WHEN General Braddock was so disastrously defeated at the Forks of the Ohio, July 9, 1755, he set the stage for the emergence of a far more important colonial figure. The previous year at the Albany Congress the skill of William Johnson of the Mohawk Valley in dealing with Indians had been duly recognized. This famous intercolonial meeting, best known now for Franklin's Plan of Union, was called to deal with the Indian problem, and an address was prepared to appeal to the Iroquois. Three years before Johnson had resigned as the agent of the New York Council in dealing with these tribes. Now Chief Abraham, who, with Chief Hendrick, was the most influential leader of the Six Nations, stated in no uncertain terms the Indian desire that Johnson "should be reinstated and have the management of Indian Affairs, for we love him, and he us, and he has always been our good, and trusty friend." Governor Shirley of Massachusetts therefore highly recommended him to the Board of Trade; and at the Council of War held in Alexandria, Virginia, the next spring General Braddock appointed him superintendent of Indian Affairs, and major general in charge of an expedition against Crown Point.

By the plan of campaign adopted at Alexandria, April 14, 1755, the main force of British Regulars under Braddock drove toward Fort Duquesne; Shirley in command of another force of colonials and Indians was to move westward toward Niagara; and Johnson was to lead New England troops and Indian auxiliaries against Crown Point.

Braddock's defeat, Shirley's delay and the eventual collapse of his enterprise, for which he later blamed Johnson, seemed to

*This article, presented as a paper at the annual meeting of the Association on November 2-3, is largely based on The Papers of Sir William Johnson (University of the State of New York, Albany, 1921-1951), ten volumes. The writer is the editor of Volume 10, which has just been published, and has access to the unpublished materials which are to appear in two subsequent volumes. The series is cited here by the short title, Johnson Papers.
doom the entire strategy. Therefore, there was unbounded joy when news was received of the victory of Johnson’s force at Lake George, September 8, 1755. Still more of a triumph in the popular mind, was the capture of the French General, Baron Dieskau, who was sent a prisoner to Albany. Colonial governors acclaimed General Johnson and rushed to do him honor. In December he made a triumphal visit to New York, where the populace gave him the eighteenth century equivalent of a ticker-tape reception: “he was received with Acclamations of Joy and Congratulation thro every Street he passt; the Shipping firing their Guns & the greater part of the Town was illuminated.”

General Shirley, however, he was told was his enemy, charging that Johnson had drawn Indians from the support of his expedition and thus was responsible for his failure. With the death of Braddock, Shirley was now the commanding general in America, and Johnson’s superior. His haughty attitude was expressed in his offer to re-appoint Johnson and to give him full instructions as to his behavior. While recognizing Shirley’s authority, Johnson claimed Braddock’s appointment was still good. Finally, with some acerbity, Shirley threatened to replace Johnson—or even to appoint Conrad Weiser in his stead. But Johnson’s powerful friends in the colonies and at Court persuaded the king of the future value of the military victor, and in 1756 Johnson was trebly honored: he was appointed by the crown as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department, and Colonel of the Six Nations; he was created a baronet; and for his military service he received a grant of £5000.

Sir William Johnson, as he was henceforth known, was no mere holder of a title. He was fully to justify both the honors and the responsibilities thus given to him. Having come to America in 1738, an obscure Irishman charged with the management of the frontier land-holdings of his uncle, Captain Peter Warren, he had waxed important as a trader, a land holder in his own right, a councillor of the colony, and its most successful manager of Indian Affairs. He was a man of parts, at home with the aristocracy as well as with rough frontier traders, and with the natives in their villages. It is said that he had two rules for dealing with the Indians: first, never to deal with them except when they were sober;

1 *Daniel Claus Narrative*, Society of Colonial Wars (1904), pp. 18-19.
and secondly, always to keep his word once given. If he said, No, no solicitation of Indians with him was of any avail; if he said, Yes, he kept his word to the letter. He was made a Sachem of the Mohawks, and named "Warraghijagey," "he who does much business." The Indians said, "Brother Warraghijagey speaks with a straight tongue."

Sir William's superintendency lasted until his death in 1774, and in that period many momentous crises in relations between whites and Indians were successfully weathered. Indian diplomacy was an art which he practiced with consummate skill. He made full use of all the prestige his position gave him; he gradually centralized authority in making treaties; and at the same time he built up a staff of deputies, commissaries, interpreters, and other agents, both to keep him informed and to carry out his policies. The Indian relations of Pennsylvania, for example, which prior to 1755 had been in the hands of the governors, who in turn used to good effect such an able agent as Conrad Weiser, now were directed by Sir William through his deputy George Croghan. He did not attempt to usurp authority from the governors, but he through his agents had his hand in all conferences and treaties.

Sir William's relations with Pennsylvania may be envisioned through his personal contacts. Through these contacts, too, one may obtain glimpses of a character which historians have thought inscrutable as a sphinx, but which from all accounts appears to have been warmly human. Like George Washington, Sir William in his correspondence could be full and explicit while dealing with business, or political details, but painfully brief in personal comment. His diaries and journals were written for guidance, not for posterity. When recommendation was necessary, or when a failure of an individual was to be recorded, he wrote pointedly and with effect; but he wrote no thumbnail sketches of friends or associates.

The patriarchal Conrad Weiser, Indian interpreter, was for a while Johnson's counterpart in Pennsylvania; but while both were firm friends to the Red Man, and both were trusted, they were miles apart in almost every other respect. Weiser was poor, a man of the people, abstemious in habits, and a religious mystic. Sir William was rich and lived in affluence—with a luxury for those times which must have shocked Conrad—and was far from puri-
Finally, Sir William was an ardent churchman of the Church of England, who could have had little regard for the cloistered life of Ephrata, yet he was always tolerant in religious matters. These two had little in common, yet they respected each other.

