William Penn’s ideas of justice and humanity permitted but one Indian policy. His natural benevolence and the principles of his sect demanded a just and friendly treatment. Before leaving England he forwarded to those Indians dwelling in his province a letter expressing his friendly attitude toward them and his hope that he and they would always live together as neighbors and friends. He instructed his commissioners to be careful not to offend them, to court their good will, and let them know that the Christians had come to settle among them on terms of friendship. (1)

The Quaker’s treatment of the Indians was always characterized by fairness and honor. In Pennsylvania alone could an Indian get satisfaction from a white man, for here only was the testimony of an Indian accepted against a white. In matters of trade the provincial government tried faithfully to guard the Indian against exploitation by the white man. In treaties, for the first fifty years at least, only open and honorable means were used to gain a point. And not only abstract justice, but friendly and kindly intercourse were encouraged. Penn learned their language in order that he might be able to converse with them more freely, and later sent his son to dwell among them that he might understand their language and customs. (2) The relationship between the Indians and the Quakers was, therefore, most cordial and friendly. Penn himself was a frequent visitor among them, partaking of their venison, hominy, and roasted acorns; and to their great delight, participating in their athletic exercises. The Indians responded at once to this treatment; and the early settlers found them

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(1) Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, II, Part I, 218, Penn’s Instructions to his Commissioners to settle the Province: “Be tender of offending the Indians, and hearken by honest Spyes, if you can hear yt any body inveigles ye Indians not to sell, or to stand off, and raise the value upon you. You cannot want those yt will inform you, but to soften them to mee and the people, lett them know yt you are come to sit down Lovingly among them.”

(2) Franklin, Benjamin, Historical Review of Pennsylvania, 97.
ever ready to provide food, assistance, or protection if it lay within their power. Former intercourse had taught them somewhat of the white man's injustice and insatiable desire for land, but they were still in a frame of mind to appreciate fair treatment and to return it in kind.

Penn attempted to carry his ideas of equality into the court room. The white man and the Indian were given the same legal standing and by written agreement between them were to be punished by the same laws. (1) If an Indian wronged a white man, the plaintiff was not allowed to take the law into his own hands. He must appeal to the nearest magistrate, who would then take up the affair with the chief of the Indian who had committed the wrong. If satisfaction was not obtained, proceedings were instituted against the Indian in the same manner as in the case of a white offender. If a white man wronged an Indian, he incurred the same penalty that was inflicted upon those who wronged a Christian. In such cases the Indian chief would complain to the governor. If investigation seemed to warrant it, the culprit was tried; and if found guilty, punished.

An attempt was made to have cases which involved both races tried by juries of six whites and six Indians, (2) but this was found impracticable and soon abandoned. A case was tried in the county in which the crime was committed, but in 1744 it was provided that all Indians accused of capital crimes committed within the province in places distant from the inhabitants should thereafter be tried in the County of Philadelphia before the justices of the supreme court or of the courts of Oyer and Terminer, and the expenses to be paid by the province as a whole and not by any particular county. These plans on the whole worked very satisfactorily, but neither whites nor Indians were always scrupulous about observing them. They were often inclined to take the law into their own hands, thus causing complications during which border warfare sometimes seemed certain.

The Quakers also aimed, as far as possible, to preserve peace between the various tribes. About 1719 a disagreement occurred between the northern and southern Indians.

(1) Myers, A. C., Narratives of early Pennsylvania, 276, reprinting Penn's Further Account: "If any of them break our laws they submit to be punished by them, and to this they have tied themselves by an obligation under their hands."

(2) Ibid, 236, reprinting Penn's Letter to the Free Society of Traders "We have agreed in all differences between us six of each side shall end the matter: Don't abuse them but let them have justice and you win them."
The governor, in order to prevent evil consequences, went to Virginia where he arranged terms of settlement with the governor of that colony. After he returned, he held a treaty with several Indian tribes and prevailed upon them to accept the compromise. The Pennsylvania Indians were not to hunt in the mountains south of the Potomac and the southern Indians were not to come north of that river. (1)

Many treaties were made with the Indians during the early period of Pennsylvania's history. Any one who glances through the Colonial Records will see what a great percentage of time must have been given up to Indian affairs. Penn himself is said to have made treaties personally with nineteen different tribes. The most of these were confirmations of friendship or treaties for the purchase of land. At times, however, they involved the regulation of trade and intercourse or even the question of frontier defense.

A treaty of this latter type was that made with the Susquehanna Indians in 1701. (2) According to its terms neither side was to do the other any wrong or injury. Indians who came into the neighborhood of the white settlements were to behave themselves regularly according to the laws of the Christians. The Indians were not to aid or abet the enemies of the whites or believe any evil rumors concerning them, but report the same to the governor. They were not to allow any strange Indians to settle on the west side of the Susquehanna or about the Potomac without the governor's permission. All traders were to be approved and licensed by the government. The Indians were to deal with Pennsylvania traders only.

Until 1722 Indian expenses were inconsiderable, being limited to fifty pounds a year. (3) Great caution was always exercised in allowing more. In this year, however, a bill for 230 pounds was allowed to defray the expenses of Governor Keith's journey to Albany and the cost of the presents made to the Indians at that time. (4) From 1722 to 1727 no Indian expenses were paid from the provincial treasury. But in this latter year the assembly contested a bill for seventy pounds, one half of which was finally paid by the public and the remainder by the proprietors. (5) In 1728 the assembly requested Governor Gordon to hold a treaty with the Indians, the costs of which they promised

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(1) PROUD, ROBERT, History of Pennsylvania, II, 198, 131.
(2) Pennsylvania Archives, 1st series, I, 144.
(3) Pennsylvania Statutes at Large, II, 230.
to pay. After this, expenses mounted rapidly higher and higher until in 1750 over one thousand pounds per year were being expended in this manner. (1)

As soon as Indian expenses became appreciable, a quarrel began between the assembly and the proprietors concerning their payment. The assembly argued that all former grants for this purpose had been considered as free gifts of the people and that they did not commit the government to a continuation of the policy. As long as treaties had been made primarily for the maintenance of friendly intercourse, no objections had been raised; but now it was becoming apparent that they were only the forerunners of land purchases, and for this reason the assembly maintained that the proprietors should bear a share of the expense. (2) The Penns objected on the grounds that they were already bearing their fair share of Indian expenses in other ways, such as paying interpreters and making purchases of land from which the inhabitants derived great benefit. They considered that they were no more obliged to contribute to the public treasury than the governors of other colonies. (3) The assembly, however, still argued that as the Penns were absolute proprietors of the soil, they should at least bear the expenses of treaties for the purchase of lands. Those for the maintenance of friendship might still be held at the expense of the public. But treaties of friendship and those of purchase were so inextricably bound together that it was found impossible to draw a dividing line between them. The assembly then resolved that the surest way out of the difficulty would be to request the proprietors to agree upon a certain proportion of all treaty expenses which would be assumed by them. (4) The contest had not yet been decided

(1) Votes of Assembly, IV, 195.
(2) Franklin, Review, 82. "But when it appeared, as in Course of Time was unavoidable, that a Treaty and a Purchase went on together; that the former was a Shoeing Horn for the latter, that the Governor only made the compliments, and the Assembly the Presents, & it could not but appear also, that there must be somewhat unfair in a Procedure where one paid all the cost, and the other engrossed all the Profit: and that it was high Time to put some Stop to a Practice so injurious to their Understandings."
(3) Ibid, 97.
(4) Votes of Assembly, IV, 104. Resolve of Assembly: "That the Proprietaries Interests are so constantly intermixt with those of the Province in all Treaties with our Indian Allies, that we apprehend the surest Way to prevent Dissatisfactions on all Sides, will be to request the Proprietaries—(to agree upon a proportionate part to be paid by them)—as in justice they ought to do."
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when the outbreak of the French and Indian War brought it to a close.

