

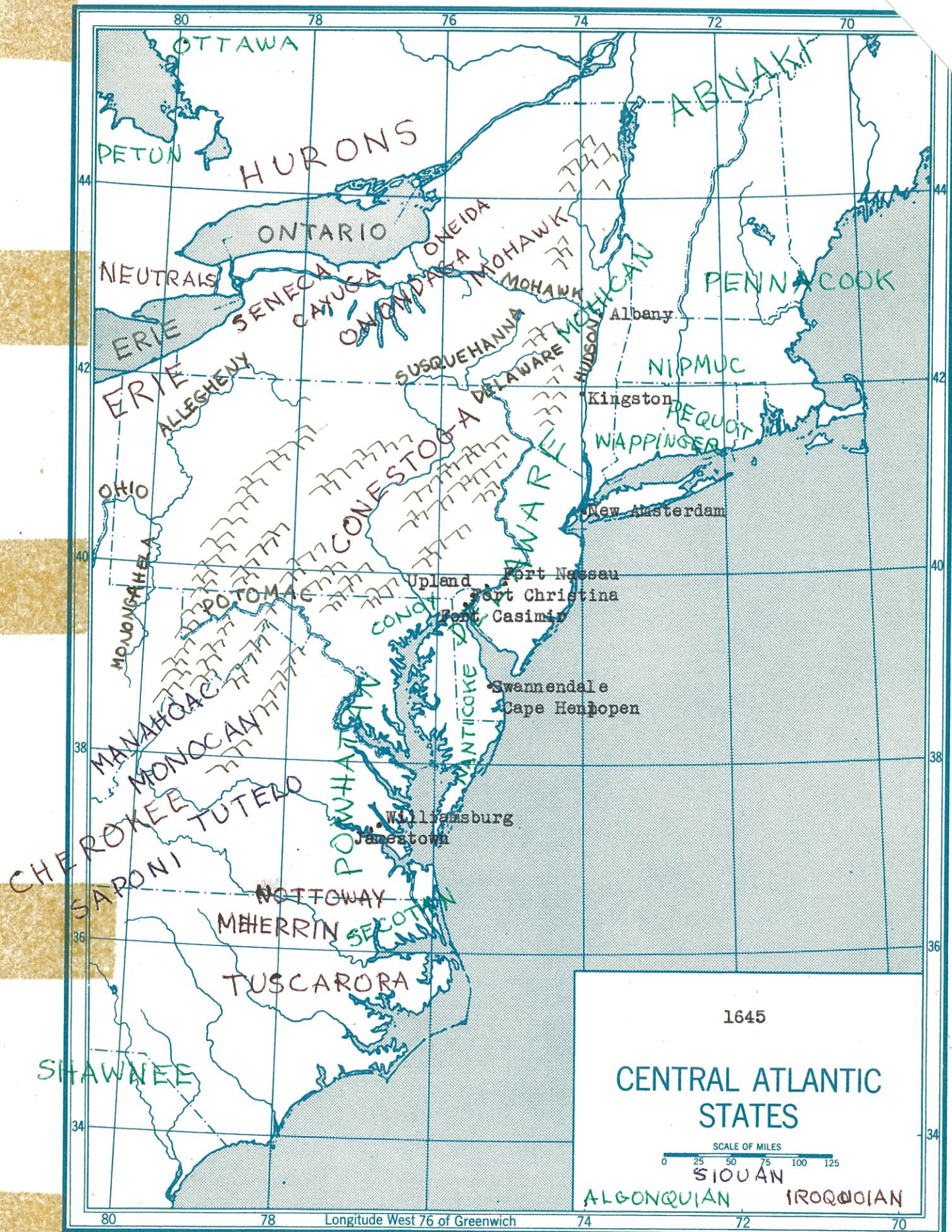
MAP II
 TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION AND EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE
 CENTRAL ATLANTIC AREA, AND PENNSYLVANIA LAND
 PURCHASE BY 1700