By an exchange of letters in 1751, Weiser told Johnson of his visit to the Onondagas and of his proposals for negotiation. Johnson replied in a friendly manner and encouraged the meeting at Onondaga. In August, 1753, however, when Weiser came to Johnson's home by way of New York and Albany, Johnson was hospitable, but the old interpreter felt a coolness toward his plan to journey further; he conferred with the Indians at Mount Johnson, but then returned as he came. He reported:

The Coll. has been very kind to me, and entertained me and my Son very handsomely during my Stay, and was open and free in all Discourses to me, and would have me change now and then a Letter with him, and whenever I came to the Mohawk Country to make his House my Home, and offered to do all the Service to the Province of Pennsylvania and myself that he possibly could in Indian Affairs.

It was on his visit to Onondaga that Weiser had as one of his companions Daniel Claus, a Württemburg German who, as the result of a swindle, had come to Philadelphia the previous year. Through the tutelage of Weiser, and as a result of a subsequent residence at Canajoharie, Claus became familiar with the Indian tongues and qualified as an interpreter. Governor James Hamilton of Pennsylvania had sponsored his continued residence in the Mohawk country with a thought of using him as an interpreter later. But Claus, after some time at Johnson's home, was per-

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2 Johnson Papers, 1:317, 326.
3 Documents Relating to Colonial History of New York, 6:797. Nowhere in the Johnson manuscripts is there a hostile or invidious word against Weiser. Therefore it is hard to account for the supposed "jealousy" of Johnson for Weiser in 1758 at Easton, when Richard Peters is authority for the statement that Johnson told the Indians not to call him Tarachiawagon, "Holder of the Heavens," as too high a name for any man. Johnson was not jealous by nature, and it is difficult to conceive that in these years of his power, he was jealous of Weiser who was so near the end of his service. See P. A. W. Wallace, Conrad Weiser, p. 552.
suaded to enter the Indian service under Sir William. He was present at the Albany Congress in 1754, and took part in the campaign against Crown Point in 1755. By his own account, he played a vital part in revealing to the British leaders the facts in Johnson’s controversy with Shirley. Johnson advanced him money to purchase a captain’s commission in the army, and later made him his deputy for Indian Affairs. When Conrad Weiser died in 1760, Sir William was asked by Richard Peters to send Claus to take his place as interpreter in negotiations. “Considering these Circumstances [the death of Weiser and the incompetence of his son Samuel], and the Connections the Proprietaries, as well as myself, claim to have with Mr. Clause, on all necessary Occasions, I flatter myself you will readily spare him to assist this unhappy Province, or at least the Government, in this important meeting.” But Sir William could not spare Claus, who already had been sent to Canada as Deputy. The next year Claus married Johnson’s daughter Nancy, and he played an ever increasing rôle in Indian Affairs in the north.

Thus Claus, though possibly not quite a Pennsylvania German, due to his brief residence, was a link between Johnson and Pennsylvania. His talents as a linguist were such that he later was able to revise the Indian prayer book, the publication of which Johnson had sponsored. He was a great aid in negotiations, for so many of the Indian interpreters were illiterate fellows with little command of English. Subsequently Claus and his family resided in the Mohawk Valley, in Sir William’s old home. But the Revolution found him a loyalist, his properties were confiscated, and he was driven to exile and misfortune. He died in Cardiff, Wales, in 1787.

George Croghan’s first contact with Johnson came in connection with the Braddock campaign. The Indian superintendent wrote to Croghan to seek out Chief Scarooyady, and to get as many men as possible to join the General’s expedition. He was to use the wampum necessary, for which Johnson would reimburse him. Croghan’s reply to Johnson, dated September 10, 1755, reported

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4 *Claus Narrative, loc. cit.*
5 *Pennsylvania Archives, First Series, 4:40-42.*
6 *Johnson Papers, 10:232.*
7 This will appear to contradict Volwiler’s statement that Croghan alone of Johnson’s deputies was appointed on the basis of merit. Claus was well established in the Indian service before he was married.
8 *Johnson Papers, 1:475.* Johnson to Croghan, April 23, 1755.
on his mission, and on the troubles on the Pennsylvania frontier. With characteristic directness, respect, mingled with naïveté, and charmingly original orthography, Croghan stated his case.

I hoope you will pardon Me for Taking upon Me to give you so long and Tadious an Account butt as I am Scensable ye. Weight of all Indian Affairs in those parts lays on you and that ginreal Bradock putt Me on kings pay for My assistance with ye. Indians here I think it My Duty and persweeds My Self yr. Excelancy will Ex- cuse Me giveing you this Truble as ye. unhappy Diffr- ence between governor Morris and our ASemblly hear has prevented this government from Doing any thing for ye. Defence of this Cuntry and as I live 30 Miles back of all Inhabitance on ye. fronteers I have been obligd. to Rase a Volunteer Company on My own Expence and am building a Small Stockade fort to Secure what Little Estate I have left which Men and My Self will be ready att any time to Serve His Magesty when Calld. On.

Thus began an association of two Irish Americans who found themselves, though vastly different in many ways, congenial companions and sympathetic in their agreement on Indian policy.

