Before 1755, Indian affairs in Pennsylvania were controlled by the Penn Proprietors and by the local provincial government. The former negotiated treaties for the purchase of Indian land claims and paid all costs thereof. All other Indian affairs were controlled by the Governor, Council and Assembly of Pennsylvania. The large amount of space given to Indian affairs in the official records shows what an important part they played in the life of the people.

For the regulation of the Indian trade, the Assembly passed laws to secure justice for the Indian. These required traders to be licensed and forbade them to carry large quantities of liquor to the Indians. These laws could not be enforced, however. Generally speaking, policies were initiated and carried out by the Governor and Council; the expenses thereof were met by the Assembly. After 1750, when such expenses were becoming very great, the Assembly unsuccessfully tried to persuade the Proprietors to bear a fixed ratio of Indian expenses. It argued that their interests and the interests of the province were constantly being intermixed at many Indian treaties and that cordial relations with the Indians aided the Proprietors in the sale of their lands. Pennsylvania never delegated its
powers over Indian affairs to an Indian Agent as did New York and South Carolina. Instead, the Governor and Council, for each particular task to be done, usually employed a man capable of carrying on negotiations with the Indians and paid him his expenses and for his time. Conrad Weiser practically had a monopoly of this work before 1748; after 1748, when there was more work than one man could perform, William Trent, Andrew Montour and Croghan were often employed. These four men were also employed at times by Virginia and Maryland. Weiser recommended Croghan as an available man and when Weiser became fully occupied with the affairs of the Six Nations, Croghan was relied upon to conduct negotiations with the Ohio Indians.

The rapidly increasing importance of Pennsylvania’s Indian affairs, which gave rise to the need for Croghan’s services, is clearly reflected in her Indian expenditures. The cost to Pennsylvania of her Indian affairs for the years 1748 to 1752 equaled the cost for the preceding thirty years. With the coming of peace in 1748, Pennsylvania’s Indian expenditures instead of decreasing, increased several hundred per cent. Evidently, King George’s War had developed new conditions in the Indian country on the upper Ohio. Before 1747 the government of Pennsylvania had never taken cognizance of the interests of its citizens on the Ohio; most of its officials in Philadelphia were ignorant of conditions beyond the mountains. Neither had the French realized before 1744 the serious menace to them of having the trade of the Ohio region controlled by the English. The Huron conspiracy of 1747, which was instigated by the English, had threatened to shake the foundations of French power in the West. The French were convinced that if they wished to maintain their hold upon the western Indian trade, to save the rich Ohio lands for their
settlers and to keep open the best lines of communication between Canada and Louisiana, they must give to the Indians better service and prices in trade and must use force to drive out the English traders.

The "walking purchase" of 1737 and the purchase of 1754 made by the Penns, the advent of the Ohio Company of Virginia and the encroachment of squatters on the Indians' land all helped to cause the Ohio Indians to desert the English; but the chief cause was the aggressive policy of the French. So successful was this policy that while the conflict in the West during King George's War took place in the Maumee Valley near Detroit, during the French and Indian War it took place east of the forks of the Ohio. During the years 1748 to 1754 both the English and French time after time met the Ohio Indians in council and gave them large presents. The French and English councils frequently alternated. Croghan participated in at least ten such councils. The struggle for the Ohio Valley instead of beginning in 1754, as is usually stated, really began in 1747 and the first phase ended in 1754 with the French policy completely successful.

While the French were developing their policy, Croghan had begun to interest the colonial officials in Philadelphia in an aggressive Indian policy in the far West. This aimed not only to maintain what had been gained by the English traders, but also to extend the sphere of English influence. He forwarded to Richard Peters, Secretary to the Provincial Council, a letter dated May 16, 1747, purporting to come from three Iroquois chiefs near Lake Erie. It stated that they had "killed five of the french hard by this fortt which is Call'd Detroit and wee hope in a Litle Time To have this fortt in our posision." They sent one scalp along with their letter to the Governor of the Quaker province and asked for some powder and lead. This letter is in Croghan's handwriting and on the same kind of paper that he
used at this time, indicating that he instigated this attack while trading along Lake Erie. On May 26, 1747, he wrote to Peters: "I am Just return'd from the Woods and has brought a Letter a french Scalp and some Wompom for the Governor from a part of the Six Nations Ingans That has thire Dweling on the borders of Lake Arey. ..." He added that these Indians had just turned against the French and joined the English and that it was a fine opportunity to gain further allies by means of a small present. This he offered to transport and deliver with the aid of his men.

These letters were read before the Council on June 8, 1747. On June 18 Governor Thomas in a message to the Assembly sought an appropriation for a present. The request was repeated on August 18 and was granted, but the Council took no action. Croghan tiring of the summer's delay wrote to Thomas Lawrence, his eastern representative, and a member of the Council, requesting him to ascertain whether a present was to be sent; should it not be sent, he did not wish to send out his men with goods because the new English allies would probably turn to the French again. Lawrence laid this letter before the Council which then authorized Shippen and Lawrence to furnish a present valued at £200. This was to be taken to the Ohio and Lake Erie Indians by Croghan who was to be paid for transporting it. Peters was directed to prepare speeches and to procure wampum to accompany the present, but before any action was taken Weiser was to be consulted. Croghan's business relations with Peters and Lawrence doubtless aided his project which was favorable to the large business interests.

