. Miller and William A. Pencak, Pennsylvania: A history of the Commonwealth (University Park, 2002), 76.

New Jersey, this social stratification perhaps applied to some of those regions as well.\textsuperscript{723} In Menising and other regions in the upper Delaware and lower Hudson (northern group of regional polities), members of the \textit{ptuksīt} phratry had achieved greater political prominence.\textsuperscript{724}

When Lenapeyok from the lower Delaware and upper Raritan formed mixed communities, political leaders had little reason to question the slightly elevated status of the \textit{pukowango} phratry. Potential disputes between politically influential \textit{pukowango} families could be resolved through intermarriage with intermediaries. The three phratries were most likely exogamous. Moravian observer of the mid to late eighteenth century explained how power was transmitted from one generation to the next. ‘When a chief dies, none of his sons can become chief because they are not and, according to their rights and laws, cannot be of the same lineage. Children inherit the lineage privileges of the wife rather than the husband, and the wife cannot be of the same lineage since Indians cannot marry anyone of their own lineage. Otherwise they would marry close relatives because people of a lineage are considered closely related. (\textit{Wenn ein Chief stirbt, so kann keiner von seinen Soehnen Chief werden und zwar aus der Ursach, weil sie nicht aus dem Stamm sind u{nd} nach ihren Rechten und Gesetzen nicht seyn kennen, denn die Kinder haben nicht Stamm=Recht nach dem Manne, sondern nach der Frau und die Frau kann nicht aus demselben Stamm seyn, denn ein Indianer kann keine Person aus seinem Stamm heyrathen, sonst heyrathete er zu nahe in seine Freundschaft, denn die von einem Stamm sind nahe mit einander verwandt.}’ Since Europeans did not have the words to describe Lenape social organization in the mid-eighteenth century, Moravian authors struggled to develop an adequate vocabulary to describe what anthropologists nowadays call matrilineal descent and clan or phratry exogamy.\textsuperscript{725}

Phratry exogamy had earlier facilitated integration of regional polities by cutting across local allegiances. In the mid-eighteenth century, phratry exogamy served to integrate regional backgrounds into larger polities. The phratries continued to be an important feature of Lenape social organization in the late eighteenth century, even among Moravian Lenapeyok, as one Moravian author of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries observed. ‘They \{Lenapeyok\} are as proud of their origin from the tortoise \{turtle\}, the turkey, and the wolf, as the nobles of Europe \{\ldots\}, and when children spring from intermarriages between different tribes, their genealogy is carefully preserved by tradition in the family, \{\ldots\}’\textsuperscript{726}

\textsuperscript{723} The phratry of Mamanawad is indicated by his \textit{pukowango} signature in: box 311, folder 7, item 1.

The phratry of Nutumer and Tadeyuskund is indicated by the \textit{pukowango} signature of Jo Evans (Nicodemus 193) in: RMI, box 311, folder 7, item 3. Jo Evans was a brother of Tadeyuskund. His maternal aunt Rahel (244) was a sister of Nutumer. This means that Tadeyuskund and Nutumer belonged to the same phratry as Jo Evans. See: RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: \textit{Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer}, 1742-1753, no. 244 and 259. The phratry of sachem Nutumer is also confirmed by his \textit{pukowango} signature on the document that initiated the Walking Purchase extortion scheme in 1737. His signature is recognizable as a turtle on a reproduction provided in: Miller and Pencak, \textit{Pennsylvania: A history of the Commonwealth}, 76. Captain John and Young Captain Harris (Petrus 245) were half-brothers of Jo Evans and Tadeyuskund.

The phratry of Tixkohan is indicated by a turtle tattoo on the upper left side of his chest. The tattoo is visible on the famous portrait painted by Gustavus Hesselius in 1735. Many reproductions of this painting are of a poor quality, which renders the tattoo invisible. See: Edward J. Lenik, "Native American rock art in the lower Hudson valley and coastal New York," in \textit{The archaeology and ethnology of the lower Hudson valley and neighboring regions: Essays in honor of Louis A. Brennan}, ed. Herbert C. Kraft (Bethlehem, 1991), 183.

\textsuperscript{724} Grumet, \textit{Munsee}, 253-254.

\textsuperscript{725} RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Native American history, 1780, p. 150-151.

\textsuperscript{726} Heckewelder, "History, manners, and customs," 247.

On phratry exogamy, see also: Grumet, "Zeisberger's diaries as a source for studying Delaware sociopolitical organization," 58-63.
Moravian sources provide considerable insight into how Lenape political leaders used marriage to forge political alliances and integrate regional backgrounds into larger polities in the mid-eighteenth century. When the Lenape sachem Mamanawad accepted baptism on April 25, 1749, he was married to Anna Benigna (175). Mamanawad had been born in the upper Raritan (western group of regional polities), near what later became Kingston (‘Kingstown’), in 1716. Anna Benigna had been born in Neskopek or its twin-town Wabhallobank, on the Susquehanna north branch. Her maternal family was from the lower Delaware (southern group of polities). Some time after Mamanawad’s second wife Esther (069) had died in March 1754, he contemplated marrying a third time. A Moravian described a woman who was considered suitable as ‘a female relative of the old Naemi, but of a different nation (eine Freundin mit der alten Naemi aber diverser Nation).’ Naemi (186) was the mother of Mamanawad’s first wife Anna Benigna and, as such, most likely not a member of Mamanawad’s pukowango phratry. The German term ‘Freundin,’ which, in the eighteenth century, either meant ‘female relative’ or ‘female friend,’ often stands for female members of the same phratry. The German term ‘Nation’ stands for a polity, in this case, for a regional Lenape polity. This means that, from point of view of a sachem who belonged to the pukowango phratry, a suitable wife ideally belonged to a particular phratry—we do not know if Mamanawad preferred peleo or ptuksīt—and was a conduit to establish family ties to a different regional polity.

Families from Menising (northern group of polities) became an integral part of this interregional marriage alliance as well. When Tadeyuskund joined the Moravians, on March 19, 1750, he was married to Elisabeth (260) who was a daughter of Erdmuth (330) from Menising. Erdmuth still lived in Menising in December 1750. Mamanawad later married into the same Menising family, when he married his third wife Augustina (331) who was a daughter of Erdmuth as well. But this Menising family played a somewhat subordinate role as an intermediary that connected politically powerful pukowango families of the western and southern groups of regional polities.

Members of the ptuksīt phratry who had achieved a certain degree of political prominence in Menising and other regions in the upper Delaware and lower Hudson (all northern group of regional polities) prior to forced migrations had no interest in losing political influence to pukowango families. As a result, they developed a stronger Menising or Munsee identity, in the mid-eighteenth century, which distinguished them from the broader Lenape identity and, by implication, from the sphere of influence of pukowango families.

Apart from people with origins in the northern group of regional Lenape polities, Lenape political integration was fairly complete by the late eighteenth century. By this time, most Lenapeyok lived in Alligewining and beyond. Hundreds of kilometers and several decades separated them from Lenape country and its regional diversity. The traces of earlier regional

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727 RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 19. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer, 1742-1753, no. 174, 175.
728 RMI, box 118, folder 6, item 2: Schmick to Spangenberg, Mahoning, 07/13/1755.
729 RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 28. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer, 1742-1753, no. 259, 260.
730 RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 1: Mahoning journal, entry for 12/17/1750 (12/06/1750 old style).
731 RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer, 1742-1753, no. 331. RMI, box 313, folder 4, item 1: Baptismal register, 1742-1764, no. 411.
Kinship and integration of regional backgrounds

When Moravians first arrived in Monokasi, in the late 1730s and early 1740s, a few Lenapeyok, such as Laoxalent and Captain John who was a brother of Tadeyuskund, made an arrangement that allowed them to stay for a few more years on land bought by Moravians. At the time of purchase, Moravians were not aware that Lenape residents had never agreed to leave Monokasi. When they learned about this detail from their Lenape neighbors, they still insisted that the land was now their ‘property,’ even after they had learned that the Pennsylvania colony achieved land acquisitions by means of extortion. Lenapeyok never really wanted to sell land. From a Lenape point of view, so-called purchases did not even have the character of a lease, since Lenapeyok did not intend to give up use rights. Most colonial enclosure was achieved through harassment and violence. Lenapeyok agreed to land treaties to regulate the spatial distribution of colonial harassment and violence. Since Native Americans could not have secure land titles and safely utilize land in close proximity to British colonies, Laoxalent, Captain John, and other Lenapeyok stayed on land formally purchased by Moravians. Yet, Monokasi changed rapidly.

The Moravian option was one of only a few options left to stay in Lenape country in the mid-eighteenth century. Awiulshas’huak’s thirty-year migration from the Shinnekok area in southeastern Long Island (eastern group of regional Lenape polities) to the Lexa has already been accounted for. It slowly but surely ejected her and her family from an increasingly racist
colonial society. Each of her three children who were still alive in 1748 had been born in a different place. On the way she had given birth to eleven children, one from her second husband and ten from her first, with whom she had been married for over twenty years when he died in 1743. She eventually ended up in Cranbury (‘Cranberry’) in the upper Raritan (western group of regional polities) and lived some time there just prior to moving to Monokasi. She did not like Cranbury, because the Christian Lenapeyok who lived there indulged too much in alcohol and fist fights. Since, in Cranbury, Lenape culture and social organization had been undermined by insufficient resources and a lack of perspectives, alcohol use increased and became a problem.

On the positive side, Cranbury provided Awiulshas’huak with opportunities to meet Lenapeyok who lived beyond the reach of colonies and had connections to the Lexa, Susquehanna, and Alligewining. Over the next few years, Awiulshas’huak and her children developed relations that indicate how Lenapeyok of different regional backgrounds merged into shared communities. In 1746, Awaxshausxqua (Aussaungöxqua, Hittebel after her maternal aunt, Dorothea 122), Awiulshas’huak’s oldest daughter, met Nolematwenat (Jacob, Heinrich 123) who lived in Monokasi (western group of polities) and was originally from Menising (northern group). She soon married him, on January 1, 1747, just two weeks after the birth of her first daughter and a few months prior to her twentieth birthday. Her first husband had vanished during her pregnancy. Since Cranbury was not a pleasant place, she eventually decided to move to Monokasi with Nolematwenat. Her decision divided her mother’s household. Eventually, Awaxshausxqua’s mother and two siblings decided to follow her to Monokasi, despite the difficulties associated with another move and bad rumors about Moravians.

Awiulshas’huak joined the Moravians and accepted baptism in January 1749, just a few months after following her daughter to Monokasi. After thirty years of migration and the temporary separation from her oldest daughter, this was a way to establish a distinct identity in rapidly changing Monokasi and to reestablish her independent household instead of living as an attachment of her daughter and in-laws. A Lenape household was usually made up of a mother, her daughters, their families, and possibly adult granddaughters with their families. In the mid-eighteenth century, many Lenapeyok no longer lived in traditional longhouses. But even those who preferred smaller buildings still emphasized relations based on matrilineal descent and preferred matrilocal residence after marriage. Apart from heading matrilocal households, Lenape women were in charge of agriculture and controlled agricultural resources including agricultural land. Since Lenapeyok could not enjoy secure land titles in close proximity to British colonies, Awiulshas’huak’s alliance with European Moravians was perhaps the only way to establish her own independent household in Monokasi.

Awaxshausxqua, her new husband Nolematwenat, her sixteen-year-old brother Nānquei (after his grandfather, Matthäus 124), and her fourteen-year-old sister Sara (Hanna 125) accepted their mother’s bid and joined the Moravians on the same day. A few weeks later, six of Nolematwenat’s siblings joined as well. Several of them were adults and had children. Salome (142), his mīs or oldest sister, had at least three daughters at the time. One of them, Theodora

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739 RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 9-11.
(136), was already sixteen years old and accepted baptism ten days prior to her mother. \footnote{RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: *Register der getauften Indianer*, 1742-1752, p. 16-17. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: *Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer*, 1742-1753, no. 123, 135-138, 140-143, 147-148.}

It made sense for them to accept Awilshas’huak’s leadership, since their own mother had died three years earlier and their own resource base was threatened. Ogehemoxqua, their maternal grandmother, was still alive, but she was eighty years old and not too healthy anymore. She died less than a year later, in December 1749. \footnote{RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: *Register der getauften Indianer*, 1742-1752, p. 9-10.}

Awilshas’huak’s newly constituted household, which consisted in about a dozen people, was the first substantial Lenape group to join Moravians. Over the past seven years, only seven adult Lenapeyok and four of their children had been baptized by Moravians. One of the seven adults, Betty (Anna Elisabeth 110), was originally from Long Island like Awilshas’huak. She had married Christian Anton, an African American Moravian, and had accepted baptism less than two months prior to Awilshas’huak. The women’s shared background may have contributed to their decision to join the Moravians. \footnote{RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: *Register der getauften Indianer*, 1742-1752, p. 6. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: *Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer*, 1742-1752, p. 9-10, 16.}

After Awilshas’huak’s daughter had married Nolematwenat, her family had connections to many regions of Lenape settlement. Nolematwenat and his family were originally from Menising (northern group of regional polities). He was born there in 1727. When more and more Lenapeyok had to leave Menising, his family moved to Monokasi (western group of polities). His sister Rosina (135) was born in Monokasi in the early 1730s. His maternal grandmother Ogehemoxqua and most likely his mother died there. \footnote{RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: *Register der getauften Indianer*, 1742-1752, p. 13-15. Some authors claim that Tammekekapei was the same person as Tawakwhekon. I was not able to verify this. See: Grumet, "Upper Delawaran socio-political life", 182.}

The family relations of Nolematwenat and his siblings show how far regional Lenape backgrounds had already become integrated over the previous two generations. The family had connections to the Raritan (western group of polities) through the Lenape sachem Tammekekapei (Keposh as a child, Salomo 133). Moravian sources refer to him as step-grandfather of Nolematwenat. He was married to Nolematwenat’s maternal grandmother Ogehemoxqua when she died in 1749. She had probably married him after the death of Nolematwenat’s maternal grandfather. Tammekekapei had been born in 1672, in the upper Raritan, on what now is called upper Millstone river, in the area where later Cranbury was established. His parents soon moved to a slightly remoter corner of the upper Raritan which is now known as Stony Brook. They lived close to where later Pennington (‘Penny Town’) was established. Originally, his parents had perhaps migrated from the lower Raritan or lower Delaware, where they had already been crowded out in the mid-seventeenth century. Tammekekapei left the upper Raritan as a young man. He moved to Lexawoxanek (western group of polities) near Monokasi. He probably chose Lexawoxanek as his residence, because he married into a family from this area. Tammekekapei spent most of his life there and was eventually respected as a sachem. Considering Lenape preference for matrilocal residence, it is not surprising that Tauinexqua, Tammekekapei’s younger sister, still lived in Stony Brook, the last residence of her mother, in 1749. \footnote{RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: *Register der getauften Indianer*, 1742-1752, p. 16-17. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: *Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer*, 1742-1753, no. 123, 135-138, 140-143, 147-148.}

Apart from Menising and Raritan, Nolematwenat and his siblings had connections to the Susquehanna as well, since relatives of Nolematwenat’s father lived there. Shashamakxqua, a paternal aunt, lived in Wabhallobank, the twin-town of Neskopek, on the Susquehanna north
branch. In the 1740s and 1750s, many former residents of Menising came to live in this town. Older residents of its twin-town Neskopek, such as members of sachem Nutumer’s family and Thomas Lehmann, were from the Raritan and lower Delaware. The close association of Wabhallobank (mostly migrants from northern polities) and Neskopek (mostly migrants from western and southern polities) indicates that some northern Lenapeyok merged with western and southern Lenapeyok. Since sachem Nutumer was the most prominent political leader in Neskopek and belonged to the pukowango phratry, political leaders in Wabhallobank probably belonged to the peleo rather than ptuksīt phratry.

In the mid-eighteenth century, many Lenape towns had a twin. This was true for large towns, such as Neskopek and Wabhallobank, and for hamlets and small towns such as Pehendahametaxquanünk and Peach Trees, which only consisted in a few houses. Mahoning and Meniolagomeka also consisted in two towns each. Depending on the environment, twin-towns were located a few hundred meters to a few kilometers apart from each other. From Moravian sources, one gets the impression that these settlements supported the intermarriage pattern typical of the period. Twin-towns had inhabitants of different regional backgrounds and compatible phratries. Yet, the information provided in Moravian sources is rather sketchy in this regard, since Moravians only recorded information on converts. In most cases, converts constituted only a small portion of the total population of a town.

Mahikannak in Stissing used a similar settlement pattern such as in the case of Xekomeko and its twin-town Wexquadnak. In this case, Moravian sources indicate that the close association between the towns was partially related to requirements of xaskwēm or maize agriculture. Residents of the twin-towns carried out joint harvests and exchanged woxganīm or seed maize for planting. They probably exchanged seed maize to guarantee a certain degree of what now is called gene flow. Pollen of xaskwēm is very heavy compared to most other wind-pollinated plants, which can lead to low gene flow and, as a result, to reduced vigor and yield. Native Americans could avoid this problem by exchanging seeds from different locations. This seems confirmed by observations of many colonial authors who expressed amazement at the large cobs and high yield of Native American xaskwēm fields.

Residents of Wabhallobank played an important role in the beginnings of Lenape Moravianism. Three of the seven adults who had joined the Moravians prior to 1749, that is, Oleleminau (Maria 074) and Gēntaxquis’hikund (Isaac, Gottlieb 073), a married couple, and Gashi’is (Joachim 075), a brother of Gēntaxquis’hikund, were from this town. Gashi’is had been born in Monokasi, close to where Moravians later built Bethlehem. A few kilometers above Wabhallobank on the Susquehanna north branch, in Shawano Town, Skehantowa, Nolematwenat had an uncle and aunt. This probably means that a brother of his mother had married a Shawano woman.

745 RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 9-10.
746 RMI, box 217, folder 12b, item 4: Mack, Travel journal, Bethlehem to Xwyoming, 08/29/1755 to 09/04/1755, entries for 09/01/1755 to 09/03/1755. RMI, box 131, folder 8, item 1: Wixlusing journal, entry for 10/01/1771.
747 On exchange of woxganīm between Xekomeko and Wexquadnak, see: RMI, box 111, folder 1, item 1: Xekomeko journal, entry for 05/13/1745. Residents of Wexquadnak and Paxgatgox stayed in Xekomeko to help with work in xaskwēm fields. Afterwards, everybody was supposed to help in the other towns: RMI, box 111, folder 1, item 1: Xekomeko journal, entry for 07/05/1745 and 07/10/1745.
748 RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 2. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer, 1742-1753, no. 73-75.
749 RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 9-10.
Shitemoxqua (Nenny, Anna Caritas 114), a Shawano woman from the same town in Skehantowa had married Toni, an African American Moravian, and accepted baptism just two months prior to Nolematwenat.\textsuperscript{750} This link seems to be of some significance if one recalls the marriage between Christian Anton, another African American Moravian, and Betty (Anna Elisabeth 110) from Long Island who may have encouraged Awiulshas’huak to join the Moravians.