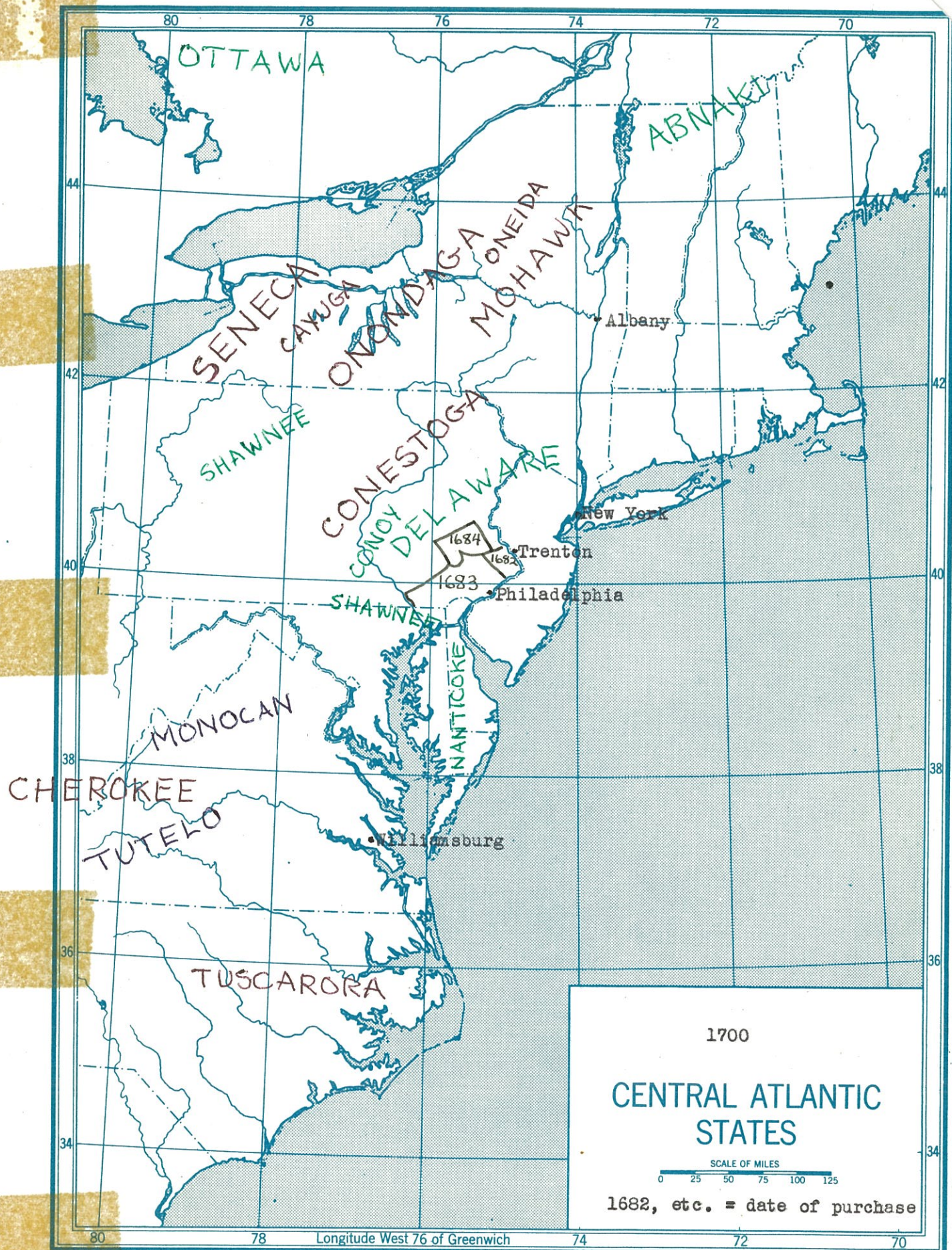
Sources:

Downes, Council Fires, p. 368.

"The Livingston Indian Records," Pennsylvania History, XXIII,
 No. 1, January 1956. fp. 70, Livingston's Map of
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Uhler, Indian Relations, pp. 28, 32-36.





Conflict Between Proprietary and Provincial Interests, and
the Operation of the Peace Policy. 1701-1738.

As the first twenty years of the Province's history had been dominated by the spirit of its founder, so the next three and a half decades were dominated by the Quaker control of the Assembly and the struggle between that Assembly, representing colonial interests, and the Proprietary Government. The latter was embodied in the Governor (the actual title was Lieutenant Governor, to differentiate the appointed Governor from the senior member of the Penn family, who was theoretically the permanent Governor) and the Executive Council.

Responsibility for Indian relations lay in the executive branch, but the Assembly controlled appropriations. This occasioned conflict between the two, especially over the expense of treaties with the Indians. As competition with the French increased, and treaty expenses took on the aspect of defense costs, the Assembly asked the Proprietors to help pay for the increasingly frequent treaties, because the Proprietors sometimes purchased land at the end of treaty conferences convened by the Province for public safety, not private profit.

The expenses arising on these Negotiations having increased much of late Years, and being likely to continue, our Duty to the Freemen of this Province obliges us to repeat the Request made by the Assembly the last Year to the Governor, to recommend to the Proprietaries the Justice of their joining with Us on these Occasions. The Benefits they reap from the

Settlement of their back Lands are very great, and tend peculiarly to the Advancement of their private Properties . . . 43

As has been pointed out, there were very few land purchases during this period, and there were many treaties, but the Assembly's argument is somewhat strengthened by the large area acquired by the Proprietors in those few purchases. The Penns answered:

that they do not conceive themselves under any obligation to contribute to Indian or any other publick Expenses, . . . Notwithstanding which they have charged themselves with paying to the Interpreter much more than could be due to him on any Treatie, for Land, and are at this Time at the Expence of maintaining his Son with a Tutor in the Indian country, to learn their Language and Customs for the service of the Provinces, as well as of sundry other charges on Indian affairs; that they have been at considerable Expenses for the service of the Province both in England and here: all of which being considered, and that they purchase the Land from the Indians and pay them for it, . . . they would have been well pleased to have been freed from the necessity of giving a disagreeable answer to any application upon that subject. 44

The interjection of the long struggle between the Proprietors and the Assembly into treaty expenses complicated the problems of the government in its dealings with Indians. This rivalry started soon after William Penn had left Pennsylvania, while he was still alive and in good health. (His influence in

⁴³Memorandum from Isaac Norris, Speaker of the House, to Governor Hamilton, October 19, 1750, C.R., V, 487.