This action was taken by the Council with many misgivings. Up to this time gifts to the Indians had been delivered in or near Philadelphia and Lancaster, often in the presence of members of the Council. It realized
I am just returned from the woods, and have brought a fine fresh scalp. Some hunters, for a Governance from a part of the Western Indians, that has been lurking in the woods of Lake Erie, and not being able to go home, my self to them, after which a long journey I have found with you at the Bush. In which I was sent to give you governance orders before the lake. The Indians were always in the French interest, till near last this spring, almost all the Indians in the woods, have sided against you. As I think this will be a fine opportunity if pursued by force small demands to have the French get off in three parts for the French are very much dead by them, that will lead to the interess. I think and will think to get a great deal of the present taken at this time, before it will be a means of losing them that has not yet found. So: I remain with respect, your humble servant G. Croghan.

George Croghan to Secretary Richard Peters of Philadelphia

The original letter, of which the above facsimile is a reproduction on a smaller scale, is the earliest document written by Croghan that has been found. It is preserved in the Provincial Papers in the State Library at Harrisburg.
its absolute dependence upon Indian traders for the delivery of presents in the distant West, for they alone had the necessary knowledge and possessed proper transport facilities. There was nothing to prevent the traders selling a portion of the goods or distributing them to favor their own private interests. Weiser, however, wrote reassuringly: "... I think George Coughon is fit to perform it. I always took him for an honest man, and have as yet no Reason to think otherwys of him." The Penns and the aged Quaker, James Logan, who had advocated establishing a fort on Lake Erie as early as 1718, supported Croghan's policy of opening official relations with the western Indians. Finally about £40 was spent for powder and lead to be sent with Croghan, but when they learned that he could not deliver it in person further delays ensued.

A new factor appeared, perhaps a shrewd move due to Croghan, when on November 12, 1747, ten Iroquois from the Ohio representing five hundred warriors arrived unexpectedly in Philadelphia. It was the first official visit that any Ohio Indians had ever made to Pennsylvania. Before meeting them in conference, the Council consulted Weiser and sought the advice of James Logan. The Indians were informed that Weiser would return with them as far as John Harris' and there present them with goods valued at £148, 7s. 6d.; that gifts would be sent to the Lake Erie Indians with Croghan; and that in the spring, Weiser would be sent to the Ohio with a large present for all the Indian tribes. Palmer's message to the Assembly on November 26, 1747, said of the visit: "This is an extraordinary Event in our favour which ought to be improv'd to the greatest Advantage. From the Situation of these People ... they are capable of doing or preventing the greatest Mischiefs ... ." The Assembly promised the necessary funds, but urged that the goods
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presented ought not to be such as would encourage war.¹²

Croghan undertook to find men and horses to carry to the Ohio the present which Weiser had transferred to the ten Iroquois chiefs at Harris’ Ferry.¹³ Meanwhile Lawrence and Logan supervised the expenditure of more than £800 in Philadelphia and New York for the larger present which Weiser was to deliver the following spring; they also arranged for its transportation to Croghan’s.¹⁴ During the spring of 1748 Croghan kept twenty pack-horses and several men waiting for Weiser’s coming. Several factors, however, delayed Weiser. Shikelemy, the Iroquois chief who looked after the Susquehanna tribes and who was the friend of Weiser, refused to go with him to the Ohio. He was jealous of any direct negotiations with the Ohio Indians. Weiser was also delayed because some Iroquois chiefs were coming to Philadelphia for a conference.¹⁵ The chief reason for the delay, however, was the desire to await the action of Maryland and Virginia. Because their interests were also involved, expresses had been sent to their governors with the request that they also send representatives and presents with Weiser and Croghan. The Assembly of Maryland declined to participate, but Virginia appropriated £200 for a present. This was transported to the Ohio by Croghan. He found it difficult to collect for his services.¹⁶

To explain to the Indians Weiser’s delay and to transport the goods valued at £200 which in 1747 had been promised to the Indians, Croghan was dispatched to the Ohio in April, 1748. He met the Indians in conference and told them that in answer to their complaints concerning the sale of liquor, the Governor had issued a proclamation strictly forbidding under severe penalties all traders to carry any liquor into the Indian country. It authorized the Indians to report any
traders bringing in liquor and to stave the casks they brought. This seemed to please the Indians, but they requested that their new brothers who had not yet tasted English rum and who would be very glad to taste it, be given some by the traders. When Croghan began to distribute the present, he soon found that it was not large enough to satisfy the fifteen hundred Indians and so added goods valued at £119 from his own private stock. To this sum he added £50 for transporting them and £55, 5s. for transporting the provincial present and then sent a bill to the Council for £224, 5s. His mission in the end cost the province £424, 5s. instead of a little over £200. Croghan in later years did not hesitate to exceed in a similar manner his instructions and powers. He had the initiative characteristic of the frontier: when he saw a need for action, he proceeded to meet it; to await new instructions was not feasible. Because of this trait he was more efficient but less trusted as an Indian agent.

