

Monroe County's Forgotten Heroine:
Johanna, the Slave Who Risked Her Life for Freedom
MCHA February 26, 2012

1749 is a year that histories often skip—more interesting to scholars and readers alike has been the Walking Purchase of 1737 that callously deprived the Munsees of their homeland, or the alliances forged in Philadelphia with the Iroquois in 1742 and 1744 that provided the muscle to banish the Munsees from their land. Then the story often skips to the merging of Munsees, Lenapis, Shawnees, Mahicans and others into the Delaware nation. This helped lead to the bloody reaction that consumed the colony in 1754 and 1755 at the beginning of the French and Indian War. Yet not all was simmering resentment and outright antagonism in the 1740s and 50s. The case of Johanna Boston that played out in the winter and summer of 1749 provides an example of a road not taken—at least by the majority.¹ Hers is a lesson in cooperation and the assertion of some basic human rights.

Johanna was a slave for much of her life. Slaves were crucial to the founding of the British Empire and to the prosperity of the North American colonies. Enslaved people, most of African descent, cleared the fields, tended the crops, built the houses and barns, practiced many trades, cleaned, cooked, sewed and spun. This was as true of Pennsylvania and the Pocono region as it was elsewhere, both north and south. Slave codes, nonexistent in England, were enacted in all colonies based on a fictional racial divide that separated a servile class of humanity from their free superiors. Slaves in Pennsylvania were by law and custom the absolute property of their owners and could be bought, sold, rented, leased, seized for debt, or inherited. Slaves

had no rights to property, marriage, family, food, clothing, shelter, or life and limb. Neither civil rights nor political rights applied. The courts were generally closed to these men, women and children. They were at the mercy, if such there was, of their masters, just like other livestock.² Chattel enslavement was the norm from the first decades of the 18th century.

Large plantations were relatively rare in the northern colonies and the smaller scale of agricultural and manufacturing production meant that few farmers, millers, or craftsmen owned more than two enslaved individuals—Daniel Brodhead was one exception. The enslaved women and men living on scattered farms or in small workshops had difficulty finding marriage partners and preserving family ties since rarely were parents and children owned by the same master. These men, women and children were far more isolated than slaves to the south who lived in more sizable groups. Northern slaves were just as subject to mistreatment and to various forms of racism as those on southern plantations. Here is one story of a woman who asserted her right to safety, self-determination and family.

The Cast of Characters:

Johanna Boston

Johanna, or Hannah, was born a slave in the Hudson River Valley settlement of Esopus on July 11, 1722. She was the daughter and namesake of the elderly Johanna who was owned by Daniel Brodhead in 1749. Her brother John was also the property of Brodhead. Who her father was is unknown. Her first owner was Anthony Slecht who moved her to Kingston NY. When she was 14, she was sold for L45 to Isaac Ysslestein, a Moravian, who moved first to Marletown, Ulster County, and then to Bethlehem. In 1743, at age 21, she married Boston, also a slave, who later was known as Joseph Boston. The marriages of slaves had no legal standing and the couple did not live together until many years later. That same year she gave birth to a son, whom she and

her husband named Daniel, perhaps after her mother's and brother's owner, Judge Daniel Brodhead. This may have been a strategic move to gain Brodhead's protection and influence—and as it turned out Brodhead did provide aid at a crucial moment. Their son Daniel was raised by the Moravians and “did faithful service in the Nursery” before he died at age ten. At some point she had a daughter who was, by 1749, if not before, owned by Edward Robinson at Walpack. Her name is not given in the few surviving records. Parenthood was no more respected than other family ties. Ysslestein probably sold her to Solomon Jennings shortly before 1749. Strangely, Jennings kept her, not with his wife and family at his Bethlehem farm, but at his Pocono property.³

Boston/Joseph Boston.

Johanna's husband was born in Guinea, West Africa, in 1715. Kidnapped when he was about twelve years old, he was marched to the coast, sold to a merchant and transported with “a cargo of slaves” to Charleston, South Carolina. An unnamed English sea captain purchased him and for the next five years he honed his iron working skills while working on board his master's trading ships, plying the oceans between England, New England (hence his acquired name of Boston), and the Caribbean. In 1732, he was in Montserrat and sold once more and then sold yet again. His new master was William Allen, the most powerful and wealthiest man in Pennsylvania, the political opponent of Benjamin Franklin, and the founder of Allentown. Allen carried him to Bucks County and put him to work at the Durham Furnace. By 1743 Boston was being hired out to a series of temporary owners including Nathaniel Irish, whose home was near Solomon Jennings' farm on the Lehigh River near Bethlehem. There Boston met and married Johanna. In 1749, Boston was one of 26 slaves working at Union or Irish's Iron Forge and

charcoal burning facilities on the Raritan River in New Jersey, a company owned by William Allen and two other investors.⁴