⁴⁴Governor Hamilton's Message to the Assembly, August 16, 1751, C.R., V, 546.

Indian affairs seems to have lasted longer among the Indians than among the colonists.) In 1707 Governor Evans experienced difficulty in having the expenses of a treaty trip he had made paid out of the £ 50 annually appropriated by the Assembly for Provincial Indian expenses.⁴⁵ In 1709 Governor Gookin wrote to the Indians concerning the war against France and the proposed expedition against Canada, informing them

That if those of Conestoga, Shawanois, & c., can engage, and will prepare themselves to Joyn immediately in this Expedition, their young men should all provide themselves for it without delay, & they shall receive by the Queen's order, sent for that purpose a good reward, every man and Gun, & c., and that their answer to this by some of their old men, & a good interpreter is immediately desired. ⁴⁶

The Indians eagerly accepted, probably attracted by the guns, but the pacafistic Quaker Assembly had refused to appropriate any money for the war, putting the government in an awkward position, and requiring a message to stop the Indians from coming to Philadelphia for the arms and supplies.⁴⁷ The second message arrived too late, and the chiefs of the Delawares, Conoy and Conestogas arrived anyway. The Governor put them off with excuses, and desperately tried to persuade the Assembly to

⁴⁵Council Minutes for July 30, August 6, 12, 13, and 26, 1707, C.R., II, 391-95.

⁴⁶Council Minutes for June 8, 1709, C.R., II, 461.

⁴⁷Council Minutes for June 15 and 28, 1709, C.R., II, 467.

replenish the exhausted £ 50 allowance. Finally he told the Pennsylvania Indians that they couldn't be subsidized in an expedition to Canada and sent them home with a "token of our friendship," thus being all the £ 114 remaining in the fund would allow.⁴⁸

This incident, confusing to the Indians and embarrassing to the government, was typical of the effect of provincial politics on Indian affairs. Since the Proprietors did not purchase much land again until the 1730's, this period in the relationship was not characterized by the land-purchases of William Penn's era. However, the other essential element of his policy did continue in effect. This was the "Peace Policy," which the Assembly was upholding along with its own political interests when it refused to pay the Indians to go to war.

Penn had emphasized the advantages of peace, and received the full approbation of the Indians, who long after repeated at Councils the sage advice of Onas.

We are glad to hear you speak after the language of Onas, and of the principles of peace, he preached or recommended; we thought there were no more of the people, of that principle left in this country; we are glad to see you now and hear you speak; . . . we are very glad to hear you are of the same sentiments with Onas; since he was dead there have from time to time come new governors, one after another, and another sort of people, different from the first settlers; and since we left him (Meaning Onas), we are

⁴⁸ Philadelphia Conference, July 25-29, 1709, C.R., II, 469-75.

very glad at your rifing up, and holding the white belt in your hands, as an emblem of peace, to endeavour to reconcile the people, that are at war. 49

However, it is significant that the above speech was made in connection with peace between white men and Indians, for this demonstrates a crucial difference in the two cultures understanding of the "peace" they both praised so highly.

The white men wanted the Indians to be at peace with all other tribes, certainly those contained in other provinces, and to resist provocation, even if some other tribe killed one of them. (This was the usual Indian reason for starting raids.)

"Tho some of their People were Killed once or again, yet they should not go out but bear it."⁵⁰ This conflicted directly with the Indian concept of freedom which was very important to them. In a customary society it is essential that groups and even individuals be free to 'take the law into their own hands,' because this is the only law there is. Furthermore, the relative power and prestige of each Indian community was constantly in competition with that of all others. If victory is achieved by overcoming the enemy's will to fight, then a group which does not fight upon receipt of an acknowledged affront and

⁴⁹Speech of Scarroyada at Isreal Pemberton's House, April 23, 1756, Account of Conferences, p. 73.

⁵⁰Message from Governor Keith delivered by Colonel French at Conestoga, in Council Minutes for July 12, 1720, C.R., III, 93.

challenge is defeated to begin with. The Indians understood this, and said that the white man's wishes were "somewhat too hard upon them, if they must be confined as prisoners at home, and could not go to meet their enemies that came against them."⁵¹ Further, it was essential to Indian warfare that each side attempt to carry the fight to the homeland of the enemy, for once the enemy was in their country, no amount of defensive fighting could prevent the devastation of their homes by surprise raids. Thus even Penn's advice to them, although permitting defensive war, could not satisfy the needs of the actual situation.