Croghan was probably responsible for the departure of a delegation of Shawnee and Miami (Twightwee) Indians from the Ohio for Lancaster within a few weeks after he had distributed the present. He, himself, returned home about the same time and then proceeded to Lancaster where he announced the coming of the Indians and stated their desires. Weiser, Montour, Peters, four members of the Council, the magistrates of Lancaster County, Croghan and some other local inhabitants met with the fifty-five Indians of various tribes at the courthouse in Lancaster from July 19 to July 23, 1748. At this treaty the Shawnee who had robbed some English traders were again received as allies. The Six Nations then introduced the Miami who were received as English allies. They were located four hundred miles further west than the delegation which had visited Philadelphia the preceding November. They hoped to influence twelve neighbor-
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ing tribes to make a treaty with the English. Croghan was one of the signers of this treaty.\textsuperscript{20} After it was signed, Weiser accompanied the Indians to Croghan's home where they remained for some days. Here they were given some of the provincial goods stored there and some goods which Weiser purchased from Croghan for £62. On August 8, 1748, Croghan wrote to Peters: "... the Ohio Ingans Sett off from my hous Last week very well Satisfy'd with the reception they received, only the Sick Man remains still att my house till his back is well."\textsuperscript{21} This treaty helped to widen the horizon of the colonial leaders living in Philadelphia and increased their interest in the far West.\textsuperscript{22}

Shortly after this treaty Weiser, Croghan and Montour left Croghan's on their mission to the Ohio Indians. The Council had instructed Weiser to study conditions among the Ohio Indians and to secure intelligence of the French. Croghan served as a guide to Weiser and also furnished twenty packhorses with drivers to transport the Pennsylvania and Virginia presents valued at £500 and £200 respectively.\textsuperscript{23} The mission reached the Ohio on August 27, 1748, and made Croghan's trading house at Logstown their headquarters. During the next few weeks Weiser visited the surrounding villages. Soon twenty English traders and a large number of Delaware, Shawnee, Iroquois and Wyandot Indians gathered at Logstown. Weiser met each tribe separately and then in a general council he announced that the war had ended. He sought closer relations between the English and the Indians, especially in regard to trade. At the request of Governor Glen of South Carolina, inquiry was made concerning several Carolinians who had been carried off by a war party of northern Indians. Among the Senecas was found one prisoner who was supplied with clothing by Croghan and then sent to Philadelphia. Some traders who brought liquor to sell at the treaty
caused much trouble until some of their kegs were staved by Weiser and Croghan. After the presents had been carefully distributed, Weiser returned to Croghan's where he rested and awaited his baggage.

It was a significant incident of this mission that Benjamin Franklin's son, William, then a youth of nineteen, accompanied Croghan and Weiser. This journey was probably arranged by his father as a part of William's education. During the long hours spent on the trail while crossing the mountains and while sitting before the camp fires in the evening, Croghan doubtless told of his experiences and described the country to the youth. William Franklin kept a journal of his trip which Lewis Evans used in making his map. William's father sent to a member of the Royal Society in England information which he secured from his son's and Weiser's journals. William's journey was an important factor in arousing in both the Franklins a keen and vital interest in the future greatness of the West. In later years this led to their active association with Croghan in projects to establish new colonies beyond the mountains.

The events of the year 1747-1748 clearly presented to the colonial officials of Pennsylvania the possibilities of developing a rich Indian trade in the far West. This appealed to the Quaker as well as to the Episcopalian and the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian. A marked increase in the export of furs and skins from Philadelphia followed. The expansion of the Indian trade was closely associated with the policy of an aggressive defense against a possible attack by the French and Indians. The treaty of Logstown in 1748 represents the zenith of English influence in the Ohio region until after 1763. In 1749 came Céloron's expedition and thereafter the English were on the defensive. The unlicensed English traders became more numerous and carried increasing quantities of rum to the Indians.
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The English had no imperial regulations to restrain their traders. Croghan probably felt the tide turning when he wrote on July 3, 1749: “... No people Carries on the Indians Trade in So Regular a manner as the French. I wish with all My hart the Government of this Province wol’d Take Some Method to Regulate the Indian Trade. . . .”

The English were further handicapped by the bitter rivalry which arose at this time between the traders from Pennsylvania and those from Virginia and Maryland. The latter, supported by the powerful Ohio Company, promised the Indians cheaper goods and threatened to take away much of the trade which the former had long monopolized. The Pennsylvanians told the Indians that the roads which the Virginians were building would lay them open to attack by the Catawbas and that the Virginians intended to take all their lands. Croghan and his partner, William Trent, however, frequently served Virginia officially during the years 1752 to 1754. These leaders were too shrewd to become openly hostile to the Ohio Company. The plans of this company made it easier for the French to win over the Ohio Indians, for as Croghan wrote: “... the Indians Dos nott Like to hear of there Lands being Setled over Allegany Mountain. . . .” Meanwhile, Weiser was suggesting that the lands beyond the Kittatinny Mountains be purchased from the Indians, settlements made upon them and a wagon road opened to the Ohio in order to meet the prospective advantages of the Virginia traders. The western boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia began at this time.27

From now on, rumors and intelligence of the preparation of the French became frequent: magazines and stores were being replenished at Detroit, boats were plying on Lakes Erie and Ontario and several hundred soldiers and Indian allies were being collected. Such
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intelligence usually came first to Sir William Johnson. He sent it to Governor Clinton, who in turn forwarded it to Governor Hamilton. Soon Céloron de Blainville's well-known expedition was on its way down the Ohio to warn the English traders to depart. Céloron dispatched official letters only to the Governors of Pennsylvania and Carolina. So hostile were the Indians, even to his large force, that he frequently feared an attack. When Governor Hamilton was informed that Céloron's army, a thousand strong, was headed for the Ohio, he asked Croghan to proceed immediately to the Ohio and to send out scouts to secure intelligence and to warn the traders. Croghan sent one of his men to Lake Erie with instructions for Montour to investigate and then meet him at Logstown. Croghan, himself, started for the Ohio and planned to remain if necessary to aid in keeping the Indians steady. He arrived at Logstown immediately after Céloron had left and did much to undo what harm had been done.28