Solomon Jennings

If this tale were a melodrama, Solomon Jennings would play the villain. He first appears in the historical record in 1730 as a resident of New York's Hudson River Valley. The Colonial Assembly of that colony declared him a "notorious Horse Stealer" who was "wicked" and who "puts many of his Majesty's liege People in Fear and Terror." They offered a bounty of L20 for his capture.⁵ Four years later he was living in New Jersey when several newspapers reported that four "Indians" seized and whipped one of Jennings's servants, thinking he was the "noted outlaw" himself. Apparently Jennings was an equal opportunity horse thief, grabbing horses from colonists and Natives alike. He was hated and feared by both. In this instance, Jennings grabbed a stick and with a single mighty blow killed one of the Indians by cracking his skull. He then ran away, barely missing being shot.⁶ He was a large, strong, illiterate and often drunken man, a noted brawler and according to a contemporary, a "person of ill fame."⁷

Jennings moved to Pennsylvania around 1734, settling near the new Moravian community at Bethlehem. Either he had a change of heart now that he was married with children or Pennsylvania politicians found his strength and sometimes violent personality and lack of principles beneficial traits that could be deployed against their enemies both real and perceived. Jennings switched from being an outlaw to become a government employee, useful to the three sons of William Penn who were deeply in debt and who wanted more and more land to sell to settlers. He was sent out as a sheriff's deputy against the "rioters in Wyoming" and was one of the three "walkers" in the fraudulent, but technically legal "Walking Purchase" of 1737 that stole

710,000 acres from the Munsees and Mahicans.⁸ For this support, even though he didn't finish the race, Jennings was awarded land near what is now Stroudsburg. He was there in the winter of 1749 with the enslaved woman Johanna.

Paemasing

Paemasing was a Mahican, originally from the Hudson River valley like so many of the early European settlers in and around Dansbury. The Mahicans had suffered from disease and warfare in the late 17th century and were vulnerable to the growing land hunger of the Iroquois confederacy and of the Penns and their supporters. Like their southern neighbors, the Munsees or Minisinks, they had become refugees, chased from their homelands by both the expansion of the colonial settlements and the ambitions of the Iroquois confederacy. In 1740, a large portion of the Mahicans allied themselves with the Moravians, an alliance that raised hackles among New Yorker settlers. Six years later as anti-Indian pressure mounted, the Mahicans began migrating to the south and west, mingling with Munsees, remnant Shawnees and Moravians.⁹ Paemasing, his wife and two children settled in the Wyoming valley, but in the winter of 1749 they were living, with permission, on the land of William Clark. William's wife Mary was an important person locally because she served as a trusted interpreter in a polyglot community: She probably spoke German, English, Mahican and Munsee and she may have been fluent in Dutch and Mohawk as well.

Paemasing was called an "old man" although he was only in his forties. His eyesight was so bad that he could not use a gun. He survived by trapping animals for their fur. His wife, Nataelemo would have prepared the pelts for sale. She was neither a Mahican nor a Munsee, but was from the "far south," perhaps a Conoy from the Chesapeake region, a group that had lost its homeland

to disease, warfare and conquest. She had been captured in war as a child and carried north and traded to Paemasing or others. The couple had an eight-year old daughter Papatellenomowa, and a young son, Scakquill. Both husband and wife were intrigued by the Moravian villages at Nazareth and Bethlehem and both had good reputations among Moravian-leaning colonists, but both expressed, at different times, their desires “not to be confined,” which would have been the consequence of living in the European manner. They preferred their freedom.¹⁰

There was, unfortunately, little safety in the woods. The Penns and their allies the Iroquois wanted all the native peoples, as well as refugees, like Paemasing and Nataelemo, removed to the west of the Susquehanna River. Indian hating among colonists was encouraged. At the same time, influential Delawares wanted to scour the continent of newcomers so that traditional ways might return. Hotheads on both sides were advocating ethnic cleansing. Only the Moravians seemed to be favoring tolerance, but at the cost to the Delawares of renouncing their culture, languages, religion and manner of living for European ways. For many it was too high a price.