Croghan participated in meetings at Onondaga in 1756, and when Sir William became too ill to carry on, was charged as his deputy. Later he came to Fort Johnson where he resided for a year; and then he served as Johnson’s deputy in Pennsylvania; he led about 400 Iroquois on Abercromby’s ill-fated expedition against Ticonderoga, and participated again in Forbes’ attack on Fort Duquesne. Next to Johnson he was most capable in handling Indians as military auxiliaries, and in conciliating the tribes on the frontier.

As war came to an end and other matters—land speculation and trade—offered more opportunities, Croghan sought to leave the Indian service. But he was almost indispensable, thought the new commander, Sir Jeffery Amherst, who used Johnson as well as his own persuasion on the doughty old warrior. Croghan stated his case to Amherst—his long career, since 1756, in the Indian Service, his losses amounting the last Spring to £1230, and his desire to return to England—but the seriousness of the Indian situation

10 Johnson Papers, 10:823-825.
in 1763 argued against him. Both he and Johnson had opposed Sir Jeffery's policy of economy. Beneath Croghan's petition lay a seething temperamental opposition to the General and all his views, which comes out in the quaint account of the interview which he sent to Johnson:

New York, Sept. 28th. 1763

Hond. Sir

On My ARRivel hear I Weated on Sir Jeffy. Amhirst and Delivered him yr. honours Letter wh, he Read after wh, he Toek Me Into his Room & Tould with A Dail of his flumery that I must Nott think of quiting the Service att this Time for that he wold as Soon give his Consent To a Battalians going home as parting with Me which brought on an altercation & Warm Dispute wh, when Ended I tuck My Leve Next Day I wrote a Letter wh, he anwerd yesterday wh, obligd. Me to Write him again in wh. I Resigned this Morning he Sent for Me & Spoke very Mildly & Desierd Me to Consider beter & Write your honour before I wold go home that he was Very Sensable I wold be Much Wanted hear Soon & that ye. Kings Ministers wold think very od of My going home Now. In answer to wh, I told him that I was Very Shure I Might go Twist to England & back before his Excellency wold be able to Chestise ye Westren Indians so as to Restore Tranquility to his Majesty's Subjects on ye. frontiers on any Durable Foundation and that this Defection of them Nations from his Majestys Intrest Might abeen Easeyr prevented then they Can be Now Subjected with ye. five Trupes he had (all which he Tuck very Casualy Much More So then I Could have Suspected I aShure Yr. honor) and that I Wold Write to you or Wate on you before I went home that I was Shure you Could apoint a Man wh, wold answer the Service as Well as I could att present and that att any Time after My Affairs was Settled if My presents Could be of any Service in ye. Department of Indian affairs under yr. honours Direction I should allways be Ready to attend tho I Never Intended to Inter into the Service on which we parted he asked Me Several questions on the Subjects of ye. Late Conferance & Said he hoped you wold Not Imploy any Indians in ye. Service against those that are our Enemys as he was Determd, to have None of thire Services for that he Did Not blive there was an Indian in America to be Depended on, to which I an-

swe red in his own Maner Very Smoothly that his Judge-
ment Might be very Just butt that I wold be very Sorrey the Mohokes & others of ye. five Nations who had Lost Many of thire people in his Majesty's Service Durcing the Late Warr Should know that was his opinion of them as ye. Indians in Gineral are a Rash Inconsidratt pople for fair his Majestys Subjects on ye, fronteirs of this province Might feel Effects of thire Wrath att this Time to which he Made No Answer.\textsuperscript{11}

To this he added an aside on the conditions at headquarters.

Mr. [Robert] Leake Tells Me that he has been often Displeasd. to hear ye. Langudge that is made use of att Times att Head Quarters with Regard to yr. honours Departmt., in Short the pople who frequent there as well as Sr. J: himself Seems Nott to feel for ye Distress of thire felow Creturs & Talk of Nothing Butt ye. Country of Ye. Indians being Now Conquerd & Every B—t of p—e having a grant for a Large tract of Land.\textsuperscript{12}

With such an able deputy as Croghan, Johnson was not called upon often to intervene in Pennsylvania's Indian affairs. In 1759, however, when Teedyuscung, "King of the Delawares," was pushed forward by his Quaker, anti-proprietary advisers, to raise the issue of the validity of the "Walking Purchase," Johnson received orders from home to mediate. He wrote to Teedyuscung, who was extremely dilatory in reply, seeming to question Sir William's authority; he also was reluctant to name a convenient place of meeting. Finally at the Easton Conference in June, 1762, prompted by his advisers, he sought to thwart the negotiations—by insisting on his own secretary, although there was an official secretary whose record was usually accepted, and by maintaining that he could not understand the proceedings and deeds which were read to him. While there was some justice to the latter complaint, it was evident that this was a contest between parties in which the Indian was a foil. Johnson knew how to handle refractory Indians, and this was no exception; granting the secretary, he forced the pretenders to back down on their effort to reopen

\textsuperscript{11} Johnson Papers, 10:825-827.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid. The last allusion is to the grant of land to reduced officers of the recent war.
an issue long dead.\textsuperscript{13} At the same time he notified the Pennsylvania Commissioners, who wished another meeting at Lancaster that year to renew the chain of friendship with the Western Indians, that their proposed meeting was unnecessary, since he (Johnson) had handled these relations the previous year at Detroit.\textsuperscript{14}

Sir William’s reaction to the whole affair was expressed in a letter to Claus, July 21, 1762:

\begin{quote}
This day I arrived here [Fort Johnson] after Six weeks absence, having been at Easton to settle yt. Affr. of Tedyuscung, wh. after a great deal of opposition from yt. Quaker Rasls. I settled to Satisfaction, and am now busy to prepare ye. proceedings & report for his Majestys perusal & determination.\textsuperscript{15}
\end{quote}

