

all their business was done and they were returning to their Horses before I could get half-way down to the Work House; the Sheriff and Coroner, however, & several others, got down as soon as the Rioters; but could not prevail with them to stop their hands; some people say they heard them declare they would proceed to the Province Island, and destroy the Indians there. 109

There followed a list of the six Indians killed at Conestoga and the fourteen killed at Lancaster.

The Government was apprehensive for the 140 Indians under its protection on Province Island, a few miles below Philadelphia, and tried to send them to New York, after asking General Gage for assistance and troops and informing Sir William Johnson so he could tell the Iroquois officially. Well might the government fear the aroused borderers, who were mostly Scotch-Irish who had suffered from the Indian raids of the previous summer which never touched the peace and security of Philadelphia. Shippen forwarded an anonymous letter he had received December 31.

. . . Many of the Inhabitants of the Townships of Lebanon, Paxton & Hanover, are Voluntarily forming themselves in a Company to March to Philadelphia, with a Design to Kill the Indians that Harbour there. Many Farmers near the Mountin have already contributed largely to Defray the Expenses of Such as are Willing and not of Ability to procure Horses and pay their Charges. They Expect to Compose a Company of about 200

Men, and to Prosecute their Design as soon as Possible.¹¹⁰

Public feeling also rose in the capitol as it had among the frontiersmen, but in opposition. Even the pacifistic Quakers were not above taking arms and forming into military companies to repulse the "Paxton Boys."

Meanwhile Governor Golden of New York had denied the Indians refuge in his province.

The Indians on the East side of the Susquehanna are the most obnoxious to the People of this Province of any, having done the most mischief. They consist of a number of rogues and thieves, run-aways from other Nations, and for that reason cannot be trusted. I could not be assured that these Indians can safely pass through this Province without an Escort, which would with great difficulty and expence be obtained at this Season of the Year. The minds of the people are so generally irritated against the Indians living on the North East Branches of Susquehanna, that a number of Volunteers were proposed to me to go out against them to punish them for their Cruelties & perfidy.¹¹¹

General Gage sent some regulars, and the citizens of Philadelphia formed a Militia. A Quaker informant sent word of the intentions of the "rioters." ". . . If Gabriel was to come down from Heaven and tell them . . . they were wrong, they would not desist for it, for that they were of the same Spirit

¹¹⁰P.A., Ser. 1, IV, 156.

¹¹¹Letter of Governor Golden to Governor Penn, January 10, 1764. C.R., IX, 120.

with the blood-run, blood-thirsty Presbyterians, who cut off King Charles his Head." They said they did not want to kill Quakers, but would kill them or anyone who opposed them. The various families in Philadelphia who harbored Indians ". . . must tell where they (the Indians) were, and deliver them up, or their Houses would be fired over their heads."¹¹²

These were strong words, but the frontiersmen felt strongly about both the Indians, who had raided them, and the Assembly and Government in Philadelphia, which they believed had permitted the Indians to do so without raising a finger to protect the frontier. They also felt strong, that is, they felt they could gain satisfaction for their demands and grievances. Early in February ". . . a very considerable number of armed men came . . . from the Frontiers as far as Germantown . . ." but were met by Benjamin Franklin and other Commissioners and persuaded not to enter Philadelphia ". . . by the opposition they Apprehended from the inhabitants of this City, as well as the King's Troops".¹¹³ The whole affair was settled without any further bloodshed, and the armed band of frontiersmen dispersed. But their feelings were unchanged.

¹¹²Signed and Affirmed Testimony of Benjamin Kendall, of Information gained from one Robert Fulton on January 26, 1764. C.R., IX, 126.

¹¹³Letter of Governor Penn to General Gage, February 17, 1764. P.A., Ser. 4, III, 275.

They hated Indians.

Sir William Johnson was ". . . greatly apprehensive it will stagger the affections of the five hitherto well affected Nations . . ." ¹¹⁴ But the Indians whose lives had been guarded at Philadelphia were properly grateful. They wrote to the Governor.