William Penn told them he perceived that the Indians delighted too much in going to War, but he advised them to Peace, for if they went abroad to War, and thereby provoke other Nations to come and destroy them.

He would not in that Case give them Countenance or any assistance, but if they lived at home in Peace & minded their Hunting he would not only take care of their Goods & Families to protect them, but would also furnish them with Powder & Lead to defend themselves against those who might come to war upon them. ⁵²

Nearly a century after Penn first spoke thus the Indians were still insisting upon the right to war with each other.

Settlements are still extending further into our Country. Some of them are made directly on our War

⁵¹Indians Response, in Council Minutes for July 12, 1720, C.R., III, 93.

⁵²Speech of Whiwhinjac, "Gannawese" Chief, at Philadelphia Conference, May 20, 1723, C.R., III, 217.

Path, leading to our Enemies' Country, and we do not like it . . .

We also desire you not to go down this Rive, in the way of the Warriors, belonging to the foolish Nations, to the Westward . . . 53

In an abstract way the Indians were aware of certain advantages to peace, but what really mattered to them was their relationship with the powerful white government. This was the significance of the Peace Policy to them; "that the Governour, the English & Indians, are all as one People & one Body . . . they and we, as William Penn Said, must be the same Body, half the one & half the other . . ." ⁵⁴ Before Penn came the Indians had occasionally skirmished with the Dutch and Swedes and they knew the English to be more powerful yet. Besides they knew what had happened in the not-so-peaceful provinces north and south of them, where Dutch and Virginians had simply destroyed the coastal tribes.

The Indians knew that the Quakers, whom they greatly admired, were not warlike people, and they appreciated the immediate steps taken by the Provincial Government in the few cases of murder of Indians by whites which occurred before

⁵³Speeches of Quequedagaytho for the Delawares and Nymwha for the Shawnees at Fort Pitt Conference, May 1 and 3, 1756, G.R., IX, 523 and 527.

⁵⁴Speech of Civility at Philadelphia Conference, May 26, 1729, G.R., III, 362-63.

1754.⁵⁵ Like the policy of land payment, this was partly but enlightened self interest on the part of the Quaker Assembly, as well of the Proprietary Government.

We are of opinion that the due execution of the Laws now in being, may be very effectual to prevent any mischiefs arising either by the ill practices of our Indian Leaders, or the people's settling upon the Lands not yet purchased by the Natives. 56

⁵⁵The first white death recorded is that of Letore, a trader, for which the Indians apologized and promised retribution on June 18, 1711 (C.R., II, 533).

The first Indian killed was a Seneca, at Conestoga, shortly before March 6, 1721 (C.R., III, 146). Two white men, John and Edmund Cartlidge admitted striking him in self-defense. They were imprisoned for trial, and condolence gifts sent to the Seneca. At Albany, on September 10, 1722, the Iroquois asked that the Cartlidges be forgiven and released.

On September 27, 1727 the Council heard of a fight between some drunken Indians and a trader, Thomas Wright, who died of his wounds. It turned out he dealt largely in rum and had occasioned the quarrel himself, so the case was dropped (C.R., III, 285-86).

On May 11, 1728, John and Walter Winters, pleading self defense, killed an Indian man and two women, and wounded two girls (P.A., Ser. 1, I, 215-224). They were hanged for this.

In 1730 the Indians told of the accidental shooting of a white man while hunting with them, and of a serious fight with other white men following (P.A., Ser. 1, L, 254).

On April 19, 1744, John Armstrong, a trader, and two assistants were killed near Paxton (P.A., Ser. 1, I, 643-48 and C.R., IV, 660). Wieser felt the Indians were justified by Armstrong's greed (letter to Peters, July 14, 1747, C.R., IV, 758-59).

Adam Furney was shot by a drunken Indian on March 17, 1748, but a later dispatch announced he was not dead, and the Indian was released (C.R., V, 377).

These are the only deaths between the whites and the Indians before 1754.

⁵⁶Address of the Assembly to Governor Gordon, November 24, 1731, C.R., III, 421.

The Peace Policy was effective, as long as it was followed, in keeping peace between the two races. It never achieved the ideal understood by the white man, universal peace, partly because the Indians knew something of the struggles and occasional armed raids, which occurred within and among the colonies.

However, it did do what the Indians understood as its purpose, and it was with this peace between them and the white men that the Conoy were expressing satisfaction in the glowing terms reported by James Logan in 1720.

They are glad that they never hear any thing from the Govrmt., at Philadelphia; but good Advice and what is for their Advantage; . . . their present Chief was once at a Council with William Penn before they removed into this province, and that since they came into it, they have always lived quiet and in Peace, which they acknowledge and are thankful for it; That the Advice that is sent them is always so much for their good that they cannot but gladly receive it. When the Sun sets they sleep in Peace and in Peace they rise with him, and so continue while he continues his course, and think themselves happy in their Friendship [sic], which they will care to have continued from Generation to Generation. 57

⁵⁷Council Minutes for July 12, 1720, Logan reporting on Conference at Conestoga, C.R., III, 94.