The Quakers in Pennsylvania did not offend him on religious grounds, but he and Croghan were greatly irked by their attitude toward the Indians. On another occasion when Croghan had regaled him with some episode he wrote:

\begin{quote}
the acct of the head of the White Hatts is verry merry, and I think verry worthy of haveing a place in the Public prints, since I am [sure], that many things not half so diverting or Interesting are daily published in papers and magazines.\textsuperscript{16}
\end{quote}

Croghan became intimate with the Johnson household, and his letters close with regards to various members of the family. When the heir, John Johnson, journeyed to Europe in 1765 on the visit which was to give him his title and to insure his stout loyalism in the Revolution, Croghan (who had been to England the year before) wrote him an avuncular letter of admonition.

\begin{quote}
you will See in London Some of the Best Company in the World & Likewise Some of the Worst, with the advantidges you go there and your own Good Sence and prudence you will Need No advise from Me for yr Conduct, Indeed from the Great Regard I have for Sir William and family and My anxious Desier for your Pros-
\end{quote}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{13} Johnson Papers, 3:837-852.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 10:465-466.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 10:474-475.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 10:560.
\end{flushleft}
SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON AND PENNSYLVANIA

perity I could wish it was in my Power to give you any, that you could benefit by, I must take the Liberty to Remind you that from the Amiable Corrector of the Late Sir Peter Warren & your father and the Eminent Service they have Rendered to thire King & Counry you will have the Eeys of ye. best pople in England fixed on you, therefore there will be More Expected from you then phaps from any young Gentleman that ever left Amerrica your Easy Temper Good Disposion with your Natural Modisty will Predouice Every one in your feaver and I am Convenced you will will Meriet the Esteem of Every person you May be Interdused to, you will No Doubt Meet with Many AMarican Aquaintance But few if any that has gon to England with the Same Advantages you Do, however the General acquaintance you have had hear Must oblige you to keep Diferant Company which I know you are Nott fond of & there is No part of World where you Can Shun Such Company as you Do Not Chuse or you think Inconsistent with yr. Carector Eseyer than in London.

You will see Some of the finest Women in the world in London & you will be held up there for one of the Greatest fortunes in AMarica and no Doubt Many young Ladys will Spread thire Netts to Ceach you My Dear Sir Bewair of thire Wilds for tho they Look Like angels Blive Me your London Bread Ladys Make the Worst Wifes in ye. World for An AMarrican Gentleman.

St. Patrick’s day appears to have been celebrated in those days by the Irish in America, and Croghan did not fail to regale Sir William with such congenial information as the doings in Philadelphia in 1768:

I cannot close this Letter, Without informing you, that yesterday the Royal Regiment of Ireland celebrated their Saints Day—at Peg Mullers.—They paraded thro' the Streets & fired at the Coffee Houses &c.—And then dined at Pegs—Where there was no Want of good Beeff & Claret, & Where I assure yr. Honor & the Six Nations, Were not forgot [by us]; To Day the Whole Choir [corps] dine With at the Center & from There I shall

17 In Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Cadwallader Collection.
18 On March 16, 1767, Rd. Aylmer wrote Sir William from Fort Stanwix: “as a member of St. Patrick’s Lodge, I shall drink Your Worshipfull’s Health tomorrow.” Sir William was master of the Johnstown lodge which was instituted in 1766.
take my Departure for Fort Pitt, With, I fear a very
aching Head.

Please to present My Comps. to Sir John, Captain
Claus, Captain Guy Johnson & Ladies And believe to
be, With great Respect & Truth yr. Honrs

Most Obt. hble Svt.

Croghan's land hunger, which made him one of the greatest
speculators of Colonial times, was whetted by his contact with
Johnson, who appears to have been the key man in all such plans.
It was always necessary to placate the Indians. In addition to his
extensive land holdings in Pennsylvania, Croghan made applica-
tion in 1765 for 20,000 acres in New York as a bounty for his
services in the French and Indian War, of which he was granted
10,000. His subsequent services led him to ask for more; in 1770
he received 9,000 acres, and he participated in other New York
land grants, eventually holding an enormous area of 250,000 acres
near present-day Cooperstown, Otsego County. As a result of
these ventures and his friendship for Johnson, Croghan changed
his residence from Pennsylvania to New York, and built for him-
self a large establishment at the foot of Otsego Lake, the source of
the Susquehanna. Here in fact, he sought to emulate Johnson as
squire, plantation owner and empire builder. Settlers from Con-
necticut, indentured Irish laborers from Dublin, farmers and
artisans were being introduced, and it seemed that the frontier
there would grow rapidly; but the Revolution, and Croghan's
financial embarrassment, caused the sale of these lands in the 1780's,
long after the death of Sir William.

The Pontiac Indian Uprising, which so concerned Sir Jeffery
Amherst in 1763, was a major concern of the Superintendent of
Indian Affairs for the Northern Department. Johnson's diplomacy
now was bent on keeping the friendly Iroquois on the side of
the English, and in strengthening the outposts which were at-
tacked. By dint of great exertions, the former aim was achieved,
although the Senecas in New York were largely hostile. When the
revolt finally dwindled, it was Johnson's task to put peace on a

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19 Croghan to Johnson, March 18, 1768. Historical Society of Pennsylvania,

20 A. T. Volwiler, George Croghan and the Westward Movement (Cleveland,
Ohio, 1926), pp. 244 ff.

21 Ibid., pp. 252-254.
sound basis. Here was no place for easy negotiations, such as were attempted by Col. Bradstreet at Sandusky, when he so readily agreed to make peace with the Shawnees and Delawares whom he was sent to punish; for this he was soundly denounced by Johnson, for he had forfeited the respect of the Indian allies, and the reconciliation was a farce. But the tough policy of Col. Bouquet of Pennsylvania was stoutly backed by Johnson, and these two worked successfully toward the same end. Their correspondence breathes understanding and respect. Both insisted that Indian captives, "our own flesh and blood," should be restored without exception. Finally, when the capitulation of Pontiac was arranged at Oswego in 1766, Johnson set the terms and treated for the King.