The chief objective of the Quaker's Indian policy was the maintenance of friendship. To this end his energy and his money were freely expended; for as long as the good will of the Indians could be retained, the frontier difficulties which vexed the other colonies would be greatly lessened, if not entirely avoided. It was, in his estimation, much better to prevent than to cure. The attitude of the assembly is briefly stated in one of their arguments against the acceptance of the proprietary proposal to build a fort at the forks of the Ohio River. "We have," they say, "seriously considered the offer made by our proprietaries toward building such a House; but as we have always found that sincere, upright Dealing with the Indians, a friendly Treatment of them on all occasions and particularly in relieving their necessities at proper Times by suitable Presents, have been the best means of securing their Friendship, we could wish our Proprietaries had rather though fit to join with us in the Expense of those presents, the Effects of which have at all Times so manifestly advanced their Interest with the security of our frontier Settlements." (1)

As is shown by this extract, the making of presents was the method in which the greatest faith was placed. It was this that caused the great increase in Indian expenses during the restless years from 1730 to 1750. As the Indians were found to be slipping away from the English interest, the number and value of the presents were gradually increased in a vain attempt to hold them true. It was for the purpose of carrying such a present that Conrad Weiser made his journey to the Ohio in 1748. In the following year George Croghan was sent with a small gift to the Twightwees, in company with Alexander Montour, the interpreter. On their way they met Christopher Gist who had been sent by the governor of Virginia to summon the Indians to meet at Logstown the next spring, to receive a present from the king. (2) This, then, was the customary method of bidding for the Indian's favor.

While Croghan was at the Twightwee town delivering the present and the governor's message, several chiefs of the tribes living on the Wabash River appeared and asked to be admitted into the chain of friendship with the English and the Iroquois. Croghan, considering that such an alliance would be of great advantage to the colony and extend

(1) Colonial Records, V, 547.
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the English interest among the Indians, granted the re­
quest; concluded treaties of friendship with them; and made
each a small present. But on his return the assembly, with
their usual jealousy of any attempt to anticipate in any way
their action in money matters, repudiated his action and
condemned him for bringing an additional expense upon the
government. They seemed to lack entirely any apprecia­tion
of the situation into which the province was rapidly plung­
ing, for at this most critical point they refused to extend
their interest by the very policy which they considered most
effective in gaining and holding the Indian's friendship.

Presents were also made at times to console them for
losses which they had suffered in the English interest, such
as the death of several Twightwee warriors in defending
some English traders against the French. Money was also
raised sometimes to placate them when they had become in­
censed on account of injuries. This was done in 1768 after
the murder of ten Indians by a frontier settler named Fred­
erick Stump. (1)

Private satisfaction was made to them in the same way.
In 1794 a young man named Robertson killed an Indian in
Western Pennsylvania by striking him with a club. The fath­
er of the murderer sent an agent to deal with the Indians.
When the latter appeared, all the Indians of the neighbor­
hood collected about him. His offer of about one hundred
dollars to pay for the man who had been killed was consid­
ered highly satisfactory, and some of the Indians even seem­
ed disappointed that is was not their relative who had been
killed, as they were missing a share of so large an indemni­
ty. (2)

Considerable sums, too, were paid at various times to
provide for the wants of friendly Indians, particularly when
these wants had arisen on account of their attitude toward
the English. In 1755, for example, five thousand pounds
were voted by the assembly to be expended by seven commis­
sioners for the relief and supplying of settlers and friendly
Indians who had been driven from their homes by attacks
upon the frontier. (3)

Assistance against their enemies was never held out as
an enticement for the Indians to ally themselves with the
provincial government. Such would have been inconsistent
with the Quaker's principles. But during the French and
Indian War it was mound necessary to erect houses at Wy-

(3) Statutes at Large, V, 211.
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oming for the reception and protection of the Indian allies of the province. (1)

Fair, open, and honest dealing was also considered an excellent means of holding the affection and adherence of the Indians; but the working of this policy was greatly hindered, or we may say almost entirely prevented, by the action of the white traders who refused to be bound by governmental regulations. (2) When once they had gone into the woods where supervision was practicably impossible, their dealing with the Indians was often far from fair and honest.

Agents who understood the Indians' character and whose personal influence was strong were sent to deal with them. The most prominent among these was Conrad Weiser, a German, who had migrated with his father to New York when he was fourteen years of age. Here they lived for four years on the Livingston Manor, then removed to Schoharie where Conrad became acquainted with the Mohawks, was adopted into their tribe, and lived among them for a number of years. In 1729 he joined a group of Germans who were migrating from New York to Pennsylvania by way of the Susquehanna River. (3) With his wife and five children he settled in what was then Lancaster County about a mile east of the present site of Womelsdorf, and soon became an important personage among his countrymen who had settled in this vicinity. He was first employed as an interpreter about two years after his arrival and allotted forty shillings for his services. He acted thereafter as official interpreter and the government's most trusted agent in Indian affairs.

Second to Weiser only, and not second even to him among the western Indians, was George Croghan. He was born in Ireland and educated at Dublin, but at an early age migrated to Pennsylvania and settled on the west bank of the Susquehanna, (4) nearly opposite Harris's Ferry, in the township of Pennsboro which was at that time upon the frontier of the province. His love of travel and adventure soon attracted him to the Indian trade in which he appeared as far west as Sandusky, Ohio, in 1746. (5) He gained great influence

(1) Pa. Arch., 4th ser., II, 929. Governor Denny to Assembly: "Teedyuscung has renewed his Request to have the Houses finished at Wyoming, for which this Government stands engaged."
(2) Pa. Arch., 1st ser., I, 748.
(3) THWAITES, RUBEN GOLD, Early Western Travels, I, 17.
(4) Col. Rec., II, 34.
(5) Pa. Arch., 1st ser., I, 742; Col. Rec., V, 72, 139.
with the western Indians and won to an English alliance many of the wavering French adherents. He soon attracted the attention of Conrad Weiser by whom he was recommended to the government. Thus he was introduced into the public service in which he continued for the remaining active years of his life.

Such was the Quaker plan for securing peace upon the frontier. For fifty years it was successful but not much longer. The question now arises as to why it failed. The various answers which have been given will be discussed later. But it may be well to observe at this point that had all these plans been followed ever so closely, the general policy was still doomed to ultimate failure. It was only while whites were few and land was plenty that it could succeed. When the Indian once saw that he was being gradually driven out of the province, no presents however extensive, no treatment however kind, no agent however adept could make him content. When once he saw how affairs were tending, he was bound to resist.

About 1735 a definite change took place in the Indian policy of the provincial government. More and more attention was thereafter given to the Six Nations because they were becoming a very important ally against the growing power of the French. The Delawares and Shawanese, who were now living upon the Ohio, were ignored. They were no longer welcome at Philadelphia and attempts were even made to stop their coming. (1) Their masters, the Six Nations, were called in to drive them from the lands claimed by virtue of the notorious Walking Purchase. Such treatment, so very different from that which they had formerly received, was a great blow to their pride, and they treasured it up in their memories as one more score to be avenged. The English and the Indians were thus drifting rapidly apart; friendship was being superceded by hatred.