Treaty Conferences. 1738-1754.

Much of the history of Indian relations in this country has revolved around treaties. The first treaty was made in 1618, the last in 1867. William Penn held many treaty conferences before 1701, and they reached a climax during the French and Indian War. However, the period from 1738 to 1754, while having no bigger conferences than some other periods, is particularly characterized by treaties. The treaty was a solemn pledge, and it required a conference between the authorities on each side. Not all treaties came from conferences, nor did all conferences produce treaties, but for the purposes of this discussion the terms are almost interchangeable.

The treaty conferences came to be quite regular occurrences, because they were useful to both sides. Their reasons were different except for the one basic advantage both gained by a state of mutual toleration. For the Indians the treaty conferences were important for the following reasons, in order of time and emphasis:

- 1) Needed trade goods, food, and clothing were given away by the white men, first as gifts, then as pay, and finally increasing to a subsidy which became a dole.
- 2) The Indian tribes could assure themselves by reaffirming their political status with respect to the powerful white government.

3) The Indian groups and individuals could measure and test their relative prestige in these frequent meetings, which provided an institution for ranking.

4) They could claim settlement for any grievances arising out of their relationship with the white man, especially as the settling of the grievances might lead to satisfaction in the preceding items.

5) At a later date, when they became aware of their progressive loss of lands, they attempted to stop the process by treaties and agreements to set boundaries to white expansion.

6) Also later, at least in western Pennsylvania, they tried to establish a role for themselves in the power struggle between Britain and France.

For the government of Pennsylvania the treaty conferences served several ends, some of which complemented, some contradicted, and some bore no relationship to the various Indian interests. In order of time or importance the white men sought these gains:

1) The first purpose, already discussed, was to acquire land peacefully and cheaply.

2) Fur trade, the first substantial lure to colonial development, was arranged and sometimes successfully managed by means of treaties.

3) Peace was kept, as far as possible, among the various tribes on the frontier whose wars might involve nearby whites.

4) Like the Indians, the white men sought to settle grievances.

5) The colonists wanted allies in their competition with the French in Canada.

Both the Indians and the white men had internal political problems which at times rose to dominate the interests which usually dictated treaty and conference policy.

The Indians were completely dependent by the 1730's on the white man's goods introduced by the fur trade, or thought they were. For them the traditional gift ceremony of pre-contact times became a veritable rain from heaven, and the provincial expenses for Indian affairs rose rapidly. During the first two decades of the Eighteenth century the assembly limited expenses (independent of whatever the Proprietors might pay for land purchases) to £ 50 per year.⁵⁸ By 1728 a single treaty conference, lasting ten days at Conestoga, attended by fifteen sachems and various provincial officials, cost over £ 290,⁵⁹ and at the epitome of expenditures, now partially supported by the home government, George Croghan distributed £ 1,050 worth of goods at Fort Pitt on May 4, 1768.⁶⁰ All this occurred

⁵⁸Assembly Bills considered by the Council, September 20, October 4, November 8, 1705 and January 12, 1706, C.R., II, 212, 213, 224, 231.

⁵⁹C.R., III, 310-27.

⁶⁰C.R., IX, 538.

as Indian population declined and prices of most goods fell somewhat.⁶¹ Even the greater number of Indian tribes contacted during the latter Eighteenth century did not make up for the population decline. The increase is attributed to competition: internal, that is, each conference competed with its predecessors, as the Indians' tastes and needs grew more expensive; and external, against France. It can also be explained by the decreasing value of the fur trade, due to overhunting and farming,⁶² and the few land purchases, which dried up those sources of Indian livelihood and made them ask for larger gifts.

Next to supplying the Indian's material wants, the most important task of the treaty conferences was to constantly reaffirm his friendly relationship with the white man. All conferences began with the formal presentation of strings and belts of wampum used to symbolize and emphasize clauses or phrases. Always, one of these reasserted friendship.

They were now come hither to see William Penn's Sons, to take them by the hand and renew with them the League of Friendship made with their Father. And to bind their Words, they now presented, in the name of all the Conestogoe, Ganawese and Shawanese Indians, three bundles of skins. 63

⁶¹Jacobs, Indian Gifts, pp. 61-75.

⁶²Speech of "Sesounan" at Philadelphia Conference, August 1, 1740, C.R., IV, 423.

⁶³Speech of Civility at Philadelphia Conference, August 1, 1735, C.R., IV, 599.

The whole Indian attitude toward the Quaker Peace Policy shows their appreciation of recognition and acceptance by the more powerful white culture; yet they wanted to be recognized as independent. The struggle within the soul of the Indian who was forced to admit that he could not remain independent shows clearly. When even the proud Iroquois could not control, to the satisfaction of white standards, one of their tributary tribes, they told the representatives of Pennsylvania that they thought "it ought not to pass unrevenged, but they would willingly have our advice on the occasion."⁶⁴

The Conestoga were reduced to this tacitly dependent relationship even earlier, although a front of independence was retained.