Judge Daniel Brodhead

Daniel Brodhead was fifty-six years old in 1749 and a founder, only a dozen years earlier, of the settlement bearing his name, Dansbury. He was from Marbletown, NY, his wife Esther was from Esopus. They had certainly known Johanna since her childhood in those same small, primitive towns. The Brodheads were slaveowners, investing a sizable portion of their wealth in unfree labor. They owned John, Johanna’s brother, and the elderly Johanna, her mother. In addition there was Adam, his wife Hannah (no relation to Johanna), and their daughter Dinah. There is also mention of “five negroes” in the house, but whether these were the five named persons or another five individuals is not known. Brodhead also had several “hired young men”

in the household and, of course, his four sons and daughter, who were expected to serve the family's interests as well. Yet in spite of his obvious wealth he had a reputation for "impartial conduct in his office as Justice, as he endeavored to help the poor to their rights." Johanna would benefit.¹¹

Sven Roseen

Sven Roseen was born in Sweden in 1708. He was a convert to the Moravian faith who arrived in Pennsylvania in 1746 to spread the word. His detailed and chatty diary provides most of the evidence about early Dansbury and about this episode in Johanna's life.¹² No other source, including official Moravian records, includes as much information about the day-to-day activities of rich and poor, native and colonizer, free and slave. Still, the hardships of traveling to spread the word, often with scant effect, may have contributed to his early death in 1750 and, of course, the end of the diary.

Johanna's Dramatic Escape from Samuel Jennings

In early February, 1749, Johanna Boston, legally a slave, broke the law and ran away from her owner, Solomon Jennings. In the language of the day, she "stole herself."¹³ This was enormously dangerous and not just because of the frigid winter weather.¹⁴ Violence was central to the maintenance of the slave system. A Burlington, New Jersey man described the usual consequences of attempted escape. He wrote that: "it is impossible for them [slaves] to escape, by Reason of their Colour, which always brings them back after a Hue and Cry, when they are cruelly whipp'd with a Horse-Whip, being often hung upon the Branches of Trees by the Arms, for that purpose, and have an Iron Collar put about their Neck, with a long Point strutting out, to

be known.”¹⁵ For all the claims by colonists, including the Moravians, that enslavement was natural, even God-given, it persisted only through force, duplicity and terror.

Johanna nonetheless left Jennings’s house and followed the one road in the area, heading east. She skirted John McMichaels’s house, passed through the Garton, Van Vliet, Dirck, and Culver properties, wading through Pocono Creek in the process. She finally collapsed from hypothermia on William Clark’s land and was certain to freeze to death. But luck was with her, for it was here that Paemasing, out checking his traps, found her. Although he was considered an old man, he picked her up and carried her on his back to his longhouse. This was dangerous. Her master Jennings might have been following close behind. Jennings had no love for “Indians” as well as a violent temper.

Paemasing probably went to William and Mary Clark’s to consult about the best way forward. Meanwhile Nataelemo nursed the injured woman, thus “saving the life of the negress Hanna” as Sven Roseen recorded in his diary.¹⁶ They decided that once she was fit to travel she should be taken to Judge Daniel Brodhead’s—this was certainly Hannah’s immediate goal when escaping. Brodhead took her in. She was reunited with her mother and brother and in a short while her daughter was allowed to visit from Walpak.

Solomon Jennings was furious that this enslaved woman had the temerity to abscond. He seems not to have known where she went at first. It was apparently not until late winter that he heard that she was alive and at Brodhead’s. He may have initially assumed that she had died somewhere in the trackless woods from exposure. Maybe he first searched for her in Bethlehem or Nazareth. Perhaps he waited until he was drunk and reckless enough to challenge the Judge. In any event, he grabbed his gun and appeared at the Judge Brodhead’s door threatening to kill

her then and there for running away. Brodhead, however, protected Johanna and Jennings left without inflicting the bloody retribution that he had planned. He would never get her back.¹⁷

So why did Johanna risk her life and run away? Enslaved women usually had few options when they considered escape. How could they survive? Men could at least hope to ship out as common seamen. Ninety percent of runaway ads were for men, the majority thought to be headed for the port cities and freedom at sea.¹⁸ Most absconders left in the summer, not in the middle of a notably severe winter. So what was she thinking? And perhaps more puzzling, why did respectable members of the community, including a judge, break the law by aiding and abetting the theft of Solomon Jennings's human property? This was unprecedented. Why would they defy common racial (and gendered) antipathies to rescue an African American woman? Why risk legal or violent retribution as Paemasing, Nataelemo, and Daniel Brodhead certainly did in sheltering a runaway? Jennings was perfectly within his rights to retake his property and do with it as he willed. Why ^{would} did the Moravian Church make substantial investments in Johanna and her husband? The sources do not say anything about motivations, yet subsequent developments offer some clues.

While it is possible that Johanna was simply homesick and left her master to see her mother, brother and daughter at the Brodheads', this seems highly unlikely. The very real dangers of winter travel on foot would be one reason not to accept that scenario. Nor would she have been likely to gain the sympathetic support of the Clarks and Brodheads for so relatively trivial a motive. There is no evidence that she had suffered obvious injuries from a beating or whipping at the hands of her master, so it seems unlikely that she was escaping punishment. So what could it have been that caused her to risk her life?