These warnings of danger made it desirable for Pennsylvania to cultivate the friendship of her own Indians. Their chief cause of complaint was the pressure on their lands. Settlers had crossed the Susquehanna in such numbers that Cumberland County had been organized in 1750. Croghan was appointed one of the Justices of the Peace and of the Common Pleas of the new county.29 His chief service as a Justice was in connection with the removal of squatters from the Indian lands beyond the Blue Mountains and in the Juniata Valley concerning which complaints had frequently been made by the Iroquois. They stated that the magistrates, who had been sent in 1742 to remove the squatters, instead of doing so had made surveys for themselves.30 In 1750 decisive action was felt to be necessary. Secretary Peters, Weiser, a deputy sheriff and six Justices of the new county attempted to remove the squatters; Croghan participated in all
the proceedings. Two trying conferences were held at his home with the incensed Indians.\textsuperscript{31}

The officials made trips to various fertile spots north and west of Croghan's. Croghan furnished men and horses to carry provisions and supplies for which he was paid £30 by the Proprietors.\textsuperscript{32} About sixty squatters were found. The original intentions were to arrest, convict, fine and imprison them, but two of the first five arrested fled calling back: "You may take our Land and Houses and do what you please with them, ... but we will not be carried to Gaol." A third squatter met the officials with a loaded gun. To prevent the squatters from fleeing further into the Indian country or uniting to resist by force, a new method of procedure was adopted. Practically all the squatters confessed to being trespassers and gave one bond to appear in court and another bond, five times as large, to remove their families, cattle and goods. Peters gave money to some of the poorer squatters with large families. Those who removed were never prosecuted. Not even were the better cabins burned. Such a destruction of the capital of frontier society would have aroused the enmity of the frontiersmen. They felt that the land would shortly be purchased from the Indians and in that case a cabin with a plot of cleared ground would give the squatter a prior lien to the choicest lands. Still, an outward visible sign had to be given to appease the Indians. After great deliberation it was decided to burn some cabins after the occupant had carried out his goods. Peters reported that "the Cabbins or Log Houses which we burnt were of no considerable Value, being such as the Country People erect in a Day or two. ..." As a result, the westward movement of settlers was checked and this served to diminish temporarily the danger of Indian hostilities. Four years later, the Penns bought at Albany the claims of the Iroquois to the lands in question.\textsuperscript{33}
During the summer of 1750, Johnson had sent word to Governor Hamilton that the French were planning a second expedition to the Ohio. Hamilton immediately asked Croghan and Montour to proceed to the Ohio and invite all the tribes to come the following spring to a treaty and receive a large present. Croghan wrote Hamilton from the Ohio on November 16, 1750, that Joncaire, the French leader, was at the headwaters of the Ohio giving out presents and preparing to build a fort; that traders and Indians were being robbed, taken prisoners or killed by both sides; that war was expected by the English traders; and that there was general alarm among all the Indian tribes who felt the need of an English fort on the Ohio. This letter Hamilton sent to the Assembly saying in his message that "it contains several matters worthy of your greatest Attention."

Croghan had also been entrusted with a small present for the Miami, who had been bribed and threatened by Céloron and whose exposed position caused them to desire closer relations with the English. Croghan, therefore, continued his journey westward during the midwinter. Christopher Gist, who had been to Logstown to invite the Indians to a treaty with Virginia, was glad to accompany Croghan part of the way for safety. Croghan's acknowledged leadership in the West was strikingly shown on this journey. At the Indian villages he received reports from traders and Indians; sometimes they told of the capture of some of his own men. When reports of the capture of several English traders came to him at the Muskingum villages, he sent out Indian runners to summon the neighboring traders and chiefs for a council. When it met Croghan cautioned the Indians to keep their young warriors at home till spring and pledged them anew to the English cause. English traders sent to him three French deserters to save them from the Indians.
After Croghan had arrived at Pickawillani and delivered the goods to the Miami, four French emissaries came with presents to urge the Miami to trade with the French. The French and English colors were both raised in the council chamber and both sides were given a hearing, but Croghan had the pleasure of seeing the French colors lowered.

While the Philadelphia officials were beginning to establish friendly relations with Indian tribes as far west as the Wabash, Croghan was cultivating relations with tribes beyond the Wabash towards the Mississippi. However, he could not carry official support with him into this distant region. In February, 1751, while he was at Pickawillani, chiefs of the Piankashaw and Wea (Wawinoughtanes) Indians, two tribes living west of the Wabash River, came to him and requested to be received as English allies. A treaty was drawn up and signed by Croghan, Montour, Gist and three other traders. Croghan assumed the authority to present these Indians with goods to the amount of £100. These probably came out of his private storehouse at Pickawillani, but he presented them in the name of Pennsylvania and upon his return he presented his bill for them to the Council. Governor Hamilton sent the treaty, Croghan's reports and his bill to the Assembly, but the Assembly repudiated the treaty and requested the Governor to be careful to select Indian agents who could be trusted not to exceed their instructions. The treaty was not without effect, however, nor did Croghan lose on his investment. During the next year, the Piankashaw killed five Frenchmen near Lake Erie, and two Frenchmen and two slaves near Vincennes; thirty-three of their warriors appeared at Kaskaskia in a conspiracy with the Illinois to destroy the French villages on the Mississippi. Vaudreuil reported home that the Piankashaw favored the English and helped to seduce other tribes from the French. The French
finally imprisoned their chief. Croghan was probably reimbursed by his profits from the increased trade. In 1765, during the critical days after Croghan had been attacked, tomahawked and then taken prisoner to the Piankashaw country, his old acquaintances among that tribe befriended him.37