Extensive ties between African and Native American communities existed, since many former slaves had found refuge in Lenape and other Native American towns. Many residents of Onstonwaking on the Susquehanna west branch, for example, were of mixed African and Native American background.\textsuperscript{751} When the Lenape sachem Nutumer from Nescopek visited Mahoning on March 25, 1754, he was accompanied by one of this sons and two African American men.\textsuperscript{752} Due to the nature of slavery in British North America, it was difficult for former slaves and their descendants to maintain ties to friends and relatives who were still enslaved. In the mid-eighteenth century, slaves could find refuge in the Lenape houses that were still scattered in areas occupied by colonists. In April 1749, a Moravian visited Paemaksin, a Lenape man, at his winter home in Pexoquihiling, just south of Menising, ‘to which {some time ago} he {Paemaksin} had carried on his back the half-frozen negro woman belonging to Solomon Jennings (Hanna, who is now at Brodhead’s) and whom S{olomon}. J{ennings}. afterward wanted to shoot there because she was a runaway.’\textsuperscript{753}

Despite their relations in the upper Susquehanna, Awaaxshausxqua and Nolematwenat decided to stay close to home when they had to leave Monokasi in the early 1750s. They moved to Meniolagomeka and Mahoning on the Lexa. These places were only a few dozen kilometers from Monokasi, across the Blue Mountain. They could stay there for a few more years. By this time, the first large Lenape Moravian family had joined forces with others. Nolematwenat’s mīs or oldest sister Salome (142) had married Tep’hakossi who was originally from the lower Delaware. Tep’hakossi’s two sisters, adult daughter, and their families lived in Shamoking where he had lived for some time as well.\textsuperscript{754} Shamoking was the Lenape name for the land at the confluence of the Susquehanna west and north branches. At least two towns and several separate hamlets existed there. Lenapeyok from Tulpehoking had established a town in Shamoking, when they had been forced to leave their previous residence due to one of the colonial extortion schemes designed to acquire land in the late 1720s and early 1730s.\textsuperscript{755} In the mid-1740s, their major town was on the west bank of the Susquehanna.\textsuperscript{756} Lenape residents of Shamoking still maintained relations with Tulpehoking in the late 1740s.\textsuperscript{757} Yet, only few Lenapeyok and other permanent residents stayed in Shamoking after the Mengwe sachem Swatana’s death on December 6, 1748. ‘Since the old Shickellamy had passed away [...] only a remnant of Indians

\textsuperscript{750} RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: \textit{Register der getauften Indianer}, 1742-1752, p. 7. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: \textit{Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer}, 1742-1753, no. 114.
\textsuperscript{751} RMI, box 119, folder 2, item 10: \textit{Ad. no. 45. Beylage zur 47t{e}n woche des Diarii de r Huetten{.} add. et obs.}, ad. No. III, 56.
\textsuperscript{752} RMI, box 118, folder 1, item 1: Mahoning journal, entry for 03/25/1754.
\textsuperscript{754} RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 4: Marriage register, 1744-1752, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{755} RMI, box 223, folder 8, item 1: Spangenberg, Notes on journey to Onondaga, 05/30/1745 to 06/05/1745, entry for 06/03/1745. Jennings, "Incident at Tulpehocken," 338-343.
\textsuperscript{756} RMI, box 223, folder 7, item 1: Spangenberg, Travel journal, Tulpehoking to Onondaga, 05/30/1745 to 07/13/1745, entry for 06/031745 and 06/04/1745.
\textsuperscript{757} RMI box 121, folder 5, item 2: Shamoking journal, entry for 04/12/1749.
lived there who belonged to many nations such as Mohawks, Cayugas, Tutelos, Conoys, Mahikannak, and so on … (Denn seit dem Hinscheiden des alten Schikkellimi […] wohnte nur noch ein Ueberbleibsel von Indianern, wohl von vielerley Nationen als Maquaiern, Cajugern, Duddlern, Canaiern, Mahikanern pp […] da.)

Lenapeyok used the name Shamoko, that is, ‘powder horns place,’ or Shamoking, that is, ‘at the powder horns place,’ because Mengwe had established a temporary presence there, on the east bank of the Susquehanna, to facilitate travel and transport in their disputes with Catawbas or Flatheads in the south. Shamoking was at the intersection of two major routes coming down from Mengwe country. Lenapeyok and people of other cultural backgrounds who supported Mengwe in these endeavors usually joined them in Shamoking and used a local big house that was located on the east bank of the Susquehanna for preparations. Some Lenape who lived in Shamoking participated as well. Tep’bakossi had joined Mengwe and distinguished himself on some expeditions against Catawbas earlier in his life.

Kinship and cross-cultural integration

As Nolematwenat’s Shawano uncle and aunt who lived in Skehantowa indicate, kinship was more than a means to integrate Lenapeyok of diverse regional backgrounds into new communities and larger polities. Since more and more places suitable for Native American agriculture became occupied by colonists, Native Americans of many other cultural backgrounds were forced to move to the same areas as Lenapeyok. In the early 1750s, Lenapeyok who remained on the Lexa shared Mahoning with Mahikan and Shawano neighbors. A stretch of land, that ran a few kilometers along the Susquehanna north branch in Skehantowa or Xwyoming, featured Tutelo, Shawano, Nantiko, Mahikan, Lenape, and Conoy towns side by side. People of other cultural backgrounds lived in and around these towns as well. Moravian Mahikannak established their own town in 1754. The Susquehanna north branch continued to be a multicultural neighborhood until the American revolutionary war, when Native Americans were again forced to relocate.

On October 18, 1766, a group of Lenapeyok from Shexshequanünk arrived in five amoxōl in Wixlusing on the Susquehanna north branch. Among them were sachem Newollike

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760 RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p.7-8.

761 RMI, box 117, folder 2, item 1: Mahoning journal, entry for 08/24/1751.

762 Moravians visited the major Shawano town and a predominantly Mahikan town in 1742: RMI, box 217, folder 12, item 1: Mack, Travel journal, Shamoking to Ostonwaking and Xwyoming, 09/1742 to 10/1742, p. 2-3. Moravians visited the major Nantiko town and passed a Tutelo town in 1750: RMI, box 227, folder 4, item 1: Cammerhoff, Travel journal, Bethlehem to Onondaga, 05/14/1750 to 08/17/1750, entry for 05/28/1750.
and sachem Axkohund. The next day, Newollike called a council and delivered three sheyēk or wampum strings to the residents of Wixlusing to inform them that many Lenape, Nantiko, and Tuscarora migrants were scheduled to pass through on their exodus from New Jersey, Maryland, and North Carolina. All towns along the Susquehanna north branch were asked to assist the migrants and provide them with xaskwēm for food, amoxōl for transport, and other assistance as needed. Wixlusing residents promised to send several amoxōl with xaskwēm down the Susquehanna to Lexawoxanek on Susquehanna, which was located at the upper end of Xwyoming, and to take elderly and sick migrants up the river on their way back. Wixlusing residents acted immediately. On October 21, they sent the first amoxōl-load of xaskwēm down the Susquehanna to make sure the migrants had something to eat on their arrival at Lexawoxanek, and on October 25, they sent the second.\footnote{RMI, box 131, folder 3, item 1: Wixlusing journal, entries for 10/18/1766 to 10/25/1766.} At the end of the next year, on December 31, 1767, a Moravian reported that residents of Wixlusing had again assisted seventy-five Tuscarora migrants from Carolina in May 1767 and fifty-seven Nantiko migrants from Maryland in September 1767.\footnote{RMI, box 131, folder 4, item 1: Wixlusing journal, entry for 12/31/1767.}

Intercultural ties were not limited to communities on the Susquehanna north branch. While many Mahikannak moved from Wanaxquatigok on the Housatonic to the Susquehanna and Alligewining in the mid-eighteenth century, a few Lenapeyok moved in the opposite direction. In 1760, Moravians admitted without baptism Emi (480) and Sarah (486), two Lenape women from Raritan, into their community in Wexquetank near Wanaxquatigok. Emi and Sarah were sisters of Young Captain Harris (Petrus 245), a half-brother of Tadeyuskund. Sarah was married to Jo Pipi (634) at the time. Moravians admitted the two sisters without baptism because Emi had been baptized in Lenape Cranbury, while Sarah had been baptized in Mahikan Wanaxquatigok. Christian Native Americans apparently participated in the larger Native American drive toward intercultural ties and developed a network that also cut across the divisions common among Christian colonists.\footnote{RMI, box 131, folder 4, item 1: Baptismal register, 1742-1764, no. 480, 486. RMI, box 313, folder 7, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianern[!] des No[!]rdlichen Theils von America, 1742-1772, no. 634. RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 20. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer, 1742-1753, no. 64, 186.} The fact that Selikes (Benjamin 098), the Mahikan son of Hendrix (Michael 021) from Menising, was an adult in the mid-1740s indicates that intermarriage between Lenapeyok and members of neighboring cultures, such as between Hendrix and his Mahikan wife, was not a novelty in the 1740s. Naemi (186), a Lenape woman from Neskopex on the Susquehanna north branch, had a Lenape mother and a Wampano father. Relatives from her father’s side, such as her half-sister Martha (064), lived in Potatik near Wanaxquatigok. Since Naemi already had an adult daughter, Anna Benigna (175), in the late 1740s, her parents’ case indicates that intermarriage between Lenapeyok and members of neighboring cultures went back at least another generation prior to Naemi’s and Hendrix’s generation, that is, to the turn of the eighteenth century.\footnote{RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 20. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer, 1742-1753, no. 64, 186.}

In the mid-eighteenth century, Lenapeyok continued the tradition. Lenape political leaders participated in the drive toward cultural integration. The Lenape sisters Elisabeth (372) and Justina (203), for example, linked the families of the Shawano sachem Paksnoun and the Lenape sachems Tadeyuskund and Nutumer. Elisabeth (372) was married to Paksnoun, and Justina to Tadeyuskund’s brother Jo Evans (Nicodemus 193). As mentioned above, the Menising
sisters Augustina (331) and Elisabeth (260) similarly linked the *pukowango* families of sachems Mamanawad and Tadeyuskund/ Nutumer. Moravian sources do not provide much information on the background of the sisters Elisabeth (372) and Justina, but they also belonged to a prominent family. Piskuxa, a popular Lenape physician who lived in Xwyoming in 1750, was their uncle.

In predominantly Mahikan and Wampano Xekomeko, which was located near Wanaxquatigok, intercultural marriages had become the rule rather than the exception by the early 1740s. Marriage had become an institution designed to integrate a culturally mixed community. Lenapeyok were a minority in Xekomeko, but the town was significant from a Moravian point of view. Apart from Kalaadlit people in Greenland, residents of Xekomeko were the first Native North Americans to join the Moravians. In 1742, the first twenty-seven Xekomeko residents accepted Moravian baptism. Most of these twenty-seven converts were married and belonged to fifteen married couples. Of these fifteen Xekomeko couples, ten were of mixed cultural background as the following table indicates.

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Erdmuth (330), the mother of Augustina (331) and Elisabeth (260), was from Menising. Rebecca (390), the mother of Mamanawad, and Hannah (267), the mother/sister of Tadeyuskund/ Nutumer, were from Raritan.

768 RMI, box 227, folder 4, item 1: Cammerhoff, Travel journal, Bethlehem to Onondaga, 05/14/1750 to 08/17/1750, entry for 05/28/1750.

769 For the most recent work on Xekomeko and relations to Moravians, see: Wheeler, *Mohicans and missionaries*, 87-93, 124-128.
Table 2: Cultural background of married couples who became associated with Moravians in Xekomeko in 1742.\textsuperscript{770}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Couple</th>
<th>Wives</th>
<th>Husbands</th>
<th>First convert</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sarah 008 Mahikan</td>
<td>Abraham 001 (Mamanettsekan, Shabash) Mahikan</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rebecca 009 Mahikan</td>
<td>Isaac 002 (Otapanamen, Simon) Wampano</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Esther 010 Wampano</td>
<td>Thomas 005 (Pextawapēt) Sopus</td>
<td>same day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Magdalena 023 Mahikan</td>
<td>Zachāus 019 (Aguttaguos) Wampano</td>
<td>same day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sarah 023F Mahikan</td>
<td>David 011 (Wanab, Gabriel) Mahikan</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Maria 024 Wampano</td>
<td>Joseph 016 (Nannaxdaush) Mahikan</td>
<td>same day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Martha 025 Mahikan</td>
<td>Johannes 004 (Wasamapā, Job) Mahikan</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Rahel 026 Mahikan</td>
<td>Jacob 003 (Mās’hakus, Kiuk, Kiop) Wampano</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Lydia 027 Sopus</td>
<td>Philipp 020 (Antony) Wampano</td>
<td>same day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Salome 028 Wampano</td>
<td>Josua 012 (Tas’hawaxamen, Nanhun) Mahikan</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Miriam 029 Wampano</td>
<td>Moses 022 (Aguttamaok) Mahikan</td>
<td>same day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Ruth 032 Mahikan</td>
<td>Boas 047 Mahikan</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Eva 057 Hogland</td>
<td>Nicodemus 018 (Callabash) Wampano</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Bathseba 058 Mahikan</td>
<td>Jonas 006 (Anamapamit) Mahikan</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Deceased, Mahikan</td>
<td>Michael 021 (Hendrix) Lenape</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>9 Mahikannak, 4 Wampanoak, 2 Lenapeyok</td>
<td>8 Mahikannak, 5 Wampanoak, 2 Lenapeyok</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the ten mixed Xekomeko couples, six had a Mahikan and a Wampano spouse, two had a Mahikan and a Lenape spouse, and the remaining two had a Wampano and a Lenape spouse. The mixed couples were totally balanced with respect to cultural backgrounds. Of the six Mahikan-Wampano couples, three had a Mahikan wife and three a Mahikan husband. The two Mahikan-Lenape and the two Wampano-Lenape couples were similarly balanced. The former had one Mahikan wife and one Mahikan husband, and the latter had one Wampano wife and one Wampano husband.\textsuperscript{771}

\textsuperscript{770} A couple is included in the table if at least one spouse accepted baptism in 1742 and both spouses lived in Xekomeko.

RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer, 1742-1753, p. 2-5.

Most of the Native American names are given in: RMI, box 313, folder 4, item 1: Baptismal register, 1742-1764. Some are given in: RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3.

\textsuperscript{771} Hendrix (Michael 021) was a widower when he joined the Moravians in 1742. The Mahikan background of his deceased wife is indicated by the Mahikan identity of their son Selikes (Benjamin 98). See: RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 4.
Residents of Xekomeko had developed a quite radical alternative to xenophobia. The cultural composition of married Xekomeko couples clearly defies the laws of probability. Even the large number of mixed marriages by itself, over sixty-six percent, cannot be a coincidence. European Moravians who baptized residents of Xekomeko had nothing to do with it, since these couples had been married prior to accepting baptism. Callabash (Nicodemus 018), for example, who was a Wampano man had been married to Eva (057), a Hogland woman, for forty years when he died at age seventy on August 29, 1748.\textsuperscript{772} There are only two possible explanations for the high percentage of mixed marriages among Xekomeko spouses who accepted baptism in 1742. Either spouses of mixed couples were more likely to join Moravians, or intermarriage was systematically used to establish close integration with neighboring cultures.

The first possibility is unlikely, because the twenty-eight individuals represent a significant portion of the total adult population of Xekomeko. Probably not more than sixty adults lived in the town, which means that the fourteen couples were not a small minority. The sequence of conversion also indicates that mixed couples were not more likely to convert. The number associated with each individual in the table of Xekomeko couples is taken from a copy of the baptismal register used by one of the Moravian missionaries at the time. The numbers indicate the sequence of conversion. Three of the first six converts, that is, Shabash (later sachem Mamanettsekan, Abraham 001), Wasamapā (Job, Tshop, Johannes 004), and Anamapamit (Jonas 006), belonged to all-Mahikan couples. Since this indicates that mixed couples were no more likely to convert than all-Mahikan couples, there is little reason to doubt that the cultural composition of the fifteen couples was representative of the Xekomeko community. All of this indicates that Xekomeko residents systematically used marriage as a means of cultural integration.

The large number of mixed couples in Xekomeko suggests cultural integration of the common populace rather than of a political elite which sets it apart from the marriages of the Lenape sisters Justina (203) and Elisabeth (372) and the Lenape sisters Elisabeth (260) and Augustina (331). In fact, the prospective political leader Shabash and his wife Sarah (008) formed one of the five all-Mahikan couples. The same is true for Shabash’s son Wanab (Gabriel, David 011) and his wife Sarah (023F), and also for the parents of Sarah (023F), Wasamapā and Martha (025). Yet, not all families associated with political leadership were all Mahikan. Termis (Jonathan 013), for example, was another son of Sarah and Shabash and became influential in the mid-1750s as the right hand of his father who now had become sachem Mamanettsekan. Termis was married to Anna (051), a Wampano woman. They are not listed in the table of Xekomeko couples because they lived in Xekomeko’s twin-town Wexquadnak.

The high level of cultural integration that residents of Xekomeko, its twin-town Wexquadnak, and other Native American towns had achieved should not distract from the huge obstacles that they had overcome in the process.\textsuperscript{773} Xekomeko was considered a Mahikan town, which means that residents of Wampano and Lenape background had probably contributed more to required adjustments than Mahikan residents. Among other things, they accepted Mahikan political leaders. Although Mahikan residents of Xekomeko stayed in charge of political leadership, they had put up with other inconveniences such as sharing already scarce resources.

\textsuperscript{772} RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 2: \textit{Register von den heimgegangenen Indianern}, 1746-1753, p. 8-9.

\textsuperscript{773} Some authors claim that the major Wampano immigration into Xekomeko’s twin-town Wexquadnak had occurred quite recently, that is, in the 1730s. This would make the level of integration that had been achieved by the early 1740s appear even more impressive if not impossible: Ted J. Brasser, \textit{Riding on the frontier's crest: Mahican Indian culture and culture change} (Ottawa, 1974), 67.
and dealing with communication problems due to a high degree of linguistic heterogeneity and a diversity of customs. Of the thirty spouses listed in the table of Xekomeko couples, eighteen were Mahikan, eight Wampano, and four Lenape. This means that Mahikannak made up sixty percent of the population, while immigrants and their descendants made up forty percent.

Although it is not clear from Moravian sources and the secondary literature whether the cultural diversity of Xekomeko was representative of the larger region around Wanaxquatigok, Xekomeko was certainly not perceived as an immigrant ghetto by its Mahikan neighbors. Wanaxquatigok, which was the principal Mahikan town of the region in the mid-eighteenth century, also had a diverse immigrant population. Some authors argue that the political significance of Wanaxquatigok increased beyond that of a regional capital in the mid-eighteenth century because there is evidence that Mahikannak moved their political center from the Hudson to Wanaxquatigok in 1740. In the process, Xekomeko gained political significance as well. In June 1745, ‘the principal sachem of Wanaxquatigok (der Gouverneur von Westenhook)’ asked Shabash (later sachem Mamanettsekan, Abraham 001), a prospective political leader from Xekomeko, to accompany him on diplomatic errands. Shabash accepted and became the principal sachem’s right hand on foreign diplomatic missions. During the next few years, Shabash only reluctantly filled this role, since he understood that, in negotiations with British, French, and Mengwe, Xekomeko residents could only lose.

Cross-cultural integration and racist institutions

As the marriages between the Lenape woman Betty from Long Island and African American Christian Anton and between Shawano Shitemoxqua and African American Toni indicate, Native Americans also used kinship to cut through the rapidly proliferating racist boundaries promoted by colonists and maintained by colonial institutions. During the 1740s, European Moravians actively participated in this endeavor. Unanemayak (Agnes 144) married the missionary Post (Friedrich) about half a year after she had accepted baptism in March 1749. She was nineteen years old at the time. On January 8, 1755, nine relatives from Tioga visited her maternal aunt Lydia (171) in Meniolagomeka (western group of regional Lenape polities). A Moravian pointed out that they spoke neither the local Lenape language nor Mahikan. They did speak a Mengwe language, that is, Mohawk. Lydia is sometimes referred to as a Lenape woman ‘from the Jerseys (aus den Jerseys).’ Yet, the native language of her relatives from Tioga may be better explained by the actual cultural background of Lydia’s parents. Her mother was Mohawk and her father ‘French Indian.’ Since most Native American Moravians were of Lenape, Mahikan, and Wampano background, the question arises why Post married a Mohawk woman. He had been previously married to Rahel (038), a Wampano woman from Paxgatgox,
who had died in September 1647. Moravians believed that Mengwe were the key to Native American conversion because Mengwe had achieved a degree of political hegemony in the Middle Atlantic. In the mid-1740s, the Moravian Pyrläus stayed in the Mohawk valley to establish contacts there. Moravians also maintained diplomatic relations with Onondaga from the mid-1740s to the mid-1750s and set up a smith’s shop in Mengwe Shamoking in 1747. Since Post’s second marriage occurred in this context, it is conceivable that Moravians attributed political significance to it.

Many colonists who benefited from the racist structure of colonial society were opposed to intermarriage between Native Americans and African Americans, because they were afraid of losing slaves. Native American contacts could be a way out of slavery for African Americans. Many colonists also opposed intermarriage between Native Americans and Europeans. When Awiulshas’huak stayed in Pap’hanünk, east of Monokasi and the Delaware river, in June 1749, just a few months after she had accepted baptism, colonist neighbors harassed her and asked her ‘whether the Moravian minister, Post, did not wish to marry her.’ They either knew about Post’s first marriage to Rahel, or they had already heard that Post and Unanemayak were about to marry. In any case, Moravian intercultural marriages had become a topic of common gossip and target of discrimination among racist colonists.

Racist attitudes among colonists had become commonplace by the mid-1740s. One Moravian group traveling down the Hudson valley was stopped by a justice of the peace in Esopus, in March 1745. ‘He (= justice of the peace) look’d very angry; and presently cried, Hei, Hei, Stop!’ He asked the Moravian travelers whether they had a pass. The European Moravians in the travel group were surprised, because they had never heard of passes being required for travel in the New York colony. ‘He (= justice of the peace) forbid me to go a Step farther, and threadned to put me presently in Prison and begun to scold terribly and to rage.’ The justice soon moved from general insults to conspiracy theories and racist slurs. ‘Ye plot w’th ye Negroes & Indians.’ There were no African Americans in the Moravian travel group. Referring to Rahel, Post’s first wife who was among the travelers, the justice indicated that it was considered inappropriate for colonists to socialize with Native Americans. ‘What business have you w’th that Indian Woman there {…}’ The justice of the peace eventually claimed that the Moravians ‘were suspicious People, because we (= Moravians) had an Indian Woman w’th us and had no pass.’