Civility, the Interpreter, told the Governour he had something to say, which was, The Indians will approve of all the Govr. had said except where he told them that the English Law made no difference between the English and the Indians, for they should not like, upon an Indian's committing a fault, that he should be imprisoned as they had seen some Englishmen were.

To which the Governour answered, That they had misapprehended his meaning, which was, That if any Englishman did injury to an Indian he would suffer the same punishment as if he had done it to an Englishman. But if an Indian committed Robbery or such like crime against the English, he would acquaint their chief with it and from him expect satisfaction.

Then Civility said, That Whiwhinjac and the rest purposed to proceed to Annapolis, to renew their League of Friendship with the Governour, there as the[y]

⁶⁴Speech of Hetaquantagechty at Philadelphia Conference, August 26, 1735, C.R., III, 608.

has done here, and they thought proper to acquaint him thereof.

To which the Govr. answered, That the people of Maryland & Pensilvania were very good Friends, and he was contented they should go, but that the Indians should consider that as they were Inhabitants of Pensilvania, they were immediately subjects of that Governmt., & none other. 65

Nonetheless, the forms of independence became important to a people who saw their real independence slipping away. Even when they had only one course of action, it was important to speak as if there might be others.

Brother Arraghiyogey, You have acquainted us, that the great King, our Father, is firmly resolved to defend our country, and recover such parts of it, as the French have encroached upon; also, to protect us to utmost of his power, by erecting forts for our safety and defence; we are grateful for this instance of his goodness; but have not yet concluded any thing with regards to the latter. 66

The greatest value of the treaties, after 'shining the great chain of friendship' between the red man and the white, was that they provided opportunities for individuals and tribes to test their comparative prestige. Treaty conferences were the largest meetings of the year, and the government's bounty could support more Indians in one place longer than the native economy ever could.

⁶⁵Philadelphia Conference, May 20, 1723, C.R., III, 221.

⁶⁶Speech of the Red Head to Sir William Johnson on February 24, 1756, Account of Conferences, p. 43.

Perforce, relative prestige among the Indians was closely related to their standing with the white powers. The Iroquois, for instance, defeated their closest rivals for the fur trade before 1700. This success and the near monopoly it assured them brought them English support, which enabled them to defeat tribes further west and south. These victories in turn made them still more desirable allies for Great Britain.

The Iroquois took advantage of their reputation when dealing with whites. They would tell white men that tribes which were still resisting their attacks were already subject, because if the whites treated them as if they were it would make the job of conquest or resubjugation easier for the Iroquois.

. . . The Six Nations . . . were against both English and French building Forts and settling Lands at Ohio, and desired they might both quit that Country, and only send a few traders with Goods sufficient to supply the wants of their Hunters; they did not like the Virginians and Pennsylvanians making Treaties with these Indians, whom they call Hunters, and young and giddy Men and Children; [they are] their Fathers, and if the English wanted anything from these childish People they must first speak to their Fathers. 67

Sometimes the Iroquois seemed to be in direct competition with the Government of Pennsylvania, as in the long struggle to stop the raids on Virginia and Carolina Indians by Iroquois warriors. Feeling that it couldn't stop the Iroquois

⁶⁷Letter from Peters to Governor Hamilton, June, 1753, G.R., V, 635.

themselves, the Province at least tried to stop Pennsylvania Indians from being dragged along on the expeditions.

... our Indians have repeatedly engaged to me that they would go no more out to war, yet as often as those of the five Nations come that way, they Constantly press some of our Indian young men to accompany in their Expedition, and when the others shew'd a Reluctancy from the obligations they lie under to the contrary, they haughtily ask them to whom they belong, whether to them or to us? To which our People being awed by them, dare make no other answer than that they belong to them, and thus they are forced away. 68

Comparative standings of groups were reflected in the order in which they spoke to the government and the symbolic gifts they tendered. White recognition of their position was shown in the value of gifts they received.⁶⁹ The same was true of individuals within the tribes. One of the secrets of Sir William Johnson's success was his knowledge of fitting gifts and his ability to remember each person and flatter him with gifts without affronting others.⁷⁰

Grievance settlement was one of the few purposes both Indians and white men had in mind when holding a conference. Usually the complaints were petty occurrences connected to one of the objectives, such as Indians asking that the white

⁶⁸ Report by Logan on Conestoga Conference of June 28(?), 1720, C.R., III, 100.

⁶⁹ Minutes of Philadelphia Conference, July 6, 1742, C.R., IV, 556-57.

⁷⁰ Jacobs, Indian Gifts, p. 38.

settlers in some valley beyond the line of purchases be removed, or that some trader be restrained. A multitude of the complaints concerned rum, which the Indians could not get enough of nor hold when they had it. Ultimately, since the Provincial Government could not effectively regulate it, nor get Indian cooperation if it tried, rum played a large part in the elimination of Pennsylvania's Indian problem.