Your Benevolence & Protection towards us are great in our Eyes & have made an impression in our Hearts that can never wear out, and we will relate all this to the Indians on Susquehanna & testify & declare to them that we are & will for ever remain true friends to the English.

We have another Request to make to you, which is, that you will give us some Powder & Shot to make use of on our tedious & difficult Journey in killing some Game for our wives & children. ¹¹⁵

And so it would go on. Once again the frontiersmen could accuse the government of giving arms and ammunition to Indians, which would, the frontiersmen believed, always end up being used against them.

Not only was the Assembly challenged from the frontier, but it was under the cloud of ". . . royal and ministerial displeasure . . ." in London, due to its ". . . obstinacy and inactivity . . ." in the Seven Years War and Pontiac's

¹¹⁴Letter of Johnson to Governor Penn, January 20, 1764. C.R., IX, 130.

¹¹⁵Address of the Indians in Barracks to Governor Penn [April], 1764. C.R., IX, 171.

War.¹¹⁶ It was chiefly the failure of colonial legislatures to bear what the British Government considered their fair share of the costs of the defense of the frontiers which led to the passage of the Sugar Act of 1764 and the Stamp Act of 1765, with all their consequences.¹¹⁷ Pennsylvania had, at this time, as earlier, borne the dubious honor of being the colony most reluctant to pay military expenses.

Some serious effort to appease the Indians was made in conjunction with the military suppression of the rising, but it was not made by those portions of Anglo-American society which were in contact with the Indians. The famous proclamation of 1763 was made during the fall, based on Johnson's recommendations, and on the need for an effective peace gesture with which to impress the Indians. The line west of which no settlers were allowed, the Allegheny divide as far north as the southern extent of Iroquois homeland, was considered a temporary boundary to pacify the Indians. The Board of Trade thought it could later be modified, when the situation had become stable.¹¹⁸ This hope proved mistaken, as the events of

¹¹⁶John Dickinson, Collected Writings, Ford ed., pp. 21-60. Quoted in Winfred Root, The Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government. 1696-1765, p. 376. Hereafter, Root, Relations of Pa. with Brit. Gov.

¹¹⁷Root, Relations of Pa. with Brit. Gov., pp. 329-31.

¹¹⁸Volweiller, Croghan, pp. 170-71.

the next decade showed clearly.

None of the causes of Indian hostility during the French and Indian War, except the presence of the French, or during Pontiac's War, had been settled, and in many ways the situation was worse. But the decade of war was over, and a diplomatic relationship outwardly like that which existed before was reestablished. Governor Penn issued a proclamation on December 5, 1764, which declared the war at an end because the Indians had ". . . in a most humble and submissive manner, sued for peace . . ."119

This was the one element of the relationship which had changed. The Indians had not considered the French and Indian war lost. They had waged another desperate war, and now they admitted that they were beaten. They were not pacified by the Proclamation of 1763, and had more cause than ever for complaint in the behavior of the intransigent frontiersmen. But they could not fight any more, so they admitted that they were no longer equal to the white man's power. "Fathers," they called the English,

for so we will call you henceforward. . . . It gave us great Satisfaction to be called the Children of the King of England, and convinces us that your intention towards us is upright, as we know a Father will be tender of his Children, and they more ready to obey him than a Brother,

119 C.R., IX, 234.

therefore we hope our Father will now take better care of his Children than has heretofore been done. 120

The Indians had abandoned the position of "Brethren" when they tried to end their relations with the whites. Having failed in that attempt, they now had to accept the position of "Children." Their nativism died down, but it was not forgotten, for four decades later Techumsah and his brother, The Prophet, were Shawnees. For the time being, however, they no longer believed that if they returned to the old ways they could destroy the invaders. Their faith took on a messianic aspect, as they now knew it would take some outside force, more powerful than they, to destroy the white men. Their prophets now taught

That when the whites shall have ceased killing the red men, and got all their lands from them, the great tortoise which bears this island upon his back, shall dive down into the deep and drown them all, as he once did before, a great many years ago; and that when he again rises, the Indians shall once more be put in possession of the whole country. 121

¹²⁰Speech of Lawoughgua, for the Shawanese, at Fort Pitt, May 10, 1765. C.R., IX, 259.

