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This paper will investigate the development of the Delaware Forks in Pennsylvania under William Penn and his heirs as suggested by the Walking Purchase of 1737. The relevance of this topic was inspired by Dr. Dennis Gale's lecture that included William Penn and political oppression (Gale, 2004). Further investigation into possible research topics for this paper revealed the Walking Purchase as an interesting and foreboding moment in Pennsylvania history that still rings with relevance today.

In what way was the development of the Delaware Forks in the 18th and 19th Centuries directly tied to land greed, deed deception, minority revenge and how, in the end, did the slow suggestion of community begin to grow? This paper will examine those questions via the influence of the 1737 Walking Purchase in Pennsylvania and how it divided the Delaware Forks – the area around where the Delaware and Lehigh rivers meet – in many unfavorable ways and in particular how that Purchase contributed to a governing uncertainty, the retarding of communities and the devastation of William Penn's founding ideals. This paper will also mark moments of growth for areas in the Delaware Forks that eventually became Bethlehem, Pennsylvania and Doylestown, Pennsylvania. Sources for this paper include scholarly journals, books, historical periodicals, news reports and letters. The method used to create this paper was to let the source materials tell the story and to sparingly employ personal perception and opinion in case they might unduly overshadow the incredible facts of this story. In order to construct the forces that affected the development of the Delaware Forks the inquiry must briefly begin with a review of a 17th century agreement created by William Penn and the Delaware Nation in 1686.

Greed

William Penn's pacifist Quaker beliefs and religious tolerance were hallmarks of quality and humanity all along the expanse of land King Charles II bequeathed to Penn to settle a debt. William Penn had complete title to the land and that included mining rights and the use of the waterways. His charter gave him permission to give away, sell, grant, rent or lease land as he saw fit and to set up a court system and a set of laws that were fair like the system in force in England (Treese, 1992). Pennsylvania belonged to William Penn and he made it a safe haven for religious and cultural tolerance ("European immigration", 2000). Penn took control of his land March 4, 1681 and quickly set out to sell parcels for 40 shillings per 100 acres plus a quitrent of one shilling a year in perpetuity and soon over 7,000 acres has been sold (Hall, 1915). Sometime between 1682 and August 1686 an important agreement occurred – a wide variety of reliable and reputable resources from the Pennsylvania Historical Society, to historian James H. Merrell and stretching into William Penn's personal papers all offer different accounts of year and place for that agreement – but within that timeframe there was an agreement between William Penn and the Delawares [later known as the Lenape which translates into “real or original people.”] (Lurie & Mappen, 2004) to sell land in the Delaware Forks in the amount a man could walk in three days and the end result of that agreement is undeniable today whenever it was actually agreed to in principle. After a day and a half of walking, Penn was satisfied that enough land had been marked off and decided the extra day and a half of walking would be taking advantage of the Delawares and their willingness to convert land into profit. The Delawares agreed with Penn to end the walk at the halfway point and that informal understanding became the original “Walking Purchase” and most historians date that covenant around 1686. (Harper, 2001).

Penn returned to England on business without signing that original Walking Purchase agreement and returned to Pennsylvania from 1699-1701 but never sought out the Delawares again to seal the 1686 Walking Purchase agreement. The only official mention of the Walking Purchase is as an “incomplete deed” (Merrell, 1999) dated 1686 that was referred to in a letter from Surveyor General Thomas Home to William Penn (“The walking purchase august 25, 1737”, 2004). No original deed dated between 1682 and August 1686 has ever been produced and nothing of value ever exchanged hands between William Penn and the Delawares even though there was an offer and an acceptance. The Delawares have claimed in perpetuity they were never given anything in return for their acceptance of the 1686 agreement and no land was legally waived to William Penn or to his heirs (Harper, 2001).