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780 RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer, 1742-1753, no. 038. See also: Wheeler, Mohicans and missionaries, 140-144.
781 For the Moravian presence in Shamoking, see: RMI, box 121, folder 3, item 3: Shamoking journal, 1747, entries for 05/28/1747 and 12/28/1747 to 12/31/1747. RMI, box 121, folder 7, item 1: Rösler, Br{uder}. Röslers Relation von sein u{nd}. seiner Br{üde}r. Philip Wesa u{nd}. Marcus Kiefers letzten Auffenthalt in Shomokin u{nd}. ihrer gnadigen Bewahrung bey dem daselbst gegen Pensilvanien ausgebrochenen Wilden Kriege, {Bethlehem:} 1755.
782 Moravian attempts to maintain diplomatic relations with Onondaga are evident from: RMI, box 223, folder 7, item 1: Spangenberg, Travel journal, Tulpehoking to Onondaga, 05/30/1745 to 07/13/1745. RMI, box 223, folder 8, item 1: Spangenberg, Notes on journey to Onondaga, 05/30/1745 to 06/05/1745. RMI, box 227, folder 4, item 1: Cammerhoff, Travel journal, Bethlehem to Onondaga, 05/14/1750 to 08/17/1750. RMI, box 227, folder 5a, item 1: Frey and Zeisberger, Travel journal, Bethlehem to Onondaga, 1753/04/23 to 1753/11/12.
783 Aspects of continued relations between Xekomeko and the Mohawk valley are discussed in: Ibid., 138-139, 176-178, 183-184.
784 Roseen, "Travel diary of Sven Roseen, 1748-1749," 90.
785 RMI, box 112, folder 10, item 1: Mack to Seiffert, Böhler and Bryzelius, Esopus, 03/05/1745.
786 More of the context of this incident is provided in: Dally-Starna and Starna, "Introduction," 14-27.
This was certainly not the first time that Rahel experienced such a scene. Her husband Post had been arrested earlier and was imprisoned in New York. During an interrogation in New York, in February 1745, he was asked whether he was married to a Native American woman. Post confirmed that he was married to Rahel. The interrogator went on to ask, where she was now. Post answered that he had been arrested in a very rude way and that he did not know what had happened to his wife. He only knew that he had been forced to leave her and their baby child somewhere on a road in a place which they did not know. The interrogator asked Post, what the destination of their journey had been. Post answered that they had been on the way to Rahel’s parents in Xekomeko. Wampanoak and other Native Americans who lived close to American colonists had to be very conscious of and careful about every step they made to avoid harassment and accusations of conspiracy that were often used as a pretext for further intrusions by colonist settlers and coercion by colonial administrations involved in land speculation. Visiting one’s parents could turn into a major ordeal. Moravians of European descent soon gave in to racist harassment and colonial practice and refrained from marrying people who were not considered ‘White’ by racist colonial standards after the 1740s.

There had been significant discrepancies between European and Native American Moravian views of intermarriage from the start. The table of Xekomeko couples provided above indicates a perfect gender parity between cultural groups. This provides additional clues about the nature of intermarriage as a social institution to facilitate cultural integration in Xekomeko. If decisions on marriages had been dominated by a particular culture or gender, one would expect a very different outcome. For example in the case of male domination, one would expect males of the Mahikan host society to exploit their competitive advantage relative to Wampano immigrants. Most intercultural couples would be made up of a Mahikan man and a Wampano woman.

Historians who tend to argue that violence was the only or major form of interaction between Native American cultures, have claimed that cross-cultural marriages predominantly occurred as a result of war and integration of female captives. Evidence from Xekomeko shows a very different picture. Yet, patriarchally organized Europeans were not interested in or set up for the type of intermarriage common in Xekomeko. While some European Moravian men married Native American Moravian women, European Moravian women only came into contact with Native American men if they were already married. This was compatible with an important pillar of American racist institutions, since sexual contact between ‘White’ women and Native or African American men was defined as a serious crime subject to severe punishments.

Moravians in Lenape country

On June 10, 1755, European Moravians from Mahoning went to the ‘great falls (großen Fall)’ of the Lexa or Lehigh river (western group of regional Lenape polities) to blast some of the big rocks in the river. Two weeks later, they blasted more. From the perspective of European Moravians, these rocks had obstructed free passage down the Lexa. Moravians had engaged in logging further up the Lexa, above Mahoning in the ‘great swamp (großen Schwamm).’ They needed the lumber in Bethlehem, below the falls. Since water levels in the Lexa were too low to

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784 RMI, box 112, folder 9, item 1: Post, Account of imprisonment in New York, 02/23/1745, p. 5.
get the logs beyond the falls, they decided to blast some of the rocks. From a Lenape perspective, these rocks had some significance as well. They had been a welcome obstacle in the path of colonial expansion. European Moravians who lived in Mahoning and elsewhere in Lenape country tried to convince Lenapeyok that they were a neutral party in the basic conflict between Lenapeyok and colonists. Yet, their actions did not always comply with such claims.

Until the early 1740s, many Lenapeyok had lived on the lower Lexa, which joins the Delaware river above the falls of the Delaware. The Delaware falls had been an important boundary between Lenape and European settlements for over half a century, from the 1670s to the 1730s. The central Delaware basin above the falls, which includes the Lexa river, had taken in many refugees from the lower Delaware and Raritan during this period. When British colonists forced their way beyond the Delaware falls from the 1730s, Lenapeyok had to leave again. Since much of Lenape country was now occupied by colonists, most Lenapeyok had to move beyond its boundaries. For some, the upper Lexa became a last refuge within Lenape country. It was protected by the Blue Mountain and Lexa falls to the south, which formed natural obstacles to colonial expansion as the Delaware falls had done earlier. When European Moravians blasted rocks in the Lexa falls in the late spring and early summer of 1755, they questioned this boundary.

Mahoning had two Moravian settlements at the time. One of these was on the west bank of the Lexa river and was predominantly Native American. The other was on the east bank and predominantly European. The Native American town had taken in refugees of Mahikan and Wampano background at times. These Mahikan and Wampano immigrants had formed the first larger Native American Moravian community in Lenape country. For this reason, it may be worth considering some of its origins. Most of these immigrants were from the mixed Mahikan and Wampano town of Xekomeko whose marriage pattern exemplified cross-cultural marriages. In this community, among Moravian converts, women never converted prior to their spouse, with the exception of the two all-Mahikan couples Sarah (023F) and Wanab and Ruth (032) and Boas (047). One of these women, Sarah (023F), was not really a Moravian convert. She was admitted into the Moravian community because she had accepted baptism in Wanaxquatigok prior to the arrival of Moravians in Xekomeko. Wanab later married a woman who was not Christian. To some extent, this male initiative can be explained by the fact that European Moravians had first approached Mahikan men rather than women. Yet, these Mahikan men could have rejected the Moravian invitation.

Wasamapā provided a reason for his conversion in a letter written about eight months after accepting baptism. He was one of the first Mahikannak to convert and one of the first to assume ritual leadership in a Moravian community. Wasamapā’s letter highlighted differences between Mahikan and European cultures with respect to gender roles. According to his account, some of his closest friends and family had been opposed to his conversion. The Mahikan mother

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785 RMI, box 118, folder 3, item 1: Mahoning journal, entries for 05/26/1755, 06/09/1755, 06/10/1755, 06/12/1755, 06/23/1755, and 06/26/1755.
786 Jordan and Kaups, Backwoods frontier, 79-81.
787 RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 2. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer, 1742-1753. RMI, box 313, folder 4, item 1: Baptismal register, 1742-1764.
788 RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer, 1742-1753, no. 011, 023F.
789 RMI, box 313, folder 4, item 1: Baptismal register, 1742-1764, no. 011.
of his wife Martha (025) became ‘the greatest enemy.’ She supposedly told him that he ‘was not so good as a dog;’ if he would not ‘believe in her god any more.’ Wasamapā had reasons to reject her point of view. The term ‘her god’ refers to the fact that his Mahikan mother-in-law was a ritual leader. This role had been handed down to her by her female ancestors. In his letter, Wasamapā pointed out that ‘she had it [= responsibility to serve a particular spirit] of her gran{d}mother.’ His account went on to describe a representation of the spirit which Martha’s mother used in rituals. It was a human effigy made of leather and decorated with wampum beads. Wasamapā further mentioned that, since his wife’s mother ‘was the oldest{,} she gave it to be worship{ped} and we ded {= did}.’ Apart from the gender of Wasamapā’s mother-in-law, her age was a basis of her ritual leadership. From Wasamapā’s conversion account, one has to conclude that he was tired of his mother-in-law’s leadership. He wanted some of the power and prestige associated with her gender and age.790

Conversion accounts were a major feature of Moravian and Pietist communities in all cultures. Since conversion was the most crucial event in the life of a Pietist, these conversion accounts tend to be quite dramatic. Candidates who overcame major obstacles during conversion proved their worthiness and sincerity. In this sense, a convert’s conflicts based on diverging interests associated with age and gender and other social divisions could serve to upgrade the conversion experience. Yet, conversion accounts were not freely invented and can provide some insights into social conditions that made joining Moravians or Pietist groups attractive or controversial. In Central European conversion accounts, for example, female elders were unlikely to be portrayed as major obstacles in the conversion of young males. Instead, antagonistic fathers played a prominent role, which coincided with social reality in Central Europe.791 Female ritual leadership—in the formal sense described by Wasamapā for Mahikan culture—was unlikely to occur in European conversion accounts. If female ritual leadership was portrayed as an obstacle and also as an incentive to conversion in a Mahikan conversion account, it was certainly of Mahikan rather than European Pietist origin and proves the existence of female ritual leadership in Mahikan culture.792

Rituals performed in families, such as the one alluded to by Wasamapā, were not an end in themselves. They also defined the position of families within the larger community. The Mahikan ritual practice mentioned by Wasamapā was perhaps similar to the Lenape Oxta’uskān or Doll Dance described by Lenape informants and recorded by anthropologists in the early twentieth century. According to these accounts, the rituals of Oxta’uskān fulfilled the need to periodically tend to a spirit associated with xaskwēm, which, besides being the most important dietary plant, had spiritual properties as well. Early twentieth-century accounts provide several versions of a tradition explaining the origin of Oxta’uskān. According to these, incidents in the distant past had offended the spirit associated with xaskwēm. Oxta’uskān was performed

790 RMI, box 319, folder 1, item 1: Wasamapā (Job, Tshop, Johannes 004) to Zinzendorf, 1742. This seems to be a transcript written in English by a German speaker. The following is a clean copy of the letter in German complete with address to Zinzendorf and date: UAH, R 15, H, a 3: Wasamapā to Zinzendorf, 12/19/1742. Wasamapā was the fourth Xekomeko resident and the second Mahikan to join the Moravians. He accepted baptism on April 16, 1742. Wasamapā moved to Bethlehem in August 1745 and died there of smallpox on August 27, 1746. See: RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 2: Register von den heimgegangenen Indianern, 1746-1753, p. 4.

791 For an example of antagonism between a young Pietist and his father, see: Johann Christian Stahlschmidt, "A pilgrim's trip on water and land," in Early German-American evangelicalism: Pietist sources on discipleship and sanctification, ed. J. Steven O'Malley (Lanham, 1995), 119-121.

792 On female ritual leadership and Moravians, also see: Craig D. Atwood, Community of the cross: Moravian piety in colonial Bethlehem (University Park, 2004), 66-68, 173-178.
annually to appease the spirit. One tradition claims that people had been forbidden to play with parts of the plant. A little girl came into the habit of playing with xaskwēm and made dolls out of it. Other girls followed her example. The spirit of xaskwēm was offended by this, and the girl who had started the game became sick. Ever since, specific families within a Lenape community had the responsibility to periodically appease the spirit in the name of the whole community. For this purpose, a ceremony was carried out, in which the spirit was represented by a human effigy dressed in cloths and adorned with bead-work. The ceremony was not just the business of the families that supplied ritual leadership, but was a concern of the larger community. Oxta’uskān and the traditions associated with it belong to Lenape culture of the early twentieth century rather than Mahikan culture of the mid-eighteenth century. Yet, the Mahikan ritual practice alluded to by Wasamapā was certainly similar insofar as the significance of ritual leadership provided by Martha’s mother was not confined to her family. Female ritual leadership had significance for the larger community. And some men, such as Wasamapā, apparently preferred to do without it and used conversion to become ritual leaders themselves.

European Christians had their own traditions. Some of these explained why female leadership was a bad idea. The Moravian patriarch Zinzendorf who visited Xekomeko in August 1742 referred to the opposition of Wasamapā’s mother-in-law as ‘designs of the Native American Drahomíra (Anstalten der Indianischen Drahomira).’ Apparently, the constellation in Xekomeko reminded him of an episode of medieval Central European history that was closely related to what is often called the ‘Christianization’ of Europe. Drahomíra had been a regent of early tenth-century Bohemia. After a few years of Drahomíra’s regency, her son Václav became the ruler of Bohemia and, by extension, of Moravia. More importantly, he became the patron saint of Bohemia in the eleventh century. Saint Václav, his grandmother Ludmila, his parents Drahomíra and Vratislav I, and his brother Boleslav are symbolic of ‘Christian’ and ‘Heathen’ factions in early tenth-century Central Europe and also of divisions between generations and genders. Ludmila, Vratislav I, and Václav stand for Christianization, while Drahomíra and Boleslav stand for opposition to Christianization. After the death of the Christian ruler Vratislav I, his wife Drahomíra became regent. Since Drahomíra was opposed to Christian influence in Bohemia, she supposedly instigated the assassination of Ludmila in the early 920s. Drahomíra also expelled Christian clergy. Her son Václav assumed power after a few years of her regency. He had been raised under influence of his Christian grandmother Ludmila and had to deal with an invasion by the Christian king of Saxony. Václav decided to actively promote Christian institutions. He only ruled for a few years, until he was killed by his brother Boleslav who, like his mother Drahomíra, was opposed to Christian influence. As it turned out, relations among Mahikan residents of Xekomeko were much less violent than Zinzendorf’s fantasies about Christianization in medieval Central Europe. The habit of constructing arguments based on historical legends was not new in the mid-eighteenth century. In fact, mid-eighteenth century Central European academics rediscovered medieval law texts which, among other things,
illustrated the dangers of female leadership through examples of female misconduct in ‘Roman’ legends and legends from the bible.\textsuperscript{797}

Gender, age, and conversion in Lenape communities

The first Lenape Moravian family headed by Awiulshas’huak and the family’s marriage alliances give some insights into the dynamics of conversion in Lenape communities. Apart from the marriage of Salome and Tep’hakossi, the family had established a marriage alliance with residents of Meniolagomeka. Nolematwenat’s younger brother Ne’etās (Christoph 138) had married Lea (185), whose maternal uncle was Mamanawad (George Rex, Augustus 174), sachem of Meniolagomeka. Lea had accepted baptism at age nineteen, on May 17, 1749, just three weeks after her maternal uncle Mamanawad.\textsuperscript{798} She married Ne’etās on February 28, 1750.\textsuperscript{799} Lea’s mother Cornelia (264) was the mīs or oldest sister of Mamanawad, which means that Lea’s sons had the potential of becoming politically significant as successors of the sachem in the second generation after Mamanawad. Cornelia only accepted baptism a year after her daughter, on April 19, 1750.\textsuperscript{800} The sources do not tell, why Cornelia was more skeptical than her brother Mamanawad, when it came to allowing Moravians into their community. Perhaps, she did not like the rapid proliferation of the patriarchal bible book and associated ideas about social organization. Mamanawad, on the other hand, excelled in translating and propagating bible stories. ‘Augustus [= Mamanawad] has found his calling. He translates with feeling and liturgical grace. (Augustus [= Mamanawad] ist jezo auch ganz in seinem fach, u[nd], übersezt mit Gefühl u[nd]. liturgischer Gnade.)’ Judging from the excitement, that Mamanawad’s contributions caused among European Moravian ritual leaders, he must have developed a close relationship and identified at least with parts of the message that he made accessible to his Lenape community.\textsuperscript{801} The conversion of his niece may indicate that Mamanawad saw a need to support his message by political moves. When he had difficulty convincing his mīs to follow his lead, he tried to put his Moravian alliance on a more permanent footing by working toward the second best solution—by influencing Cornelia’s adult daughter Lea and, by implication, the following generation of political leaders. Lea for her part who was nineteen years old at the time was perhaps tired of listening to her mother Cornelia and thought, that uncle Mamanawad was more progressive and perhaps more fun as well.

The conversion sequence of Mamanawad, his mīs Cornelia, and her unmarried daughter Lea was not unique. A few months earlier, the conversions of Nolematwenat, his mīs Salome (142), and her unmarried daughter Theodora (136) had followed the same pattern. Nolematwenat had been the first of his family to accept baptism. His niece Theodora accepted baptism soon after and prior to her mother Salome. Theodora was only sixteen years old at the time of her baptism. In this case, the time delay between daughter’s and mother’s baptism was much shorter.

\textsuperscript{797} Rainer Harald Derschka, \textit{Der Schwabenspiegel: Übertragen in heutiges Deutsch mit Illustrationen aus alten Handschriften} (München, 2002), 15, 138, 159.
\textsuperscript{798} RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: \textit{Register der getauften Indianer}, 1742-1752, p. 16, 19, 20. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: \textit{Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer}, 1742-1753, no. 138, 174, 185.
\textsuperscript{799} RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 4: Marriage register, 1744-1752, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{800} RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: \textit{Register der getauften Indianer}, 1742-1752, p. 28. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: \textit{Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer}, 1742-1753, no. 264.
\textsuperscript{801} RMI, box 118, folder 6, item 15: Seidel to Spangenberg, Mahoning, 10/19/1755, p. 3.
than in the case of Lea and her mother Cornelia. Yet, there is direct evidence that Theodora’s baptism was controversial. One of Theodora’s relatives from Pexoquihiling near Menising tried to get the teenager out of Moravian Bethlehem in 1749. Theodora continued to live in Bethlehem among European Moravians for over a year while her mother lived in Mahoning. The teenager Theodora eventually failed to live up to European Moravian standards when she became attracted to and married a Lenape man who was not baptized. Her husband was a son of Meskikonant’s sister Louisa (224) from Haxientaxqua. Louisa and her husband Boas had also temporarily fallen out of Moravian favor, but then applied to live in Mahoning, in the Moravian town where Salome lived, in May 1752.

There are more cases of Lenape men concerned with politics who recommended younger female relatives for baptism. In Moravian records, Caritas (243) who accepted baptism in January 1750 at age fourteen is referred to as a ‘granddaughter (Enkelin)’ of the Lenape sachem Tammekappei. This does not agree with other information on Tammekappei’s relatives. Most likely, she was a granddaughter of a sister of Tammekappei. The grandmother and mother of Caritas (243) were no longer alive at the time of her baptism. Though her father was still alive, she had lived with her older sister Esther (208) until Esther’s death in the night of December 31, 1749. Esther had accepted baptism just a few months prior to her death. She had already been seriously ill at the time of her baptism, and people did not expect her to survive. A few days after Esther’s death, in early January, Tammekappei told Moravian ritual leaders, that Caritas was to stay in the Moravian town in Mahoning and wanted to get baptized. Like other teenagers who accepted baptism by Moravians, Caritas eventually failed to live up to European Moravian standards. She had her baby daughter Anna Cathrina (442) baptized in August 1758. Yet, there is no record indicating that Caritas was married to a Christian man.

Jo Evans (Nicodemus 193), the brother of Lenape sachem Tadeyuskund and brother-in-law of Shawano sachem Paksnous, convinced Mariane (227), the oldest daughter of his sister, to join the Moravians on October 23, 1749. Mariane’s husband had died. She was baptized together with her baby son Johanan (230) who was three months old at the time. Mariane’s brother Georg (238) who was eighteen years old followed her example the next month. Yet, their mother did not join. It is not clear from the sources whether Mariane’s mother was still alive. Mariane was an adult when she joined the Moravians and already had adult children. Her oldest son Petsh’shillehe (Lucas 290) was about as old as his maternal uncle Georg. He was about nineteen years old when he followed his mother’s lead to join the Moravians a bit over a year after her, in January 1751. Mariane’s oldest daughter Anna Maria (315) accepted baptism in October 1751. Mariane was from the lower Raritan or Atlantic coastal area (‘East Jerseys’).
likely, she was in a situation similar to that of Awıulshas’huak, that is, she had lost the resources, such as agricultural land, that she needed to maintain an independent household.  

Telepuwexqua (Rebecca 390) who was the mother of Cornelia and the sachem Mamanawad and, as such, the head of their household, had a similar problem when she accepted baptism six years after her sachem son and five years after her oldest daughter. In 1754, colonists forced her family and all other Lenape residents of Meniolagomeka to leave their hometown. Telepuwexqua’s agricultural resources and the basis of her independent household vanished. Since it was too late in the year to move to the Susquehanna north branch and establish a new town, Meniolagomeka residents accepted a Moravian invitation to stay in Mahoning, on land that had been formally purchased by Moravians. Due to these events, Telepuwexqua joined the Moravians the next year, on June 8, 1755. Her situation at the time of her baptism was very similar to what the situation of Awıulshas’huak and Mariane had been a few years earlier.