One key is that all those involved in assisting Johanna's escape, the Clarks, Brodheads, Paemasing and Nataelemo, were Moravians or sympathetic to Moravian teachings. Moravians, even more than other Christian faiths, placed great emphasis on the sanctity of marriage, the God-given blessings of marital sexuality and the sinfulness of extra-marital or inter-racial sex.¹⁹ It may be that the twenty-seven year old Johanna, kept away from Jennings's wife and children back in the Lehigh Valley, was escaping threatened sexual assault or actual rape in that isolated cabin.²⁰ She was certainly running to seek protection from Judge Brodhead, the one person who might have the authority through the courts, through his sympathy for the rights of the poor and through his ties to the largest religious body in the region to stand up to her master. She was asserting her right to control her destiny and to have justice, something that the existing slave codes explicitly denied her both as a slave and as a woman. Whatever Solomon Jennings did or threatened, not only did Johanna find it abhorrent but so did her neighbors and the church.

Look what happened next: by April, Johanna declared that she wanted to join the Moravian Church. This move was no doubt motivated by a sincere faith but it was also canny. The Moravians, like other American colonists, accepted slavery as ordained by God. Both individuals of the faith, like the Brodheads, and the Church itself bought and sold enslaved people. However, the Moravians, unlike the vast majority of Americans, believed in a full spiritual equality. Most contemporary Protestant groups would baptize enslaved people, but denied them access to other sacraments—the Quakers, later leaders of abolitionism, accepted no African Americans, free or slave, into unity at this time. The Moravians baptized women and men in bondage, accepted them into communion, sanctified their marriages, and buried them in their graveyards. This did not usually translate into civic equality: people of African descent were usually segregated and given menial work. Still, that was as close to equality as African

Americans could find anywhere in the colonies in the first half of the eighteenth century.²¹

Johanna, it appears, refused to accept Jennings' claims on her and the residents of Dansbury and Bethlehem confirmed that she had the moral right, if not the legal right, to do so.

In July, the missionary Sven Roseen called Johanna his "negro sister" a certain sign that she had become a full member of the church. The Moravians at Bethlehem paid the enormous sum of L70 (equivalent to \$182,000 today) to purchase Johanna (remember that she had been sold for L45 [about \$100,100] a dozen years before). Obviously Samuel Jennings drove a hard bargain, playing on the community's strong desire to rescue her from an intolerable situation. Jennings, that unprincipled scoundrel, managed, once again, to profit from his lack of scruples. Yet Johanna had escaped his grasp and was safe, thanks to her many supporters. The next goal was to reunite husband and wife.

While Johanna moved to the safety of Bethlehem, Roseen travelled to the forge in New Jersey to speak with her husband Boston.²² Boston was baptized and given the name Joseph in 1752. The death of Sven Roseen and then the outbreak of the French and Indian War interrupted negotiations to bring wife and husband together. Joseph Boston was finally purchased by the Moravians for L50 (\$129,000) in 1762, near the end of the war.²³ This was less than his wife's purchase price, even though he was a highly skilled ironworker and she a culturally and economically undervalued domestic servant. It took thirteen years, but husband and wife were united, although still enslaved and separated from their daughter, if she was still alive.

History was on their side. *The American Revolution promised freedom, equality, & the pursuit of happiness*
humanitarianism
 In the final years of the American Revolution, Pennsylvania provided for the gradual abolition of slavery in the state. Mr. and Mrs. Boston were freed by the Moravians that year, even though the law did not cover slaves born before 1780.²⁴ Joseph

Boston had little time to enjoy his freedom for he died in 1781; Johanna Boston lived a long life and died at Nazareth in 1815, aged 93.²⁵

So why should we care about Johanna?

Runaway slaves were rebels who undermined the slave system in two ways. First, it was costly for masters to lose their workers' labor, even if only temporarily. It was also costly to take out an ad to announce their flight. It cost even more to reward those who captured the runaways and the sheriff who jailed them. Other expenses included the fee paid to the town whipper or sheriff to punish the recaptured bondpeople, and the charges of the blacksmith to collar or chain them. Slavery was, because of these increasingly common disruptions and expenses, inefficient (especially in the north). Free labor worked better, required less supervision and incurred fewer costs. Second, racist thought held that Africans were so inferior that they could never be happy if free. Slavery was supposedly a humane institution that benefitted these child-like people. As J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur wrote in 1792, enslaved people in the north "are fat, healthy, and hearty, and far from repining at their fate; they think themselves happier than many of the lower class whites."²⁶ Every attempted escape disproved the myth of the passive, contented, inferior slave. Johanna was courageous and risked her life for a noble cause: human dignity, self-determination, and personal liberty. She demanded the civil right to appeal for justice and for protection against attack. She wanted the right to control her body and to live with her husband. In much of what she saw as her natural rights, she anticipated the Founding Fathers' insistence on life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And when the Pennsylvania Assembly became the first legislative body in the history of the world to provide for an eventual end to slavery it was both the growing costliness of slave labor and the widely shared ideals of human rights that motivated that revolutionary enactment. Johanna was one of many African Americans