¹²¹Heckewelder, Indian Nations, p. 345.

MAP IV

LAND PURCHASES IN PENNSYLVANIA BY 1760, AND THE
PLACES WHICH WERE IMPORTANT IN THE INDIAN WARS

Sources:

Downes, Council Fires, pp. 368-69.

Gipson, Lewis Evans, Maps drawn by Evans in 1749
at end.

Fisher, Sidney George, The Making of Pennsylvania,
piece.

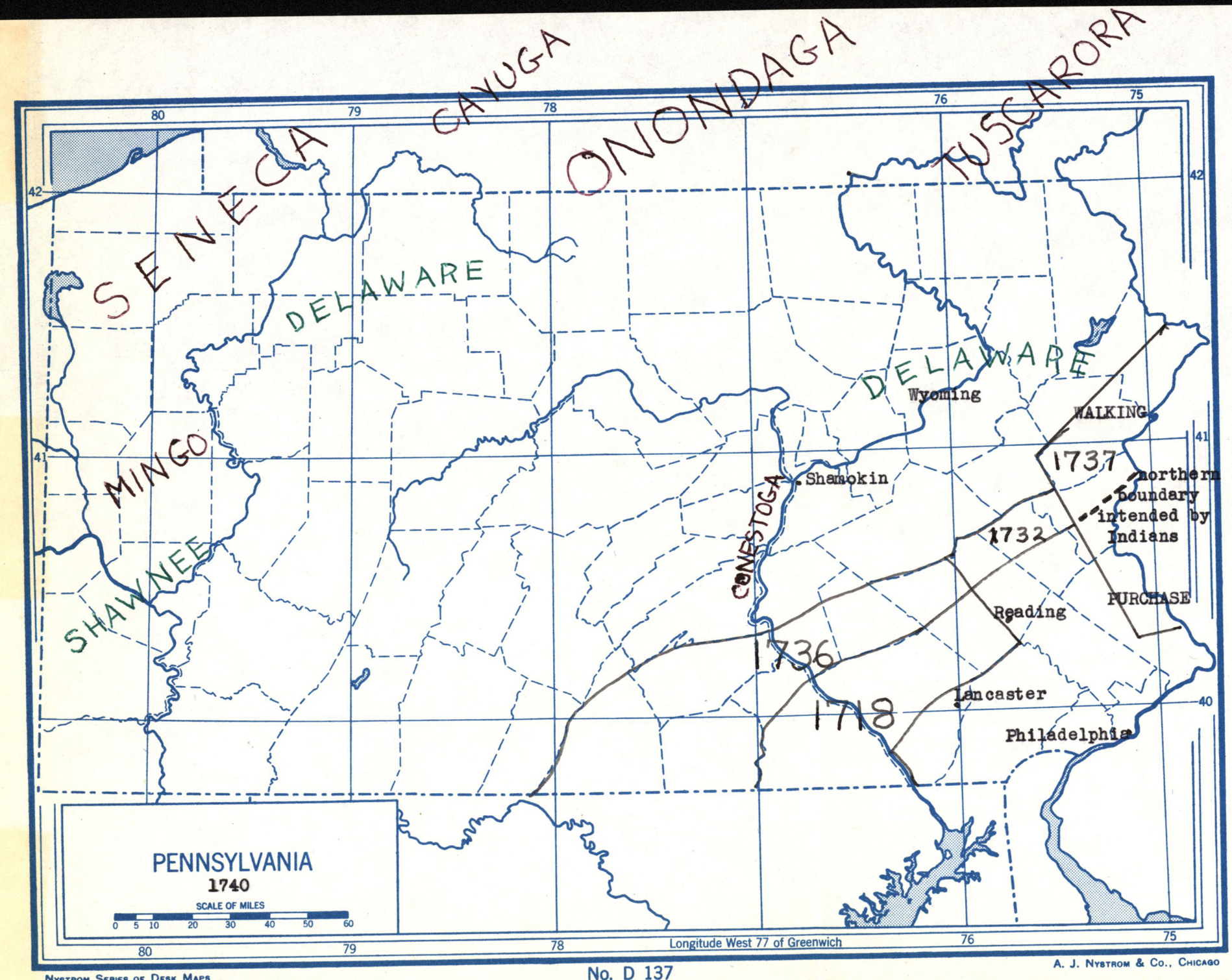
Jacobs, Indian Gifts, End Papers, based on John Pennsylvania,
Walking
Map, 1755. Lewis

