

CONCLUSION

During this period of one hundred seventy years, there was continuous contact between European and Indian society on the moving frontier belt of North America. In Pennsylvania the groups which met were in relatively parallel political positions, as both the Province and the tribes which treated with it were self-governing bodies but were not as independent as they wished of powers which claimed suzerainty over them.

Their contact was concerned with their joint occupancy of the frontier area, which was moved westward as the white men needed and obtained the Indians' land, and with their complementary roles in the fur trade, upon which the Indians' way of life was based. Because at various times each group needed something which the other could offer, and because occasionally the existence of one or the other seemed to it in jeopardy, there were frequent official contacts between them. Despite these many councils and treaties, neither group understood the other's interests or behavior.

The Indian and the colonist saw a few of the elements of their relationship in the same light, because certain obvious facts could not be ignored and left little room for interpretation. Occasionally an individual from one society saw some aspect of the other more clearly than its own members

could because he was not intimately concerned with the events he observed. This does not mean that his judgment was free of bias, only that it was free of the particular bias prevalent among those judged.

In general, however, they did not understand each other and particularly did not understand that the relationship was not the same for both parties. Their behavior was guided by their own concerns, by the outside pressures upon them, and upon their understanding of the relationship between them. Their concerns and pressures differed, which both realized. They did not realize that their understandings of the relationship differed, and that they were essentially acting upon each other independently of the other's desires and comprehensions.

The cases examined here, and the general narrative of their dealings with each other illustrate the insulated nature of their picture of the relationship which vitally concerned both. Knowing that these viewpoints were different, and how they differed, helps us to explain events and behavior which were not understood or were misconstrued by the participants.

The history of the Pennsylvania frontier shows that two peoples can inhabit the same area, be in contact with each other, and intimately affect each other's destiny, and yet live in separate worlds.

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A P384w

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H 62 i

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H 66 h 1 & 2

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A-P 38 p

It covers published articles only. There is little cross reference, and the user can only hope that his categories coincide with those of the compilers.

Vail, Robert W. G. The Voice of the Old Frontier. University of Pennsylvania: Rosenbach Fund, 1949. 492 pp.

(U.W.No.) 917.3

A V193 v

This uses many manuscript sources, and summarizes them well in its bibliography.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. King of the Delawares, Teedyuscung. 1700-1763. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949. 305 pp.

(U.W.) 970.2

T 228 wa

This has an extensive and very good bibliography.

Printed Source Material

An Account of Conferences held, and Treaties made, between Major-general Sir William Johnson, Bart., and the chief Sachems and Warriours of the . . . [14] . . . Indian Nations in North America, etc. etc.]. London: no pub., 1756. 77 pp. Reprinted 1930. (U.W.) 970.5

Ac 27

A pamphlet printed, probably by a Quaker sympathizer, to show importance of peaceful co-existence. Useful source. Abbreviated: Account of Conferences.

B., J. C. (name unknown). Travels in New France. W.P.A. Reprint. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1941. 167 pp. (Frontier Forts and Trails Survey) (U.W.) 971.01

T 698

The memoirs of young Frenchmen who served in the French and Indian War, written up later in the 1780's. Inaccurate as to dates, etc., but contains excellent personal observations and some very graphic descriptions. Originally printed ca. 1830.

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Gipson, Lawrence H. Lewis Evans 1700-1756 & A Brief Account of Pennsylvania, 1753, by Lewis Evans. Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1939. 246 pp. (U.W.) 917.48
Ev 155 g

Evans was a surveyor and map-maker, and this contains excellent prints of his maps.

Johnson, Sir William, The Papers of. James Sullivan, ed. Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1921-1953. 11 vols. (U.W.) 974.7
J 63 p

The best source for matters purely of Indian Affairs, and of the policy changes in the Department. Abbreviated: William Johnson Papers.

New York, Documents Relative to the Colonial History of. Edmund B. O'Callaghan and Berthold Fernow, eds. Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, Printers. 15 volumes. (U.W.) 974.7
D 65

Vol. XII has collected in it the documents relating to the settlement of the Delaware in the Seventeenth Century by the Swedes and Dutch, and XIII has papers specifically concerning Indian Affairs. Abbreviated: N.Y. Col. Hist. Docs.

Pastorius, Francis Daniel. 1651-1719. Description of Pennsylvania 1700. Translated from the German by Lewis H. Weiss. Boston: Directors of the Old South Work, 1898. (20 pp. in larger vol.) (U.W.) 973
OL 1

V. 4 No. 95

Pastorius wrote to prospective settlers still in Germany.

Penn, William. Collected Works. London: Assigns of J. Sowle, 1726. (U.W.) 818
P 38 c

Large, rather awkwardly arranged collection of works, interspersed with commentary.

_____. Proposal and Plan for the . . . Foundation of a City . . . 1683. London: Coleman Reprint, 1881. 24 pp.

Pennsylvania Archives. Samuel Hazard, ed. Philadelphia: J. Severns & Co., 1852-56 & 1874-1935. (U.W.) 974.8
PE

I used Vols. I-IV of Series 1, covering 1664-1776, averaging 800 pages. These contain papers supplemen-

tary to the official government papers in the Colonial Records. Many personal notes are included. This is indispensable. I also used Series 4, "The Papers of the Governors," (George E. Reed, ed. [Harrisburg: State of Pennsylvania, 1900]) Vols. I-III, 1682-1785, averaging 1,000 pages. These have mostly proclamations, etc. They are not so useful. Abbreviated: P.A.