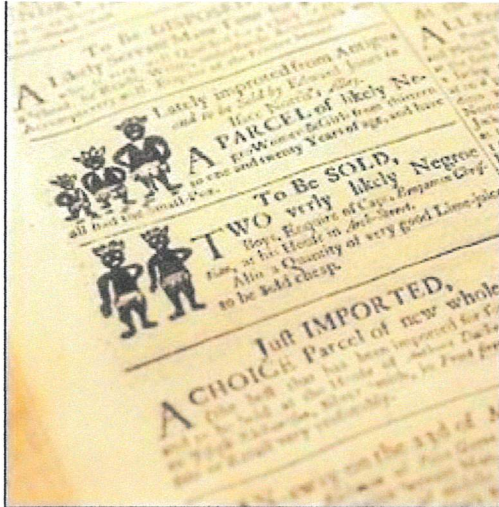
and their allies who, before such beliefs were widespread, supported expanding human freedom through the abolition of enslavement—a goal still not completely achieved even in the world today.

Johanna's story was well-known at the time, at least within the county, but now can be pieced together from only a very few sources. It is apparent that government documents, correspondence, and other contemporary sources preserve only a partial view of the past. Large segments of the population were ignored. Some records were considered important and saved, others were discarded as insignificant. The same was true of people: some were labeled important, some insignificant. Strouds, Brodheads, McMichaels and many other individuals are celebrated in histories, on historical markers and in the very geography of the region. Others have become, over time, invisible or very nearly so. It is for this reason that it remains important to celebrate Black History Month and Women's History Month. It reminds us that the region and nation's history needs to be told in full.

There is an interesting footnote to Johanna's story. The villainous Solomon Jennings, who died in 1757, had a son John who inherited the Lehigh Valley farm and became active in politics. John had a son, Samuel, born about 1755, who was in many ways unlike his illiterate, brawling grandfather. Samuel Jennings attended the University of Pennsylvania and became an artist. Most of his career was spent in London. In 1792, he was commissioned by the directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia to paint an allegorical picture expressive of liberty and prosperity in the new nation.²⁷

This allegorical depiction of emancipation borrows elements from emancipation ceremonies in which about-to-be-freed slaves would kneel in the presence of the community, an official and

their former master. The latter would lay “his hand on the head of each in turn in token of liberation.” This ritual obviously symbolized the last time these men and women would have to kowtow. They would rise up free.²⁸ In the painting there are no masters. The man in the red jacket has his own hand on his head, thus emancipating himself; the others are already rising up. The two freedmen and one woman and child are depicted as about to avail themselves of an advanced education in philosophy, the sciences and the fine arts offered by the goddess Liberty. The goddess has herself just broken free from the chain of oppression that is still riveted around her foot. In the background, others joyfully celebrate their newly won freedom with a picnic, music and dancing. Ships fill the river, signaling the prosperity that will come to all from an end to enslavement. It is the first American anti-slavery painting and the first to portray free African Americans. Did Jennings remember Johanna, his former neighbor and his grandfather’s former slave, when he envisioned celebrating the freeing of all Pennsylvania slaves? It is possible--for her life story embodied those same revolutionary principles.



An advertisement of slaves for sale in Philadelphia.



A slave sale at a Philadelphia tavern.

<http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/SlaveTrade/collection/large/NW0174a.JPG>
<http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/SlaveTrade/collection/large/NW0174a.JPG>



An illustration from an advertisement for a runaway woman.

Engraving of Baptism of Indian converts in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1757.

[Close Window](#)