When William Penn died in 1718 so, too, did the idea of dealing with the Delawares in a fair and reasonable manner. News spread that squatters from New York were taking root near the Schuylkill River and on the “Minisink Lands” along the upper Delaware where they sat on ripe “unclaimed” land the Delawares controlled but did not contractually own. William Penn did not own this land either because the land lay beyond the bounds of any agreement previously made with the Delawares (Hunter, 1972). By 1726 the Pennsylvania land office identified over 100,000 squatters and illegal settlers in Pennsylvania and the only way to make the situation profitable, the land office claimed, would be for the Penn heirs to order all quitrents to be immediately due. That meant the Penn brothers would need a presence in Pennsylvania in order to collect because there was no immediate threat of prosecution with all the Penn brothers living in England. Quitrents were difficult to collect because, after William Penn’s death, squatters and settlers didn’t see the reason in paying until the Penn family straightened out their financial

matters of ownership and remedied the ongoing boundary argument with Maryland. Many squatters had the notion they would only pay when prosecuted in a court of law (Treese, 1992).

The three Penn sons John, Richard and Thomas, had no interest in Quaker morality or in serving the Delawares in a fair and genteel manner as their father before them had behaved (Harper, 2001). That coarsening of attitude and lack of responsibility would cause many problems across current and future generations when the Penn brothers legally became the Proprietors of Pennsylvania in 1727. In 1728 a group of Scotch-Irish created Craig's Settlement along the banks of the Lehigh River and that settlement later became Allentown. Craig's Settlement was founded in "unpurchased Indian territory [that would eventually become part of the 1737 Walking Purchase], and the Delawares protested strongly." (Jennings, 1984) Thomas Penn moved to Pennsylvania in 1732 to directly control their newly acquired property and to expand the Penn's financial station by turning a profit on immigrants who could not write or read a contract but who wanted to buy land anyway. Thomas Penn also planned to collect back quitrents from squatters and pocket that profit while his brothers John and Richard remained unaware in England (Treese, 1992). By 1734 John and Richard owed over £8,000 to various people and banks in England and they were desperate for revenue (Harper, 2001) and pressed their brother via letter to help promote their well-being.

The only way to improve their station, the Penn's felt, was to sell the Pennsylvania land to raise money quickly. They quietly brought James Logan – the Penn's agent in Pennsylvania since 1699 – into their scheme to help push forward their plan to help collect past-due quitrents. The Penn brothers, along with Logan, initially sold land to immigrating Germans and Scotch-Irish even though they did not have clear title. There was an ongoing land grab because European immigrants were pressing north into the region from southeastern Pennsylvania and

west from New Jersey ("The walking purchase august 25, 1737", 2004) and they had money to spend on buying acres. Wracked by debt and bad investments like their father, (Treese, 1992) the Penn sons soon concocted an even greater event to eventually swindle the Delawares out of nearly 1,200 square miles [three-quarters of a million acres] and that included land Thomas Penn had already been illegally selling via Logan since 1728. (Harper, 2001) The Penns decided to claim this land by invoking the unconsummated agreement their father struck with the Delawares in 1686 and implementing it as the now more historically familiar, "Walking Purchase of 1737" ("Walking purchase park 40 36' 86 n 75 24' 53 w", 2000) which the Delawares would soon call "ye Hurry Walk" (Merrell, 1999).

Deception

The Penn brothers and James Logan likely knew "all the important contemporary documents of the Walking Purchase were fabricated, altered, or hidden" (Jennings, 1984) but that did not stop them from trying to resurrect that 1686 document in 1737. To make their claim on the land, the Penns approached the Delaware Indian leaders and showed them the 1686 deed Thomas Penn "found" in 1734 (Harper, 2001). Thomas Penn said the treaty was made between William Penn and the Delawares Chief Tammany who were both conveniently dead so no eyewitness could come forward to verify the claim. No signatures or identifiable marks appeared on any version of the 1686 agreement. The Delawares of 1737, who were negotiating with Logan and the Penns, were originally from New Jersey and had no way to verify a 31 year old agreement since all the negotiators were dead. Logan, playing on the goodwill and good name of William Penn, and invoking the peer power of the Six Nations, forced the Delawares to concur the 1686 treaty was authentic and legally binding even though he could not produce an original copy of the document and even though the sale never appeared in the provincial land

records ("The walking purchase august 25, 1737", 2004). The actual walking part of the treaty needed to take place because in 1686 the boundaries of the walk were never set down in print. Logan claimed blank spaces noting the breadth of the Walk in the 1686 document were purposefully left empty so they could be filled in later. After three years of negotiation, the Delawares grudgingly agreed to the terms of the 1686 deed and signed off on the idea of the sale on August 25, 1737 ("Historic stones of bethlehem", 2001).