Two years later, Johnson was the principal architect of the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, in which the Indians agreed to a line demarking their eastern boundaries. This conference illustrates something of the magnitude of the negotiations of such Indian treaties. Johnson was at Stanwix for seven weeks (from September 19 until November 6), and he assembled there many notable negotiators. Of course, there were his deputies Guy Johnson, Daniel Claus, and George Croghan, who were able to translate, record the proceedings, and, because of long experience, aid in the handling of the Indians. Then there were the official representatives of other colonies, Virginia, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, who journeyed up the Mohawk and stopped at Johnson Hall en route. From Pennsylvania came Governor John Penn who was called away early in the proceedings, and the commissioners Richard Peters and James Tilghman. Governor William Franklin of New Jersey, son of Benjamin Franklin, represented his state. Then there were the unofficial representatives: the son of Judge William Allen of Pennsylvania came to present the cause of sufferers from the war who sought indemnity; traders, such as Wharton and Trent, were there to get the Indian trade re-opened; and Eleazar Wheelock and the New England missionaries tried to protect the interests of the churches and their wards among the Indians.

Most important, of course, were the Indians themselves (the Six Nations, the Shawnees and Delawares), who were not content with delegates only, but came in numbers. To satisfy them, Sir William had to manage the gifts and supplies. Twenty batteaux loaded with gifts went up the river from Johnson Hall. Then in
the midst of negotiations more supplies were needed and Johnson wrote frantically to John Glen at Schenectady, October 16, 1768, to send "a large quantity of Pork & Flour You may judge what Quantity about 3000 Indians will eat in 3 weeks time."  

The Fort Stanwix treaty has been criticized as betraying the Indians into a surrender of their lands, as a reversal of Sir William's earlier policy. Yet it was a great gain for Pennsylvania, giving to the Proprietors the land bounded by a line southward to the branches of the Susquehanna and thence westward to Kittanning and Fort Pitt. And it was no easy task to negotiate such a treaty amidst so many conflicting interests. Sir William reported it thus to Thomas Penn, November 18, 1768:

I... embrace the first Opportunity Since My Return from holding the Treaty at Fort Stanwix to Acquaint you that after a great Struggle & more difficulty than can be conceived by thos who were not Eye Witnesses I have at length in the Settlement of the boundary Line procured for you a very advantagious Cession, which although Less than I could wish was more than I had reason to Expect from the ill humour the Indns. have been put in by the French & Spaniards who had sent them belts & an Invitan. to a Meeting at the Misisipi where they were about going when my Message reached them. The New Englanders were very busy in private to oppose this & two Missionarys sent by Dr. Wheelock of Connecticut came up & not only delivered me a meml. to restrict the Provinces, & not Suffer the boundary to go far North or West but to reserve those Lands for the purposes of Religion, but also busied themselves much amongst the Oneidas whose property the Susquehanna is to prevent them from granting any Lands that way, this the Missionarys avowed in the presence of Mr. Peters Nephew & sevl. other Gentlemen. I need not to describe the Boundary as Govr. Penn has done it e're now but I flatter myself that under all the Circumstances of opposition it met with, & from the disposition the Inds. were in, it will prove agreeable to you.\(^3\)

Another example of Sir William's friendly interposition in the affairs of Pennsylvania came with respect to the running of the

\(^2\)In Historical Society of Pennsylvania.  
\(^3\)Johnson Papers, 6:472. Thomas Penn's reply to Sir William, February 2, 1769, is in the Massachusetts Historical Society.
western extension of the Mason and Dixon Line. The Commissioners found that it could not be done without the approval of the Indian tribes, in this case the Six Nations. Hence on November 20, 1766, they wrote to Sir William to obtain that consent. Six months elapsed before the consent was obtained. Then on May 20, 1767, Sir William wrote to Governor Penn and to General Gage informing them that “at a general meeting had with upwards of Six Hundred of the Said Indians at German Flats, on the 12th day of said month of May, he had obtained their consent to our running the said line according to our desire, and that he had brought with him to said house, several of their people deputed by them, who were to set out the next day by way of Susquehanna in order to be present at the running of the said line.”

Subsequently the Indians arrived in greater numbers than were expected, thus posing a problem for the Commissioners. George Croghan was called upon to handle and provision the Indian deputies, who were finally brought back to New York.

In spite of Indian wars, conferences, and political maneuvering which occupied so much of Sir William’s time, he was almost equally at home with and devoted to cultural interests. His craving for literature and the finer things of life was evinced early in his career, when he imported a library from England. He continued to add to this through the years and frequently ordered new works through his factors in England, or printers (William Weyman, Hugh Gaine, John Holt and Rivington) in New York. His contact with prominent gentlemen of culture, with scientists and scholars, was a stimulus to this interest. In turn, his many activities made him a prime source of information (and his house a principal stopping place) for investigators of the American scene. Peter Kalm was a visitor and corresponded with him; Thomas Pownall, Arthur Lee, and William Robertson sought information

24 Minutes of the Committee for Determining the line between Pennsylvania and Maryland. Microfilm copy in American Philosophical Society. I am indebted to Dr. Thomas D. Cope for this evidence. Letter of Sir William to John Penn, May 20, 1767, was burned in capitol fire of 1911; see Johnson Calendar, p. 356. The letter to Gage is also missing, but mentioned in Gage to Johnson, June 1, 1767.