When Croghan returned to Philadelphia about May 1, 1751, he found Hamilton exerting all his influence to induce the Assembly to follow an aggressive Indian policy and to induce New York, Maryland and Virginia to participate in sending a gift to the Ohio Indians. The governors of these provinces desired to cooperate, but their assemblies declined to act. Virginia finally did provide a present, but it was to be delivered separately and in the interests of the Ohio Company.38

The Assembly of Pennsylvania provided a present valued at £700. Weiser arranged for its transportation to the Ohio and to accompany it, he prepared speeches which he planned to deliver in person. When it became necessary to send him to Albany to meet the Iroquois, he recommended that Croghan and Montour be given charge of the Ohio mission, stating that "If Mr. Croghan's Integrity is questioned some of the Traders at Ohio might be required to be present and see the Goods delivered Article for Article. . . . I believe he will do all in his Power to Act According to your Honour's Commands and leave no room of Suspicion. . . ."39

His recommendation was followed and on May 18, 1751, Croghan, Montour and ten other English traders arrived at Logstown where a large number of Indians had assembled. They welcomed Croghan's party by firing their guns and hoisting the English colors. Two days later Joncaire and a French party including forty Iroquois also arrived at Logstown. Joncaire asked for a reply to Celoron's demand that the Indians send the English traders away. Croghan faced him in open
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council with the Indians and adroitly outmaneuvered the astute Frenchman so that the Indians refused to comply with the French demands. He left with Croghan a letter for Governor Hamilton which stated the French claims and demands; Croghan received it and brought it to Hamilton for which he was severely criticised by the Assembly. Croghan delivered separate speeches to the Delawares, Shawnee, Wyandots, Miami and Six Nations. The domination of the Six Nations over the Ohio tribes is well shown in this council. It was an Iroquois chief who answered Joncaire. Croghan conferred privately with their chiefs before he acted and he mentioned them in every speech. They also helped him to distribute the presents.

The most significant phase of Croghan's mission concerned the erection of a fort at the forks of the Ohio. When the Penns in England heard of the French aggression they became alarmed lest they lose their western lands and at once consulted the Duke of Bedford and Lord Halifax. They wrote Hamilton offering to contribute £400 towards the erection of a fort and £100 annually for its upkeep and suggested that the "command of this might be given to the principal Indian Trader, and be obliged to keep Four or Six Men at it who might serve him in it; and the House be his Magazine for Goods." Croghan was doubtless enthused by the possibility of attaining a position similar to that of Byrd and Wood in Virginia, Johnson in New York, or of a French seigneur. Because the Quaker leaders of the Assembly were extremely adverse to the erection of a fort, Hamilton instructed Croghan to take it up privately with the Indian chiefs only. They, however, replied in open council: "We expect that you our Brother will build a strong House on the River Ohio, that if we should be obliged to engage in a War that we should have a Place to secure our Wives and Children, likewise to secure our Brothers that come to
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trade with us, for without our Brothers supply us with Goods we cannot live." After Croghan’s return Hamilton placed the Quaker Assembly in an uncomfortable position by recommending to it the erection of such a fort. The Assembly took testimony to prove that the forks of the Ohio were outside the limits of Pennsylvania and it proceeded to investigate the nature of Croghan’s instructions and his conduct. Weiser denied any knowledge of instructions relating to a fort and Hamilton denied giving any, though both were concerned therewith. The Assembly finally paid Croghan’s bills, but its message to the Governor insinuated that Croghan had inserted the Indian’s request for a fort in his journal and stated that he either misunderstood or misrepresented both the request of the Indians and the danger from the French. In spite of such treatment, Croghan continued to use every means in his power to strengthen the Indians in their friendship for the English.41

The neglect of Pennsylvania to erect a fort on the Ohio helped to alienate the Delaware and Shawnee Indians from the English, for though they now turned to Virginia and repeated their request at the treaty at Logstown in 1752 and again at Winchester in 1753, by the time Virginia acted it was too late. After 1751 the leading rôle in the English defensive against the French aggression passed from Pennsylvania to Virginia. Had the Assembly been in harmony with Hamilton, Croghan, not Washington, would probably have been sent to warn the French to leave Venango and Le Boeuf. Though these forts were on Pennsylvania soil, Hamilton did not act, for he knew that his Quaker Assembly would not support him with force if necessary. Instead he could only encourage Virginia to act and ask that she respect the Penn’s title to the land east and southeast of the forks. To Governor Clinton he wrote prophetically: “... I have little reason
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to expect they will ever act a proper part in Indian affairs, until either some notable calamity befall our back inhabitants, or till they have such injunctions laid upon them from home as they will not venture to disobey.'