Provincial Council, The Colonial Records of Pennsylvania.
Vols. I-X, Philadelphia: J. Severns & Co., 1851-52.
Vols. XI-XVI, Harrisburg: Theo. Fern. & Co., 1853.
Average about 700 pp. (U.W.) 974.8
PC

I used these through Vol. XIV. They contain the minutes of the Council and Supporting papers, and were the source of most of my original material. They are particularly good for complete minutes of Indian Conferences. The most important single source.
Abbreviated: C.R.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold, ed. Early Western Travels, 1748-1846.
Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1904. 32
vols. (U.W.) 973
T 42

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Abbreviated: Thwaites, Western Travels.

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(U.W.) 970.1
N 48

Good contemporary comment, and McIlwain also quotes other sources in the introduction. Abbreviated:
Wraxall, Abridgement.

Books

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pp. (U.W.) 921
P 38 b

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Beauchamp, William M. A History of the New York Iroquois.

Albany: New York State Education Department, 1905.

46 pp.

(U.W.) 970.3

B 38

This has a good collection of early maps. Abbreviated:
Beauchamp, History of Iroquois.

Brewster, William. The Pennsylvania and New York Frontier, 1720-1783. Philadelphia: G. S. MacManus Co., 1954.

237 pp.

(U.W.) 974.7

B 758 p

I include this because it is so poor! It is all that a book about the frontier should not be, and that so many are. It contains an endless account of massacre and ambush, is poorly proof-read. It is probably a vanity publication. I did not cite it.

Buck, Solon Justus. The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1939. 565 pp.

(U.W.) 974.8

B 85 p

Useful narrative, but no annotation. Abbreviated:
Buck, Western Pa.

Clarkson, Thomas. Memoirs of the Private and Public Life of William Penn, who settled the State of Pennsylvania, and founded the City of Philadelphia. Dover, New Hampshire: S. C. Stevens, 1827. 2 vols. (U.W.) 921

P 38 c

An old and unimaginative biography. Abbreviated:
Clarkson, Penn Memoirs.

Colden, Cadwallader. The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada . . . N. Y.: New Amsterdam Book Co., 1902. 2 vols.

(U.W.) 970.1

C 67

This was written to encourage alliance with the Iroquois. Abbreviated: Colden, Five Nations.

Comfort, William Wistar. William Penn, 1644-1718, a tercentenary estimate. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944. 185 pp.

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P 38 co

Ample annotation and many useful quotations.

Cribbs, G. A. The Frontier Policy of Pennsylvania. Pittsburgh: 1919. 102 pp.

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C 86 f

Not very good.

Dobree, Bonamy. William Penn, Quaker and Pioneer. Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1932. 346 pp. (U.W.) 921
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This has good bibliographical notes.

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D 437 i

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D 75 c

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C 46 V. 8

Heckewelder, John, Rev. The History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States. Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1876 (Lippincott's Press). 465 pp. (U.W.) 974.806
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The best early source on Delaware attitudes, now somewhat dated on history. Abbreviated: Heckewelder, Indian Nations.

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1 & 2

Best reference. See under bibliographies. Abbreviated: Hodge, Handbook.

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Sw 26 m No. 2

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J 156 d

Very useful in the section on trade. Good notes. Abbreviated: Jacobs, Indian Gifts.

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Dodd, Mead and Company, 1904. 332 pp.

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M 82 L

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Vs. 14-15

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N 48 L

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Uhler, Sherman P. Pennsylvania's Indian Relations to 1754. Allentown: Temple University Doctoral Dissertation, 1951. 144 pp.

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Uh 61 p

Quite disappointing. The annotation does not seem trustworthy, the bibliography is weak, and the text is little more than a series of extracts from the Colonial Records. There is no analysis. Abbreviated: Uhler, Indian Relations.

Volweiller, Albert Tangeman. George Croghan and the Westward Movement, 1741-1782. Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1926. 370 pp.

(U.W.) 977
V 88 g

A very good study, with good notes. Abbreviated: Volweiller, Croghan.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. King of the Delawares, Teedyuscung, 1700-63. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949. 305 pp.

(U.W.) 970.2
T 228 wa

A study of Teedyuscung's character, as displayed in

the records, and an explanation of the man in terms of Social Anthropology. Well done, and with great feeling for the period. There is an excellent bibliography, and fair annotation. Abbreviated: Wallace, Teedyuscung.

Wallace, Paul A. Conrad Weiser, 1696-1760, Friend of Colonist and Mohawk. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945. 648 pp. (U.W.) 921

W 434 w

Paul A. is Anthony's father. The Weiser book, along with Croghan and Teedyuscung, was most important. Unfortunately, the footnotes are gathered at the end, and are somewhat confusing, but the book is accurate and good reading. Abbreviated: Wallace, Conrad Weiser.

Ward, Christopher. New Sweden on the Delaware. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938. 160 pp.

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W 21 N

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