The English were unlucky in the fact that at the point where contact was most frequent the worst characters among them appeared. (2) The trader who went among the Indians was not a fair representative of the white settlers.

(1) HAZARD, SAMUEL, Register of Pennsylvania, IV, 205.
(2) THOMPSON, CHARLES, An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest, 56. “It would be too shocking to describe the Conduct and Behavior of the Traders, when among the Indians, and endless to enumerate the Abuses the Indians had received and born from them for a Series of Years. Suffice it to say, that several of the Tribes were at last weary of bearing.”
He was inclined to be restless, shiftless, and dissolute. He cheated consistently, he sometimes murdered the warriors and often debauched their wives. Yet it was from him that the Indian formed his estimate of the white man's character.

The conduct of the frontiersman, too, was often not above reproach. He was inclined to look upon the Indian as little more than an animal to be shot down with as little impunity as any other denizen of the forest. Many an innocent red man fell a victim of these white savages. One of the most notorious cases was the murder by Frederick Stump of ten Indians in January, 1768. Six of these, four men and two women, came to his house drunk and disorderly on the tenth of the month. Fearing that they would do him some harm he killed them all and concealed their bodies beneath the ice of the creek near the house. Then afraid that news might be carried to the other Indians, he went the next day to some cabins about fourteen miles from his home; killed the woman, two girls, and a child whom he found there; put their bodies into the cabins; and set them afire. (1) The murderer with his servant, John Ironcutter, was detected, arrested, and confined in the jail at Carlisle. But on January 29, about two o'clock in the morning, a mob of seventy or eighty armed men broke into the jail and carried them away in triumph. (2)

Such was the frontiersman's viewpoint. (3) He painted Indian character in the blackest and most baleful shades in order the more easily to justify the wrongs that were commonly done them. It was always difficult to bring a defendant to justice on account of the difficulty of proving the crime as well as on account of the assistance that was invariably given him, whenever it was possible, by his friends and neighbors.

But while there was this negative power repelling the Indians from the English, there was also a positive power drawing them to the French. When the latter first appeared upon the American continent, they had gained the enmity of the Iroquois by espousing the cause of their enemies. The French tried in vain to subdue them. When the English appeared, the Five Nations were, therefore, their natural allies. The Indians invited them to aid in destroying the infant colony of Canada while it was a comparatively easy task, but the English turned to them a deaf ear. The French, finding at last that the Iroquois could not be subdued, chang-

(1) Col. Rec., IX, 414.
(2) Ibid., 448.
ed their tactics and attempted to gain by kindness and favors what they had failed to win by force. In this they were more successful. (1) Able agents were employed whose zeal was so much superior to that of the English agents and commissioners that the latter were held in almost universal contempt. The Indians gradually withdrew from the English interest on account of the unfavorable view which they were beginning to form of English integrity and ability. The French, too, seemed to be more able to attract and hold their good will. They entered more easily into their manner of living, married squaws, and became veritable savages. The Indians looked upon them as more nearly akin to themselves, and put more trust in them than in any other Europeans. (2)

“The English,” says a contemporary pamphleteer, “in order to get their lands, drive them as far from them as possible, nor seem to care what becomes of them, provided they can get them removed out of the way of their permanent Settlements; whereas the French, considering that they can never want land in America, who enjoy the Friendship of the Indians, use all the Means in their Power to draw as many into their alliance as possible; and, to secure their affection, invite as many as can to come and live near them, and to make their Towns as near the French settlements as they can.” (3)

About 1728, or possibly earlier, they began their attempts to dissuade the Delawares and Shawanese from their friendship for the English. The latter tried to frustrate the tempters by persuading the Shawanese to move eastward from the Ohio and by excluding French agents from western Pennsylvania. But all efforts were fruitless. A Frenchman came every spring to trade with the Allegheny Indians, and particularly with the Shawanese. The Governor of Canada sent a blacksmith to work for them free of charge, (4) which pleased them so highly that on his de-

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(1) PARKMAN, FRANCIS, Conspiracy of Pontiac, III, Appendix A2, Cadwallader Colden to the Earl of Halifax: “After the peace of Utrecht, the French changed their measures. They took every method in their power to gain the Friendship of the Five Nations, and succeeded so well with the Senecas, who are by far the most numerous, and at the greatest distance from us, that they were entirely brought over to the French interest. The French obtained the consent of the Senecas to the building of the Fort at Niagara, situated in their country.”

(2) ZEISBERGER, DAVID, History of the North American Indians, 122.

(3) THOMPSON, Causes of Alienation, 48.

Parture they made him a present of skins to the value of ten pounds.

Before the French and Indian War many Indians were inclined to look upon the English as a counterpoise to the power of the French and therefore remained their steady friends. But after the reduction of Canada they began to look upon them in an entirely different light. (1) The English now held the forts which controlled the Great Lakes and the rivers communicating with them. The Indians looked with jealousy upon these for they imagined that they could see in every little garrison the germ of a future colony which foretold only too clearly the day of their own expulsion.

The most fundamental cause—the cause that would inevitably have brought on a struggle had all others been absent—was, therefore, the usurpation by the whites of the Indians' land. The assembly laid the whole blame at the door of the proprietors. "The Causes of the Present Indian Incursions on the Province," they say in 1757, "have arisen, in a great Measure, from the exorbitant purchases made, or supposed to be made, of the Indians." (2) They were especially dissatisfied with the Albany Purchase of 1754. In fact it was considered fraudulent throughout, and was practically recognized as such by the proprietors in redeeming the tract to the Indians. The Walking Purchase, although of a date somewhat remote, doubtless still lingered in the Indian's mind and helped to swell the general impression of English rapacity. The vast grant of land by the king to the Ohio Company also fostered discontent as did the frequent settlement of squatters upon lands which had not yet been released. The real cause, however, cannot be found in any individual purchase or specific event, but only in the steady, irresistible progress of the whites. After all the lesser causes of irritation have been brushed aside, we must look upon the Indian wars as an inevitable struggle between an inferior race in possession of the soil and a superior race which was gradually usurping it.

Turning from the political and military aspects of the Indian policy, I shall now review the various attempts to

(1) N. Y. Col. Docs., VII, 603. George Croghan to the Board of Trade: "The Indians before the late war, or the conquest of Quebeck considered us in the light of a Counterpoise to the power of the French, their ancient Enemies, and were steady Friends to the English on that account; but since the reduction of Canada, they consider us in a very different and less favorable light—."

(2) Votes of Assembly, IV, 728.
convert them to the principles of civilization and Christianity. To do this was usually set forth as one of the chief objects of colonization; but in most cases it was acted upon, if at all, in a very dilatory manner. In Pennsylvania, however, considerable effort was made, particularly by the Quakers and Moravians, to convert and civilize them.

The missionary was compelled to work under great difficulties. The Indians, as any other race, were closely attached to their own traditions and not inclined to embrace a new belief which they were unable to comprehend. (1) The white man, too, it was observed, did not live according to the teachings of his own doctrine. He was very willing to take advantage of the Indian in trade, and sometimes committed crimes of a more heinous nature. The missionary was also at times obliged to work through the unsatisfactory means of an interpreter. It was only he who spent a considerable time with the Indians who was able to gain a working knowledge of their language.