Virginia took advantage of her opportunity. Gist and Nemacolin blazed a path to the Ohio for the Ohio Company and presents were provided for a treaty with the Ohio Indians at Logstown in June, 1752. Croghan was present and aided the Virginians. Their task was a difficult one because the Pennsylvania traders had prejudiced the Indians against them and because they asked the Indians to give up their claims to the land desired by the Ohio Company. Permission to erect two forts and to make some settlements was finally granted and the Indians agreed to cooperate in developing trade. After the treaty the Virginia commissioners sent Trent to Pickawillani with gifts for the Piankashaw.

Jonquiere, who until this time had been Governor of Canada, had carefully refrained from using force to secure the Ohio country and had thereby incurred the displeasure of the home government. The new governor, Du Quesne, was under instructions to drive out the English traders, seize their goods and destroy their posts. The French regarded Croghan in particular as an obstacle to their plans. They spoke of him as "sieur George Croqueu Négociant", "grand-interprète Anglois pour les Sauvages" and "interprète-général." They offered one thousand dollars for the scalps of Croghan and James Lowrey "imagining if they were taken off as they had great influence with the Ohio Indians they could easily gain over those Indians to them." So safe did Croghan feel among the Indians that when he met the Shawnee in council at Lower Shawnee Town on January 30, 1750, he boldly told them of the French offer.
The first important open attack by the French was made on Pickawillani on June 21, 1752, and caused great excitement in the Ohio region. News of their intentions had been secured by Johnson and sent to Hamilton as early as August, 1751. Charles Langlade with two hundred and forty French and Indians marched from Detroit and surprised Pickawillani. About thirty, including one English trader, were killed in the attack. Five traders were taken prisoners and their goods valued at £3000 were taken. Of these goods about one third belonged to Croghan. La Demoiselle, the chief of the village who from his great friendship for the English was called "Old Briton," was boiled and eaten. News of the attack was hurried to Philadelphia by special express, but Pennsylvania and Virginia were not ready to aid the Indians in a reprisal. Virginia, however, did send Trent to the Ohio in the summer of 1753 with a present of powder, lead, guns and blankets. Du Quesne wrote home: "I trust that this blow, added to the complete pillage suffered by the English on this occasion, will discourage them from trading on our lands."

From this time forth, Croghan and his associates were compelled to cease trading in the more distant regions. He must have viewed with growing dismay the rapid crumbling away, as the French advanced eastwards, of the business which it had taken ten years of his life to build up. His partner, Trent, wrote to Governor Hamilton: "I am much surprised at the several Governments to suffer us dryly to be robbed and Murdered without putting it in our power to do ourselves Justice since they don't think us worthy [of] their protection."

In May, 1753, Johnson was again sending intelligence to Hamilton of a large French expedition headed for the Ohio for the purpose of erecting forts and expelling the English. Expresses were at once sent by Hamilton
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to the governors of Maryland and Virginia and the traders on the Ohio were warned by two messengers. These brought to Croghan copies of all the papers sent by Johnson. Before this message was received, Trent had written to Hamilton that the French attacks on traders near Lake Erie, along the Great Miami and in Kentucky had caused Croghan to return through the woods with some Indians and whites and that the rest of the traders were coming up the Ohio in a body. Trent was preparing to go to the Ohio with provisions for their aid. He added: "the Indians are in such confusion that there is no knowing who to trust. I expect they will all join the French except the Delawares, as they expect no assistance from the English."  

On May 7, 1753, while these refugees were gathered at Croghan and Trent's storehouse at the mouth of Pine Creek, the Indians were thrown into consternation by a message sent down from Venango by the trader John Fraser. It stated that the French were coming with eight brass cannon, ammunition and stores. On May 8, two Iroquois runners from Onondago brought similar intelligence. On May 12, John Harris arrived with Hamilton's warning. In this crisis the entire party looked to Croghan as a leader. The Indians were called into council and asked what their attitude was going to be. The distracted red men after anxious deliberation announced that they would receive the French as friends or as enemies depending upon their attitude, but that the English would be safe as long as they themselves were safe. Croghan's partners, Teaffe and Callender, with the two messengers that had been sent out by Hamilton returned to Philadelphia on May 30 to report in person. The next day the Assembly appropriated £200 for a condolence present to the Twilightees and £600 for "the Necessities of Life" (guns and ammunition) for the other Ohio Indians.
Virginia also provided gifts for the Ohio tribes. A deputation of about one hundred Indians came to Winchester in September, 1753, to confer with Virginia. Croghan was present to assist the Virginia commissioner, William Fairfax. The Virginians were placed in a dilemma when it came to giving out the goods which consisted chiefly of guns and ammunition: they feared to give it out liberally lest the Indians use it later to attack the Virginia frontier; but if they did not do so, the Indians could make no defense and moreover would be offended and turn to the French. The Indians finally were given a small portion of the goods and informed that the rest would be distributed later by Trent, Gist and Montour.

The Indians then went to Carlisle to receive the present which Pennsylvania had provided for them. Benjamin Franklin, Peters, and Isaac Norris, the Speaker of the Assembly, had been appointed commissioners to meet them and Croghan was present to give advice. The Indians requested that no settlements be made beyond the mountains, that all trade in the Ohio region be confined to three posts, that prices be reduced, that less liquor be brought by the traders and that future councils be held at Croghan's house at Aughwick. The commissioners, facing the same dilemma as had confronted the Virginians, informed the Indians that the goods for the present would be kept at their good friend George Croghan's who would give them out on the Governor's orders. Such a policy did not send the Indians home well satisfied.