25 A letter dated August 21, 1767, from Mason and Dixon at Great Meadows, directs Col. James Bird in Paxton, near Harris’ Ferry, to care for two of these Indians who are being sent home. The matter of pay for their time was referred to Sir William Johnson. Letter owned by Mrs. Howard H. Cammack, Albany, New York.
from him about the natives, and the flora and fauna. Sir William experimented with plantings and imported seeds, and stock for his husbandry. The scholarly old Lieut. Governor Cadwallader Colden was a constant correspondent. This man of action had a reflective and inquiring mind which would have matched well those of Franklin and Jefferson.

With the former he had some contact, having met him at the Albany Congress of 1754. At that time, no doubt, there was some recognition on both sides—by Franklin of a younger man of great strength of character; by Sir William of a canny negotiator, diplomat and sage, whose qualities he could well appreciate.

Pound has posed a parallel of their lives:

Franklin lived twenty-five years longer than Johnson, a normal difference between the sheltered life of a philosophic printer and equable diplomat and the strained existence of a frontier fighter and organizer. Franklin's travels were leisurely progresses of state in coach or sailing vessels; Johnson's were forced marches by foot, horse, or canoe. Franklin fought his battles with his wits in world capitals; Johnson actually tasted lead in the wilderness. Neither has quite had his due from history [written before Van Doren's Life]; yet Franklin is nevertheless a national hero of sorts, while Johnson is a neglected almost forgotten figure. The explanation is to be found in the fact that Franklin, though born nine years earlier, outlived Johnson by sixteen years. . . . But the truth is that the America which began in 1775 would be far different than it is if William Johnson had not gone away from the tall talk at Albany to twenty years of faithful, and astonishingly effective, service on the frontier. It is interesting to reflect how different the America of today would be if Franklin had died in 1774, and Johnson had lived to 1790.26

But the cultural Pennsylvania of Franklin had an attraction for Johnson, and he sent two of his sons there to be educated.

William of Canajoharie, the half-breed son of Sir William and Caroline Peters, his second spouse, was sent to be educated by the Reverend Thomas Barton of Lancaster, who reported on him, December 2, 1767, in a revealing account of the impact of civiliza-

tion upon a child of the wilderness. For William had lived with his clan until eighteen or nineteen when his abnormal powers suggested formal education. But let the Reverend Mr. Barton tell the story:

The progress William has made, since he came to Lancaster, surprizes every one; and cannot fail to afford you a high Satisfaction, whenever you have an Opportunity of examining him—He promises fair to write, in a little Time, a Hand fit for any Kind of Business—The enclosed are Specimens—The Letters were not only wrote but compos'd by himself, except that the Method & Orthography were corrected in the Copies of rough Draughts—I purchas'd for him a large Copper-plate of different Hands, which he takes great Delight in imitating—He has gone through the Common Rules of Arithmetic, & is in that one call'd Simple Interest—He has a Love for reading not common in Persons of his Standing—Every Book that he can lay his Hands on has his Perusal—After saying all this, I must observe to you, that his Genius is rather heavy than sprightly—His Imagination has more of the plodding than the fanciful or lively in it—He is not brought, without much Pains, to comprehend a Science, but when he has comprehended it, he retains it, being favoured with a happy Memory—In his Disposition, he is naturally obliging, generous & good-natured, tho' he appears to have Something of the sullen, reserved & unsociable in his Temper—He has a Kind of rustick Diffidence or Bashfulness, which is injurious to him, & of which I have not been able to break him, tho' I admit him to my own Table when I have no strange Company, with a Design to rub off some of his Rust—Upon his first coming to Lancaster, he challenged almost every Person he met with; & box'd half the Young Dutch Men in Town. Had he lived at Rome in his Days of Glory, when Wrestling & Boxing were brought upon the Theatre as publick Diversions, he would have been deem'd an Athlethick Champion, & entitled to the prize at every Exhibition; But in these Days of Degeneracy, when these once glorious Exercises claim no Honours or Rewards, & are attended with Nothing besides black Eyes & broken Shins, I have prevail'd upon him to lay them aside, So that he is now as Peaceable a Lad as any in the Place. My Children are all exceeding fond of him, & my eldest Son, who is a good Scholar, is constantly instructing him at Night—He has a Thirst for Knowledge that carries him rather into Excess in his Dili-
gence and Application—A Year from this Time, will qualify him sufficiently to serve you as a Secretary, to transcribe your Papers, copy your Letters &c. or, if this should not be agreeable, to serve as an Usher in one of the Indian schools—

This gladiator, according to Pound, was notable for the deaths he died in the Revolution

He plunged into Tory activities early, being killed—at least so General Philip Schuyler says—in a skirmish on the Canadian border. He was killed again, in more elaborate detail, by Thomas Spencer, the Oneida half-breed at the battle of Oriskany in 1777, . . . and yet, miraculously, William of Canajoharie seems to have survived even this slaughter. At any rate we identify him as being in the party of chiefs, mostly Senecas, who in December 1778, warned Colonel Cantine against burning other Indian towns as Colonel Butler of Pennsylvania had burned Oquaga, . . . Unless we are mistaken, Barton's amiable gladiator ran fiercely amuck at Cherry Valley and later retired to Canada with the other irreconcilables.