The Indian believed in a Supreme Being or Great Spirit who had created Earth, man, and all things about him. This belief had been handed down from generation to generation. Penn liked to assume that it could be traced back to the Lost Tribes of Israel from whom he conceived that they had descended. They did not presume to know the dwelling place of their god or attempt to solve his mysteries. But somewhere in the indefinite future, they held, lay the happy hunting ground where the warrior who had lived a virtuous life and refrained from theft, murder, and immorality would ultimately take up his abode; where game was plenty and the hunter never knew fatigue; where he would live a life of superfluity, joy, and dancing.

They had no conception of a hell. It was punishment enough for him who had lived an evil life to be denied an entrance into the abode of happiness. Throughout eternity he was obliged to wander about, sad, discontented. (2) The Indians, they said, within whose hearts was written the word of God had no necessity for a bible, but one had been given to the whites on account of their wickedness.

They had their own traditional manners and customs, which they were by no means inclined to change. They believed that the white and the red man had been created by the same Great Spirit but that each had been given a different employment. The whites were charged with the cultivation of the soil while the Indians were given the more

(1) Holm, T. C., Description of the Province of New Sweden, 140.
(2) Zeisberger, Indians, 128.
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noble employment of hunting the wild beasts of the forest. They considered it contrary to the will of the deity that they should adopt the white man's manner of life and pointed to nature for their proof. (1) Each animal, they said, deer, bear, or rabbit, had its own characteristic habits; and no one ever observed one of them giving up its own habits to adopt those of another. They held that the same principle applied to whites and Indians.

Falckner, who visited Pennsylvania about the close of the seventeenth century, recognized the difficulty of coming into influential relationship with them on account of the differences of race, custom, and language. He believed that, in order to obtain any important results, it would be necessary to plant colonies of whites near their centers of population. (2) Strange to say, he suggests bringing up some of their children in the knowledge of the German or English tongue rather than that the missionary should acquaint himself with theirs. (3)

But the greatest obstruction to Christianization, excepting possibly the religious inertia which is inherent in any people, was the bad example set by the English. While the missionary was teaching the doctrines of Christ, the traders and other frontier inhabitants were absolutely controvverting them; and it was from these, as has been pointed out in dealing with the causes of alienation, that the Indian formed his opinion of the white man's character. They soon became so convinced that most white men were evil at heart that they were inclined to turn their backs in disdain upon the missionary. (4)

(1) Heckewelder, John, History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States, 121.
(2) Falckner, Daniel, Curieuse Nachricht von Pennsylvania, 127.
(3) Ibid, 123. "If some of them could only have been brought up on the already mentioned lines, so that they understood the English or German tongue, then we could lead them to a knowledge of God through the story of the first creation, and then by daily intercourse with them strengthen them, until God grants us further opportunity to show them greater confidence."
(4) Thompson, Causes of Alienation, 56. "And as these Traders were the persons who were in some Sort the Representatives of the English among the Indians, and by whom they were to judge of our Manners and Religion, they conceived such invincible Prejudices against both, particularly against our holy Religion that when Mr. Sergeant, a Gentleman in New England, took a journey in 1741 to the Shawanese, and some other Tribes living on Susquehannah, and offered to instruct them in the Christian Religion, they rejected his offer in Disdain. They reproached Christianity. They told him the Traders would lie, cheat, and debauch their Women, and even their Wives, if their Husbands were not at home."
“And yet,” Heckewelder reports them as saying, “these white men would always be telling us of their great Book which God had given to them, they would persuade us that every man was good who believed in what the Book said, and every man was bad who did not believe in it. They told us a great many things, which they said were written in the Book and wanted us to believe it all. We would probably have done so, if we had seen them practice what they pretended to believe, and act according to the good words which they told us. But no! while they held their big Book in one hand, in the other they had murderous weapons, guns and swords, wherewith to kill us, poor Indians! Ah! and they did so too, they killed those who believed in their Book, as well as those who did not. They made no distinction.” (1)

This criticism naturally does not apply to the Quakers. They labored faithfully to promote justice as well as to improve the Indian’s physical, intellectual, and religious condition. Penn himself was much concerned in their spiritual welfare and while he was in the province labored zealously to improve it. Before the founding of the colony George Fox and other Quaker missionaries had preached to them, and very soon after that event joint religious meetings of Quakers and Indians were held. Attempts were also made to teach them some of the principles of civilized life. They were instructed in the barbarity of torture and in the evil effects of war. (2) They were furnished with agricultural implements and taught how to till the soil in a more skillful manner. (3)

The Moravians, however, were the most energetic and successful missionaries. They began their activities in Pennsylvania about 1740, from which time until the end of the century they were constantly active. At the outbreak of the French and Indian War a number of converts were already living with them at Bethlehem. (4) Under the name of the Society of the United Brethren for propagating the gospel among the heathen they were incorporated by a law of the commonwealth. (5)

The Moravians, however, were not alone in their labors. The Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge was also active. Its most important missionary in Pennsylvania was David Brainerd. He had studied three years

(1) Heckewelder, Indian Nations, 188.
(2) Col. Rec., III, 79.
(3) Pa. Arch., 1st ser., I, 47.
(4) Ibid, II, 761.
(5) Statutes at Large, XIV, 71.
at Yale and worked for some time at an Indian settlement near Stockbridge, Massachusetts, before taking up his labors at the forks of the Delaware in 1744. In the autumn of the year he visited the Susquehanna Indians and the next summer transferred to New Jersey where he met with the greatest success, baptising seventy-eight Indians. On the twentieth of March, 1747, after only three years of labor, he died at the home of Johnathan Edwards from pulmonary consumption brought on by exposure and hardship. (1)

The Presbyterians occasionally sent out itinerant missionaries, but seem to have established no permanent missions. Mr. Beatty, one of these missionaries, visited the frontier of Pennsylvania in 1776. The Indians were very attentive and seemed to desire instruction in religion, many coming to seek it individually; but the practical results of the trip were negligible. His journal shows that Mr. Beatty’s hope was based upon the interest which the Indians showed and not upon actual conversions. (2)

He has left us the following description of one of his missionary services near Muskingum. “At eleven o’clock, or a little after, one of the council came to our hut, in order to conduct us to the Council House, where his majesty lives. A considerable number of men and women attended.

“I began divine worship by singing part of a psalm, having previously explained the general drift and meaning of it to them. (Psalmody, by the way, is exceedingly pleasing to the Indians.) I then prayed, and the interpreter repeated my prayer to them in their own language.

“I then preached to them from the parable of the prodigal son, Luke, XV, 11. By way of introduction, I gave some short account of man’s primitive happy state—then of the fall—how all mankind were concerned therein, and effected by it—and that, this the bible taught us, and sad experience and observation abundantly confirmed. I then illustrated our sad condition, particularly by the prodigal son, and showed what hopes of mercy and encouragement there were for us to return to God, the father, through Christ.” (3)

(2) Beatty, Charles, Journal, "Upon the whole, there really appears a strange, nay, a strong desire prevailing in many of these poor heathens, after the Knowledge of the gospel, and the things of God, and a Door, as we before observed, to be effectually opening, or, rather, already opened for carrying to them the glad tidings of salvation, so that, if now proper measures were vigorously pursued, there is much reason to hope that the blessing of God might attend and crown attempts of this kind with success.”
This as given a little at a time through an interpreter "making things as plain as possible, using such similies as they were well acquainted with, in order to convey a more clear idea of the truth to their minds."