Meanwhile, the French had established forts at Presque Isle, Le Boeuf and Venango. In a message to the Assembly, February 1, 1754, Governor Hamilton said: "... so alarming an Occasion has not occurred since the first Settlement of the Province, nor any one thing happen'd that so much deserves your serious Attention." Finally all the governors, after
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months of waiting, received instructions from England to protest formally and then, if necessary, take military action should the French invade English territory. Governor Dinwiddie now sent Washington on his famous mission to Le Boeuf and prepared for active military operations.

The Ohio Company materially aided his plans. It had employed Trent to engage laborers and erect a strong storehouse on the Monongahela and another at the forks of the Ohio. In January, 1754, Dinwiddie gave Trent a captain’s commission. John Fraser, the Indian trader, was made lieutenant and Edward Ward, Croghan’s half-brother, was made ensign; Colonel Fry and Major Washington were their superior officers. Enlistment was encouraged by promising each soldier a land grant near the forks of the Ohio. Trent was handicapped by the lack of provisions and when his men had no food left except Indian corn, he, himself, started east to secure supplies. Croghan had anticipated this demand and found employment for his idle packhorses and men by contracting with the Ohio Company to furnish provisions valued at £500 from the back country of Pennsylvania. Half of these were on the way to the Ohio when on April 17, 1754, Contrecoeur with a force of five hundred men appeared before the half-finished fort and demanded its surrender. The fort at the time had but forty-one men, no cannon and but few provisions and was commanded by Ward. He was permitted to march off with the honors of war carrying with him even his tools.

Croghan had been on the Ohio with these old associates of his early in the year. He wrote Hamilton on February 3, 1754, that Trent had just arrived with Indian presents and with tools and workmen to begin a fort. Croghan tarried to help deliver the presents because Trent could not speak the Indian language. The building of the fort pleased the Indians and put
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them in high spirits." Croghan happened to be on the Ohio at this time because Hamilton had sent Croghan, Andrew Montour and John Patten, to hold a council at Logstown and encourage the Indians. They were to present them with guns and ammunition for defense against the French, to secure intelligence, to investigate Lewis Montour's treaty and to return two Shawnee who had been taken prisoners in South Carolina while with a northern war party. Croghan arrived at the Ohio shortly after Washington had passed by on his return from Le Boeuf. Croghan included a concise summary of this mission in his report to Hamilton. He also reported that the Miami had become allies of the French and that a large party of French and Indians was coming up the Ohio to cooperate with the force which was moving south from Lake Erie; that when he had asked the Indians about the clause in Lewis Montour's treaty by which they ceded all their lands east of the Ohio to the traders in return for cancelling their debts, they replied that this clause must have been added by the traders who wrote the treaty, for they knew nothing of it.

This council at Logstown was one of the most difficult which Croghan had conducted. When Croghan, Montour and Patten arrived they found that the greater number of the Indians were drunk and the drinking continued so that ten days elapsed before they could open a council. Moreover, the attitude of the Indians had so changed that they saluted Croghan and his party by informing them that they were prisoners. They saved themselves by announcing that they had come to restore two Shawnee prisoners. The day after Croghan had arrived, five French canoes with two officers, fifteen soldiers and some Iroquois arrived from Venango. When Patten walked by their tents he was taken prisoner and released only after Croghan and Montour had gone to the French officers and de-
manded it. The threats of the Ohio Indians caused the French to go down the Ohio, but they returned and on January 26, they met the Indians in council, asked them to drive out the English and gave them a present. The next day Croghan met the same Indians and also made them a gift.55

The English were losing the support of the Indians principally because they did not erect forts and prepare for defense. When the Quaker Assembly was once more urged to follow such a policy it again claimed that the forks of the Ohio were not within the jurisdiction of their province. This led Croghan to write: "I Wish with all My hart Some gentelmen who is an Artist in Philadelphia, and whos Acount wold be Depended on, whould have the Curiosety to take a Journay in those parts, whos Return, I Dear Say, wold give A Ginrel Satisfaction to the whole Province."56 The Assembly now began to scrutinize the bills which Croghan sent in and struck out £50 from one and £30 from another. At the end of the year he complained that during the past years when he was engaged in official business, sometimes at the risk of his life, he had never been paid a farthing for his time, but only for the hire of his packhorses and men; yet for the mission in January, 1754, Patten was paid £50 while Croghan received no pay though he had served longer than Patten.57 This attitude of the Assembly helped to cause Croghan to leave for Virginia. Here the military operations of Washington were to give him new fields of opportunity to serve against his old rivals and enemies.
REFERENCES.

(All manuscripts referred to are in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania unless otherwise stated. References to the Pennsylvania Colonial Records are usually to the minutes recording the actions of the Provincial Council, unless otherwise stated.)


3 Vaudreuil to minister, Mar. 20, 1748, C 13A, 32: 28, 120 (Archives Nationales, Paris); Alvord, C. W.: The Illinois Country, 1675–1818, 184–189. Croghan wrote on July 3, 1749, "I make no Doubt but the french will make use of all unfair Methods they can to bring over all the Indians they can to there Interest Butt I am of opinion that the Indians are So well grafted in the English Interest that they will nott be Easy Deceaved."—Prov. Pap. (State Lib. of Pa.), 10: 62. The difficulties of the French are graphically portrayed in the Journals of Céloron de Blainville's expedition.