To maintain a household, Lenape women needed two things, daughters and agricultural land. With every daughter, the matrilocal household was likely to grow and become more wealthy. Although Lenapeyok had little interest in accumulating property, a larger household that consisted of more people guaranteed subsistence and social respect. If a woman had no daughters, she became an attachment to one of the families into which her sons married. In this situation, she was unlikely to have a high social status. Thamar (277) who belonged to the peleo or turkey phratry and lived in Pehendahametaxquanünk on the Susquehanna north branch, between Xwyoming and Tenkhannek, had at least five sons, but only one daughter, Maxtshahoxqua (Benigna 353). As a result, Thamar stayed with the family into which her son Nathanael (183) had married. When European Moravians visited Pehendahametaxquanünk, in May 1750, she was very ill and lived in a small separate house close to Nathanael’s in-laws. Nathanael looked after his mother. Yet, he had plans to leave the town and move to Meniolagomeka, since he had joined the Moravians about a year earlier, in May 1749. Anton (249) who was another son of Thamar and his wife Johanna (250) lived in the twin-town of Pehendahametaxquanünk, which was located a few kilometers further up the Susquehanna north branch. I will refer to this twin-town as ‘Peach Trees’ since a Moravian author mentioned that the town had a nice peach orchard. Johanna and Anton had followed Nathanael’s example and had joined the Moravians in February 1750. They had plans to move to Meniolagomeka as well.

Thamar’s two Moravian sons and her Moravian daughter-in-law were unlikely to harvest anything in Pehendahametaxquanünk and Peach Trees, in 1750, since they had not participated in planting. Other residents saw this development with suspicion. They complained that nothing

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809 RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 24-25. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer, 1742-1753, no. 230, 238, 290, 315.  
810 RMI, box 313, folder 4, item 1: Baptismal register, 1742-1764, no. 390. Rebecca’s original name Telepuwexqua is given in: RMI, box 119, folder 2, item 6: Catalog of residents, 1754, p. 10. On Meniolagomeka residents’ forced migration to Mahoning, see: RMI, box 118, folder 1, item 1: Mahoning journal, entries for 04/26/1754 to 04/27/1754.  
811 RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 29-30. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer, 1742-1753, no. 277, 353. Thamar’s phratry is indicated by the peleo signatures of her sons Anton (249) and Nathanael (183): RMI, box 311, folder 2, item 6: Receipt, 06/21/1757. RMI, box 311, folder 7, item 4: Receipt, 11/12/1760.  
812 RMI, box 227, folder 4, item 1: Cammerhoff, Travel journal: Bethlehem to Onondaga, 05/14/1750 to 08/17/1750, entry for May 30, 1750. RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 20, 27. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer, 1742-1753, no. 183, 249, 250.
could be done with the Moravian converts. Soon after, Johanna, Anton, and Nathanael moved to Meniolagomeka. Thamar’s daughter Maxtshahoxqua (Benigna 353) and her family, three of her sons including Mamsoxalend (David 374) and Christian, and Nathanel’s wife and her family still lived in Pehendahametaxquanünk. Thamar continued to be very ill. In the summer, she sent a messenger to her two sons in Meniolagomeka to let them know that they were supposed to visit her and bring a Moravian ritual leader along for baptism. When her son Anton, Mahikan Nathanael (014), the Meniolagomeka sachem Mamanawad, and Mack (Martin) visited Thamar in early August, her relatives in Pehendahametaxquanünk talked her out of baptism. Yet, in September, she asked for her two Moravian sons again. This time, they took her to Meniolagomeka. Due to her illness, they had to carry her. Since Thamar could not work, one daughter and her children were not enough to maintain a household.

Theodora (228) did not even have a single daughter. She and her son Johann Martin (248) were among the last Lenapeyok who remained on the Schuylkill, just north of Tulpehoking, in the late 1740s. They were closely related to Young Captain Harris (Petrus 245), a half-brother of Tadeyuskund. When Lenapeyok had been forced to leave Tulpehoking, Theodora and Johann Martin had just moved a bit further up the Schuylkill, across the Blue Mountain. When Theodora moved to Monokasi in 1749, a Moravian author described her as very old and blind. Johann Martin was probably her youngest son since he was about nineteen years old at the time. Most likely, Theodora had not left the upper Schuylkill because she did not have any daughters with whom she could have established a larger household.

Women without daughters and their social situation were a major concern in Lenape culture. Lenapeyok on the Lexa even had a monument dedicated to these women. The monument consisted of an old xaskwēm field or, to be more precise, of the surviving mounds typical of Lenape agriculture. The monument was located just north of Mahoning, on the edge of the Great Pine Swamp ‘precisely where it is crossed by the road leading to Wyoming, […]’ A Moravian author mentioned that Lenapeyok first showed him the monument in ‘1765, and often afterwards.’ He explained the persistence of the mounds with soil composition calling it ‘a stiff clay.’ The Moravian referred to the monument as the ‘Hermit’s Field’ because the Lenape legend associated with it claimed that a Lenape woman had lived there by herself, only accompanied by her young son, and had stayed there until her son had grown up. In the story, the son took on the male role required by the Lenape subsistence economy. The woman was still a hermit, separated from society, because she was not accompanied by any daughters. The monument was also dedicated to the rapid cultural change experienced by Lenapeyok over the previous one and a half centuries. According to the legend, the woman hermit had moved to the Great Pine Swamp prior to first contact between Lenapeyok and Europeans. When the hermit met some Lenapeyok after years of seclusion, she was surprised to find that they were wearing strange cloths. Lenape

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813 RMI, box 227, folder 4, item 1: Cammerhoff, Travel journal: Bethlehem to Onondaga, 05/14/1750 to 08/17/1750, entry for May 30, 1750.
814 RMI, box 313, folder 4, item 1: Baptismal register, 1742-1764, no. 349, 353, 374, 429, 516.
815 RMI, box 117, folder 1, item 1: Mahoning journal, entries for 08/02, 08/05, 08/12/1750.
816 RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 29-30.
817 RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 24-25, 27. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer, 1742-1753, no. 228, 248.
culture had been influenced by European fashion. After this encounter, the woman decided to return to her hermitage and she stayed there for another few years.  

The Hermit’s Field was only a few dozen kilometers from Theodora’s residence on the upper Schuylkill where she had moved with her youngest son when Lenapeyok had been forced to leave Tulpehoking. After moving from there to Monokasi, Theodora did not live much longer. She died only a month after her baptism. This probably indicates that she only accepted baptism because she knew that death was near. Theodora’s approach to baptism was not unique. It rather followed a pattern typical of many old Lenapeyok who joined Moravians. Noah (199) who was a great uncle of Lenape sachem Mamanawad was over a hundred years old when he accepted baptism in June 1749. He died five days later. The same is true for Rahel (244) who was a sister of Lenape sachem Nutumer and an aunt of Lenape sachem Tadeyuskund. She accepted baptism in January 1750 and died five days later. Some old Wampanoak also had a preference for late baptisms. Textanoah (Theodora 104) from Paxgatgox died four hours after her baptism in October 1747. What may seem like an emergency baptism had been carefully planned by the woman who was about eighty years old. A year prior to her baptism, Textanoah had told Moravians that she needed to move to Bethlehem. She believed that she was supposed to accept baptism in Bethlehem, several hundred kilometers from her hometown, and die soon after. She had known Moravians for years. Her granddaughter Rahel (038) and her daughter Priscilla (056) had accepted baptism four years earlier. Rahel had even married Post (Friedrich), a European Moravian ritual leader. Yet, Textanoah had never shown much interest in conversion, not to speak of moving to a place that was several hundred kilometers from her hometown. These late baptism may indicate an attitude similar to that expressed by Kattilavan, the vettiyān from Pudukudi, who did not join South Indian Pietists because he had to participate in local festivals to maintain business relations, and, for this reason, kept telling Pietists that he would join them later, just prior to his death.  

Several old Lenapeyok who accepted baptism just prior to their death had maintained contact with Moravians for years. Yet, they did not join the Moravians because they had little interest in changing their lifestyle and adopting new customs. Since Moravians emphasized their gods’ significance for life after death, old Lenapeyok rightly concluded that they were in no need to hurry. They were interested in baptism in so far as it offered possible benefits in their afterlife. If they converted just prior to their death, they did not have to change their lifestyle, but could still associate themselves with Moravian gods in preparation for their afterlife. This also indicates how old Lenapeyok viewed the Moravian gods associated with baptism. They were not interested in substituting Moravian gods for their own religion and spirituality. If they accepted baptism just prior to death, Moravians did not try to bully them into abandoning their own

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821 RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 21. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer, 1742-1753, no. 199. RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 2: Register von den heimgegangenen Indianern, 1746-1753, p. 11.  
822 RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 26. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer, 1742-1753, no. 244. RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 2: Register von den heimgegangenen Indianern, 1746-1753, p. 12.  
823 RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 5. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianer, 1742-1753, no. 038, 056, 104. RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 2: Register von den heimgegangenen Indianern, 1746-1753, p. 6.  
824 See part 1 on South Indian communities.
religion. Instead, they could simply include the Moravian gods in their own religion. Old people’s insistence on this additive principle indicates a Lenape dislike for monotheism and its social implications.

In a sense, old people’s attitude toward conversion was similar to that of teenagers. Caritas and Salome’s daughter Theodora were not interested in changing their lifestyle either. The major difference is perhaps that old people understood the consequences of conversion. They knew that European Moravians would eventually pressure them to change their lifestyle. After all, Moravians were not the first Christian missionaries in and around Lenape country. Although teenagers converted more easily, some changed their mind as soon as they realized that Moravians tried to impose considerable restrictions on Lenape lifestyles ranging from fashion issues, such as hairstyles and body paint, to how sexual relations were initiated and dissolved.

Like other missionaries, Moravians tried to avoid or minimize resistance from children and young adults by isolating them from Lenape communities and sending them to boarding schools. This approach did not get off the ground, however, because Lenape parents did not like it. Parents who had joined Moravians appreciated aspects of Moravian formal education as long as it happened in Lenape communities, such as Mahoning and Meniolagomeka, where Lenape parents could keep an eye on schools. After initial attempts at sending Native American children to boarding schools, such as the boarding school in Magundshe (Macungie), Moravians were at pains to convince Lenapeyok that they had abandoned this design and did not intend to bring it up again, unless particular parents explicitly favored such a solution for their own children. Yet, Moravian ritual leaders continued to put psychological pressure on children and their parents. As a result, Lenapeyok who were opposed to Moravians blamed them for attempting to steal their children. In 1750, a European Moravian ritual leader defended himself by claiming that even earlier attempts at sending children to boarding schools had been initiated by Native American parents. This was certainly not entirely true. ‘Yet, generally and for now (May 1750), all of them {Native American children} are with their parents, {...}. (Aber vor ordinair u{nd} jezo {Mai 1750} wären sie alle bei ihren Eltern, {...})’

When Moravians first moved to Monokasi in the early 1740s, Lenape and neighboring cultures were in transition. Cultural adjustments were needed to respond to forced migrations, demographic decline, and loss of resources. Regional Lenape polities met this challenge by pooling existing resources and searching for new ones. In the process, people of diverging regional backgrounds formed new polities and communities. Since kinship formed the basis of Lenape social organization, marriage became the most significant means to integrate regional backgrounds. Lenape initiatives did not remain confined to Lenape culture, but were extended to neighbors. Some neighbors had developed similar strategies and responded in a positive way, others did not. Moravians were a mixed bag. In Lenape country, European Moravians were willing to pool some resources such as spiritual resources, a smith’s shop, and agricultural land that had been previously extracted from Lenapeyok by means of extortion. Such arrangements required concessions on all sides. Unsurprisingly, both Lenapeyok and Moravians wanted to have it their way. Lenape approaches to Moravians depended on a range of conditions such as personal taste, age, gender, and affiliation with particular kinship groups. But Lenapeyok soon realized that none of the European Moravians were truly interested in becoming integrated in Lenape culture and polities. Residents of predominantly Mahikan Xekomeko made similar

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825 RMI, box 227, folder 4, item 1: Cammerhoff, Travel journal: Bethlehem to Onondaga, 05/14/1750 to 08/17/1750, entry for May 30, 1750, p. 12.
experiences. They noticed, for example, that some European Moravians were interested in taking local wives, but European Moravians were not interested in providing wives for local residents. Like Lenapeyok and their neighbors, European Moravians had developed new forms of communal organization to deal with migration and the resulting heterogeneity of their communities. They had also identified intermarriage as a major means to facilitate community integration. To use marriage toward this end, they had taken fairly radical measures such as abolishing families and opting for a new form of arranged marriage. Decisions on marriage arrangements were now made by Moravian deities and by Moravian ritual leaders who were also representatives of communal institutions. Moravian deities expressed their opinion through lots drawn by Moravian ritual leaders in an appropriate ritual context.

The shared experience of forced migrations and the resulting cosmopolitan backgrounds of Native American and European Moravians had the potential to serve as a basis of relatively easy coexistence and integration. In this particular context, cultural diversity could be an asset rather than an impediment to communal life. In fact, several Native American and European Moravians played important roles as mediators in sporadic diplomatic exchanges that occasionally interrupted British and French militarization and imperialist violence in the North American Middle Atlantic during the mid-eighteenth century. Yet, during conflicts between Native American and European or colonial polities, European Moravian attitudes did not much differ from those of Lutheran Pietists in India. Since they never fully accepted the legitimacy of Native American polities, their views were biased accordingly. After all, European Moravians had come to depend on the infrastructure of the British empire and British colonies and on their ways of appropriating resources. Even among Moravians who had never been part of the official confessionalist state tradition in Central Europe, ‘Christianization’ increasingly meant ‘Europeanization’ by the 1750s.
Conclusion: Cultural exchange in an age of reason

In early to mid-eighteenth century Tanjavur and Lenape country, instrumental rationality provided a basis for communication and exchange across cultural boundaries. Lutheran Pietist and Moravian missionaries offered a variety of services. In turn, the state of Tanjavur and Lenape polities granted privileges and access to local resources. Besides providing religious services, Lutheran Pietists built a paper mill, established a printing press, supported schools, and provided charitable services. Moravian missionaries ran a smith’s shop, helped with agricultural work, transported construction materials, and temporarily secured land and related resources for Lenape use by obtaining legal title that was not available to Lenapeyok in British colonies. The state of Tanjavur and Lenape polities supported Lutheran Pietist and Moravian missionaries because some residents were interested in these and other services. A shared instrumental rationality and compatible interests, it seems, facilitated communicative action irrespective of cultural boundaries.

In the seventeenth century, similar mutually beneficial relations had existed on a larger scale. The state of Tanjavur tolerated the presence of the Danish and Dutch East India companies because they provided the state and residents of the Kaveri river delta with bullion in exchange for locally produced rice and textiles. Lenape polities allowed the Dutch and Swedish West India companies to use land in exchange for products imported from Europe. At least as late as the 1680s, English colonies in the Delaware river valley continued rental payments to Lenape polities that had been agreed on by their Swedish and Dutch predecessors. Yet in both Tanjavur and Lenape country, this type of reciprocity gradually declined and eventually broke down in the 1730s.

The experiences of Lutheran Pietist and Moravian missionaries clearly demonstrate that residents of Tanjavur and Lenape country were willing to continue reciprocal relations beyond the 1730s. The sources discussed in this study provide ample evidence. They also show how Tamils, their Maratha rulers, Lenapeyok, and Mahikannak employed specific cultural resources, such as personal networks, tax administration, and kinship ties, to put reciprocal relations on a more solid foundation. Lutheran Pietist and Moravian missionaries rejected some of these offers early on for various reasons such as a desire to stay independent of ‘Heathen’ polities and a perceived need to conform to racist attitudes with regard to intermarriage in British colonial America. But from the 1730s, communicative action became disturbed in a much broader and more profound way when asymmetric power relations began to dictate the rules of

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communication and exchange across cultural boundaries. As an open-ended conclusion, this issue seems worth further exploration.

The political and social changes that had occurred from the mid-seventeenth century to the 1730s favored a new rationality. The rationality of emerging empires differed from the rationality of smaller polities. In Tanjavur, a broad variety of social groups had access to the central government and a voice in political decisions. Corporate forms of organization provided the basis for popular participation in political processes. This is suggested, for example, by the popular request for an alliance with the northern Marathas and by political action. In Lenape polities, access to government was even more general. Face-to-face contact between political leaders and the common populace was the rule rather than the exception. Political decision-making involved public deliberation that was open to all who were affected.

This was in marked contrast to the deeply ingrained anonymity of political leadership and decision-making in emerging overseas empires. In the seventeenth century, English political leaders had issued colonial charters and other legislation to set up colonies and trading companies that affected the lives of many in Tanjavur and Lenape country. During the first half of the eighteenth century, the British government intensified these colonization efforts. But neither English nor British political leaders ever showed the slightest interest in consulting or personally meeting residents of Tanjavur or Lenape country. In the configuration of empires, hierarchies substituted for face-to-face contact and orders for public deliberation. These differences in government produced differences in goals and values and therefore resulted in a different rationality. The state of Tanjavur and Lenape polities were predominantly concerned with the administration, distribution, and protection of local resources. The agents of empire aggressively tried to access and appropriate new resources such as people, land, food, textiles, and precious metals. This ever growing appetite and the new rationality that came with it threatened the resources and subsistence of smaller polities. Their people had to adjust accordingly.

In the Middle Atlantic, for example, forced migrations over increasingly long distances scattered Lenape and neighboring cultures over a large geographical area. Lenape polities therefore had to invest considerable resources in maintaining relations with geographically distant communities. The alternative would have been to lose contact and become isolated from each other. But despite emerging long-distance connections, Lenape polities did not change their basic approach to government and continued to rely on local subsistence. Their rationality therefore continued to be tied to face-to-face contact, broad participation, and reliance on local resources.

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828 The following is based on notions of ‘subjective rationality’ and on the fact that people’s subjective rationality is shaped by social environments. See: Van Roojen, "Moral rationalism and rational amorality," 501-505.


830 Psychological research even suggests that anonymity in decision-making produces arbitrary, irrational decisions: X. T. Wang, "Beyond ‘pardonable errors by subjects and unpardonable ones by psychologists'," *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 23 (2000): 700.

831 A John Locke, for example, did not have to invent a new rationality in the late seventeenth century. He just legitimized processes of imperialist expansion and appropriation that had started decades earlier. See, for example: Tomlins, "Legal cartography of colonization," 344-345.
Some Moravians had also responded to the rationality of an empire when they had emigrated from territories of the Austrian Habsburg empire. And Moravians began to form small settlements scattered over a large geographical area from the 1720s. To protect their confessional independence, they aimed at economic autarky. But unlike Lenapeyok, Moravians did not primarily rely on local resources and subsistence. A Moravian from Mahoning reported in his journal entry for May 31, 1755, that xaskwēm and most garden crops had failed. ‘This night the frost was so strong that our maize and most of our garden stuff were destroyed. (Diese Nacht hatte es so stark gereift, daß unser Welschkorn und das meiste von Garten=Sachen verdorben sey.)’ Although this was extremely bad news for the Moravian town in Mahoning, the larger Moravian community could compensate for it. Over the past three decades, successful proselytizing and migrations had transformed the Moravian community from a small settlement in Herrnhut into a global network. In some respects, such as use of resources, Moravians now depended on a rationality that was closer to that of their earlier tormentor—the Habsburg empire—than to that of a regional polity. But Moravians also invested considerable resources in maintaining at least a semblance of face-to-face contact between distant settlements. This is why they wrote, exchanged, and publicly read detailed journals—an attempt to provide thick descriptions of everyday life to geographically distant members of their community.

Bad spirits: The arrogance of imperialism

When Lenapeyok and their neighbors had been forced to migrate from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century, two somewhat contradictory challenges required their attention. First, they had to establish closer ties to neighbors of different cultures who ended up in the same geographical space because migrations had erased much space between them. Second, they had to maintain contact to groups of their own people from which they had been separated because migrations had added a lot of space between them. Lenape polities on the Susquehanna north branch, for example, had to establish closer ties to Mahikan, Nantiko, and Shawano polities there. At the same time, they had to maintain contacts to Lenapeyok in Alligewining (now Ohio), in the Lexa (now eastern Pennsylvania), and in Mahikan Wanaxquatigok (now western Massachusetts).