Some efforts were also made to instruct them in the fundamentals of reading, writing, and husbandry. At times they requested such instruction. In 1758, for example, Teedyuscung made a second request for ministers and schoolmasters. (1) Although the government had promised to supply them, the promise had not been kept. (2)

After the Revolution we find provisions made at various times for the education of some of those Indians who still remained in or near the province. In 1791 the Quakers received and agreed to teach at their own expense two Seneca boys. They were to instruct them in reading, writing, and husbandry, "and especially to teach them to love peace." (3)

The government also at times assumed such expense. In 1795 an act was passed to provide for the education of John Metaxen, one of the Stockbridge tribe of Oneida Indians. It empowered the governor to furnish the said Indian at public expense with suitable lodging, clothing, and entertainment for a term not exceeding two years, and to place him in such school or schools during this period as he, the governor, might think proper. Three hundred dollars were appropriated for the purpose. (4) Again in 1797 provision was made for the education of John Konapat, another youth of the same tribe, and two hundred dollars appropriated for the purpose. (5)

The results of these efforts were by no means as great as could be wished, but they were still attended by some good results. Teedyuscung states that Indians lived better lives after their conversion than they had done before. (6) A number of Christian Indians who visited Philadelphia during the French and Indian War abstained entirely from the use of liquor and behaved themselves in an orderly and commendable manner. They expressed a great abhorrence of war and wondered much that the Christians were such

(1) Col. Rec., VIII, 47.
(2) Ibid, IX, 8.
(3) Some Transactions between the Indians and Friends in Pennsylvania in 1791 & 1792.
(4) Statutes at Large, XV, 295.
(5) Ibid, XV, 514.
(6) Col. Rec., VIII, 48. "You are wise men, You tell us the Christian Religion is Good, and we believe it to be so, partly from the Credit of your Words and partly because we see that some of our brother Indians who were wicked before they became Christians, Live better Lives now than they formerly did."
great warriors rather than lovers and cultivators of peace. (1)

The efforts of the Moravians were attended by the greatest success but they had probably baptised considerable less than a thousand Indians when their labors were disturbed by the Revolution. Several tribes, however, had received some instruction in the arts of civilization. Their Ohio colonies were flourishing. Here they dwelt peaceably and quietly together under the supervision of their teachers and ministers. (2) Their cabins and wigwams were neat and comfortable; their cornfields were well tilled. Nearby stood the church and the schoolhouse where they were taught the arts of peace and industry.

But under the very thin veneer of civilization was still an Indian. The inheritance of centuries could not be neutralized in a single lifetime. The Indian child brought up in all the white man's traditions and habituated to all his customs relapsed inevitably to the life of his ancestors if he but once visited his relatives and felt the irresistible charm of the camp fire by a mountain stream and experienced for a time the unrestrained freedom of a forest life.

(2) Darlington, Mrs. Mary C., Fort Pitt and Letters from the Frontier, 241.
CHAPTER II.
INDIAN TRADE.
1680-1770.

It is with considerable trepidation that I take up the subject of the Indian trader, because any account that can be given of him and his work must be unsatisfactory. He was a man of the woods and the pack horse trail, not a man of the pen. The sources of our information are, therefore, untrustworthy. They are for the most part laws made for the regulation of trade and the opinions of outsiders who were not acquainted with the actual conditions.

When the province came under his control, Penn decided that the Indians should be treated with fairness and honesty, that there should be no monopoly of trade by any person or company, and that they should be furnished only with those things which were beneficial. Before he came to the colony he wrote them a letter in order to open negotiations for a commercial treaty which would work to the advantage of both nations. (1) He was offered in June, 1681, six thousand pounds, together with a handsome annuity, for a monopoly of the trade between the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers. But although he was much in need of funds, he refused the offer because such a monopoly would take the control of trade out of his hands and subject the Indians to the machinations and corruption of a selfseeking commercial company. (2)

The fur trade of Pennsylvania grew so rapidly that by 1686 the authorities of New York began to fear that New York City and Albany would be depopulated. (3) A year later, on account of the continued encroachments upon their trade, they recommended to the king that all of Pennsylvania north of the falls of the Susquehanna should be joined to that province. (4) Nearly all the white inhabitants along the frontier bartered more or less with their Indian neighbors. Then of course there were those who made this their

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(1) JANNEY, S. M., Life of William Penn, 196.
(3) N. Y. Col. Docs., III, 416. Governor Dongon’s Report: “I am now informed that the people of Pennsylvania have had last year from the Indians, upwards of 200 packs of beaver down to the Skonshill and will have more this as I have reason to believe, which if not prevented, his Mty must not expect this Government can maintain itself, besides that it will wholly depopulate this Town & Albany.

(4) Ibid, 424.
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chief occupation. James Logan reported to Governor Keith in 1719 that the Indian trade probably amounted to 40,000 pounds sterling per year. (1) In 1748 there were about twenty English traders at Logstown on the Ohio River. (2) The chief trading house here was that of George Croghan whose activities will be described later in this chapter.

As the Indians became gradually more hostile, they began to place obstructions in the way of the traders. They complained that roads were cut through their country and houses built without first having obtained their consent. (3) Then backed by the French they began to arrest and carry to Canada those who passed into the contested territory about the Ohio. In 1752 John Pattin was captured and carried finally to France. (4) After three months imprisonment he at last obtained his liberty through the intervention of friends, but was unable to gain the restitution of his confiscated goods. During the next year four men trading west of the Ohio were arrested and subjected to practically the same treatment. (5) The traders had by this time established posts on Lake Erie, on the Ohio River, and as far west as the Muskingum, Scioto, and Miami.

During the Indian wars, as has just been intimated, the losses of the traders were sometimes very high. George Croghan lost in 1756 150 pounds at his Muskingum post alone. (6) Two men in his employ were among those arrested and carried to France. The firm of Moynton, Wharton, and Morgan, which was extensively engaged in the western trade, was a heavy loser in 1763. The combined loss of all traders in this year was 85,000 pounds. (7) In 1774 William Wilson, a fur trader of Pittsburgh, with a great deal of difficulty escaped from the western woods leaving behind him nearly fifty horse loads of peltry. (8)

Soon after the conclusion of the French and Indian wars trade resumed its former prominence. A considerable proportion of it was carried on from Pennsylvania westward by the channel of the Ohio, and northward by the Allegheny River to Le Boeuf and Lake Erie. (9) Until the outbreak of Dunmore's War free intercourse was kept up between the

(1) HAZARD, Register, III, 212.
(2) THWAITES, Early Western Travels, I, 28.
(3) N. Y. Col. Docs., VI, 870.
(4) Votes of Assembly, IV, 235.
(6) GIST, CHRISTOPHER, Journals, 108.
(8) BYARS, W. V., The First American Movement West, 27.
red men and the white, the Indians often visiting the settlements and the whites going far into the forest with their goods to exchange for pelts. Before the Revolutionary War Carlisle was the chief center of Indian trade; after that war Pittsburg, which had since 1763 been encroaching rapidly upon the older city, became the more prominent of the two. (1) This transfer of importance was inevitable on account of the Indians being driven gradually westward.

In the more northern colonies beaver skins occupy the most important place in Indian trade; but these, on account of their scarcity, were superceded in Pennsylvania by other products of the forest. Bear, moose, and deer skins; martin, otter, fox, and other furs; turkeys, game, and fish were in the early days brought down to Philadelphia and exchanged for powder, lead, blankets, cooking utensils, and brandy, or sold for wampum. (2) The Indians preferred wampum to silver money because they were acquainted with its value and could not easily be cheated in its use.