A. Der Priester welcher tauft.
B. B. Die Tauflinge.

TAUFE
der Indianer
in America

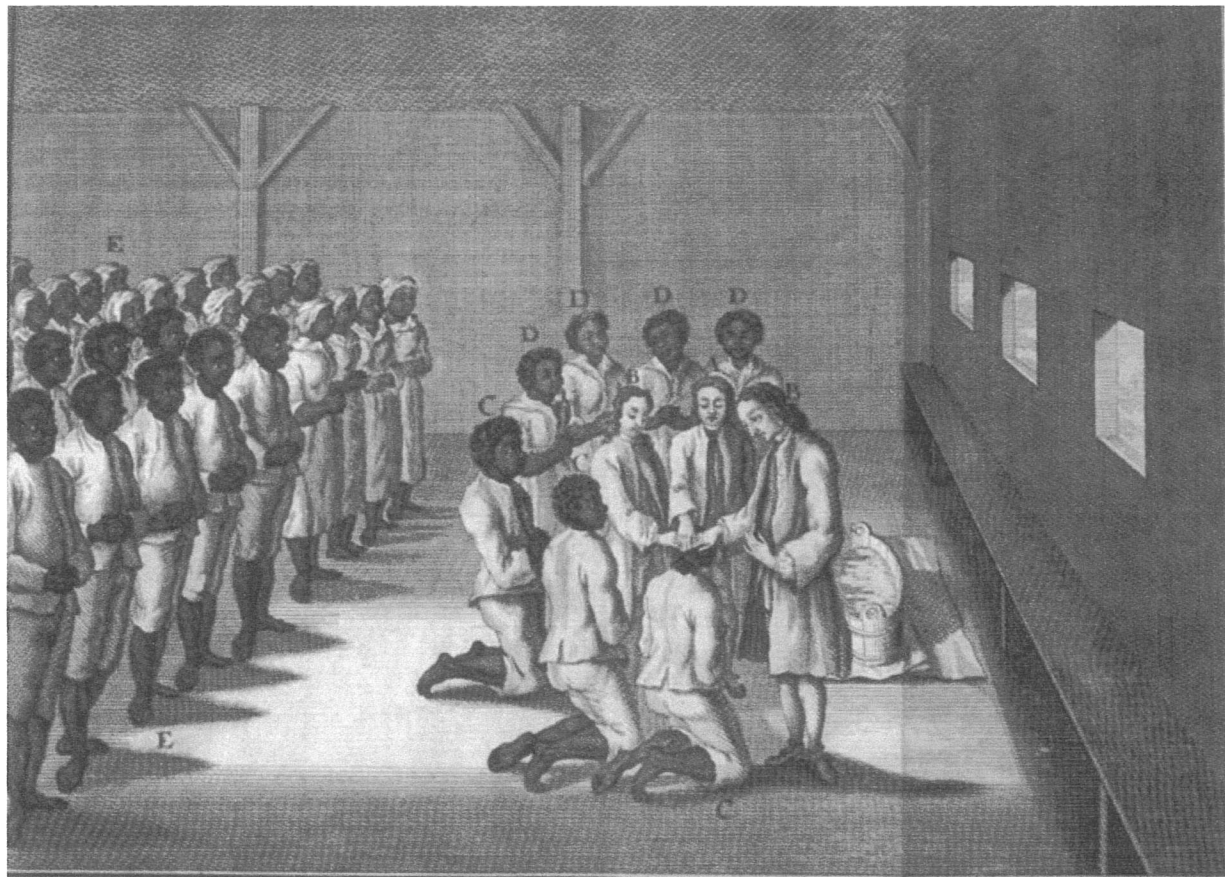
C. C. Die Arbeiter von ihrer Nation.
D. D. Die Indianer-Gememe.