In April 1757, an official Mahikan, Nantiko, and Shawano delegation called on colonial officials in Fort Johnson, New York colony. The delegation consisted of over two-hundred people and included prominent political leaders such as the Mahikan sachem Mamanettsekan (Shabash, Abraham 001), a Nantiko sachem called ‘Hamichtagh‘tawatawa,’ and Shawano sachem Paksnous. Termis (Jonathan 013), a son of Mamanettsekan, interpreted speeches during meetings from Dutch into Mahikan and from Mahikan into Dutch. Owiligasho (Peter ‘Spelman’), a German who had married into a prominent Shawano family, served the Native American delegation as a messenger.

The delegation had traveled over two-hundred kilometers from ‘Otsiningo’ (Chena ngo) to Fort Johnson near what now is Amsterdam, New York, to inquire about the whereabouts of two people who had been imprisoned in Albany. From a Native American point of view, every member of a community counted. The delegation clearly expressed that this issue ‘is of great
Importance to Us’ and underlined this statement by means of ‘a great Bunch of Wampum.’\footnote{Mamanetsekan, Paksnous, and Hamichtagh'tawatawa, "Speech delivered to William Johnson on April 21, 1757," in Proceedings and treaty with The Shawanese, Nanticokes, and Mohikander Indians, Living At Otsiningo, ed. John Campbell Earl of Loudoun and Peter Wraxall (New York, 1757), 10.} From point of view of American colonial officials at Fort Johnson, this attitude was difficult to understand. They did not attribute much significance or value to two Native American lives and, therefore, had no interest in discussing or investigating this matter much further. They concluded that the visit was the result of a misunderstanding. Colonial officials still took the opportunity to lecture the Native American delegation on Native Americans’ best interests as the following exchange indicates.

**Advice by New York colony:**

‘Brethren,

{...} I will tell you the Difference between the English and the French. The English desire and labour to unite all Indians {...} The French endeavour to divide the Indians, {...} Those who intend to destroy or enslave any People or Nation, will first endeavour to divide them.\footnote{William Johnson, "Speech delivered to Mamanetsekan, Paksnous, and Hamichtagh'tawatawa on April 19, 1757," in Proceedings and treaty with The Shawanese, Nanticokes, and Mohikander Indians, Living At Otsiningo, on one of the West Branches of the Susquehanna River. Negotiated At Fort-Johnson, in the County of Albany, in the Province of New-York; by The Honourable Sir William Johnson, Bart. etc. Published By Order of his Excellency the Right Honourable John Earl of Loundon, Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in North-America, etc, ed. John Campbell Earl of Loudoun and Peter Wraxall (New York, 1757), 6.}

Reply by Mahikan, Nantiko, and Shawano delegation:

‘Brother,

You have repeated to us, and we shall not forget it, the different Behaviour of the English and French, towards the Indians; {...} and we thank you heartily for pointing out to us our true Interest and Welfare: {...}\footnote{Mamanetsekan, Paksnous, and Hamichtagh'tawatawa, "Speech delivered to William Johnson on April 23, 1757," in Proceedings and treaty with The Shawanese, Nanticokes, and Mohikander Indians, Living At Otsiningo, ed. John Campbell Earl of Loudoun and Peter Wraxall (New York, 1757), 13.}

Whether these statements were actually made at the meeting or not, they nicely illustrate the political situation at the time. From the perspective of the Native American delegation, the British posed a much more serious problem than the French because the British colonies expanded much faster. But British colonial officials like Johnson had become accustomed to situations in which they could utter this and any number of similarly self-serving comments because the imbalance of power and means of violence were in their favor.\footnote{William Johnson had been made superintendent of Indian affairs for the northern colonies the previous year. He had two major interests—extracting land from the Iroquois Six Nations for personal gain and enlisting their military support to protect his wealth. Apart from this, Johnson had little patience for Native American concerns. A patronizing attitude was his trademark. When he ran out of arguments and was pressed for a response, he erupted into angry outbursts. For a diplomatic exchange between Johnson and the Lenape sachem Tadeyuskund a few years later, in June 1762, see: Harper, Walking Purchase, 110-119.} Asymmetrical power relations distorted perceptions and led to arrogance and lack of concern on the side of colonial officials. Native American diplomatic protocol constantly reminded delegations of the dangers associated with distorted perceptions. The standard ceremony that opened all diplomatic exchanges required delegates to symbolically remove obstacles from their counterparts’ minds.
and bodies. During negotiations, each party repeated the contributions of its counterpart to ensure that all information had been properly received and understood. But Native American diplomatic protocol could not cure deeply ingrained arrogance. The Native American delegates’ rather sarcastic reply in the exchange above indicates that they did not encounter this problem for the first time and that they were not particularly impressed by it.

Johnson also advised the Native American delegation to consolidate their dispersed settlements into a larger one. ‘You have lived in too dispersed a Manner; which must naturally weaken a People, and make them of little Consequence; whereas if you keep together in one Body, you may be strong and respectable.’^837 This must have rung like pure derision in the ears of Mahikan, Nantiko, and Shawano delegates, since the racism and violence of colonists had caused their dispersal in the first place. The statement also made it clear to every member of the Native American delegation, that Johnson, in his arrogance, really believed that they were stupid. His proposed consolidation of settlements would have been a major security risk during the Seven Years’ War because it would have turned them into easy targets. This being said, Mahikan and Lenape decisions to migrate or stay put despite hostile colonists and deteriorating economic conditions usually depended on personal circumstances and family ties rather than military strategies.

In the mid-eighteenth century, British imperialist ideology began to employ the displacement of Lenape, Mahikan, and other Native American polities to legitimize British expansion. For this purpose, forced migrations and other responses to British expansion were separated from their historical context. Migrations were portrayed as inherent features of supposedly ‘nomadic’ cultures rather than responses to imperialist violence. Such concepts and interpretations made a significant contribution to the rationality of empire in North America and elsewhere.^838

In South India, imperialist ideology proved no less imaginative. British expansion and the resulting violence had undermined and dismantled Tanjavur and other South Indian states and had caused the rise of an autonomous nobility. Once the political organization of the Kaveri river delta and adjacent regions had been atomized, British ideologues separated the newly established autonomy of the nobility from its historical context. The recently acquired power of the so-called ‘poligars’ (*pâliyakkârar*) was portrayed as an inherent feature of South Indian culture and served to demonstrate that South Indians were incapable of developing adequate forms of political organization. Such decontextualized information accumulated over time and informed the agents of British imperialism.

It is conceivable that agents of empire in South India and North America, such as Johnson, knew relatively little about the history of Tanjavur and Lenape polities. And even if they had some knowledge of historical contexts, they had little reason to reflect on it. The emerging ideology of the British empire relieved them of the task and bolstered a rationality that was diametrically opposed to Tamil and Lenape experiences and regional interests. In the mid-eighteenth century, violence and war were the major reasons why communication and exchange across cultural boundaries were disrupted, but meaningful communicative action became increasingly difficult for other reasons as well. Some of these impediments, such as a new

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^838 Political decisions based on such fabricated and distorted views may not qualify as objectively rational, but in the long run, these views nevertheless shaped the perceptions and, therefore, the subjective rationality of agents of imperialism.
ideology based on unrealistic views of the past and the rationality based on it, had greater longevity.\textsuperscript{839}

After decades of forced migrations, Lenapeyok had to invest considerable effort into maintaining cohesion between scattered communities. When Glik’hikan (Isaac 659), a Menising man, came back from a short trip to Kaskaskunk in the summer of 1770, he brought news from a council held in response to a message sent by Netewatwelemen, a political leader in Gekelemukpexünk. The council had decided to invite Lenapeyok from Cranbury (New Jersey) to move to Alligewining and now sent a message to Pakanke, a political leader in Langunto’utenünk, to see if he supported the decision. Pakanke was clearly opposed to the council’s decision, but many people at Langunto’utenünk had a different view. Lenapeyok in Alligewining, including Pakanke, had not forgotten about people who remained in Cranbury, and they were fully aware that Lenape residents of Cranbury ‘did not have anything in this world.’ Yet different views existed on how to deal with the problem. While most Lenapeyok in Alligewining felt that they had a responsibility to help people in Cranbury and wanted them to move to Alligewining to improve their social status and lifestyle, Pakanke and a few others were not interested in importing social problems.\textsuperscript{840}

John Brainerd, a Presbyterian preacher who considered himself the spiritual leader of the Cranbury community had already complained in the late 1740s about an ‘almost universal propensity in the whole nation of Indians to strong drink.’ Lenapeyok outside Cranbury agreed that there were social problems in that particular community, but came to very different conclusions about the causes. From their perspective, deteriorating social conditions and alcohol abuse in Cranbury were caused by its proximity to British colonies, their racist institutions, the resulting unavailability of economic resources, and Brainerd’s influence. Pakanke’s major concern was the council’s decision to allow Cranbury residents to bring along Presbyterian preachers. Pakanke knew that Moravians were already invading Alligewining and Presbyterians were following close behind on the Susquehanna north branch. There was no need to further stimulate this development by inviting Presbyterians to Alligewining.\textsuperscript{843}

Pakanke’s opposition to Presbyterian preachers is not surprising if one recalls that Cranbury had been known as a place of little economic opportunity and deteriorating social conditions for decades. Due to the increasingly hostile social environment created by New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania colonists, the Lenape population of Cranbury had grown, while its economic basis had steadily declined. The lifestyle advocated by Presbyterian preachers undermined traditional social organization without providing much of an alternative. As a result, social conditions steadily deteriorated. As early as the 1740s, Awiulshas’huak had decided not to stay in Cranbury because the Christian Lenapeyok there drank too much and were too fond of

\textsuperscript{839} For a discussion of the relation between objective rationality, subjective rationality, and morality, see: Van Roojen, “Moral rationalism and rational amoralism,” 512-523.
\textsuperscript{840} RMI, box 137, folder 1, item 1: Langunto’utenünk journal, entry for 06/21/1770. RMI, box 313, folder 7, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianern[!] des Nordlichen Theils von America, 1742-1772, no. 659.
\textsuperscript{842} RMI, box 137, folder 1, item 1: Langunto’utenünk journal, entry for 06/21/1770.
\textsuperscript{843} RMI, box 133, folder 1, item 1: Tshexshequanünk journal, entry for 02/19/1769.
fist fights. She soon joined Lenapeyok in Monokasi and Pap’hanünk because friends and relatives had convinced her that social conditions were much better in these places.\textsuperscript{844}

Monokasi and Pap’hanünk were located at a greater distance from the centers of British colonialism. Therefore, sufficient economic resources were still available to Lenapeyok and allowed for favorable social conditions in the early 1740s. Moreover, Lenape communities in Monokasi and Pap’hanünk had been free to develop forms of social organization that were capable of dealing with heterogeneous migrant populations. Yet, the situation on the Delaware and Lexa changed rapidly. All major Lenape communities were forced to withdraw to the Susquehanna or Alligewining over the next decade. For this reason, some Lenapeyok continued to put up with Cranbury. It was the only option left for those who wanted to stay in Lenape country. In the late 1760s and early 1770s, the situation of Cranbury residents further deteriorated because the remaining Lenape communities on the Susquehanna were in the process of withdrawing as well. Cranbury residents became more and more distant and isolated from other Lenape communities. This is why their relatives and friends wanted them to move to Alligewining.

Forms of rationality and the finitude of human existence

The type of self-serving rhetoric displayed by Johnson and Brainerd resulted from attitudes that had the potential to divide cultures. If we were unaware of the historical context that produced these cross-cultural difficulties, we would perhaps be tempted to adopt a rather pessimistic cultural relativism. But since we know that asymmetric power relations distorted the perceptions of Johnson and Brainerd, there is no reason to believe that people generally encountered difficulties in communication and exchange across cultural boundaries. There is little doubt that cultures shaped social environments and therefore influenced the values, goals, and subjective rationality of people. Lenapeyok, for example, had no interest in accumulating any kind of material wealth. This was in stark contrast to Johnson whose major purpose in life was to turn as much land as possible into his personal property. But cultural differences appeared to be far from insurmountable whenever common interests existed.\textsuperscript{845}

Moravian sources provide ample evidence of cross-cultural understanding. Views and actions informed by practical rationality were intelligible to all people involved. The same was true for moral concerns and aspects of ritual behavior. Much earlier, in the mid-seventeenth century, European colonists had intuitively understood basic features of Lenape culture such as the principles of Lenape justice and basic aspects of rituals related to lifecycle changes of people and agricultural plants.\textsuperscript{846} This is not surprising if we consider that all humans relied on the same body, central nervous system, and cognitive capabilities.\textsuperscript{847} A shared evolutionary rationality

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\textsuperscript{844} RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: \textit{Register der getauften Indianer}, 1742-1752, p. 8-9.
\textsuperscript{845} Some pitfalls of cultural relativism and universalism are discussed in: Tambiah, \textit{Rationality}, 55-58, 70-71, 92, 102-106, 115-117, 127-130.
\textsuperscript{846} On universal aspects of human rituals, see: Liénard and Boyer, "Collective rituals," 820-825.
\textsuperscript{847} The time scale of biological evolution in humans and their closest relatives is usually measured in millions of years. We can therefore safely assume that early to mid-eighteenth century human brains did not differ from ours: Richard Potts, "Paleoenvironments and the evolution of adaptability in great apes," in \textit{The evolution of thought: Evolutionary origins of great ape intelligence}, ed. Anne E. Russon and David R. Begun (Cambridge, 2004), 238, 246-247, 251-253.
\end{flushright}
made their views and actions compatible on a very fundamental level. Death and reproduction had greatly contributed to the biological adaptability and evolutionary success of their species.\textsuperscript{848} Individual humans still struggled to make sense out of it. The finitude of human existence and related losses were difficult to reconcile with individual rationality. But the basic features of their responses and related aspects of morality, such as emotional contagion, empathy, consolation behavior, gratitude, and fairness, were deeply rooted in the evolution of mammalian sociality rather than created by particular human cultures or individuals.\textsuperscript{849}

Lenapeyok and their neighbors did not necessarily see cultural differences as an impediment to social organization. Quite to the contrary, perceived differences could be an incentive for change and contribute to improvements within a community. One example from the town of Wixlusing on the Susquehanna north branch illustrates some of the problems involved and is representative of many similar incidents that confronted multicultural communities on an everyday basis. In 1766, Lenape Anton (249) and Mahikan Nepesek (Johannes 090) informed the Moravian community at Wixlusing that Sam (Samuel 551), a Nantiko man, had expressed interest in joining the Moravian community.\textsuperscript{850} Anton and Nepesek pointed out potential problems with Sam joining their community. They were concerned about Sam’s Nantiko background and associated burial practices.

Nantikowak buried their dead in two stages. A first burial was carried out a few days after a person died. And a second burial was carried out about a year after the first. For the second burial, the remains of the deceased person were removed from the original grave. Bones were separated from other remains and cleaned. And the cleaned bones were buried as a bundle for a second time. In some cases, Nantikowak took their bone bundles along when they were forced to migrate. Nantikowak also collected the bones of relatives who had been buried in a foreign place. The latter practice was the major concern of Anton and Nepesek. They pointed out that Nantiko relatives might try to collect the bones of Nantiko Moravians after their death and Moravian burial.\textsuperscript{851}

Stage burials had been common in parts of Europe, but the custom had been abandoned toward the end of the pre-contact period. Archaeologists argue that stage burials declined in Central Europe due to adoption of customs that were promoted by Christian polities and their ritual leaders.\textsuperscript{852} Yet, treatment of bones continued to be a concern in Central Europe in the mid-

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\textsuperscript{848} W. Todd DeKay, Martie G. Haselton, and Lee A. Kirkpatrick, "Reversing figure and ground in the rationality debate: An evolutionary perspective," \textit{Behavioral and Brain Sciences} 23 (2000): 670.

\textsuperscript{849} Evidence of human morality’s origin in the evolution of mammalian sociality is provided in: Frans De Waal, \textit{Primates and philosophers: How morality evolved} (Princeton, 2006), 37-58, 71-72, 166-175.

\textsuperscript{850} Some consequences of evolutionary explanations for human morality are explored in: Wiebeleng, "On the evolutionary debunking of morality."

\textsuperscript{851} RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: \textit{Register der getauften Indianer}, 1742-1752, p. 3. RMI, box 313, folder 2, item 1: \textit{Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianern}, 1742-1753, no. 90, 249. RMI, box 313, folder 7, item 1: \textit{Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianern[]} des Nordlichen Theils von America, 1742-1772, no. 551.

eighteenth century and until now because people were and are emotionally attached to the remains of relatives and friends and, in some cases, even to the remains of strangers. Problems occurred, for example, because many cemeteries simply ran out of space. If graves had to be removed to make room for new burials, the bones were collected and shelved in bone houses that were built for this purpose in every cemetery. People preserved bones in bone houses because they related to these bones. They also believed that the bones were not entirely dead.

A Swiss student of anatomy wrote in his journal in the mid-1720s that he had twice stolen ‘a considerable number of bones (eine zimliche Anzahl Knochen)’ from a bone house that belonged to the Catholic village of Wurmlingen in the predominantly Protestant state of Württemberg. He claimed that he had committed one of these thefts just a day prior to the beginning of Catholic Christmas holidays in 1724. The thief believed that villagers were emotionally attached to the bones of their deceased relatives. He wrote that the theft ‘{...} would have been badly rewarded, if the peasants had caught us ( {...} uns aber übel solten sein belohnet worden, wann die Bauern unser hätten können mächtig werden).’ From his point of view, violence would have been a likely reward for his behavior. We can only guess why he took this risk rather than work with bones of his own relatives.

In the North American Middle Atlantic, stage burials had never played a major role. Only a few stage burials, such as one in Menising, are known from the archaeological record of this area. These exceptions most likely indicate cultural contact with the Chesapeake and adjacent areas further to the south where stage burials were common. Nantikowak who originally were from the Chesapeake Eastern Shore continued the custom into the late eighteenth and nineteenth century. Some anthropologists have argued that the custom was slowly replaced by the Skeleton Dance when Nantikowak joined predominantly Lenape communities. Such a development could only occur if Lenapeyok tolerated Nantiko customs and religiosity.

Although Lenape Anton and Mahikan Nepesek were not accustomed to stage burials and questioned their compatibility with local customs in Wixlusing, they probably had little difficulty understanding Nantiko concern for the remains of deceased relatives. Lenape widows and widowers, for example, were not supposed to remarry until one year after the death of their spouse because deceased spouses were likely to stay in the neighborhood for a while after their death. Like people elsewhere, Native Americans tried to ease changes that were associated with the loss of loved ones. A Mahikan mother weeping at the grave of her four year old daughter in Shamoking in the late 1740s expressed it with the following verses:

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855 Kraft, "Indian prehistory of New Jersey," 34-46. Kraft, Minisink: Late prehistoric and early historic, 47-53.
856 Speck, Oklahoma Delaware ceremonies, feasts, and dances, 142-149.
the sorcerer, the sorcerer
has killed my child
oh my child has been killed by the sorcerer
(der Zauberer{}, der Zauberer hat mir mein Kind um gebracht, ach mein Kind hat mir
der Zauberer um gebracht, {...})

wake up my child
child, get up and eat
you are hungry
(wach auf mein Kind{}, Kind steh auf und iß{}, du bist hungrig)857

The Mahikan mother’s grief was particularly intense at the time because her little
daughter had been the only child left to her. She had lost another child just a few months earlier.
It may be worth recalling that Lenape, Mahikan, and other neighboring cultures were matrilocal.
Daughters and their families made up a household and determined its size and social prestige.
Despite differences in cultural backgrounds, it seems like the European Moravian author who
reported this had no difficulty relating to the Mahikan mother’s grief.858 All humans share the
emotions involved. Emotional contagion, empathy, and consolation behavior are not only
common to all human cultures, but to other mammal species as well.859 In the mid-seventeenth
century, early colonists in New Sweden had utilized their intuitive understanding of Lenape grief
for the purpose of robbing Lenape graves. They feigned grief to gain access to Lenape funeral
ceremonies and gather information on grave goods.860 Since perceptions of gratitude and fairness
are also deeply rooted in the evolution of mammalian sociality, it is not surprising that some
colonists perceived this behavior as immoral861

Lenape and Mahikan mothers remained connected to the spirits of their deceased
children. This relationship was difficult to maintain after forced migrations. ‘A woman, whose
child died in a distant place, goes on a pilgrimage to this place every year if she has the
opportunity. She takes another woman with her, makes offerings at her child’s grave, and gives
the child part of the offerings by pouring it on the grave. (Eine Frau, deren Kind in der Fremde
gestorben, geht alle Jahr einmal dahin wallfahrtet, wenn sie möglichst kann, nimmt eine andere
Frau mit sich, opfert beim Grabe ihres Kindes und theilt ihm davon mit, welches sie aufs Grab
schüttet.)862

Although Lenapeyok and Mahikannak did not bury their dead in the same way as
Nantikowak and found Nantiko care for the bones of their deceased relatives somewhat
eccentric, they had little interest in arguing against it. Some Central European Moravians were

857 RMI, box 121, folder 3, item 3; Shamoking journal, entry for 11/21/1747.
858 RMI, box 121, folder 3, item 3; Shamoking journal, entry for 11/21/1747.
859 De Waal, How morality evolved, 23-36, 71-72, 168.
860 Facial expressions of emotions and the neural responses they trigger in observers seem to be affected by
culture. But the cultural influence is rather small: Joan Y. Chiao, et al., "Cultural specificity in amygdala response to
861 On the rationality of amoral and immoral behavior, see: Matthew S. Bedke, "The iffiest oughts: A guise of
and rational amoralism," 512-523.
862 RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Manuscript book: Native American history, 1780, p. 227.
perhaps even less surprised about the burial practices of Nantikowak. Apart from the bones of ordinary people, which found a permanent home in the bone houses of Central European towns and villages, Central Europeans preserved the bones of some celebrities for public display and ritual purposes. These were not entirely selfless customs. The strategy secured the goodwill of deities and also led to more palpable results.