Zeisberger tells us that in his time the Indians for their peltories received from the traders "powder, lead, rifle-barred guns—for other weapons they do not value—blankets, strouts, linen, shirts, cotton, callemanco (calico), knives, needles, thread, woolen and silken ribbon, wire and kettles of brass, silver buckles,—these are considered as valuable as gold and with them they can purchase almost anything—bracelets, rings, combs, mirrors, axes, hatchets and other tools." (3) The goods for the Indian trade came chiefly from England and the skins and furs for which they were traded in turn found their way to that country. (4)

The traders were mostly frontier inhabitants who, having gained some knowledge of the Indian language and standing in need of money, were easily induced to engage in such undertakings. (5) The following description of them has been left by a contemporary: "The river (Ohio) flows quietly and evenly. Boats are going back and forth; even now one is coming, laden with hides from Illinois. The people on board are wearing clothes made of woolen bed blankets. They are laughing and singing after the manner of the French, yet as red as Indians, and almost the antipodes of their fatherland." (6)

(1) Olden Time, edited by N. B. Craig, II, 339.
(2) Myers, Narratives, 382, 426.
(3) Zeisberger, Indians, 118.
(4) Franklin, Works, III, 481.
(6) Hulbert, A. B., Historic Highways of America, XII, 87.
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The most enterprising among the Pennsylvania traders, who as a class were noted for their enterprise, was George Croghan, the "king of the traders." He came to America from Ireland in 1741 and within a few years took out a license to trade. In 1753, compelled by approaching bankruptcy, he deserted the settled parts of the province and established a trading post near the Juniata River. His letters and journals furnish us almost the only reliable information upon the trader's life.

The ordinary trader, however, was far below Croghan in character. The traffic, on account of the great opportunity for unlicensed action and dishonest gain, attracted a disreputable class of men whom Penn and his successors tried in vain to eliminate. The escape from civilization and any sort of efficient governmental control gave free scope to all their basest passions and desires. Drunkenness, dishonesty, bloody quarrels, and debauchery of the Indian women were common, while cases of murder were occasionally reported. There was constant danger that these abuses would involve the province in war with the Indians. "I cannot but be apprehensive," wrote Governor George Thomas to the assembly in 1744, "that the Indian trade as it is now carried on will involve us in some fatal quarrel with the Indians. Our Traders in defiance of the Law carry Spirituous Liquors amongst them, and take the Advantage of their inordinate Appetite for it to cheat them out of their skins and their wampum, which is their Money, and often to debauch their wives into the Bargain. Is it to be wondered at then, if when they Recover from the Drunken fit, they should take severe revenges?" (1)

The assembly in 1754 expressed their opinion of the traders in clear and comprehensible terms. "We are now to join with the Governor, in bewailing the miserable Situation of the Indian Trade, carried on (some few excepted) by the vilest of our Inhabitants, and Convicts imported from Great Britain and Ireland, by which means the English Nation is unhappily represented among our Indian allies in the most disagreeable manner. These trade without Control, either beyond the Limits, or at least beyond the Power of our Laws, supplied as we are informed, by some of the magistrates who hold a Commission under this Government, and the other Inhabitants of our back Counties." (2)

Charles Williams, an early settler in Ohio, has left us an account of his methods of trade. "After some time I moved

(2) Votes of Assembly, IV, 287.
up the River where I came from—Carpenter's Station, Short Creek. Then had money, two horses. Then peace with the Ingens. I thought I would pay them up for what damage they had done me, stealing horses. And following them many miles, went out to New Cumer's Town. There I and three more persons fell in with thirty or forty Ingens. Give them a small cag of whiskey and keep one to trade on. They got pretty high soon, and came to take my bread, and got hold of the bag and run; but I soon over hauled him and took it away from him. Soon after they come to get more whiskey, and I sold them for one dollar a quart, one third water. Then I was paying them up. In two or three days I got done trading, and went home in fine heart, thinking what I would do next trip. Soon started out, with several horses loaded with articles for trade; one horse load with whiskey, as it would make two horse loads (after being watered). Come to the camp. Plenty of Ingens there, hungry for trade. I made a good trade for myself." (1)

The Indian was naturally unable to trade advantageously with the more experienced white. He was usually worsted in the bargain and often complained of it to the provincial government. But on account of the difficulties of supervision the evils could not be entirely prevented. Each continued to make the best bargain that he could and each was left to guard his own interests. (2) The Indian was obliged to look out for himself. "If they can deceive the whites," says Zeisberger, "they do so with pleasure, for it is not easily done. They are delighted, also, if they succeed in purloining something. They are fond of buying on credit, promising to pay when they return from the chase. The traders may be willing to take the risk, hoping to control all the catch. But if the Indians, on their return, find other traders in the country, they barter with them and trouble themselves no longer over their creditors. If the latter remind them of their debts, they are offended, for to pay old debts seems to them to be giving goods away for nothing. Usually traders learn from their losses to give nothing or but little on credit. This is the safest course and there is no danger of arousing the enmity of the Indians. When war breaks out the traders are the first in danger,

(1) Hanna, Wilderness Trail, II, 310.
(2) Pa. Arch., 4th ser., I, 433. Patrick to the Chiefs of the Five Nations: "As to Trade, they know 'tis the Method of all that follow it to buy as cheap and sell as dear as they can, and every man must make the best Bargain he can; the Indians cheat the Indians & the English cheat the English, & every man must be on his Guard."
not only of losing their property but also their lives. When the Indians suspect a war approaching, they keep it secret and take as many goods on credit as they can get; as soon as the war breaks out all debts are cancelled." (1)

After Pontiac's War the ministry drew up a plan to compel Indians to pay debts of fifty shillings or over upon pain of imprisonment. Franklin opposed it. (2) The Indians, he said, knew no such thing as imprisonment for debt; in fact they never imprisoned one another. If then the English attempted to imprison them, it would be generally disliked and occasion breaches. The valuation which they put upon personal liberty was so high and that upon personal property so low that imprisonment for a debt of a few shillings would appear extremely disproportionate. Debts of honor were generally as well paid as other debts. Where no compulsion could be used, it was considered the more disgraceful to be dishonest.

That contact with the traders had an evil effect upon the Indians is generally conceded by all who had any acquaintance with the situation. They had vices of their own, it is true, but from association with the outcasts of white society they could only add to them. "In treating of this subject," says Heckewelder, "I cannot resist the impression of a melancholy feeling, arising from the comparison which forces itself upon my mind of what the Indians were before the Europeans came into this country, and what they have become since, by a participation in our vices. By their intercourse with us, they have lost much of that original character by which they were once distinguished,—and the change which has taken place is by no means for the better." (3)

It was impossible to regulate Indian trade with any degree of thoroughness. The frontier was too extensive and the inhabitants too widely scattered. The Indians too did not always live in towns sufficiently large to encourage traders to live among them, but scattered about in families which shifted their situation as often as better hunting grounds seemed to entice them. (4) The government could not regulate the social and commercial intercourse of these scattered shifting peoples. It was also found impracticable

(1) ZEISBERGER, Indians, 117.
(2) FRANKLIN, Works, III, 480.
(3) HECKEWELDER, Indian Nations, 261.
(4) FRANKLIN, Works, III, 476.
to force the Indians to bring their furs to a central post when they could more easily and to better advantage dispose of them to their neighbors. Even if the province could have controlled the actions of her own traders, many nonresidents came in from Maryland, Virginia, and New York, who refused to abide by the trade laws of Pennsylvania. A law was enacted in 1693 forbidding nonresidents to trade within the province under penalty of fine and confiscation of goods. (1) It was re-enacted several times but could not be enforced as is attested by the many Indian complaints. (2) The very nearness of other colonies made it difficult to control the kind and amount of goods which the Indians should be allowed to purchase. If they were refused any kind of goods within the colony, it was generally quite easy to purchase them just over the border. In 1682 some Indians asked that the prohibition on the sale of rum be raised because it was sold in Newcastle and their young men went down there, bought it, and were more debauched than if they had been allowed to purchase it at home. (3)