When the new walk was complete, a line would be drawn eastward to the Delaware and down the river to the starting point of the walk which is now present day Wrightstown, Pennsylvania. Cleverly, James Logan hired a team of men who spent nine days clearing a trail for the "walkers" to use and a reward of 500 acres in the new Purchase was offered to one of the three men who traveled the farthest ("Walking purchase park 40 36' 86 n 75 24' 53 w", 2000). The Delawares were not aware of the land-clearing and side-deal bribery and they assumed the walk would use a preexisting Indian path since that was how everyone in the Delaware Forks traveled. Of the three runners who were picked for their athleticism and stamina, 27 year old Edward Marshall was the only one to finish the race for the Walking Purchase. The Delawares immediately expressed their concern that the walk was not a walk but a run of 60 miles ("Early frontier life in pennsylvania", 1873). "'This land is ours; now, you must build your wigwams somewhere else,' said the Quakers. 'We have been cheated; we will not leave,' said the Indians.'" ("Meetings of the historical society of pennsylvania", 1881) Eight weeks after the "walk" Lappawinzo, a Delawares Indian chief, complained bitterly to Edward Marshall that the walk was unfair that that they would "go down to Philadelphia the next May, with every one a buckskin to repay the proprietor for what they had received from him and take their land again." (Buck, 1886) Lappawinzo also complained the walk should have run parallel to the Delaware

instead of straight out away from it at a 90 degree angle. Lappawinzo also argued the first 30 miles were covered in less than six hours and that natural breaks for “napping and pipe smoking” should have been built into the timing of the walk (Buck, 1883). Lappawinzo’s complaints were ignored and thousands of acres were taken from the Delawares. Several historical records of the time indicate that the Delawares accepted the 1737 Walking Purchase without reservation (Merrell, 1999). However, there is clear evidence on the record in 1737 that the Delawares immediately registered their bitter dissatisfaction with the Walk and, as a nation, never accepted the end result (Harper, 2001). The Walk created 5,000 new acres for what would eventually become Bucks County and 101 years later Marshall’s path ran through land that came to be known as Doylestown, Pennsylvania. (“A brief history of time in doylestown township”, 1998).

Logan and the Penns did not care if the Delawares felt cheated because they finally had in hand what they long desired: A clear deed to thousands of acres of prime Pennsylvania real estate that they could sell and rent to pay off their debts and secure their future. The Penns, acting on behalf of Pennsylvania, immediately made a side agreement for protection and enforcement of the Purchase with the Iroquois Nation to force the Delawares completely off the purchased land (Hinderaker & Mancall, 2003). In 1740 Nutimus, leader of the Delawares, complained in a letter to the Pennsylvania government that they sought official intervention in returning the Walking Purchase occupied lands back to the Delawares (Harper, 2001). What Nutimus did not know is that the Pennsylvania government and the Penn brothers held the same self interest in chasing off the Delawares.

Four immigrant cultures subsequently cascaded into the Delaware Forks after the Walking Purchase to try to enjoy the riches of the land. German Protestants settled along the rivers; Moravians settled in Bethlehem and Nazareth; the Scotch-Irish – seeking safe haven from

the devastation of Oliver Cromwell – brought with them a “hatred of both overlords and natives;” and the fourth group were the English who settled in the Lehigh Valley (Jennings, 1984). Of these four groups, the Moravians were the most concerned about ramifications of the treachery of the Walking Purchase ("European immigration", 2000). In 1741 the Moravians wanted to right a wrong and they offered to let the Delawares stay on the land rent free for as long as they wished “because the said Place has been a Settlement of his Forefathers; and we will not drive any body from such a right, was it only a simple Imagination.” (Jennings, 1984). The Pennsylvania government demanded of the Moravians that the Delawares be entirely removed. The Moravians paid the Delawares for the land and asked them to leave.

In 1742 James Logan, with the blessing of the Penn brothers and Pennsylvania in hand, called again on the Six Nations, and the Iroquois leadership, Canasatego in particular, to force the Delawares to stand by the 1737 agreement and Nutimus and his brethren were told by Canasatego “they had no land left and ordered them off what they had sold.” (Hunter, 1972). The Delawares were defeated but unbowed and moved to present day Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania while a few others traveled on to settle in Indian Territory found in present day Oklahoma ("European immigration", 2000).