Credit: Courtesy of The Library Company of Philadelphia



Google images

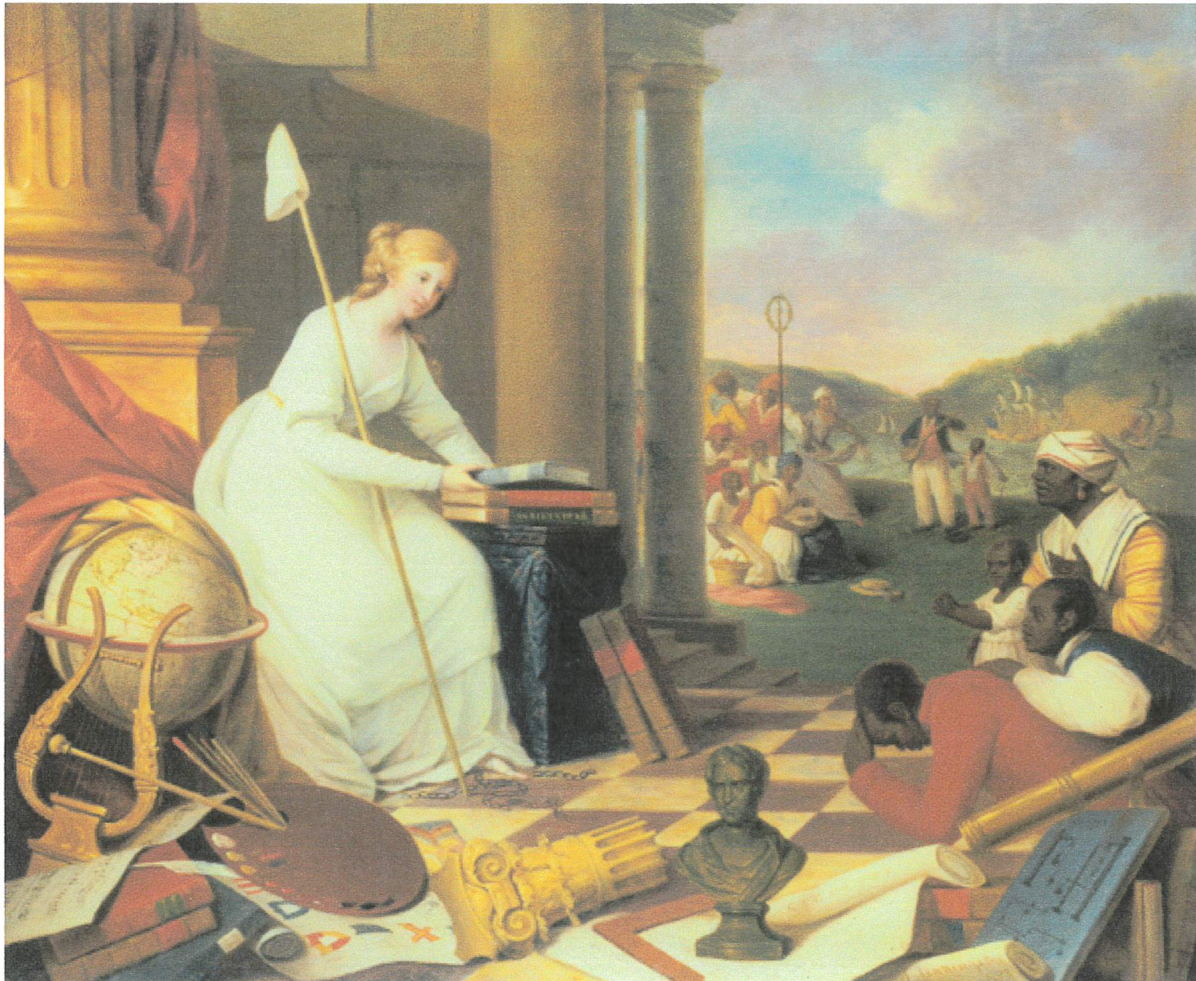
Slaves baptized in a Moravian congregation, 1757, nationalhumanitiescenter.org



Der PASTOR, der die Handlung ver-
richtet. B. B. Die Diaconi, die ihm assi-
stiren. CCC. Drey Täuflinge Neger.

EXORCISMUS
der Täuflinge
unter den Negern.

D. D. D. D. Vier Täuflinge We-
gerinnen. F. E. Die Neger-Ge-
meine.



Samuel Jennings, *Liberty Displaying the Arts and Sciences*, (1792) Library Company of Philadelphia. A smaller version is at the Winterthur Museum.

¹ William Joseph Buck, *History of the Indian Walk* (1886), 187. Ray Thompson, *The Walking Purchase Hoax of 1737* (Fort Washington, PA: 1973). Fred Anderson, *The Crucible of War: The Seven Years War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (NY: 2001). William A. Pencak and Daniel K. Richter, eds., *Friends and Enemies in Penn's Woods* (University Park, PA: 2004). Gunlog Fur, *A Nation of Women: Gender and Colonial Encounters Among the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia: 2009). Kevin Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn's Holy Experiment* (Philadelphia: 2009). An exception to the glossing over of the 1740s is Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700-1763* (Chapel Hill NC: 2003), esp. Chapt. III.

² Some of the many studies of slavery and freedom in Pennsylvania are: Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720-1840* (1988); W.E.B. Dubois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (1899); Nash and Jean R. Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath* (1991); Darold D. Wax, "The Negro Slave Trade in Colonial Pennsylvania," (Ph.D. diss. University of Washington, 1962); Jean R. Soderlund, "Black Women in Colonial Pennsylvania," *PMHB* 107 (1983), 49-68. Erica Armstrong Dunbar, *A Fragile Freedom: African American Women and Emancipation in the Antebellum City* (New Haven, 2008);

³ "Sketches of Several Northampton County, Pennsylvania, Slaves," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 22:4 (1898), 503. "The Diary of Sven Roseen," in *The Dansbury Diaries: Moravian Travel Diaries, 1748-1755*, trans. William N. Schwarze and Ralf Ridgway Hillman. (Camden, ME: 1994, reprt. 1939), passim., but esp. 81, 94, 103—on page 84 Roseen confused the mother with the daughter, so her name may also have been Johanna. Don Yoder, ed., *Pennsylvania German Church Records* (date?), 416.