Young Peter Johnson, eldest son of Molly Brant and Sir William, was likewise sent to Pennsylvania, but was both a dutiful son and an apt scholar. Earlier he had been schooled in French and other civilities at Montreal. Then in November, 1773, his father sent him to Pennsylvania to be trained as a business man. His letters and those of the persons to whom he was entrusted give us a picture of this interesting relationship. When he reached New York, Hugh Wallace, a prominent merchant, had him in charge, and at Philadelphia Francis Wade took him into his home. They conferred as to his proper care and training and eventually placed him with a Mr. Barrell to learn the merchant's trade, at which he should stay at least three years.

Peter, like a schoolboy, reported his experiences and his needs. Not long after his arrival he asked for a violin with which to spend his "Leasure Ours," and Wade bought one for him for £5:10; though Sir William questioned whether he spent too much time

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27 Johnson Papers, 5:843-845.
29 Letters of Francis Wade to Johnson, November 19, December 13, 1773, in Johnson Papers, 8:918-919; 946-949.
with it, to the detriment of his studies. He was reassured by Mr. Wade; and Peter himself expressed a desire that English, French, and Indian books be sent to him to read. He feared that he might lose his familiarity with the Indian tongue through lack of practice. After he entered the business he wrote, "I am in great want of a watch as I come to dinner, & go early to the Store I don’t know what time to go without one. If you’ll write Mr. Wade to get one he will get it very cheap & good." He asked that his mother send some Indian curiosities, "As there are gentlemen & Lady’s here very desirous of seeing them."²⁹

But alas for this dutiful half-breed child of an influential father and gifted mother. The rumblings of Revolution were heard in Philadelphia, and, like a schoolboy who “wants out” Peter wrote May 31, 1774:

We are to Shut up all the Stores in the City in memory of the poor Bostonians whose harbors is to be shut.³¹

[We wonder what Sir William thought of the “poor Bostonians!”]

But events rushed on. Within two months Sir William was dead; and the outbreak of the Revolution found Peter an ensign in a British regiment, and killed upon the field of battle in 1776. His fate was of great importance later in determining the disposition of the vast holdings comprised in Sir William’s will.³²

Sir William's many business connections in Philadelphia can only be suggested. His supervision of the Indian trade alone involved accounts with several trading concerns and prominent individuals. Baynton, Wharton & Morgan appear to have had the largest volume of such accounts, judging by correspondence, and Samuel Wharton was in frequent correspondence. Francis, Matthew and Ferrall Wade; Bernard Gratz; Solomon Levy; and Levy, Trent and Company; and David and Moses Franks, are some of the Philadelphia merchants whose names appear in the correspondence.³³ This is remarkable in view of the fact that trade could much more easily go to New York and even to London.

²⁹ Peter Johnson to Sir William Johnson, April 30, 1774, Johnson Papers, 8:1139-1140.
³¹ Johnson Papers, 8:1163.
³² Affidavit of Alexander Ellice, March 4, 1795. In collection of Mrs. H. M. Sage, Menands, N. Y.
³³ See Calendar of Sir William Johnson Manuscripts (Albany, 1909), passim.
Yet another source of contact was the clergy of Pennsylvania with whom Sir William had a great deal of business. He had actively promoted churches and schools on the Mohawk frontier, and encouraged missions and schools. He sponsored publication of a prayer book in the Indian language, and frequently procured Indian pupils for the school of Dr. Wheelock and others. He was much concerned with securing proper clergymen not only for the missions but for the established churches. In this connection he was in correspondence with Dr. Daniel Burton, Secretary of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and the distinguished Rev. Dr. William Smith. In 1768 St. George's Church in Schenectady, which was built with Sir William's patronage, sought to induce Reverend Alexander Murray of Reading, Pennsylvania, to come as its pastor and issued a formal call, to which he responded. This came as a result of Sir William's correspondence with Dr. Smith; but the church could offer only £40 New York currency, and the Reverend Mr. Murray finally declined in a letter from Reading, January 31, 1769:

... since I have entered into a married State, which would make a Removal so far as Schenectady very inconvenient, & the Salary there wou'd be very unequal to the Expence of supporting a Family.34

In 1766 the S.P.G. elected Sir William as a member, a gesture in token of his services. He in turn offered to pay expenses for a missionary whom they would send to the Mohawk frontier. Of course, this activity of his was not wholly altruistic or disinterested. It was a part and parcel of his development of the back country, of his counteracting French missionary influence, and, as he expressed it, of checking the New England pressure in the Mohawk Valley.35

His development of his lands, which he was to people with Scottish immigrants, led him to turn to Pennsylvania, too, for both artisans and resources. Rev. Thomas Barton informed him that an iron master, Mr. William Smith, proposed to journey to his country to seek for iron ore and find a place to manufacture it.

35 Johnson Papers, 5:388, 413.
Should he find conditions favorable he would establish there. "His Influence, I make no Doubt, would draw a great number of Families after him. . . ." The Reverend Mr. Barton continued:

I have procur'd a Sadler, Collar-Maker & Wheel-Wright for Johnstown, who intend to visit you early in the Spring—I expect to engage all the Meckanicks you mention'd—The Planters to whom I communicated the terms of your lands, seem to boggle at the Reservations—the Prohibition to build Mills—The being allow'd no Shares of the ores or Minerals that may be discover'd; not being at Liberty to dispose of their improvements to whom they please &c. are mighty BugBears. I should like to know whether you intend to dispense with these, . . .

Visitors to Johnson Hall, like the Reverend Mr. Barton, were often impressed with the progress of Sir William's plans.