P.A., Ser. 1, II, fp. 34. A map of the Purchase of

Volweiller, Croghan, Frontispiece.

Wallace, A. F., Teedyuscung, p. 179.

Wallace, P. A., Weiser, Frontispiece, based on
British and French Settlements of North



Trade, Land, and Policy: 1764-1774

Between the two periods of warfare there was a decade of relative peace. The aspects of the relationship which was most evident during these ten years were the trade in fur and skins, the purchase of and speculation in land, and the Indian Policy of the Imperial Government. By the end of this time, as war again approached, the Indian trade had broken down, land purchase was taking on a new importance, and the Imperial policy had wavered between strong and weak positions as the result of alarms and economies, settling on the latter.

The period beginning with the Proclamation of 1763, which did not take effect until after the military pacification was achieved in 1764, and ending with the economies of 1767 was the heyday of the Indian Department. The warnings and advice Johnson had given before 1763 now redounded to his advantage, and General Amherst's policy of retrenchment was discredited. Amherst himself was replaced by General Gage, and Croghan was able to report from London, where he made a trip to push his own trade interests and land speculation as well as Indian Department arguments, that "General Amherst's Conduct is Condem^d by Everybody and has been pelted away in the papers. The army Curse him in publick as well as the Merchants."¹²² In 1765 the Indian Department successfully

¹²²Quoted in Volweiler, Croghan, p. 170.

obtained Indian acquiescence to the British occupation of the Illinois Country, still held by French forces five years after the surrender of Canada. To do this the Department successfully used the now pacified upper Ohio Delawares and Shawnees, and the Iroquois, to intimidate the Illinois confederation into cooperation.¹²³ Finally, at treaties in 1765 and 1766, the Imperial Government once more, and this for the last time, extended the nominal dominion of the Iroquois as a means of controlling other tribes. The western Confederation accepted the status of "younger brothers" to the Six Nations, who had become in this little more than the implement of British policy.¹²⁴

The increased importance of the Imperial Government meant a further lessening of the official contact of Pennsylvania with the Indians, and consequent loss of interest in Indian Affairs. The Act establishing the Provincial traders, enacted in 1758 and renewed annually even during Pontiac's war, was allowed to lapse.¹²⁵ This was unfortunate for Johnson's

¹²³Volweiller, Croghan, pp. 176-77, 182-89.

¹²⁴Croghan, "List of the different Nations and Tribes of Indians in the Northern District of North America . . ."
[This list, dated 1765, gives the allegiance of each tribe.]
Thwaites, Travels, I, 167-69.

Downes, Council Fires, pp. 135-36.

Volweiller, Croghan, pp. 194-97.