One author from the Central European town of Radolfzell pointed out in a devotional book published in 1745 that the many miracles associated with the relics of saints proved the Christian god’s approval of how these relics had been treated by people. His argument was based on actual experiences with local relics, saints, and miracles rather than hearsay. He claimed that ‘[…] there is especially no scarcity of such miraculous and graceful signs, which GOd has bestowed upon us through glorious achievements and the strong intercession of the holy martyrs Theopont, Senesius, and Zenon, our local holy patrons […] (…)] also ist insonderheit an derley/ sowohl wunderbarlich – als gnadenreichen Zeichen kein Mangel/ welche GOtt durch glorreiche Verdienst/ und kräftige Fürbitt der Heiligen Martyrer Theoponti, Senesij, und Zenonis unser allhiesigen heiligen Patronen/ […]’.

Central European missionaries and subjective rationality

The cultural background of Lutheran Pietist and Moravian missionaries certainly influenced their subjective rationality. People constantly rely on memory to interpret their surroundings. Memory determines how they perceive situations, predict possible outcomes, and make decisions. Memory is based on previous experiences and therefore shaped by culture. Lutheran Pietists and Moravians are usually labeled ‘Protestants,’ but Central Europe had not achieved the religious uniformity typical of northwestern Europe. The Catholic presence contributed, among other things, the continuation of public rituals. Many of these were related to particular localities and therefore exhibited considerable diversity. Since Protestants and Catholics coexisted—often in close proximity to each other—members of both groups were likely to be exposed to a variety of religious practices. Their brains therefore expected a degree of religious diversity in any given environment and did not interpret it as offensive or threatening. Moreover, Lutheran Pietists and Moravians believed that all humans had equal capacities. The combination of these factors probably produced an openness toward cultural diversity that was not typical of all missionaries of the period.

The three patron saints Theopont, Senesius, and Zenon had been very prolific in and around Radolfzell where relics of them had been deposited. From the early sixteenth to the early eighteenth century, they had performed no less than two dozen miracles. In most of these miracles, the patron saints had cured people, many of them children, from a variety of diseases. Apparently, the three saints were not just prolific but also quite versatile. At the turn of the eighteenth century, when the predominantly agricultural region around Radolfzell was plagued

863 Van Roojen, “Moral rationalism and rational amorality,” 504-505.
by animal diseases, the three saints adjusted to this new challenge as well. After villagers had made appropriate offerings, the saints showed their continued support by protecting livestock. Little doubt was left that Theopont, Senesius, and Zenon ‘[...]' wanted to confirm in this way their great merit and holiness and also the undoubted truthfulness and miraculous power of their holy relics \((\ldots)\) dadurch ihre grosse Verdienste/ und Heiligkeit/ auch die ungezweifelte Warhaftigkeit/ wunderbarliche Krafft ihrer Heiligen Reliquien bestätigen wollen\). By the mid-1740s, the three patron saints’ ‘holy relics (Heiligen Reliquien),’ that is, some of their bones, had demonstrated ‘miraculous power (wunderbarliche Krafft)’ in Radolfzell and elsewhere for centuries. Their bones had been imported from Italy a few hundred years earlier.865

Like the bones of deceased Nantikowak, the bones of Central Europeans required special attention after death to keep the deceased in good spirits. As one account from Moravia in the 1750s indicates, continued support of the living by the dead could not be taken for granted. In this case, ritual leaders had been forced to open several graves, collect all bones, and burn them because they had been tainted with the ‘Magia Posthuma,’ a condition that threatened the living rather than the dead. Judging from the severe treatment of the bones, Magia Posthuma was considered a serious problem in Moravia in the mid-eighteenth century. When the Austrian government heard of this incident, it ordered that, in the future, any such ‘superstitious’ practices had to be immediately reported to the proper authorities. Government officials were expected to respond by initiating an examination under supervision of an authorized physician in charge of the district. According to comments by the Austrian government, ‘superstitious’ practices were fairly common at the time. ‘For quite some time we had to observe with displeasure not only that various inhabitants of our country go so far in their credulity as to take for ghosts and sorcery, what one of their dreams, imagination, or deceitful people may suggest, and to believe in the pretensions of people who claim to be possessed, but also that they are encouraged in their credulity by clergy prejudiced in these matters \(\ldots\) \((Wir haben eine Zeitlang mißfällig wahrnehmen müssen, daß nicht allein verschiedene von Unseren Landes-Inwohnern in ihrer Leichtgläubigkeit so weit gehen, daß Sie dasjenige, was Ihnen ein traum, oder Einbildung vorstellet, oder durch andere Betrügerische Leuthe vorgestellet wird, für Gespenster, und Hexerey halten, nicht minder für Besessen sich aufgebenden Leuthen, also gleich dem glauben beymessen, sondern, daß Sie auch in dieser ihrer Leichtgläubigkeit ofmahls von einigen mit Vorurtheil eingenommenen Geistlichen gestärket werden \(\ldots\))\)866

If officials of the Austrian Habsburg empire referred to villagers and their ritual leaders as ‘superstitious,’ they intended to express that villagers were lacking rational judgement. Yet, villagers were as rational as imperial officials, though the subjective rationality of the former was likely to differ from that of the latter. In some respects, the rationality of Central European villagers had to be similar to that of members of Lenape regional polities. Both relied heavily on


local subsistence economies. Though villagers had to pay taxes to larger polities and also bought and sold some products, just as Lenapeyok did, they locally produced most of what they needed and consumed. Production of these resources required many rational decisions. With respect to agricultural crops, for example, they had to minimize the risk of crop failures by choosing agricultural plants that were suitable to local climate and soil conditions, by planting and harvesting them at the right time of the year, by suppressing weeds and animals that were likely to feed on them, by providing sufficient irrigation, and so on. Despite such efforts, crop failures, epidemic diseases, and other disasters destroyed resources that could not be replaced by local subsistence economies. If no other help was available, it was perfectly rational to appeal to supernatural forces. Apart from minimizing risks, acts of magic could provide condolence. Moreover, if a problem could be named and attributed to external causes, such as the Magia Posthuma, there was no reason to suspect members of one’s own community. Internal conflicts could be avoided. Collective rituals also provided safety and certainty because they prescribed a concrete way of action. And they invited the participation of all members of a community. This again minimized internal conflicts, strengthened the fabric of a community, and facilitated sharing of resources.  

The subjective rationality of imperial officials and other people attached to an imperial metropolis was quite different. If an epidemic disease occurred in one locality, they simply moved to another locality until the disease was over. If resources failed in one locality, they extracted resources from another locality, without regard to the concerns of local populations that produced these resources. In many instances, agents of empire even forced local producers to act irrationally, for example, by building political and economic structures that forced local producers to adopt locally vulnerable crops or crops that were useless to a local subsistence economy. Since agents of empire had access to the resources of many localities, they had no need to appeal to supernatural forces to prevent local crop failures, epidemic diseases, and other disasters. From their point of view, such appeals were irrational. Moreover, they had no interest in supporting collective rituals and other customs that strengthened the social fabric of local communities. They endeavored, to the contrary, to undermine aspects of social organization that facilitated local autonomy and autarky.

Dealing with bad spirits

In the mid-eighteenth century, Lenapeyok, Mahikannak, and other Native Americans clearly understood the difference between the rationality of regional polities and empires and how they related to each other. Due to a wealth of experience, they were fully aware that the rationality of the British empire and its American colonies contradicted their own interests. As a result, some Lenape intellectuals, such as Neolin, advised members of their communities to use locally produced resources to avoid dependence on imports from the British and French empires. Imported textiles, rum, and guns forced local people to accept the rationality of empires and neglect local needs.

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867 Collective rituals are discussed in: Liénard and Boyer, "Collective rituals," 818-823.
On individual magic and relations between practical and collective rationality, see: Tambiah, Rationality, 56-59, 70-71, 91-92, 101-106, 144-147.
Although Neolin had his spiritual side, he knew that spirituality was not enough to defend the independence of Lenape polities. He realized that coordinated political resistance and import substitution were required to succeed. This was the only way to keep empires from imposing their rationality on local communities and, as a consequence, from turning local communities into attachments of empire. While Neolin and other intellectuals were quite progressive and developed insightful solutions to problems caused by imperialism, American historians eventually labeled them 'nativists' and filled the label with notions of intellectual inferiority, backward orientation, and irrationality. Import substitution was certainly not backward oriented. Lenapeyok had to adopt new skills to work toward this end. There is also no need to deny Neolin’s capacity for political action. He made radical demands to alert Lenape political leaders and influence their views rather than see all demands implemented.  

Coordinated political resistance and import substitution could not solve all problems caused by imperialism. When Glik’hikan brought news from Kaskaskunk and Gekelempkempêkâh, in the summer of 1770, the decision to invite Cranbury residents to Alligewinning was not the only piece of information Pakanke found disturbing. There was also a black oxkwasōn or wampum belt that reminded of the many people who had died in Gekelempkempêkâh over the past few years. Since nobody could explain why so many people had died in this particular town, rumors about sorcery began to surface. The oxkwasōn delivered by Killbuck and another political leader had strong wording attached. They expected support from Kaskaskunk and Langunto’utenünk. 

There was no doubt that something had to be done. Since nobody knew an immediate remedy, it was decided to seek divine intervention. Lenapeyok, Lenape Moravians, and European Moravians agreed on this. Yet, they disagreed on what spirits or deities they had to address and how they had to address them. While European and Lenape Moravians believed that all residents of Gekelempkempêkâh had to join their group and address their ‘savior’ in compliance with principles laid down in the bible, the majority of Lenapeyok believed that they had to consider current divine will. For this reason, a council at Kaskaskunk decided to educate two boys to enable them to receive visions. The idea was to access contemporary divine revelation rather than to rely on the somewhat outdated revelation of the bible, which was preferred by Moravians. Since Lenape culture did not encourage competition between deities, Lenapeyok were not opposed to Moravians making their own contribution. 

Under normal circumstances, Lenapeyok were not much inclined to believe in sorcery and human intervention through magic. When in September 1771, Job Challoway and Oniem, one of the relatively few Lenape physicians who used magic, accused Menising Papunhank (Johannes 520) of having employed maxtapassēk or ‘the evil poison (das böse Gif)’ to bring disease over several residents of Wixlusing and kill them, it caused a brief local stir. Yet, most residents on the Susquehanna north branch did not believe the story. To support their argument, Job Challoway and Oniem claimed that several sachems, that is, a Nantiko and a Conoy sachem from Chenango and a Menising sachem from Wabhallobank, could confirm Papunhank’s involvement with maxtapassēk. After calming the situation in Wixlusing, Papunhank asked Lenape Jo Pipi (634) and Nantiko Sam (Samuel 551) to deliver a sheyēk or wampum string and an oxkwasōn or wampum belt to Chenango and Wabhallobank to get a better sense of the

870 RMI, box 137, folder 1, item 1: Langunto’utenünk journal, entry for 06/21/1770.
871 RMI, box 137, folder 1, item 1: Langunto’utenünk journal, entry for 07/05/1770.
sachems’ views. All three sachems returned Papunhank’s wampum pointing out that they did not believe these accusations and that they had no information to support them. The Menising sachem provided further details of his view. He did not believe that a person could make him sick or kill him with poison unless that person actually made him swallow it. And if this ever happened, he would expect to die immediately rather than to get sick for some time and die later. Job Challoway and Oniem later had to deal with considerable resentment from Lenape residents for having brought up these accusations.872

Unlike the Menising sachem, some European Moravians believed in Lenape sorcery and the power of maxtapassēk. ‘I never believed in any of their sorcery, {...} But now I am convinced of the opposite. I have reliable and certain knowledge that sorcery exists among them. (Von ihrer Zauberey habe ich nie was glauben können, {...} Aber ich bin das Gegenteil überzeugt worden, ich weiß es zuverlässig und gewiß, daß Zauberey unter ihnen ist.)’ As if regular Lenape sorcery was not enough, immigrants introduced new fashions. ‘They have another thing among them, which Native Americans call maxtapassēk (poison). They have it from the Nantikowak. (Ein anders das die Indianer Mattapassigan (Gift) nennen, haben sie auch unter sich und zwar von den Nantikoks.)’ There was a major difference between regular sorcery and maxtapassēk. ‘The latter is much more dangerous than the former. While the former can only be applied to one person, the latter can be applied to many. (Dieses aber ist von viel gefährlichere Folgen als jenes, das nur auf eine Person applicirt werden kann, dieses aber auf viele.)’ Fortunately, Native American political leaders on the Susquehanna, such as the three sachems mentioned above, were not as easily impressed as Moravian ritual leaders.873 Maxtapassēk only briefly attracted some attention after Lenapeyok had been forced to move to an entirely new environment, that is, Alligewining, and had to deal with the social pressure and problems associated with it.

It is interesting that Job Challoway and Oniem first needed a reference to external authorities, that is, the three sachems, to convince local residents of Papunhank’s wrongdoing. But since Papunhank had direct access to these external authorities, he could also use them to protect himself against local accusations and persecution. In a sense, this is very similar to what students of early modern European witch hunts have found. Accusations against witches usually occurred locally, but were based on external definitions of witchcraft. Witches who had been accused by locals could often escape conviction if they had access to external authorities such as appellation courts. Unlike local courts, external authorities were likely to dismiss cases because they realized that accusations were based on local animosities rather than actual occurrences of witchcraft.874

872 RMI, box 131, folder 8, item 1: Wixlusing journal, entries for 09/23/1771 to 10/09/1771. RMI, box 313, folder 7, item 1: Catalogus derer von unsern Brüdern getauften Indianern[!] des No[!]rdlichen Theils von America, 1742-1772, no. 520, 551, 634.
Magic and practical rationality

To some extent, Lenape use and interpretations of magic in the mid-eighteenth century were a product of this particular period and associated political and social changes. But some applications of magic were quite common and probably not a novelty of the period. Many Lenapeyok used magic privately for particular purposes such as fixing relationships and bringing about good luck. Spirits were publicly addressed in festivals of the annual cycle and in festivals related to people’s lifecycle. Spirits were also addressed in special situations, for example, to deal with diseases. This could be done by elders or by anyone affected in simple cases. People who had a headache or a toothache could simply visit the grave of a deceased relative and address his or her spirit with food offerings.\footnote{875} Lenapeyok could also consult experts when they were sick. They distinguished between healers who dealt with spirits and those who dealt with bodies. Moravian sources refer to the former as ‘Doctors.’ ‘In each case, {...}, the Doctors are consulted who do not give them any medicine, {...} (Bey allen Zufällen, {...}, werden die Doctors gebraucht, die ihnen doch nichts von Medicin geben, {...}).’ This group of healers was responsible for dealing with the spiritual side of a problem. I will refer to them as shamans to distinguish them from Lenape physicians who were in charge of bodies and ‘who had much insight into and knowledge of roots and herbs, which they have learned from their ancestors (die viele Kenntniß und Wissenschaft von Wurzeln und Kräutern haben, welche sie von ihren Vorfahren gelernt). While Lenape physicians had their knowledge from other humans, shamans received their insights from spirits. A considerable part of the knowledge and skills associated with physicians and shamans was also dispersed among Lenapeyok who were not experts.\footnote{876}

Shamans were perhaps as much feared as appreciated. One Moravian missionary claimed that Lenapeyok who did not believe in the healing skills of shamans still consulted them because they were afraid of them: ‘{...}, if they do not consult the shamans, they can make them die. ((...), wenn sie die Doctors nicht brachten, so könnten die machen, daß sie sterben müßten.)\footnote{877} But this may simply be the bias of a Moravian who believed in different spirits. Moreover, Moravian missionaries were likely to portray shamans in a negative way because they were direct competitors. Lutheran Pietist missionaries did not have anything positive to say about South Indian ritual leaders such as brahmins and temple priests. Shamans were certainly beneficial to Lenape society. They personified many things that were mysterious to humans. They lent a human face to the less transparent aspects of human life and society. But shamans were not perfect. To some extent, their role was negative. According to Moravian missionaries, Lenapeyok believed that shamans could turn malevolent. Yet, the missionaries also acknowledged that most shamans did not. Shamans still served a negative role as lightning rods or scapegoats. If anything went wrong, shamans were responsible to some extent. As a result, opaque problems seemed less threatening, since shamans transformed the intentions behind them from malevolence into shamanic inadequacy. If malevolence was replaced by inadequacy, the previously quoted complaint of a Mahikan mother who had lost her two children in rapid succession could assume a less terrifying meaning than the translation provided above:

\footnote{875} RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Manuscript book: Native American history, 1780, p. 122-125, p. 220-227.
\footnote{877} RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Manuscript book: Native American history, 1780, p. 26.
the shaman, the shaman  
has failed to save my child  
oh my child has not been saved by the shaman  

(der Zauberer, der Zauberer hat mir mein Kind um gebracht, ach mein Kind hat mir der Zauberer um gebracht, {...})\textsuperscript{878}

In this second translation of the Mahikan mother’s complaint, I tried to compensate for two possible sources of error that relate to the translatability of concepts between cultures. First, I replaced the term ‘sorcerer’ with the term ‘shaman.’ It is impossible to tell whether the German term ‘Zauberer,’ which can mean several things, such as magician, wizard, and sorcerer, is an adequate translation of the Mahikan term used by the Mahikan mother. Second, I tried to compensate for possible Moravian malevolence toward shamans. I therefore replaced the verb ‘umbringen,’ which means ‘kill,’ with the passive ‘failed to save,’ which expresses neglect rather than active involvement on the side of the shaman.\textsuperscript{879}

When Lenapeyok had a health problem, they could consult a physician as well.\textsuperscript{880} Moravian sources often highlight Lenape knowledge and use of medicinal plants, applications of mineral remedies, and other medical practices such as bloodletting, fire cupping, purging, surgical treatment of wounds, and use of sweathouses.\textsuperscript{881} This also required production of medical instruments. For bloodletting, Lenapeyok made special flint and glass lancets to puncture the vein. For fire cupping, they ‘{...} put on a small gourd and burn birch bark instead of using a lamp. ( {...} setzen einen kleinen Callebasch auf, dabey brennen sie an statt einer Lampe, das Bast von Bircken.)’\textsuperscript{882} Colonists also relied on Lenape medical knowledge and practice. For example, Awiuulshas’huak’s deceased husband Abraham had been a well-known Lenape physician who had also been popular among colonists.\textsuperscript{883}

With respect to the transmission of diseases, Lenapeyok believed that they passed from person to person. In August 1751, a Lenape man visited Mahoning but avoided the Moravian town. Since this was not in line with Lenape custom, Moravians inquired whether something was wrong. The Lenape man pointed out that he had come to Mahoning to talk to the Moravians, but had avoided them so far because he was sick. ‘He was sick and did not want to cause any problems. Native Americans believe that a sick person who comes to a town brings the disease to this town. (Weil er aber kranck wäre, so wolte er keine Unruhe machen, weil die Ind{ianer}, glaubten, daß wenn ein Kranker in eine Stadt käme, so brächte er die Krankheit in die Stadt.)’ The Lenape man who obviously believed in contagion had decided to get better first and talk to the Moravians later. ‘He therefore decided to stay on the other side of the Lexa until he would feel a bit better, {...} (Da hätte er gedacht, er wolte so lange über der Lecha bleiben, biß er etwas beßer würde, {...})’\textsuperscript{884}

\textsuperscript{878} RMI, box 121, folder 3, item 3; Shamoking journal, entry for 11/21/1747. 
\textsuperscript{879} On the problem of translatability between cultures, see also: Tambiah, Rationality, 61-62, 121-130. 
\textsuperscript{880} RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Manuscript book: Native American history, 1780, p. 122-125. 
\textsuperscript{881} RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Manuscript book: Native American history, 1780, p. 58-59, 66-67, 69, 72-75. 
\textsuperscript{882} RMI, box 2291, folder 1, item 1: Zeisberger, Manuscript book: Native American history, 1780, p. 27. 
\textsuperscript{883} RMI, box 313, folder 1, item 3: Register der getauften Indianer, 1742-1752, p. 8-9. 
\textsuperscript{884} RMI, box 117, folder 2, item 1: Mahoning journal, entry for 08/23/1751. 
Lenape belief in contagion was not a novelty of the mid-eighteenth century. For evidence from the mid-1650s and late 1670s, see: Spady, "Antecedents of Penn’s treaty," 24-25, 27-28.
A few decades earlier, an English medical doctor had expressed a somewhat different opinion on the transmission of diseases. ‘FOR further Illustration hereof (= cause of pestilence) it may be observed, that the nitrous Spirit which circulates through the subterraneous Caverns may, instead of Obtaining a further Purification, take along with it corrupt and poysous Vapours from arsenical or other Minerals; and loaded therewith, break out into the open Air: And this we have confirmed from common Observation in the Western Climes of Africa, {...}’

Many other English medical experts were hallucinating in a similar manner in the eighteenth century. They believed that theories of contagion were based on a Catholic conspiracy that had been orchestrated by the pope in the sixteenth century to fix the location of the Council of Trent. Had they known that Lenapayok supported theories of contagion as well, they would have been no less opposed. The few English physicians who supported the idea of contagion had been swayed by results of smallpox inoculation, which had recently been imported from the Ottoman empire and various parts of Asia. The British were lucky, it seems, that they could extract and appropriate little pills of wisdom around the globe by means of maritime violence. The rationality of the English doctor and his occupation of producing contrived theories were not much of a help. They just aimed at exploiting the internal affluence of a rapidly expanding empire.