In December 1744, development began to percolate in the Delaware Forks. Work began in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania to create a new tavern at which today stands Union Station. That tavern was the first building created in the Lehigh Valley and it provided drink, food and entertainment. Samuel Powell, an English Moravian, was the landlord and he also later opened the first bookstore in the Lehigh Valley. The Delawares called the area “Lechauwecki” which was shortened to “Lecha” by the locals and then when the German-speaking immigrants arrived the area name was pronounced: “Lehigh” and that pronunciation remains today. (Hall, 1915)

In 1745 a man named William Doyle decided to build a public meeting place in Pennsylvania after creating two rough roads that abutted his property. As traveling traffic increased, Doyle saw an opportunity for expansion and he created a tavern out of that public building. That tavern first was known among the locals as “Doyle’s Tavern” and then “Doyletown” and then “Doyle’s Town” and finally, “Doylestown” as it is known today. Several towns in the Delaware Forks were founded and named after taverns or their owners (Kiernan, 2004). Those original rough roads are now known as Main Street (Route 611 running North and South) and State Street (Route 202 running East and West) and those two roads mark the center of Doylestown Borough and that borough marks the near center of modern day Bucks County. In 1750 Doylestown had six families living in log houses and the for-profit enterprises consisted of a blacksmith, the tavern and a general store that sold gear to passing pioneers. (“A brief history of time in doylestown township”, 1998). In 1749 Bethlehem opened a re-purposed farmhouse and made it into a reformatory for boys and later built a reformatory for girls as well. Those reform schools were built to help control behavior and to provide social welfare for the disadvantaged. Both schools were active until 1753 when they were subsequently closed due to cruel and unsanitary conditions. (Hall, 1915)

Revenge

The heartache and bloodshed from the Walking Purchase of 1737 would not be felt by the Delawares alone. The French in 1755 would help make the pain of the purchase known in the scalps of the English and on the bloodied bodies of the immigrants who stood on the coveted land. “The result of this walk so exasperated the Indians that they eventually resorted to savage vengeance and war” (Buck, 1886) and aggression and mistrust on all sides impeded the growth

and development of the Delaware Forks instead of creating growth and prosperity. The disaffected Delawares found a friend in the French in August of 1755 and together the French and the Delawares declared war in the Delaware Forks. The “French welcomed them and promised them a chance for revenge” (“The walking purchase august 25, 1737”, 2004) as the French fought a claim to the Allegheny and Ohio River valleys. With French support, the Delawares rode to the Susquehanna and killed anyone who dared to cross their path; they pursued settlers among the Pennsylvania woodlands and burned homes and barns and cropland (Pemberton, 1873). The Quaker Party were quick to suggest the reason for the Delawares rampage was a direct result of the Walking Purchase and “plantation after plantation was pillaged.... the enemy had overrun the greater part of Northampton and Nazareth and most of the dwellings in the valley between Lehigh and Delaware north of the mountain were laid in ashes and many of the inhabitants killed.” (“Early frontier life in pennsylvania”, 1873)

By October 1755 the Delawares and Shawnees cut into the edges of the Walking Purchase and settlers in Bethlehem, Easton, Nazareth and the surrounding areas were frightened and their lives were on fire (Merrell, 1999). The Delawares, vengeful and still wounded from what they perceived as a massacre of their future in 1737, employed a cruelty never before displayed in their history and they “scalped, burned, tomahawked, kidnapped, and disemboweled settlers across a thousand acres” (Kulikoff, 2000). At Penn’s Creek the Delawares killed a dozen people and took hostage three times that amount. Settlers along the Susquehanna met similar ends. By early November the Delawares had split their intentions and a second war party was set upon Minisink over the Delaware River and by Christmas Eve Gnadenhutten “the Moravian house on the Mahoning” was finished to burnt embers (Harper, 2001) and two hundred were left dying in pools of blood. “Over 3,000 settlers were killed or captured that year [1755] and

another thousand in 1756. Many thousands more fled east across the Susquehanna.” (Geiter & Speck, 2002) The most savage Delaware revenge was saved for Edward Marshall, the man who successfully completed the “ye Hurry walk” and, in the eyes of the Delawares, was the reason so much of their land was lost.