After the pressure of white expansion was felt in the 1730's the land sales of the period were made by the Iroquois, and their subject tribes who occupied the ceded areas could only grudgingly accept. However, their troubles were finally pleaded by the Iroquois, who themselves began to worry over white encroachment.

Some of our Company . . . hearing that numbers were Settling, & designed to Settle the Lands on the Branches of Juniata, made Complaint of you, . . . We thank you for taking Notice of the Complaint and taking measures to turn them off; but we are apprehensive that no better Effects will follow these than former Ones of the same value -- if not we must insist on it that as this is on the hunting Ground of our Cousins the Nanticokes, & other Indians Living on the Water of Juniata, you use more vigorous measures & forcibly remove. We must not be depriv'd of our hunting Country, & indeed it will be an hurt to You, for all we kill goes to You, and you have the profit of all the Skins. We, therefore, repeat our earnest entreaties that they may all be immediately made to go away with their Effects, that this Country may be entirely Left vacant. 71

So the conferences came to serve an Indian purpose

⁷¹Speech of Canassatego at Philadelphia Conference, August 16, 1749, C.R., V, 400-401.

directly opposed to one of the original white purposes. Direct conflict of ideas was avoided because in very few of these meetings did the Proprietors want to buy land, and because the Indians were becoming pessimistic and were usually glad to sell and move as it gave them some respite from the ubiquitous settlers. When opposition was intransigent it appeared as warfare, not in treaty conferences. To that degree, at least, the Indians adopted the white view of the purpose of the meetings. If they absolutely refused to budge, there seemed no purpose in treating at a conference.

A last reason for Indian participation in treaty conferences came late in this period, but it was of vital importance for the Indians, as they realized. Increasingly, from 1690 until the final decision of 1760, the history of the area and of the Indian tribes there was dominated by the rivalry between France and England. As the Indians realized that they held a certain balance of power, but could be crushed if the two European powers ever cooperated or even if one of them defeated the other, they sought to use their power to keep a balance. When the French were too aggressive the Indians threatened to support the Colonies.

Their Speaker, by direction of Tyoniuhogarao, said, that Onontejo (the Name they gave to the Governours of Canada) had sent to speak with their Chiefs, and told them he should have a War with Corlaer (their name for the Governours of New York), and that he desired them to sitt still and look on, that the [-y] should see he was the better Man, & would beat Corlear [sic] & his

people; . . . To which they said their chiefs had answered to this purpose; . . . Corlear is our Brother, . . . We will not forsake him, nor see any Man make War with him without assisting: We shall joyn him, and if we fight with you, we may have our Father Onontejo to bury in the Ground; we would not have you force us to this, but be wise and live in Peace. 72

In 1753 the Indians asked for English help to keep the French from occupying the Ohio Valley.⁷³ However, it is significant that they saw fit to inform the English of the French pressure and their loyalty. They were no happier about having English forts in their country than French.⁷⁴ When pressed, they adopted a strict neutrality, at least as long as conditions of peace did not cut off trade.

We thank you for the Notice you are pleased to take of those Young Men, and for your kind intentions towards them . . . It is an hunting country they live in, and we would have it reserved for this use only, and desire that no Settlements may be made there, tho' you may trade there as much as you please, and so may the French. We love the English and we love the French, and as you are at Peace with one another do not disturb one another; if you fall out make up your Matters among Yourselves. 75

During the period immediately preceding the French and

⁷²Minutes of Philadelphia Conference, August 28, 1732, C.R., III, 444.

⁷³George Croghan's Journal, in Reuben Gold Thwaites, Early Western Travels, 1748-1846, I, 94.

⁷⁴Cf. Supra, (65) and (66); p: 63.

⁷⁵Speech of Assaraquoah at Logstown Conference, June 1753, C.R., V, 637.

Indian War, the Colonists held most treaties to accomplish other ends than land purchase, although this had once been primary, and was to become so again. The main purpose now was to improve the fur trade. To the traders (many of whom, incidentally, profited from the treaty conferences themselves) this usually meant liberalizing it with Indian approval and establishing a local, mercantilistic monopoly, although the Indians asked for fixed prices or even a single trade monopoly.⁷⁶ The Provincial Government was dominated by business men, and could not ignore this aspect, however it also had to be concerned with regulation of the trade from a public viewpoint. This was intimately involved with keeping the peace and settling differences, and its universal benefit was recognized.

"This House will readily defray the necessary charges that shall attend a Treaty with those people."⁷⁷ In fact, the continuance of the trade was not only economically desirable, it was politically necessary to protect "Trade with them and to furnish them with Necessaries for their hunting & cloathing, which is the only Bond and Tie of their friendship with us."⁷⁸

⁷⁶Speech of Sassoonan, at Philadelphia Conference, June 14, 1715, C.R., II, 600-609.