⁴ "Sketches of Several Northampton County, Pennsylvania, Slaves," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 22:4 (1898), 503. "The Diary of Sven Roseen," in *The Dansbury Diaries: Moravian Travel Diaries, 1748-1755*, trans. William N. Schwarze and Ralf Ridgway Hillman. (Camden, ME: 1994, reprt. 1939), 103-104. Don Yoder, ed., *Pennsylvania German Church Records* (date?), 416. "Union Forge," Historical Marker Database online, #37043, accessed January 29, 2012.

⁵ *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General-Assembly of the Colony of New-York*, Vol. I and II (NY: 1764-6), 620.

⁶ *American Weekly Mercury* (Sept. 19, 1734).

⁷ William Egle, *Notes and Queries: Chiefly Relating to Interior Pennsylvania* (1887), 481. Franklin Ellis, *History of Northampton County* (1877), 38. Francis Jennings, a possible descendent, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire* (1990), 333, quote dated 1734.

⁸ Buck, *History of the Indian Walk*, 187. Thompson, *Walking Purchase*. Pencak and Richter, eds. *Friends and Enemies*. Fur, *Nation of Women*. Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost*.

⁹ T.J. Brassler. "Mahican," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. William C. Sturtevant, Vol. 15, Northeast (Washington, DC: 1978), 205, 208.

¹⁰ Christian F. Feest, "Nanticoke and Neighboring Tribes," in *Handbook*, ed. Sturtevant, 246. Roseen, "Diary," 61, 69, 71, 73, 81, 83, 86, 99.

¹¹ Amy Leiser, "Daniel Brodhead," MCHA website (June 2010). On slaves and servants: Roseen, "Diary," 13, 25, 34, 68, 70, 71, 86, 89, 95, 102. On Brodhead's reputation, *Ibid.*, 12.

¹² Schwarze and Hillman, *Dansbury Diaries*, x, 3.

¹³ Billy G. Smith and Richard Wojtowicz, *Blacks Who Stole Themselves: Advertisements for Runaways in the Pennsylvania Gazette, 1728-1790* (Philadelphia: 1989).

¹⁴ January and February, 1749, were noted for their "severe weather, [Delaware] river full of ice." William M. Darlington, "Pennsylvania Weather Records, 1644-1835," *PMHB* 15 (1891), 112

¹⁵ William Moraley, *The Orphan, or Revived Fugitive* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: for the author, 1753), 61-62.

¹⁶ Roseen, "Diary," 69-70.

¹⁷ Roseen, "Diary," 81.

¹⁸ Billy G. Smith, "Black Women Who Stole Themselves in Eighteenth-Century America," in *Inequality in Early America*, ed. Carla Gardina Pestana and Sharon V. Salinger (Hanover NH: 1999) esp. Table 2, 138.

¹⁹ Aaron Spencer Fogleman, *Jesus is Female: Moravians and Radical Religion in Early America* (Philadelphia, 2007), 91-95. Beverly Prior Smaby, *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem: From Communal Mission to Family Economy* (Philadelphia: 1988), 161-165.

²⁰ For one account of the rape of an enslaved woman by her master, see Francis S. Fox, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Ordeal of the American Revolution in Northampton County, Pennsylvania* (University Park, PA: 2000), 127-129

²¹ For discussions of slavery in Bethlehem, see Daniel B. Thorp, "Chattel with a Soul: The Autobiography of a Moravian Slave," *PMHB* 112:3 (1988), 433-451, and Katherine M. Faull, ed. and trans., *Moravian Women's Memoirs: Their Related Lives, 1750-1820* (Syracuse NY: 1997), 77-78. Also Jon F. Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763-1840* (1998), 52-56.

²² Roseen, "Diary," 81, 103.

²³ Calculations from formulas at MeasuringWorth.com (accessed February 5, 2012).

²⁴ Masters were required to register all persons they wished to keep as slaves. If they failed to do so, the enslaved person was immediately freed. For lists of the county's registered slaves and their masters, see Matthew Schropp Henry, *History of the Lehigh Valley* (1860), 97-98. Afrolumens website, County Index, Northampton County.

²⁵ "Sketches," *PMHB*, 503. Sensbach, *Separate Canaan*, 191-2.

²⁶ Quoted in Susan E. Klepp, "Seasoning and Society: Racial Differences in Mortality in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," *WMQ*, 3rd Ser., 51 (1994), 473.

²⁷ Robert C. Smith, "Liberty Displaying the Arts and Sciences: A Philadelphia Allegory," *Winterthur Portfolio* 2 (1965), 84-105.

²⁸ Felice Harcourt, ed. and trans., *Memoirs of Madame de La Tour du Pin* (NY: McCall, 1971), 283, provides a rare description of the ceremony.