Like Lenapayok, Central Europeans believed in contagion and had implemented successful measures to contain the spread of epidemic diseases in many polities in the seventeenth century. Yet some problems remained, especially if they were caused by maxtapassēk—‘the evil poison (das böse Gift)—or other environmental poisons rather than contagion. For example, in 1800, livestock died on an alpine pasture in the Berner Oberland. Protestant villagers had no immediate remedy and consulted a Jesuit. He recommended an annual offering for the benefit of the poor in the area to prevent such deaths in the future. Villagers followed his advice, received divine protection, and were able to maintain it for years. We do not know whether they took other measures as well. In any case, the sum total of their initiatives had more practical value than the theory of transmission provided by the English medical doctor above. In the 1990s, cows died for no apparent reason on alpine pastures in Austria and Switzerland. Since there was no obvious explanation, experts were consulted, but they also had difficulty finding an explanation. They eventually found that the cows had been poisoned by toxins produced by cyanobacteria. Instances of this problem had been described in the literature since the late nineteenth century. Yet, nobody immediately thought of this explanation because the cows had died on pastures located in environments that were not known to be a source of this type of maxtapassēk.

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885 Nathanael Hodges, "Loimologia," in Loimologia: or, an Historical Account of the Plague in London in 1665: With precautionary Directions against the like Contagion. By Nath. Hodges, M. D. And Fellow of the College of Physicians, who resided in the City all that Time. To which is added, An Essay On the different Causes of Pestilential Diseases, and how they become Contagious: with Remarks On the Infection now in France, and the most probable Means to prevent its Spreading here. By John Quincy, M. D. (London, 1720), 41.


Human knowledge had undoubtedly changed between the mid-eighteenth and late twentieth century, irrespective of current debates about the meaning and significance of the European Enlightenment and possible future outcomes of such debates. It seems safe to conclude that the longevity, growing interconnectedness, and expanding resource base of human knowledge eventually solved some of the problems associated with environmental poisons. We can call this ‘science’ if we want. But where did it come from? Had the English medical doctor quoted above and his colleagues of the early eighteenth century contributed anything? One could argue that they had not contributed more than the Lenape man of the mid-eighteenth century who believed in contagion. In the early 1980s, an anthropologist noted that South Indian Māriyammaṭ temples were in serious decline. In the past, South Indians had addressed the goddess Māriyammaṭ to control smallpox. The anthropologist suggested that the rationality associated with ‘Western medicine’—mainly the rationality of contagion, germs, and vaccinations—had defeated the rationality associated with Māriyammaṭ.  

But even if South Indians and other people now preferred to rely on vaccinations rather than Māriyammaṭ to control smallpox, why should we call the rationality of contagion and vaccinations ‘Western’ rather than Lenape or Turkish? Historians of science and human knowledge have perhaps put too much emphasis on a few European episodes in the development of physics or, to be more precise, in the development of astronomy, mechanics, optics, and related mathematical methods during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In a slightly different context, a biologist has recently put it as follows. ‘That most modern textbooks on animal cognition [...] fail to index empathy or sympathy does not mean that these capacities are not an essential part of animal lives; it only means that they are being overlooked by a science traditionally focused on individual rather than inter-individual capacities. Tool use and numerical competence, for instance, are seen as hallmarks of intelligence, whereas appropriately dealing with others is not.’ Lenape concepts of contagion and the discovery of smallpox inoculation were based on concerns about relations between people and their impact on communities rather than on the discovery of microscopes and germs. Does this mean that they should be purged from the history of science and human knowledge?

Sources of political conduct

Prior to the Seven Years’ War, from the late 1740s to the mid-1750s, Lenape, Mahikan, Nantiko, and Shawano political leaders had been involved in a flurry of diplomatic activities. Quite a few delegations had held conferences in Mahoning. On April 5, 1753, Mamanettsekan (Shabash, Abraham 001) and Wilpi (Nathanael 014), two Mahikan delegates, delivered a message to a predominantly Lenape audience that also included some Nantikowak and Shawanoak. The message consisted of four major parts. It was documented in four sheyēk


889 On the supposed decline of Māriyammaṭ temples, see: Tambiah, Rationality, 132-133.
890 Ibid., 14-15.
891 De Waal, How morality evolved, 27.
892 Many aspects of the human experience have become closely associated with the concept of a dominant ‘Western’ culture. Such interpretations of history are unfortunate because they have an alienating effect. A discussion of human rights in this context is provided in: Rainer Forst, “The justification of human rights and the basic right to justification: A reflexive approach,” Ethics 120 (2010): 730.
(wampum strings) and four oxkwasōn (wampum belts). Following standard protocol, the four sheyēk were about general procedures and technical matters, while the four oxkwasōn documented the major parts of the message concerning relations between the polities.

With the first oxkwasōn Mamanettsekan introduced himself as a sachem appointed by the Mahikan council in Wanaxquatigok. He pointed out that he had lived as a guest in Lenape Mahoning for the past seven years without much contact to the Mahikan political center at Wanaxquatigok. Mamanettsekan had been known to everyone as Shabash or by his baptismal name Abraham. The previous fall he had traveled ‘to his old place (zu meinem alten Platz)’ in Mahikan country, where he had met with Mahikan political leaders. They had not forgotten about the small Mahikan community in Mahoning and asked Shabash to return to Mahoning in an official capacity, that is, as a Mahikan sachem. For this purpose, Shabash received the name Mamanettsekan. ‘The Mahikannak thought that Gnadenhütten (= Moravian town in Mahoning) should have its own (Mahikan) chief, with the name Mamanettsekan. (Die Mahikander haben dran gedacht daß hier in Gnadenhütten, auch ein Chief seyn soll mit Namen Mamanettsekan.)’

Since Shabash had developed close personal relations with Lenapeyok, Nantikowak, and Shawanoak in the Lexa and Susquehanna towns over the past few years, Mamanettsekan was in a position to establish closer diplomatic relations with their polities. The second oxkwasōn proposed a union between Mahikan and Lenapeyok. Mahikan delegates added legitimacy to their proposal by reminding the Lenape audience of historical precedent, that is, of an earlier union between Mahikan and Lenape polities. Following diplomatic protocol, the Mahikan sachem had to address his audience by using the appropriate title—usually a kinship term associated with a particular cultural group. Lenapeyok were generally addressed as ‘Grandfather.’ ‘Listen, my Grandfather (= my Lenapeyok), we Mahikannak and Lenapeyok once established a union in Menising. (Mein Groß Vater hört, wir Mahikander u. Delewâr haben einmal einen Bund in Menninsing gemacht.)’ Since Mamanettsekan referred to Menising, that is, to a particular place where the historical union had been established, the claim to historical precedent was most likely based on historical fact rather than rhetoric. Mamanettsekan proposed to renew the union and mentioned that Shawanoak had once been associated with this political arrangement as well. He also pointed out that Mengwe had been informed of his diplomatic initiative and approved of it.

The third oxkwasōn invited Nantikowak to join the union. For this purpose, Mamanettsekan described the geographical reach of the earlier union. ‘You (= my Grandfather) know, that we had a house so big, it extended down the seashore to the Nantikowak. The house had a gate for us and one for them, and there we made a union. (Ihr (= Mein Groß Vater) wisst, wir haben ein Haus gehabt, das ist so groß die See Kante hinunter gewesen, bis zu den Nantikoks. Das Haus hat ein Thor für uns und ein Thor für sie gehabt, und da haben wir einen Bund gemacht.)’ Mamanettsekan added that this union was old and had become dormant. He wanted to renew it.

Common wisdom has it that the consolidation of Native American polities during this period and alliances between them were direct reactions to colonial expansion. There is little doubt that Native American polities had to respond to current affairs. Yet, one also has to recognize that Lenapeyok, Mahikannak, Nantikowak, and Shawanoak added legitimacy to alliances by emphasizing historical precedent rather than the novelty of the current situation. The fourth oxkwasōn further elaborated on the significance of historical precedent by pointing toward a responsibility that ran between generations. Ancestors had founded and embraced this union.
They were now dead and the thought of their loss and the temporary loss of the union was saddening. Mamanettsekan proposed to cover these sad memories. Although much of this last part of the message followed standard protocol, it does say something about how Mahikannak and Lenapeyok associated political action with moral and legal obligations. They saw a responsibility to come to terms with the political arrangements of earlier generations.\textsuperscript{893}

In the mid-eighteenth century, colonial officials did not feel that they had any moral obligations in their dealings with Lenape polities. And they did not care about Lenape perceptions of legality. This is not to say that all colonial officials failed to understand the moral underpinnings of Lenape politics. In the early to mid-1730s, for example, during talks that eventually led to the Walking Purchase extortion, Pennsylvania officials had invoked the reciprocity of the early 1680s. In the late seventeenth century, Pennsylvania had dealt with Lenape polities of the southern group. But even the Lenape sachems of the western group who were involved in the talks of the 1730s felt an obligation to heed the mutually beneficial relations between Pennsylvania and southern Lenape polities of an earlier period.\textsuperscript{894} While some Lenape sachems pondered the moral foundations of politics, Pennsylvania officials gleefully discussed the outbreak of war in Europe and the profit to be gained from skyrocketing grain prices.\textsuperscript{895}

By the early 1740s, Lenapeyok knew from experience that diplomatic agreements with British colonies no longer counted. The colonial diplomat Conrad Weiser made a scathing comment on the health condition of the old Lenape sachem Allumapis from Tulpehoking who lived in Shamoking at the time. He claimed that Allumapis was almost dead and that his only motivation to go on was to liquify the last wampum left in his council bag. Weiser accredited this condition to a flaw in the personal character of Allumapis or—similar to the Presbyterian preacher Brainerd—to a flaw in Native Americans in general. Yet, Allumapis probably just liquified the wampum exchanged with colonial polities, if any, because he had learned in painful lessons that this wampum was no longer worth the holes drilled in the beads.

Extortion continued in the 1740s, and the methods turned from bad to worse. Those who profited were fully aware of the dimensions of human morality involved such as reciprocity, fairness, and gratitude. As one of them put it in a letter in 1749. ‘I do not wonder at their {Indian’s} impropp{!}er behaviour after being so ill treated, and fear it will be long remembered. I am satisfied they never were so slighted since my Father set{t}ed the Country, {...}’\textsuperscript{896} Lenape polities quickly adapted. They successfully continued their peaceful strategies to form new alliances and prepare the ground for their move to Alligewining. And they deployed a different strategy to deal with Pennsylvania and to halt British expansion.

When the war began in 1755, Lenapeyok were still reluctant to waste human lives. They repeatedly warned colonists who had occupied land illegally. Even when colonists ignored these warnings, Lenapeyok used violence in a restrained and deliberate way. A Moravian who traveled

\textsuperscript{893} RMI, box 119, folder 1, item 9: Mahoning conference, 04/05/1753. Some historians have claimed that a Mahikan sachem Mamanettsekan who appeared in colonial records from the year 1720 was the same person as Shabash (Abraham 001). I was not able to verify this. I have not seen any Moravian sources that refer to him as Mamanettsekan prior to 1753. Native Americans sometimes recycled names. It is possible that Shabash received the name of an earlier Mahikan sachem in the early 1750s. See: Dunn, \textit{The Mohican world}, 1680-1750, 231.

\textsuperscript{894} Harper, \textit{Walking Purchase}, 35, 54-55.

The moral side of Lenape politics had become visible from the very beginning of relations with Europeans. For example, when eastern Lenape polities overcame Dutch colonies in retaliation of the two initial massacres of the Wikquasgek genocide in 1643, they stopped their attacks within a few days and offered peace negotiations.\textsuperscript{895}

\textsuperscript{895} Thomas Penn, Letterbooks, vol. 1, p. 105-109: John Penn to Thomas Penn, 01/24/1734.

\textsuperscript{896} Thomas Penn, Letterbooks, vol. 2, p. 297-301: Thomas Penn to William Peters, 02/13/1749. The quotation is from page 297.
from Shamoking to Tulpehoking on October 24, 1755, put it as follows. ‘Although the initial murders on the 15th only targeted six plantations on Indian land whose people had been repeatedly warned, those who live on proprietor land have now been told by the Indians that they will meet the same fate if they do not leave. (Denn, obgleich die erste Mörderey am 15{e}ln nur 6 Plantagen betroffen, die auf Indianer Land stunden, u{nd}. die Leute auch vielmahl waren gewarnet worden, so war es nun auch denen, die in dortiger Gegend auf Proprietor Land wohnnten durch Indianer angesagt, daß wenn sie sich nicht fort machten es ihnen wie ersteren ergehen würde.’ The Lenape approach to war had clearly defined political goals. The idea was to create fear among colonists and trigger a stream of refugees rather than to enact massacres and destroy human lives. The refugees were meant to carry a stern message to the political centers of Pennsylvania and the British empire. The Lenape strategy apparently worked to a large extent. It had the desired psychological impact on colonists and put them to flight. When the Moravian reached the first colonial settlements between Shamoking and Tulpehoking on October 24, he found ‘all in the utmost fear and horror and most already on the run (alles in der äußersten Furcht u{nd}. Schrecken u{nd}. die meisten schon auf der Flucht).’ The British government eventually promised to halt colonial expansion. It even ordered an investigation into the causes of the war in Pennsylvania. But colonial officials who had profited from land speculations were able to cover their tracks.

In the long run, colonialist interests and views recast Lenape restraint and reluctance to use violence into the exact opposite, that is, exemplary savagery. This may not be surprising, since the concept of ‘savagery’ was much more suitable for legitimizing colonial expansion. Like the theme of ‘nomadic’ lifestyles that has already been accounted for, images of ‘savagery’ contributed to an emerging ideology that boosted the rationality of empire. In tandem with Native American savagery, South India yielded the concept of ‘oriental despotism.’ Once British and French imperialism had dismantled the state of Tanjavur and neighboring polities, such as Arcot, the state of Mysore stepped in to fill the power vacuum along the Coromandel coast and evict British occupiers. In turn, British accounts stylized Hyder Ali and his son Tipu Sultan, the successive rulers of Mysore, into ideal-typical oriental despots. Stories about their supposedly savage violence employed in attacks on British interests were suitable to legitimize the British presence and ‘civilizing’ mission in South India.

Europeans had dismissed aspects of Lenape morality long before characters like Johnson and Brainerd entered the picture. The imperialist arrogance of the mid-eighteenth century had been preceded by other impediments. On October 16, 1679, a Dutch visitor to New York met a Lenape man whom colonists called Jasper. He was about eighty years old at the time. Old Dutch

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897 RMI, box 121, folder 7, item 1: Rösler, Br{uder}. Röslers Relation von sein u{nd}. seiner Br{üder} Philip Wesa u{nd}. Marcus Kiefers letzten Auffenthalt in Shomokin u{nd}. ihrer gnadigen Bewahrung bey dem daselbst gegen Pensilvanien ausgebrochenen Wilden Kriege, {Bethlehem:} 1755, entries for 10/23/1755 and 10/24/1755.

898 Harper, Walking Purchase, 103, 117.

899 Irschick, Constructing South India, 15. In the context of Indian history, the term ‘civilizing mission’ usually refers to aspects of nineteenth-century British colonialism. See, for example: Fischer-Tiné and Mann, eds., Colonialism as civilizing mission: Cultural ideology in British India.
colonists told the visitor that Jasper had saved them during a famine when they had lived in Long Island. Jasper suddenly appeared during this famine, went fishing every day, and always gave them a part of his catch. The Dutch visitor suspected that the Christian god had sent Jasper to the Dutch colonists during the famine. But Jasper gave a different explanation. He said that a manetu had repeatedly asked him to provide the Dutch with fish. He even claimed that this manetu would have killed him if he had failed to follow the manetu’s advice. The Dutch visitor saw a need to reconcile his understanding of the Christian god with the existence of this Lenape manetu. He did not deny the existence of Jasper’s manetu, but he tried to integrate the manetu into a hierarchy that had the Christian god at the top. Jasper politely agreed to this view.\textsuperscript{900}

Our knowledge of Lenape manetuwak is quite limited. ‘To see the right things you need the right instruments. To see distant galaxies you need telescopes. To see gods you need men, properly prepared.’ To make things worse, the uninitiated who observes an object through a telescope or a microscope may see little more than a confusing mess of undecipherable dots and lines. The perceived gods of a foreign culture can remain similarly obscure without a system of reference to interpret them.\textsuperscript{901} In Jasper’s story, the skills and morality of humans, such as his ability to fish and his willingness to share food during a famine, were perhaps more important than the gods involved. Of course, if observations of galaxies and gods can cause confusion, this may apply to observations of social phenomena as well. We should perhaps take a closer look at the organisms involved. ‘[... ] at the core of the empathic capacity is a relatively simple mechanism that provides an observer (the “subject”) with access to the emotional state of another (the “object”) through the subject’s own neural and bodily representations. When the subject attends to the object’s state, the subject’s neural representations of similar states are automatically activated.’\textsuperscript{902} Jasper probably did not need a particular god or cultural background to commiserate with Dutch colonists who did not know how to fish.

Though the ‘noble savage’ may be a stereotype and historians therefore reluctant to mention Lenape morality and altruism, we cannot deny that forms of morality and altruism existed in Lenape culture. Documentary evidence does not provide a comprehensive picture, but for the mid-eighteenth century, Moravian observations provide some insights. When Lenapeyok tried to behave in a way that avoided the transmission of diseases, for example, they implicitly expressed concern for the well-being of others including their European Moravian neighbors. To some extent, such behavior among humans is based on self-interest. Individuals are likely to lose when their community declines. The boundaries between self-interest and concern for others are fluid. And they depend on how people define groups.\textsuperscript{903}

In the mid-eighteenth century, Lenapeyok showed considerable interest in cooperating across cultural divisions. Self-interest, concern for others, and the human morality that came with it had the potential to provide common ground. How did Moravian missionaries fit into this? In

\textsuperscript{900} Danckaerts, "Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679-1680," 76-77.
\textsuperscript{902} De Waal, How morality evolved, 37-38. De Waal provides a broad biological definition of empathy and Einfühlung. The quotation is from page 37.
\textsuperscript{903} A perspective on relevant cognitive capabilities that may be unique to humans is provided in: Mitchell, "Inferences about mental states," 1310-1311.
\textsuperscript{904} For a discussion of some consequences related to evolutionary explanations for human morality, see: Wielenberg, "On the evolutionary debunking of morality."
\textsuperscript{905} Relations between group boundaries and human morality are discussed in: De Waal, How morality evolved, 54-56. Wielenberg, "On the evolutionary debunking of morality," 444-447.
the Lexa, two ‘external’ conditions influenced relations between local Lenapeyok and Moravian missionaries from the start. The land extortion schemes of Pennsylvania made a neat fit with some needs of the large Moravian community at Bethlehem, mainly their demand for agricultural land and forest resources. Moravian Bethlehem’s reliance on Pennsylvania’s land extortion schemes was unlikely to endear Moravian missionaries with local Lenapeyok. In Mahikan Xekomeko, the situation was different because no large Moravian settlement existed in the region. A historian has recently described the Moravians there as trying ‘to make themselves useful,’ ‘culturally non-aggressive,’ ‘low-impact missionaries,’ and ‘colonial outsiders.’ This is to say that Moravian missionaries did not expect to get fed by Xekomeko residents, had no great desire to impose their culture on residents, and did not identify with the British empire and its colonies. They even expressed ‘feelings of love for their Indian hosts.’\(^{904}\) But they were still missionaries.