In 1755 a group of 16 Delawares descended on Marshall’s house: “Five of his children ran for the woods, 14 year old Catherine was shot as she ran... Mrs. Marshall, eight months pregnant, was scalped and chopped into parts and was later found in pieces in the Poconos.” (Morgan, 1993) What the Delawares didn’t know, however, was that Thomas Penn cheated Edward Marshall as well. Marshall never received his reward of 500 acres for winning the Walking Purchase and so he and his family moved to acreage they bought with their own means in Northampton County. The Delawares returned three months later to kill Marshall but did not find him home so they killed his son Peter instead (Harper, 2001). Edward Marshall did not die at the hands of the Delawares. He had a knack for sensing imminent danger and always retreated into the backwoods for escape. He did, however, actively seek revenge for the killing of his family for the rest of his life. Marshall would hide in the in the woods and dare various Delawares he would meet along the trail to follow him deeper into the forest and when they did he would turn around and “cut their throats.” (Buck, 1886) The Delawares told missionary John Heckewelder “they never would have joined the French...had they not been so shamefully dealt with” (Morgan, 1993) in the issue of the Walking Purchase. One unidentified historian at the time said the Delawares war was not just revenge it was “justified reprisals.” (Lepore, 1998)

The killing of settlers could not be abided by the government and in 1756 Pennsylvania officially declared war on the Delawares against the arguments of the Quaker majority (Geiter & Speck, 2002). The Friendly Association, a Quaker invention, was created to try to construct a

peace and to bring understanding and cooperation back to the Delaware Forks (Sharpless, 1899). On November 8, 1756 in Easton, Teedyuscung, the elected “king” of the Delawares, met with the Pennsylvania government to try to settle the issue of the Walking Purchase of 1737 so both sides could be satisfied. Teedyuscung argued his case for several years but was roundly sounded down by the government as uneducated and uninformed. No new negotiations took place and hostilities eventually dissipated as legal issues and contracts began to overwhelm the negotiations. On June 24, 1762 Teedyuscung suddenly gave up his claim to the Walking Purchase and said “I deliver up the Lands to you” (Harper, 2001) and moved his family to the Wyoming Valley where he died at the hands of an arsonist on April 19, 1763 as he slept in his home.

Prosperity

The Walking Purchase of 1737 did not immediately lead to great prosperity in the Delaware Forks. If any developmental success was found it was discovered and created in spite of the forged Purchase and it took many years for the fear and uncertainty the Purchase created to pass so commerce and safe immigration could thrive in the Delaware Forks. In 1784 Doylestown was made the Bucks County seat and in 1792 a stage coach stop was created. On April 9, 1812 the first courthouse in Doylestown was built in spite of a labor dispute where workers demanded \$1.25 per day. The courthouse cost 339 taxpayers \$38,007.31 and it served eight attorneys ("A brief history of time in doylestown township", 1998). The Revolutionary War affected both Bethlehem and Doylestown in similar ways but industrial development and community growth for both towns were severely limited by that war. The Liberty Bell passed through both towns on a zigzag route from Philadelphia hidden under straw and potato sacks in the wagon train of a Pennsylvania Dutch farmer who was on his way to Allentown to sell

produce ("The liberty bell trail", 2004). The Bethlehem Bridge built over the Lehigh River in 1794 was an important step in developing the town as was the creation of the Central Moravian Church in 1806 because they both centered the town via transportation and spirit. The Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company created a canal in 1824 that hooked Bethlehem into a thriving river economy and by 1845 Bethlehem had a population over 1,000. In the mid-1850's the Lehigh Valley Railroad was founded by Asa Packer (Kiernan, 2004). Packer made his fortune in the coal mines and soon made a greater killing shipping cement and slate via train from Easton to the Lehigh Gap. Packer later help found Lehigh University in 1865 ("The beginning of a lehigh tradition", 2002) with a \$500,000 endowment.