¹²⁵Laws of Pa., I, 343, 356, 400, 405.
Volweiller, Croghan, pp. 150-51.

plans, as large scale trade, supplying the Indians with many goods, was necessary for the success of his policy. The Indians pleaded that they were ". . . very desirous of having some traders . . . if no traders are allowed to come to our towns it will hurt the trade . . . very much . . ."126 and the largest trading firm of Philadelphia recognized that the safe arrival of their first big shipment of goods since the wars ". . . ought to have the prayers . . . of every well wisher to North America, as the peace of it is intimately concerned in [the] undertaking."127

Indeed, the necessity for a thriving Indian trade on which to base policy was recognized as early as 1720, when Governor Keith had stated that ". . . it is in vain to persuade an Indian to think otherways than that those are his best friends who can help him to the best bargain."128 But the Indian Department could not attempt to fix prices solely for the satisfaction of the Indians. It had to consider the economic situation of the trader in the colonial and European market. As one student has aptly put it, ". . . the Indians

¹²⁶Message of Tightwee Chief in 1767. William Johnson Papers, V, 381.

¹²⁷John Baynton to George Morgan, concerning the business venture of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan Co. Quoted in Volweiller, Croghan, p. 191.

¹²⁸Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, for America and the West Indies, 1719-1720, 34. Quoted in Smith, Fur Trade, p. 50.

were not much interested in the price of furs as such, but rather, in their value relative to the goods which he desired. To the traders, on the other hand, prices were very important."¹²⁹ The big firms put forth heavy expenditures, one consignment to the Ohio country from Philadelphia in 1767 being worth £50,000.¹³⁰ But, the furs did not bring prices sufficient to pay their costs any longer, and trade volume steadily declined during this decade,¹³¹ as did the number of traders.¹³²

Another fact over which the Indian Department had little control was the character and behaviour of the traders. The Assembly of Pennsylvania joined ". . . with the Governor, in bewailing the miserable Situation of the Indian Trade, carried on (some few excepted) by the vilest of our inhabitants . . ."¹³³ The traders were not above doping with laudanum and/or cantharides ('Spanish fly') the rum which they

¹²⁹Smith, Fur Trade, p. 44.

¹³⁰W. Neil Franklin, "Pennsylvania-Virginia Rivalry for the Indian Trade of the Ohio Valley," MVHR, XX, 476-77.

¹³¹Downes, Council Fires, p. 132.
Smith, Fur Trade, p. 104, fn. 7.

¹³²John Arthur Adams, "The Indian Trade of the Upper Ohio Valley," The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, XVII, 164-65.

¹³³Votes of the Provincial Assembly of Pennsylvania, IV, 287. Quoted in G. A. Cribbs, The Frontier Policy of Pennsylvania, p. 25.

had already watered.¹³⁴ The Assembly however had found it impossible to control these traders effectively in the past, and finally gave up any attempt to do so. The Governor and the Indian Department found the task equally discouraging.¹³⁵

Before this time the Indians had tolerated the behavior of the traders because they supplied necessary articles. With the decline in the price of furs the benefit which the Indians received from the presence of the white men declined, while the harm grew. There was little the Indians could do about it, except what they did, which was periodically go to war. Short of war, the Indians had no more control over the behavior of the traders than did the white governments, out of whose sphere of authority they had passed.

These men, and to a lesser degree the pioneer settlers, who often carried on some trade on the side to supply their wants when they went to town, and so took on many of the aspects of traders, were the white men whom the average Indian met. The painful personal contacts with them represented the unofficial relationship between the races, which has not been

¹³⁴Charles Howard McIlwain, "Introduction," p. xli, Wraxall, Indian Affairs.

¹³⁵Governor Denny's Messages to the Assembly, September, 1757. P.A., Ser. 4, II, 872-76.
 "Extract of a Letter of Sir William Johnson to Earl Hillsborough, 1770." P.A., Ser. 1, IV, 375-76.
 Smith, Fur Trade, p. 51.

emphasized in this study since it is worthy of a much larger study in its own right. However, it is important to understand something of the nature of this personal relationship because it influenced the official one. The personal contacts of the Indian on the frontier were chiefly with traders, and hence the character of the average trader became very much the character of the frontier. Randolph Downes describes the frontier from this Indian viewpoint.