Trade, therefore, was left practically free and unrestricted. Any one could engage in it by obtaining a license from the governor; many traded unmolested without licenses. This threw its conduct into the hands of a great number of individuals, more or less irresponsible, who, when once they were hidden by the forest, seemed to forget all laws of God and man. The conduct of the French trade stood out in direct contradistinction to this. In Canada the right to trade was farmed out to the highest bidder for the benefit of the government. The operations of the traders were generally restricted to certain posts at each of which was stationed a military commander with a number of soldiers. (4)

Penn's Conditions and Concessions provided that all trade with the Indian should be carried on in the market places, and that all goods should be carefully tested. If they were found good, they were to pass; but if not good, they were not to be sold for such. (5) In 1701 a scheme was suggested by the proprietor of forming a company into which all would be free to enter under obligation of observing and submitting to all rules and regulations which the government might make. This, however, never went into

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(3) HAZARD, SAMUEL, Annals of Pennsylvania, 531.
(4) HANNA, Wilderness Trail, II, 322.
(5) HAZARD, Annals, 518.
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effect. (1) Instructions were sometimes issued to the traders to govern them in their dealings with the Indians. (2) While these were faithfully observed by some, most traders altogether ignored them when once they had gone beyond governmental control.

The most efficient method developed for the regulation of trade was the licensing of traders. (3) After 1710 no one was allowed to trade without a license issued by the governor under penalty of imprisonment and forfeiture of goods; after 1715 each was put under bond to observe the trade laws. (4) Landholders, however, were allowed to buy for their own use and to sell their own produce at will. This law, like all others, was evaded. (5) But it was much easier to enforce than any other because the trader could be required to show his license at any point; and in case his character proved undesirable or his dealings dishonest, his license for the following year could be refused.

The Indian agent was the most important factor in the enforcement of all trade laws. In case unscrupulous traders imposed upon the Indians, it was he who informed the governor and attempted to bring the offender to justice. At times he staved the casks of liquor which had been illegally imported. In general he did his best to see that satisfaction was furnished to the offended. (6)

During the French and Indian War we should naturally expect all converse with the Indians to be stopped; but the assembly during this period kept pressing upon the governor a trade bill which he, on account of his instructions, persisted in amending. (7) The governor considered that it would be of no service, but the assembly believed that the Indians could be won back to the English interest by a continuation of friendly intercourse. They rejected several times the governor's amendments and returned the bill to him as it originally stood. They argued that it was merely

(1) Hazard, Register, VI, 11.
(2) Pa. Arch., 1st ser., I, 243. In 1789 the following instructions were issued: Furnish no rum; do not trade with drunk Indians; incense no Indian against any trader; all sell at a common price; give Indians a good example of sobriety of life; send all messages to governor immediately.
(3) Statutes at Large, II, 367; III, 60.
(5) Egle, Notes and Queries, I, 403.
(6) Pa. Arch., 1st ser., I, 762. Conrad Weiser to the Provincial Government: "The Indians must have satisfaction for all possible injuries.—If all comes to all, rather than the poor Indian should be wronged, the public ought to make satisfaction if no remedy can be found to prevent it."
an imitation of the law which long practice had shown to be beneficial, and that the governor should reconsider his amendments and let it pass. (1) After it had been sent back and forth a number of times and the assembly had been convinced that the governor would never sign it without the suggested amendments, they approved them together with a new amendment to determine the salary of the agents. (2) As the assembly had now accepted the amendments to the former bills, the council advised the governor to pass it if he was satisfied that the one thousand pounds said to be expended for Indian goods were actually so expended. The bill was, therefore, returned to the house with a message to that effect. (3) It became a law April 8, 1758.

The purpose of this law was to win the friendship of the Indians, lead to their civilization by providing preachers and teachers, and keep peace along the frontier. (4) It provided for the appointment of nine commissioners of Indian affairs whose duty it was to appoint Indian agents, to supply them with goods for trade, and to oversee intercourse in general. They were not allowed to engage in trade for themselves or for others. They supplied the traders with goods from a general stock appropriated by the assembly; and in case the trade should prove lucrative, they might borrow further sums to carry it on. In case of deficit taxes were to be levied to pay it. Goods were to be sold at prices sufficient merely to pay the expenses of the transaction and support the missionaries and teachers among the Indians. (5)

Trade, however, as carried on under the act proved unprofitable. The returns were not sufficient to pay the interest on the sums borrowed. (6) Teachers and preachers could not be provided as had been contemplated. The situation was explained to the Indians by Governor Hamilton in August, 1762. "You know that for some Years past the Government hath kept a great Store at Pittsburgh in order to supply you with goods, in exchange for your Skins & Furs, near your own Homes. Good men have been appointed to regulate the Prices of our Goods and your Skins, & great care has been taken that you should not be cheated or imposed upon by those who have from Time to Time kept the Provincial Stores; but I am sorry to inform you that the

(1) Col. Rec., VII, 63.
(2) Col. Rec., VII, 63.
(3) Ibid., VIII, 71.
(4) Ibid., VII, 450.
(5) Statutes at Large, V, 320-330.
(6) Statutes at Large, VI, 291.
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charges of carrying our Goods & bringing back your Skins so many hundred miles on Horse back are so high that it is a great disappointment to that Trade, and we lose a great deal of money by it every year, insomuch that I fear that it will drop, unless your Uncles, the Six Nations, will consent to let us go with our canoes up the West Branch of the Susquehanna as far as we can, & build a few Store Houses on the Banks of that river to secure our Goods in as we pass and repass. This will cut off a long Land Carriage, and may be a means of encouraging the continuance of the Trade with you, & enabling our people to sell their goods to you at a reasonable rate. We intend to speak to your Uncles on this Subject.” (1)

A new trade law was passed in April, 1763, but beyond reducing the number of commissioners to six and a few minor changes, it was merely a re-enactment of the law of 1758 (2) A few months later, on account of Indian hostilities and depredations making trade with them impracticable, the commissioners were required to sell all goods in their hands within eighteen months and turn over the proceeds to the provincial treasurer. (3) But on account of some goods at Pittsburgh being hard to sell to advantage, the time was extended until September 1, 1765, and the commissioners granted discretion in disposing of them. (4)

In 1766, and possibly a year earlier, the British ministers were discussing a plan for the control of Indian trade. (5) The colonies were to be divided into two districts, over each of which was a superintendent. In the northern district the trade was to be carried on at fixed posts, in the southern district within the Indian towns. The superintendents were not to be subject to the military power except in time of great danger. They or their deputies were to visit among the Indians annually. Credit was to be limited to fifty shillings by making debts for higher amounts irrecoverable. This general plan, however, remained in force only until 1769 when the king who considered that the legislatures of the respective colonies must be the best judges of what their situations and circumstances might require, turned over once more the control of trade to them. (6)

In February, 1770, an act was passed providing for the

(2) Statutes at Large, VI, 283-293.
(3) Ibid, 315.
(4) Ibid, 380.
(5) Franklin, Works, III, 476.
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appointment of six commissioners to confer with commissioners who might be appointed by the legislatures of the neighboring colonies to agree upon a general plan for the regulation of the Indian trade. They were charged to report with all convenient speed any action which might be taken in order that a proper law might be passed. (1) This is the last law in respect to Indian trade which appears upon the statute books. The legislature was soon involved in the more pressing questions leading up to the revolution, and when the war was over, so few Indians remained in the state that trade with them was no longer important.