6 Pa. Col. Rec., 5: 72, 97, 102, 119, 120; Votes of the Assembly, 4: 58.


11 Votes of the Assembly, 4: 58; Pa. Col. Rec., 5: 145–152; the present made to the Lake Erie Indians by the Quaker province consisted of the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 cwt. Barr Lead</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 half Barrels and 2 Quarter caskes of Gunpowder</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 doz. best Knives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Guns</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000 Flints</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash paid John Smith, Waggoner</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

47 18 6


14 Pa. Col. Rec., 5: 188, 197, 224. 18 bbl. of gunpowder, 20 cwt. of Barr Lead and 40 guns made up over one third of the present.
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Croghan's Journal, Pa. Col. Rec., 5:287-289; ibid, 5 : 294-295. Croghan's official journals were usually written up in good form by a clerk, especially during later years. None of the original copies which the writer has seen are in Croghan's handwriting. Speeches reported to have been made to the Indians were often prepared beforehand. The official journals were frequently written up from rough notes and as a result we have different versions of some journals. It is almost impossible to determine whether the Indian speeches are accurately reported in the journals of an Indian agent, for there is seldom any other evidence available. The accuracy of Croghan's journals was questioned on several occasions.—Cf. N. Y. Col. Docs., 7 : 268, 775; Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., 37 : 26; Thwaites, R. G.: Early Western Travels, 1:283-285.


The following extract from the minutes of the conference is illuminating: "The Commissioners gave a handsome Entertainment to the Deputies of the Twilightees and the Indians who conducted them from Ohio, and after Dinner enter'd into a free Conversation with them . . . by their Informations it appears that the River Ouabache takes its rise from a Lake at a small distance from the West end of Lake Erie, from which it runs South-Westerly 4 or 500 Miles, and falls into the Ohio about 300 Miles from the Mississippi; that on this River and another River called the Hatchet, the Twilightees and their Allies have Twenty Towns, and that they count one thousand fighting Men; that it is a plain Country and of a rich Soil abounding with Game. The principal Deputy of the Twilightees laid down with Chalk the Courses of the Mississippi, of Ouabache, and of Ohio, marking the Situation of their own Towns, of Lake Erie, and of two Forts that the French have on the Mississippi, whereby it is Manifest that if these Indians and their Allies prove faithful to the English, the French will be deprived of the most convenient and nearest communication with their Forts on the Mississippi, the ready Road lying thro' their Nations, and that there will be nothing to interrupt an Intercourse between this Province and that great River." Pa. Col. Rec., 5 : 316; Pres. and Council to the Proprietors, July 30, 1748, ibid, 322; Palmer's Message to the Assembly, Aug. 24, 1748, ibid, 330.
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26 Weiser to Peters, July 17, 1748, Pa. Arch., 2 : 10; Weiser to Peters, Aug. 15, 1748, ibid, 15; B. Franklin to Collinson, Oct. 18, 1748, Writings (Smyth ed.), 2 : 365; Evans, Lewis: Analysis of a General Map, etc., 10. A search was made for Franklin's Journal, but in vain. It would be a valuable document could it be found.


27 Penn. MSS., Accounts, 1 : 84; Penn-Physick MSS., 1 : 25. Croghan was also asked to stop the building of a house on a proprietary manor, ibid, 5 : 10.

28 Justice Smith to Gov. Hamilton, July 25, 1750, Pa. Col. Rec., 5 : 452; Official Report of Peters to Gov. Hamilton, July 2, 1750, ibid, 5 : 440–449; Thomson, Chas.: Alienation of the Delaware and Shawnee, etc., 65ff. The official report enables one to locate exactly the settler's frontier in 1750. The notorious renegade, Simon Girty, was one of the squatters removed by Croghan. The present town of Burnt Cabins in Fulton County secured its name as a result of these events.


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Croghan to Hamilton June 10, 1751, Pa. Col. Rec., 5 : 539; ibid, 540, 547. Croghan's Journal for this mission is found in the Penn MSS., Indian Affairs, 1 : 72-74 and in the Pa. Col. Rec., 5 : 530-539. It has been reprinted several times. In Thwaites: Early Western Travels, 1:58ff, the minutes for May 29 are omitted without notice. In reading the above account it must be borne in mind that it is based on Croghan's own Journal which is our only source for these events.


Instructions to Jonquiere, Aug. 27, 1751, B 93 : 30-31 (Archives Nationales, Paris); Instructions to DuQuesne, May 15, 1752, Wis. Hist. Coll., 18 : 121.


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47 Trent to Wm. Logan, May 8, 1753, Shippen Corresp., 1 : 147.
53 Ward's affidavit, 1756, O. Co. MSS., 1 : 10; Fraser to Young, Aug. 27, 1753, Pa. Col. Rec., 5:660; Croghan to Hamilton, May 14, 1754, Pa. Arch., 2 : 144. Washington accused Trent of great timidity and of being absent from his post and Dinwiddie ordered Trent and Fraser to be tried by court martial. After Ft. Necessity was surrendered the eastern gentry were more appreciative of the services of the Indian traders. In 1760 Trent sued Dinwiddie at Williamsburg for malicious attacks on his character and was awarded £800 with costs.—Washington to Dinwiddie, June 10, 1754, Writings, 1 : 96-99; Mercer to Trent, Nov. 8, 1760, O. Co. MSS., 1 : 34.

(To be continued.)