⁷⁷Answer of the House to Governor Gordon, August 6, 1731, by A. Hamilton, C.R., III, 407.

⁷⁸Governor Gordon's Response, August 6, 1731, C.R., III, 408.

This bond had to be preserved, not only for peace on the frontier, but so that the Indians could assure the worried colonists about "How you stand with your Neighbors, the French, who were formerly your cruel Enemies but are now at Peace with you; How they behave to you;"⁷⁹

Both sides to these treaties had internal problems, and occasionally they spilled over into the decorous session, to the confusion of the other party. Two related examples will illustrate.

The Delawares, disaffected under Iroquois domination, had split, some going west to Ohio, others to the place appointed for them at Wyoming. When war broke out these latter, being in a more restricted position and having felt a series of wrongs including the 'Walking Purchase' and the embarrassing session with Canassatego five years later, were first on the war path, even before Braddock's defeat made the western Delaware dependent on the French. These eastern Delaware were led by Teedyuscung, a partially acculturated minor sachem. Since all recognized leaders had gone west, he assumed control, and scored several successes. The government of Pennsylvania accepted him at his word when he claimed he was "King of Ten Nations," because he offered to negotiate peace, and the

⁷⁹Speech of Thomas Penn to Chiefs of the Five Nations at Philadelphia Conference, August 23, 1732, C.R., III, 437.

Province desperately wanted peace. They did not know he was an upstart, and in the eyes of the Iroquois, a rebel.

At the outbreak of hostilities, the Quaker Assembly had resigned, ending seventy years of pacifistic control of the legislature. They were still the most powerful organized group in the colony, and the richest, despite the opposition of the Scotch-Irish frontiersmen which had overthrown their pacifism. When the Proprietary Government met Teedyuscung at Easton in 1758 there came up from Philadelphia a separate organization, headed by Israel Pemberton, with a fund of money considerably larger than that of the government. These Quakers were willing to spend all of it to gain peace their way, voluntarily, not by pacification. They were also looking for chances to embarrass the Proprietors, and Teedyuscung's sense of wrong at the 'Walking Purchase' was their opening.

There is no point in going into detail about that confused free-for-all. Interests and loyalties criss-crossed, and people were forced to take positions more extreme than they intended. The government had nothing but suspicion for the colonial party of the Assembly "who seem'd determined to take advantage of their Country's distress to get the whole powers of Government into their own hands,"⁸⁰ Conrad Weiser suspected

⁸⁰ See Statement of William Peters (brother of Richard) and J. Duche, 1757, P. A., Ser. 1, III, 274-76. Also letter from William Peters to Richard Peters, October 23, 1757, P. A., Ser. 1, III, 299-300.

that the Indians' complaints were "put into their mouth some time before."⁸¹

On the other side, the Iroquois finally overcame their inbred respect for the neutrality of conference language, and cut the ground out from under Teedyuscung. "Nichas, the Mohock Chief, stood up and directing his discourse to both Governors said:

"Brothers:

We thought proper to meet you here to have some private discourse about our Nephew, Teedyuscung.

You all know that he gives out that he is a great Man, and Chief of Ten Nations--this is his constant Discourse. Now I, on behalf of the Mohocks, say we do not know he is such a great man. If he is such a great man, we desire to know who made him so. Perhaps you have, and if this be the case, tell us so. It may be the French have made him so.

We want to enquire and know whence his greatness arose."

Tagashata, on behalf of the Senecas, spoke next.

"Brethren,

I, for my Nations, say the same that Nichas has done: I need not repeat it. I do not know who has made Teedyuscung this great man over Ten Nations, and I want to know who made him so." ⁸²

And so on down the line, until Teedyuscung's position was completely demolished. Here was a conference dominated by the political situation within the province and among the Indians. It had very little to do with the relationship between the two, which was always the nominal purpose of such

⁸²Conference at Easton, October 15, 1758, C.R., VIII, 190.

⁸¹Memorandum, 1756, P.A., Ser. 1, III, 86.

treaty conferences.⁸³

Although many of them conflicted, the standing interests of the whites and Indians were not incompatible, and there seemed always to be something to draw them to meetings, often twice a year. The fact that each thought he gained something does not mean he was satisfied with the other party. Quite the opposite, this endless round of conferences, willingly indulged in by both sides, roused rather than allayed the feelings of suspicion and animosity which were released in 1754.

"The signing of this agreement is part of an old story, often repeated in American history. Time and time again the Indians nullified their agreements in order to obtain new rewards in goods. Using sugary terms that indicated a lack of sincerity, the commissioners induced the natives to sell their hunting grounds for what Dinwiddie termed a "fair purchase."⁸⁴

⁸³Wallace, Teedyuscung, pp. 192-207.

⁸⁴Jacobs, Indian Gifts, pp. 123-24. Here discussing the Logstown Treaty of 1752. Dinwiddie was Governor of Virginia, and influential in the Ohio Company, which was purchasing the land.