The frontier then became to them a place of drunkenness, debauchery, and disease, where the old beliefs were vitiated by contact with Christianity and where the tribes gradually were forced to surrender to an agricultural mode of living with the despised tameness of domestic animals and plant life. It came to mean contact with and forced adoption of the white man's great weapon of "divide and conquer," which set tribe against tribe, man against man, friend against friend; it became the scene of humiliation, of scuffles and fights and murders resulting from the contempt in which a proud people were held by frontier riffraff; and it became the scene of the destruction of a natural way of life and of the substitution of an unnatural code represented by such things as money, parcels of land, fences, and branded stock. In short, the triumph of the white man on the frontier came to be synonymous to the Indian with the triumph of chicanery and of false values. 136

The Indians could also describe all the misery the frontier meant to them, although they did not need to use the detail of a white historian. To them it was all too familiar.

Scarroyady, holding a Belt in his hand, said he had a private matter to communicate, and then spoke

136 Downes, Council Fires, p. 10.

as follows:

"Brother -

This Belt was given me by Jo, and Indian (meaning Jo Peepy) at Wyomink, and at the same time he said that he was sunk so low among the White People as to be forgot by them, & he wanted, therefore, to remove nearer the Six Nations. . . ." 137

As the memory of Pontiac's War faded and the Indian trade declined, Johnson's expensive policy failed to justify itself in the eyes of English officials. Only a small proportion of the colonial population was interested in the trade, so the colonies were unwilling to submit to Parliament-imposed taxes in order to pay for the support of the Indians and of a large military establishment. The Imperial Government already had enough trouble with the colonies not to push this added expense, and was not willing to bear the ever rising cost of Indian treaties itself.¹³⁸

So once again the British Government went on an economy drive. The pressures for this were apparent in 1765 and 1766, but by 1767 they had come to the fore. General Gage received orders ". . . to issue no more warrants nor to incur any Farther expense, but in Cases of urgency. . . ." ¹³⁹ The

¹³⁷Speech of Scarroyady at Philadelphia Conference, August 22, 1755. C.R., VI, 590.

¹³⁸E.g., in 1744 £700 had sufficed to establish a new boundary line in Pennsylvania. To do the same for Pennsylvania, Virginia, and part of New York in 1768 cost £10,000 in Imperial Funds. Smith, Fur Trade, pp. 108 and 95.

¹³⁹Reported by Johnson to Croghan in 1765, quoted in Volweiller, Croghan, p. 204. See also p. 194.

situation was made more difficult by the six British cabinet changes which followed one another in rapid succession during the 1760's. Such factional strife made the establishment of a firm policy towards the unruly colonies or the dissatisfied Indians almost impossible.¹⁴⁰ Finally, in 1767, it was decided to abandon the whole expensive effort to control trade. Benjamin Franklin wrote to his son that "they have it in Contemplation to return the management of Indian affairs into the hands of the several provinces . . . the treasury being tired with the immense drafts of the superintendents, etc."¹⁴¹ This was officially announced on April 15, 1768. The Indian Department continued to exist, but its activities were greatly restricted.¹⁴²

The fact was that the white men, the colonists and English, were now far more concerned over their relationship with each other than over that with the Indians. The Indians, however, were as vitally interested as ever. When the English took over from the French, the Indians had clearly stated that now that they accepted a subordinate position they expected to be cared for. "You have now taken possession of this Country,

¹⁴⁰Smith, Fur Trade, p. 95.
Volweiller, Croghan, p. 202.

¹⁴¹Letter of August 28, 1767, in The Writings of Benjamin Franklin, V, 45. Quoted in Volweiller, Croghan, p. 207. See also, Smith, Fur Trade, pp. 94-95.

¹⁴²Downes, Council Fires, p. 131.