The question arises whether Moravian gods were likely to get in the way of the biological foundations of human morality such as emotional contagion, empathy, consolation behavior, reciprocity, fairness, and gratitude. The available evidence suggests that Moravian gods were capable of adaptation. In Xekomeko, they tolerated Mahikan social organization. In Mahoning, they tried to undermine Mahikan and Lenape social organization and attempted to confine aspects of human morality to relations within the Moravian group. Converts were even supposed to distance themselves from family members who had not joined the Moravians. ‘One might hold a deeply religious view that the “tutored life” in accordance with God’s will is the correct path in life, yet one would still have the duty to respect others as reason-giving and reason-deserving beings according to the principle of reciprocal and general justification.’\(^{905}\) Many converts seemed to agree with this view when they eventually left Mahoning and moved to Xwyoming, which was at a greater distance from the Moravian center at Bethlehem and its alienating influence.

In early eighteenth-century Tanjavur, a particular type of literature that was concerned with practical knowledge and human morality—the *niti* literature—was quite popular. Lutheran Pietists studied Tamil literature early on and translated several *niti* books, that is, *Konraǐ vėntan*, *Niti vėnpa*, and *Ulaka niti*, into German in the first two decades of the eighteenth century. They referred to these as ‘little books of morals (*Moralienbüchlein*).’ In this context, the term ‘morals (*Moralien*)’ referred to lessons to be learned from human experience rather than normative musings. The books contained advice on proper and socially effective conduct in a comprehensive range of circumstances from family life to occupational activities and government affairs. Most of it was in the form of aphorisms and short stories.\(^{906}\) This literary tradition had roots in the early first millenium, had served the ruling upper crust in South India during the medieval period, and had become dispersed among emerging literate groups in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.\(^{907}\) By the early eighteenth century, the contents of some *niti* texts had become common knowledge among the wider population of Tanjavur.

Several *niti* books, such as *Nalvali*, *Niti vėnpa*, and *Ulaka niti*, were a common feature in Tamil school curricula in the 1720s. Lutheran Pietist missionaries made plans to exploit the

\(^{904}\) The quotations are from: Schutt, *Odyssey of the Delaware*, 87-88, 90, 93.

\(^{905}\) Forst, “The basic right to justification,” 731.


\(^{907}\) Narayana Rao and Subrahmanyam, "Niti," 411-421.
popularity of these *niti* texts, ‘which the Heathen youth learns in the schools like ours the catechism (*welche die heynische Jugend in den Schulen lernet, wie unsere den Catechismum*).’ Although these *niti* texts were as widely used and memorized in Tanjavur as Christian catechisms in Europe, they significantly differed with regard to contents. *Niti* emphasized human experience and the practicality of knowledge rather than normative ends. It is therefore not surprising that the type of *niti* taught to a broad range of Tamil school children in early eighteenth-century Tanjavur also differed, for example, from the *niti* considered relevant to the rulers of the expanding Vijayanagar empire in the early sixteenth century.

*Niti* texts were preferred by Tamil school teachers because of their secular nature. Unlike other Indian literary traditions, *niti* texts had virtually no references to religious concepts. Tamil teachers had good reasons to use secular rather than religious books on proper and socially effective conduct. The children who attended Tamil schools came from families of diverse religious backgrounds. Most belonged to a variety of bhakti groups, others were Tamil Muslims. The secular nature of this literature also allowed Lutheran Pietist missionaries to see some value in it. They accepted the *niti* literature as a form of human morality shared by their own and Tamil culture. But some missionaries were not satisfied with this situation. They tried various means to gain influence in Tamil schools in Tarangambadi.

The most successful strategy was to offer funding to the Tamil teachers who ran these schools. Lutheran Pietist missionaries maintained regular contact to four schools during the early 1720s. Early in 1725, Pietists wanted to open a new mission school and discussed their plan with Danish colonial administrators. On March 16, 1725, the Danish colonial administration asked all parents within the Danish leasehold to send their children to school. Pietists responded by offering free education to all children. This put Tamil teachers who ran their own schools under pressure because they could not offer free education. They depended on the income generated by their schools. Some teachers responded by offering to cooperate with Pietists. Only a few months after the Danish initiative, on August 23, 1725, a missionary proclaimed in a letter to the Pietist headquarters in Halle that twenty schools, that is, all schools within the Danish leasehold, had come under Pietist ‘supervision (*Aufsicht*).’ Four of these were mission schools, and the other sixteen were Tamil schools. At the end of the year, missionaries also bragged in letters to the Danish and English kings that all twenty schools within the Danish leasehold were under their ‘supervision (*Aufsicht*).’ The twenty schools had a total enrolment of 575 pupils.

These Pietist claims were an exaggeration. The term ‘supervision (*Aufsicht*)’ had little to do with reality. In exchange for a salary from Pietist funds—one and a half Tarangambadi pagodas per month—Tamil teachers had agreed to ask their pupils to memorize twenty sayings that had been written by a Pietist missionary. Pietists were also allowed to visit the schools on a regular basis to test the children and check whether the teachers had kept their promise.

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908 AFSt, MI B23:16: Bosse, Dal, Pressier, Walther to Francke, Tarangambadi, 12/14/1736, p. 2.
909 Aspects of *niti* employed by rulers of sixteenth-century Vijayanagar are discussed in: Narayana Rao and Subrahmanyan, “Niti,” 413-414.
910 On the use of *niti* books in Pietist schools in the 1720s, see: HB, vol. 3, no. 25, p. 15-16.
911 The initiative by the Danish colonial administration is mentioned in: AFSt, MI B2:7: Schultzze, Tarangambadi journal, 01/01/1725-06/30/1725, entries for 03/16/1725, 05/08/1725, 06/04/1725, 06/06/1725.
913 AFSt, MI B2:1: letter by Tarangambadi missionaries to Danish king, 12/12/1725. AFSt, MI B2:2: letter by Tarangambadi missionaries to English king, 12/12/1725.
914 AFSt, MI B3:6: letter by Dal, Bosse, Pressier, and Walther to Danish Mission Collegium, Tarangambadi, 10/20/1726, p. 9-10.
sayings addressed a variety of issues that were fundamental to Christian views, such as the existence of a supreme god, life after death, and the universal validity of god’s law, but they did not contain topics that were exclusively Christian.\(^9^{15}\) The significance of this became clear on December 22, 1726, for example, when Pietists visited a Tamil school in Poraiyar, which was run by an old Tamil teacher who was over seventy years old. During an exchange with pupils, one of the Pietist visitors accidentally mentioned ‘the name of Jesus Christ (den Nah[!]men Jesu Christi).’ The Tamil teacher responded to this by politely reminding the Pietist that he was supposed to use more general terms, such as ‘the supreme being (das alleroberste Wesen)” or the ‘son of god (Gottes Sohn),’ instead of exclusively Christian terms. This episode indicates that the Pietist texts provided to Tamil schools had been subject to earlier negotiations and compromise.\(^9^{16}\)

Even after Tamil teachers had watered down the Pietist texts, many parents were opposed to the idea of having their children memorize them. Parents who belonged to a bhakti group and could financially afford it, that is, could afford to pay a Tamil teacher, insisted on exempting their children from learning the new materials. Muslim parents generally insisted on exempting their children. When a Pietist missionary tried to push the issue, Muslim parents temporarily pulled their children from the schools.\(^9^{17}\) Parents who belonged to bhakti groups probably took a softer stand because they had less difficulty reconciling Pietist teachings with their own religions. The ‘son of god’ compromise mentioned above was not used in the Pietist texts, but it illustrates the problem. The compromise was not acceptable from a Muslim point of view, but it was acceptable from a bhakti point of view. In this sense, bhakti religiosity was quite similar to Lenape religiosity.\(^9^{18}\)

The Pietist invasion of Tamil schools gradually declined over the following year and was eventually aborted. Even Pietist schools came to rely on nīti. On February 14, 1727, a Pietist missionary explained that Christian teachers who instructed ‘Heathen’ children were supposed to keep their distance from the ‘Heathen fables (heynischen Fabelwerck).’ Instead, they provided their pupils with the ‘morals booklets Ulaka nīti, Nīti venpā, and so on (die Moralien=Büchlein Ulaga-nīdi, Nīdiwōnpa u.d.g.).’\(^9^{19}\) People of differing cultural backgrounds had no difficulty agreeing on forms of proper and socially effective conduct as long as they did not link it to peculiar normative concepts. In other words, gods could easily get in the way of biological foundations of human morality. In the early to mid-eighteenth century, Tanjavur and Lenape polities were miles ahead of European polities in this regard.

In the absence of asymmetric power relations, religious differences did not cause a prolonged conflict. Communication and exchange across cultural boundaries had proven quite resilient and facilitated reconciliation of the parties involved. The sincere but misguided Pietist attempt to introduce specifically confessional and hence divisive religious subjects into Tamil schools failed to have much of an impact. Pietist missionaries learned to appreciate the wisdom of a Tamil rationality that was compatible with social reality in Tanjavur, and they eventually found ways to adjust. But when power relations changed in the mid-eighteenth century and communicative action was replaced by violence and war, Lutheran Pietists in South India and

\(^9^{15}\) The full text of these sayings is provided in: AFSt, M I B2:14: letter by Schultze to Francke, Tarangambadi, 08/23/1725.
\(^9^{16}\) AFSt, M I B2:41: letter by Pressier to Francke, Tarangambadi, 01/10/1726, p. 2.
\(^9^{17}\) AFSt, M I B3:6: letter by Dal, Bosse, Pressier, and Walther to Danish Mission Collegium, Tarangambadi, 10/20/1726, p. 9-10.
\(^9^{18}\) AFSt, M I B2:41: letter by Pressier to Francke, Tarangambadi, 01/10/1726, p. 2.
\(^9^{19}\) HB, vol. 3, no. 25, p. 15-16.
Moravians in the North American Middle Atlantic had to choose sides. In both instances, they deferred to the rationality of empire.\footnote{For comparison, a discussion of how such religious issues could play out in a different historical context is provided in: Avril Ann Powell, \textit{Muslims and missionaries in pre-mutiny India} (Richmond, UK, 1993).}
Appendix A: South Indian money, weights, and measures

In the early to mid-eighteenth century, various gold coins referred to as pagodas were used in South India. The pagoda common in Tarangambadi related to smaller local coins and to coins used in Chennai as follows:

1 Tarangambadi pagoda = 12 Tarangambadi fanam
1 Tarangambadi fanam = 80 kāsu

1 Star pagoda = 36 Chennai fanam = 24 Tarangambadi fanam = 2 Tarangambadi pagodas
1 Tarangambadi fanam = 1.5 Chennai fanam

Lutheran Pietists used Central European Reichstaler (rthl) as their money of account along with the South Indian subdivisions fanam and kāsu. This made sense because the value of the pagoda commonly used in Tarangambadi was almost equal to one Reichstaler. They preferred the term Reichstaler in accounting because it helped them avoid confusion with coins of different value, such as Star pagodas and Porto Novo pagodas, and because it was more intuitive to correspondents in Central Europe who provided most of their funding. They used the following units:

1 Tarangambadi pagoda = 1 rthl
1 rthl = 12 Tarangambadi fanam
1 Tarangambadi fanam = 80 kāsu (= 2 Groschen)

The Danish leasehold Tarangambadi and much of the state of Tanjavur were located in the very fertile Kaveri river delta where wet rice cultivation was an important part of the economy and rice was the most important food staple. For rice and nellu, the following volume measures were used in Tarangambadi:

1 kōṭṭai = 40 marakkāl = 160 medidas (medida is Portuguese for measure)
1 marakkāl = 4 medidas
Appendix B: Note on transliteration of Tamil names

Most South Indians who were in close contact with Lutheran Pietists in the early to mid-eighteenth century were native Tamil speakers. No standard for Tamil-to-Latin transliteration existed at the time. Pietists established their own standard, which was based on German use of the Latin alphabet. Though I have used the current rather than eighteenth-century Pietist transliteration standard for most Tamil expressions, I did use the latter in the case of personal names. To make the spelling of personal names more intuitive to English readers, I made the following adjustments.

Vowels are not a problem because German representation of vowels corresponds with Tamil use. The phonetic value of Tamil ‘팟’ is written ‘a’ in German, Tamil ‘இ’ is ‘i’ in German, and so on. Though eighteenth-century Pietist transliteration distinguished between short and long vowels, it did occasionally differ from current and possibly eighteenth-century Tamil use. I did not attempt to correct this. The only major difference in use of vowels is the composite vowel or diphthong ‘இ’ which is normally spelled ‘ei’ in German rather than ‘ai’ as in current Tamil transliteration.

Transliteration of vowel mutations is more complex. Since English speakers are not familiar with the phonetic values of special characters used for vowel mutations in German, I

921 Native Tamil speakers supported linguistic projects of Lutheran Pietist clerics from the first decade of the eighteenth century. They helped them learn Tamil, translate the Lutheran Bible into Tamil, and develop Tamil types. In the early eighteenth century, Pietists began to print and publish first Tamil works in Tarangambadi. In the mid-eighteenth century, Pietists established a second Tamil press in Chennai.

Lutheran Pietists also came into contact with other Indian languages. Hindostani (Dakhini) and Marathi speakers supported Pietist projects as early as the 1710s. Telugu speakers came into the picture from the mid-1720s and helped Pietists learn Telugu, translate the Lutheran Bible into Telugu, develop Telugu language course materials, and develop Telugu types. In the 1740s and 1750s, Pietists printed and published several Hindostani (Dakhini) texts, such as a grammar and Bible sections, and a few Telugu texts in Halle. The Pietist headquarters in Halle also provided the printing presses in Tarangambadi and Chennai with Tamil types and Latin types adapted for several European languages such as Portuguese and English. In the early 1760s, for example, Halle provided the Chennai press with new Tamil types and new Latin types adapted for English to print a Tamil-English dictionary.


923 It goes without saying that Lutheran Pietists published all Tamil texts in Tamil script. Their primary focus was to provide Tamil speakers with the Lutheran Bible, catechisms, and a few Pietist texts intended for edification. They only used Tamil-to-Latin transliteration in texts intended for Europeans, for example, to render Tamil expressions in German and Latin correspondence with Orientalists and in essays on Tamil culture and South Indian natural history. They also used transliteration in linguistic works, which they usually wrote in Latin. After the British take-over in South India, Lutheran Pietists also wrote linguistic books in English. Since none of the work that required transliteration was a major focus of their mission, they were not overly interested in developing a uniform transliteration standard. Daniel Jeyaraj has put together an extensive glossary that is based on an early Pietist work on Tamil culture: Jeyaraj, "Einleitung, Analyse und Glossar," 359-476.
replaced them with the vowels used in Tamil. For example, if Tamil ‘இ’ does not represent a pure vowel, such as in the Tamil plural suffix ‘-kañ,’ it is occasionally given as ‘ö’ in eighteenth-century Pietist transliteration. The same is true for Tamil ‘ஷ’ in some cases, such as in ‘veḷḷälar.’ I changed this to ‘a’ and ‘e’ respectively. In most other cases, I used the original representation of vowel mutations rather than changing it to the current standard. For example, many Tamil names end on ‘-an,’ which were usually given as ‘-en’ rather than ‘-an’ in eighteenth-century Pietist texts. Since this and similar issues should not be too confusing to English speakers, I did not change it.

Apart from vowel mutations, I replaced the following consonants and composite consonants in personal names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>original transliteration</th>
<th>changed to</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ck</td>
<td>kk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sch</td>
<td>sh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dsch</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsch</td>
<td>ch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix C: Note on transcription of Native American expressions

Most Native North Americans who were in close contact with Moravians in the mid-eighteenth century were speakers of Lenape and Mahikan languages. These languages are closely related and belong to the Eastern Algonquian language family. In the mid-eighteenth century, no established standard existed for writing Lenape and Mahikan languages. For this reason, Moravians developed their own standard. Nowadays, there are no native speakers. Since no comprehensive documentation and common standard for writing the languages exists, I use the spelling introduced by Moravians in the eighteenth century with a few modifications. To make the spelling more intuitive to English readers, I replaced the following consonants and composite consonants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>original spelling</th>
<th>changed to</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ck</td>
<td>kk</td>
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<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>y</td>
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<td>sch</td>
<td>sh</td>
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<td>dsch</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsch</td>
<td>ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>ks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Introductory Lenape language courses authored by Nora Thompson Dean, one of the last native speakers, from the late 1970s, and by others who have recently supported the language use a similar standard.

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924 Native Americans provided Moravians with many insights into linguistics. In the mid-eighteenth century, Native American teachers of Moravians belonged to a variety of cultures, from Kalaadlit in Greenland to Lokono in South America.


Appendix D: List of search terms

To search for terms that contain special characters, copy them from the list and paste them into the text field of the search pane.

Social groups, polities, and cultures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arcot</td>
<td>South Indian polity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Axkinges(sak)</td>
<td>Lenape polity and people (Hackensack watershed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cūttirañ/r</td>
<td>member(s) of Tamil social group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ītānkai</td>
<td>Tamil ‘left hand’ corporate organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaḷḷar</td>
<td>Tamil cultural and social group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karaiyāṇ/r</td>
<td>member(s) of Tamil social group, coastal trader(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenape(yok)</td>
<td>Native American culture, variants: Delaware(s), Munsee(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madurai</td>
<td>Tamil polity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahikan(nak)</td>
<td>Native American culture, variants: Mahican(s), Mohican(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maniyakkārañ/r</td>
<td>Tamil local official(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mantes(sak)</td>
<td>Lenape polity and people (lower Delaware watershed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maratha</td>
<td>Indian region, culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maravar</td>
<td>Tamil region, culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mengwe</td>
<td>Northern Iroquois, variant: Minqua(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menising</td>
<td>Lenape polity (upper Delaware watershed), variant: Minisink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nantiko(wak)</td>
<td>Native American culture, variant: Nanticoke(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāṭṭañmaikkārañ/r</td>
<td>Tamil village head(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāyaka</td>
<td>title of Telugu kings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāyakkan/r</td>
<td>title of Tamil nobles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāyakkan/r</td>
<td>Tamil noble(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pālaiyakkārañ/r</td>
<td>Tamil ruler(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paraiyāṇ/r</td>
<td>member(s) of Tamil social group, mostly agricultural worker(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paṭṭañavar</td>
<td>member(s) of Tamil social group, marine fisher(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peleo</td>
<td>Lenape phratry associated with turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ptuksīt</td>
<td>Lenape phratry associated with wolf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pukowango</td>
<td>Lenape phratry associated with turtle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raritan(nak)</td>
<td>Lenape polity and people (Raritan watershed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sankikan(nak)</td>
<td>Lenape polity and people (lower Delaware watershed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shawano(ak)</td>
<td>Native American culture, variant: Shawnee(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirones(sak)</td>
<td>Lenape polity and people (lower Delaware watershed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susquehan(nok)</td>
<td>Native American culture, variant: Susquehannock(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanjavur</td>
<td>Tamil polity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Lenape Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>valaŋkai</td>
<td>Tamil ‘right hand’ corporate organization</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veṭṭiyāŋ/r</td>
<td>member(s) of Tamil social group, village servant(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wampano(ak)</td>
<td>Native American culture, variant: Wampano(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wapping</td>
<td>Lenape polity (lower Hudson watershed)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wikquasgek</td>
<td>Lenape polity (lower Hudson watershed)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**General terms:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil Word</th>
<th>Lenape Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amoxōl</td>
<td>boat</td>
<td>(Lenape)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calaŋku</td>
<td>boat</td>
<td>(Tamil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caŋŋatam</td>
<td>spirit, oracle</td>
<td>(Tamil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kari</td>
<td>vegetables</td>
<td>(Tamil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaṭṭumaram</td>
<td>raft</td>
<td>(Tamil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malaxksitall</td>
<td>beans</td>
<td>(Lenape)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manetu(wak)</td>
<td>spirit(s), god(s)</td>
<td>(Lenape)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maskanamēk</td>
<td>rock fish, striped bass</td>
<td>(Lenape)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mīs</td>
<td>oldest sister</td>
<td>(Lenape)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nellu</td>
<td>unhusked rice</td>
<td>(Tamil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nīti</td>
<td>conduct, method, approach</td>
<td>(Tamil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nsukgehak</td>
<td>wampum (black)</td>
<td>(Lenape)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ölaĩ</td>
<td>palm leaf used for writing</td>
<td>(Tamil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oxkwasōn</td>
<td>wampum belt</td>
<td>(Lenape)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shawanammēk</td>
<td>shad</td>
<td>(Lenape)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheyēk</td>
<td>wampum string</td>
<td>(Lenape)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wapapi</td>
<td>wampum (white)</td>
<td>(Lenape)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woxganĩm</td>
<td>maize (seed grain)</td>
<td>(Lenape)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaskwēm</td>
<td>maize</td>
<td>(Lenape)</td>
</tr>
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</table>


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