At the same time Barton was outfitting Sir William's laboratory. He wrote from New York, October 7, 1765:

I have given directions for the best workman in this place to make a Conductor & some other things for your Electrical Apparatus—Capt. Provost has undertaken to see them packed and will carefully forward them in a few Days—As soon as I return to Lancaster, I shall do myself the pleasure to send you the Leyden Bottles & the other Articles which I mentioned to you.—

This "philosophical apparatus" Sir William set up in one of the stone blockhouses which flanked Johnson Hall. This, according to the chronicler Jeptha R. Simms, was called his "study." On seeing him enter it, his faithful slave "Pontioch" used to say, "Now massa gone into his study to tink of somesin me know not what."

Correspondence with such men as Dr. Smith, and others, no doubt stimulated these interests and avocations. Had he more time to devote to them, he might well have become as noted as Dr.

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36 Johnson Papers, 4:865-866.
37 Thomas Barton to Johnson, October 7, 1765. In Boston Public Library. See also his letter from Lancaster, November 9, 1765, Johnson Papers, 4:865.
Colden for his observations and his writing. In 1771, at the request of Arthur Lee, then in London, he wrote a letter on the Indians, their customs and language, which was published in the Philosophical Society Transactions. As a result of this he received a request for answers to a series of questions on the Indians from Dr. William Robertson, Principal, The University of Edinburgh. These queries were transmitted by William Franklin, who promised to send back the answers through Mr. Strahan, the King’s Printer. But Sir William was not able to deal with these “Inclosures of a curious nature” before his death.

As noted above, William Franklin visited Johnson Hall in 1768, and had been in frequent correspondence with Sir William over matters of land and Indian relations. The proposal for a colony in the Illinois Country, however, in which so many colonial worthies were interested, brought about an exchange of letters between Dr. Franklin in London and Sir William. The latter wrote as of July 10, 1766:

At the Request of your Son Govr. Franklin, & sev. Gentn. of Pensilvania, I now enclose you a Scheme proposed for establishing a Colony at the Illinois, together with my Letter to Mr. Secretary Conway in favr. thereof, which the proposers denied might be transmitted thro’ your hands—I have accordingly sent it under a flying Seal, & must request you to forward it as Addressed—

I daily dread a rupture with the Inds. occasioned by the Licentious Conduct of the frontier Inhabitants who continue to Rob, and Murder them.—I am immediately to meet Pontiac with the Western Nats. at Ontario and wish I may be able to satisfy them—

Altho’ I have not had an Opportunity of Cultivating your Acquaintance I shall always be Glad to render you, or yours any Services as I am &c.

Franklin’s reply was dated London, September 12, 1766:

I am honoured with yours of the 10th of July just come to hand, with that for Mr. Secretary Conway under a fly-

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30 *Johnson Papers*, 8:1158. Guy Johnson, after the death of Sir William, wrote out answers to these questions for Dr. Robertson, which are to be found in the Claus MSS., Canadian Archives.
41 In American Antiquarian Society. Printed in AAS Proceedings, 11:46.
ing Seal, which I have clos’d and forwarded. He is now in another Department, but it will go of course to Lord Shelbourne, who I think is rather more favorably dispose’d towards such Undertakings.

I have long been of Opinion that a Well-conducted western Colony, if it could be settled with the Approbation of the Indians would be of great National Advantage with respect to trade, and particularly useful to the old Colonies as a Security to their Frontiers. I am glad to find that you, whose knowledge of Indian affairs and the Temper of those People far exceeds mine, entertain the same Sentiments, and think such an establishment in the Illinois Country practicable. I shall not fail to use my best Endavors here in promoting it, and obtaining for it the necessary grants; and I am happy that this Occasion introduces me to the Correspondence of a Gentleman whose Character I have long esteemed, and to whom America is so much obliged.

It grieves me to hear that our Frontier People are yet greater Barbarians than the Indians, and continue to murder them in time of Peace. I hope your Negotiations will prevent a New War, which those Murders give great reason to apprehend; and that the several governments will find great reason to apprehend; and that the several governments will find some Method of preventing such horrid outrages for the future.\textsuperscript{42}

Yet this correspondence, so auspiciously begun, was not renewed. Two years later, however, Sir William was honored by election to the American Philosophical Society, which Franklin founded, and accepted January 3, 1769, with the remark that his “Necessary Avocations might deprive him of much of the pleasure I might otherwise receive as one of that Body.”\textsuperscript{43}

Thus in a few years before his untimely death, Sir William Johnson, who had led a life of vigorous activity, but with such disabilities as to render it almost incredible, was in a position to enjoy the fruits of culture and the arts of society. He had won the es-

\textsuperscript{42} Printed in Franklin’s \textit{Writings} (Smyth, ed.), 4:461; and in Illinois State Historical Library Collections, 11:376-377.
\textsuperscript{43} \textit{Documentary History of the State of New York}, 4:402. Dr. William E. Lingelbach, librarian of the American Philosophical Society, informs me that the Manuscript Minutes of the Society contain Sir William’s record as follows: October 18, 1768, proposed as corresponding member (along with General Gage and William Logan); December 20, 1768, elected member; January 16, 1769, Dr. Smith read a part of Sir William’s letter “returning the Society his thanks for having chosen him a member.”
een of the most important men of the time, who not only recognized his achievements in war, politics and diplomacy, but respected his mental powers.

He has too often been thought of as "Johnson of the Mohawks," a squire of the Valley, and the founder of local institutions in New York. I have tried to point out that he was a Colonial American of first rank, whose activity and interests extended over provincial lines, and who is possibly of special significance in the history of Pennsylvania.