While the French lived here they kept a smith to mend our Guns and Hatchets and a Doctor to attend our People when sick, we expect you will do the same. . . ."143 They continued to act towards the Provincial government as if it would control the conditions of the relationship, especially in the matters of trade of which all white governments had washed their hands.

We now speak to you on Account of Trade. The Traders who supply us with Goods come from your Province, and we do not take upon us to judge whether the Goods they sell us are Dear or not, as we are ignorant of what they cost them; but we are certain from our own knowledge, that they do not allow us the same Price for our Skins and Furs as they did formerly, and hope you will speak to them to allow us a sufficient Price for our Peltry. 144

But the Indians' pleas were ignored, because they did not matter to the white men, at least until another crisis arose.

When this crisis came, in 1768, it was caused by this policy of omission, and by the action of the one group of whites which did take some interest in Indians. Matters drifted badly in 1767, and it was only a close brush with war which brought any return to a more active role for government. Responsible officials knew that matters were heading for a crisis. General Gage wrote Governor Penn on December 7, 1767,

143 Speech of the Indians to Croghan at Detroit, December 3, 1760. Thwaites, Travels, I, 114.

144 Speech of The Beaver at Fort Pitt Conference, May 6, 1768. C.R., IX, 537.

that "the Accounts that I have lately received from all Quarters, are full of Intelligence of the dissatisfaction of the Indians, and of their ill disposition towards us,"¹⁴⁵ and Sir William Johnson spoke of ". . . the Alarming State of Indian Affairs, occasioned by the intrusions and other Hostile Acts of Persons on the Frontiers, which has had such an effect upon the Minds of the Indians, as gives me the Strongest Reason to apprehend a general Rupture, unless there is something done for their relief."¹⁴⁶

Scarcely a week after Johnson wrote this a frontiersman named Frederick Stump, with the help of his servant, murdered ten Iroquois; four men, three women, two girls, and a child, on January 10, 1768.¹⁴⁷ The frontiersmen had been the only element of colonial population who had remained concerned with Indian relations, and they still hated Indians.

This brought matters to a head. The Government of Pennsylvania issued orders for Stump's arrest, and achieved this, but a mob of frontiersmen broke into jail and rescued him. £500 was allocated by the Assembly for his capture, but the murder was never punished, strengthening Indian disbelief

¹⁴⁵C.P., IX, 403.

¹⁴⁶Letter of Johnson to Governor Penn, January 2, 1768. C.R., IX, 412.

¹⁴⁷Deposition of William Blyth, of Cumberland County. C.R., IX, 414.

in White Man's Justice.¹⁴⁸ However, the Assembly appropriated money to console the Iroquois and to try to settle other problems with the western Indians. Other efforts were made to appease the Indians, such as the removal of squatters from Indian land.¹⁴⁹ The apex of the reaction against a do-nothing Indian policy was the enactment by Pennsylvania on February 27, 1768, of a law providing that

if any Person or Persons, settled upon any Lands within the Boundaries of this Province, not purchased of the Indians by the Proprietaries thereof, shall neglect or refuse to remove themselves and Families off and from the same Lands, within space of Thirty Days after he or they shall be required to do so, . . . or . . . being so removed, shall afterward return . . . he shall suffer Death without Benefit of Clergy. 150

As is often the case, the creation of such a severe penalty is an admission of inability to enforce it. No one was ever executed under this law; and even the attempts to forcibly remove the squatters on the Redstone came to naught. The Indians, somewhat afraid of arousing the frontiersmen, and divided in their own councils, refused to accompany the Commissioners of Pennsylvania assigned to do the job, because

¹⁴⁸The Minutes of the Provincial Council from January 19 to July 15, 1768 (C.R., IX, 414-543) are very largely concerned with the Stump affair.

¹⁴⁹Report of the Commissioners from Red Stone, April 2, 1768, and from Fort Pitt Conference, May 4, 1768. C.R., IX, 507-10 and 531.

¹⁵⁰C.R., IX, 481-82.
F.A., Ser. 1, IV, 283-85.