During the Civil War the 104th Pennsylvania Volunteers were based in Doylestown and for three years they fought hard and won honor in the Battle of Fair Oaks or Seven Pines on May 31, 1862 but that tour of duty cost the regiment 501 casualties ("A brief history of time in doylestown township", 1998) and that war impeded economic and structural development of the township. The Civil War touched Bethlehem in a more quantifiable economic manner in that ground was broken in 1861 for the first blast furnace for the Bethlehem Iron Company but it could not be started until January 4, 1863 because of intense fighting (Hall, 1915) and the drain of sending the most skilled men away to serve in the war. The Lehigh Valley Brass Works were created in late 1863 in Bethlehem and in 1864 the New Street Bridge Company was built at a cost of \$65,000 and it was the first toll bridge in the area. The Bethlehem Iron Company became an economic powerhouse for the area and created steel rails for the railroad in 1873 Bethlehem Iron had its own forge by 1885. That plant was the first in the country to create steel armor plating and cannons for the military. Portland cement was created and processed in the Lehigh Valley in 1878 and the abundance of limestone in the area made the enterprise extremely

profitable. By 1890 the Bethlehem's population surged to over 17,000 residents ("Historic stones of bethlehem", 2001).

In a strange modern twist on the Walking Purchase of 1737, in January 2004, the Delaware Nation - which is today homed in Oklahoma - filed suit in federal court asking that 315 acres of land found in modern day Northampton and Bucks counties in Pennsylvania be returned to their control so they can create a gambling casino on the land. The suit, "Delaware Nation v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania" mentions the 1737 Walking Purchase as a point of contention but then stakes a larger, more interesting, claim that when William Allen conveyed the Walking Purchase land to Melchior Stretcher in 1800 Allen had no previous clear title to make that conveyance because the 1737 Walking Purchase was a forged document and the land must legally revert back to the Delaware Nation. The suit goes on to invoke as a point of law the "Indian Nonintercourse Act" which states "no purchase or grant of land owned by Indians is valid unless it was made by treaty or convention." (Duffy, 2004) Senior U.S. District Judge James McGirr Kelly will hear the case. There may yet be justice to be had by the Delawares in Pennsylvania and they will at least be given their day in court.

In another interesting move to right the Walking Purchase wrong, Salisbury Township Park in Allentown, Pennsylvania was renamed "Walking Purchase Park" in July, 2004 to remind people of the history of the area and to honor the memory of the suffering of the Delaware Nation. The Walking Purchase Park consists of 500 forested acres running south of the Lehigh River between Allentown and Bethlehem. "The name change does not honor what happened, but acknowledges an important part of this area's history.... you can't rewrite history, can't clean it up, but you can explain it," said Thomas Getty, who spent 10 years negotiating the sale of the land from Bethlehem Steel to Salisbury, Allentown and Lehigh County (Kraft, 2004). This eager

acceptance of the past and the embracement of the faults of history can only help, on a human level, to begin to heal the wounds of a national past that may have been long forgotten but never forgiven. To honor a mistake of magnitude by giving it evergreen life in the form of a public park is a fine first stride in demolishing the damage of the Walking Purchase steps.

Conclusion

If William Penn had lived long enough to see his son's astonishing claim to the Walking Purchase in 1737 he would have been appalled by the absolute evil in their intention to defraud the Delawares for personal gain. William Penn was never good with money or with following a budget, but his Quaker outlook on life and his idealism used in settling Pennsylvania as bright light of inspiration for other settlements across the nation to imitate guided him to be friends with the Delawares and to treat every negotiation as he would wish to be treated.

If William Penn had not lived a life dedicated to goodness and to honorable behavior his sons would never have been able to successfully perpetrate the forgery of the Walking Purchase upon the Delawares. It was because of William Penn's hard won reputation as a good man and a faithful leader and as a friend of the Delawares that granted his sons the benefit of the doubt in court and initially in the court of public opinion. There was an earnest want on all sides to try to honor the spirit of the original 1686 agreement William Penn had crafted in unison with the Delawares despite the lack of any signed document.

The Delaware Forks history changed forever on a hot summer day in 1737 and it took several generations of rebirth and forgiveness for the area to rebuild faith, community and commerce in an effort to regain what William Penn's sons had forsaken in their father's name. In 1639 William Penn wrote "To do Evil, that Good may come of it, is for Bunglers in Politicks, as well as Morals." (Penn, 1693) Woe his sons didn't listen.

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