The question of the rum traffic and its regulation is so important that I have reserved it for special consideration. In the first place it should be stated that the white man must be held responsible for the introduction of drunkenness among the Indians. The processes of distillation and fermentation were entirely unknown to them. (2) They had among them no intoxicating liquors except those which they received from the whites. The great prevalence of drunkenness was due to unprincipled traders who persuaded them to become intoxicated in order that they might the more easily cheat them of their goods. "When I come to your place with my peltrie," an Indian is represented as saying, "All call to me, 'Come, Thomas! here's rum, drink heartily, drink! it will not hurt you.' All this is done for the purpose of cheating me. When you have obtained from me all you want, you call me a drunken dog, and kick me out of the room." (3)

The Indian, however, was generally quite willing to purchase any spirituous liquors which were offered for sale. Many of the Indians themselves, especially the women, engaged in the rum traffic. (4) They imported it from the settled districts and sold it at a considerable profit, often taking from their customers everything they had, even to the rifles upon which their sustenance depended.

Intoxication, too, affected an Indian quite differently from a white man. The latter when very drunk usually falls asleep. The Indian on the other hand was thrown into the greatest agitation, dancing, running, and shouting. (5) Drunk Indians, says Beatty, "generally appear terrible, and behave like madmen; it is therefore very dangerous for

(1) Statutes at Large, VII, 339.
(2) Heckewelder, Indian Nations, 262.
(3) Heckewelder, Indian Nations, 267.
(4) Zeisberger, Indians, 90.
(5) Bartram, John, Observations, 15.
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white people to be with or near them at that time.” (1) This observation is confirmed by Zeisberger, Heckewelder, and others best acquainted with Indian life and customs. (2) Disease was often caused by exposure; and as murders committed while drunk were not severely punished, this was often used as an excuse by those who sought revenge.

If trade in general was hard to control, the rum trade was particularly hard because this was the good upon which the trader depended for his profit. The Dutch attempted with little success to regulate the traffic, (3) but it was with the coming of the Quakers that the question was first taken up with earnestness. In 1682 a stringent law was enacted forbidding any person to furnish any Indian within the province with rum, brandy or other strong liquor under penalty of five pounds fine for each such offence. (4) From 1684 to 1701 the prohibition was raised. (5) In the year last named, after consultation with a number of chiefs, it was decided to renew it and a second act was passed much like that of 1682. (6)

But none of these laws was strictly obeyed. “The Europeans,” says Falckner, “certainly did bring in beer and brandy, but who can help it that the savages take too much thereof? All kinds of laws and regulations have been made as to the quantity that might be given to them. However, they know how to obtain it by their cunning, although there are some mercenary people who for gain furnish them with drink in the forest.” (7) The Indians complained of this liquor being brought among them and were therefore authorized by the governor to stave the casks and destroy the liquor, in which action they would be protected by the government against all persons whatsoever.

In 1722 a more stringent measure was passed. (8) No one was to sell rum to the Indians or carry more than one gallon of liquor beyond the Christian settlements under penalty of twenty pounds fine or imprisonment. The governor and council, however, were allowed to give a reasonable amount at treaties, and any inhabitant of the province could give any Indian small amounts at his own dwelling.

(1) Beatty, Journal, 41.
(2) Zeisberger, Indians, 90: Heckewelder, Indian Nations, 263.
(3) Hazard, Annals, 314, 333, 372.
(4) Ibid, 623.
(6) Statutes at Large, II, 169.
(7) Falckner, Curieuse Nachricht, 173.
(8) Statutes at Large, III, 311.
Although sincere efforts were made by the government and by the Quaker yearly meetings to put these laws into effect, they were compelled in the end to recognize the utter futility of approaching anything like a strict enforcement, and to be content with limiting as far as they could the amount of liquor imported. It was also found impracticable to carry on trade with the Indians, and thus maintain the chief bond of friendship with them without furnishing at least some moderate quantities of liquor. When prohibition had been found impracticable, the government took up the question of regulation. The first agreement to this end was made in 1684. The governor and council held a conference with the Indians at which they agreed to submit to the English laws for drunkenness in case the prohibition was suspended. This arrangement, however, was soon found unsatisfactory. Another plan was that of limiting the sale of liquor to licensed traders whose actions were more easily controlled, but selling by unlicensed traders could not be prevented.

The Indians saw that the prohibition of the liquor trade was really for their benefit, yet they continually opposed it. When strong drink was denied them, the desire for it gained the mastery and they petitioned to have the prohibition raised; when it was allowed them, they saw its evil effects and many complaints were registered against it. We therefore find them making vain sporadic attempts to exclude it from their villages. The chiefs at times prohibited the sale of strong liquors, but it was always obtained in some manner against which the chiefs were unable to protest. For example a sacrifice of rum would be used. The chiefs according to custom could not prevent importation for such a purpose. After the Indians had once gained a taste of the liquor at the sacrifice, they would go to the old women who dealt in it and obtain sufficient to satisfy their cravings.

As has formerly been stated, the Indians during the periods of prohibition were authorized to stave all casks of rum brought among them. But few were staved. They were too fond of it to destroy it. On the other hand it was carried in by their own men. Conrad Weiser, speaking

(1) Votes of Assembly, III, 158.
(2) Charter and Laws, 169.
(3) Zeisberger, Indians, 117.
(4) Pa. Arch., 4th ser., I, 433. Governor Gordon to the Chiefs of the Five Nations: "As to rum, we have made divers laws to prohibit it, & made it lawful for an Indian to stave all the Rum that is brought to them.—But the Indians are too fond of it themselves, they will not destroy it."
to the Ohio Indians at Logstown in 1748, said, “You go yourselves and fetch horse loads of strong liquors; only the other day an Indian came to this town out of Maryland with three horse loads of Liquor, so that it appears you love it so well that you cannot be without it.” (1)

The Indians at Allegheny in March, 1737, resolved in council that all strong drink in their towns should be destroyed and that whatever was imported after that date by either white or Indian should meet the same fate. Four men were appointed in each town to oversee the execution of the law. The resolution was signed by about one hundred Indians; all the rum in the towns, amounting to about forty gallons, was destroyed; (2) but as in former cases they soon began to backslide.

In conclusion it may be well to state that the rivalry between the French and the English for the control of the Indian trade of the Ohio Valley was one of the chief causes of the French and Indian War. The Indians at first were inclined to favor the English because they paid better prices. But as soon as the French saw that the English were outbidding them, they employed Indians to rob those who ventured farthest into their territory. By 1745 some tribes, incensed by the treatment which they had received at the hands of the English, were inclining strongly toward the French. In 1749 the English traders were warned out of the Ohio Valley, and soon after Joncaire was seen searching the upper Allegheny for a suitable site upon which to build a fort. After that the quarrel became rapidly more acute. (To be continued.)

(1) CHAPMAN, The French in the Allegheny Valley, 155.
SCHOEPF, J. D., Travels in the Confederation, I, 146. A tribe of Indians living on the Susquehanna remove to the Ohio country “to escape the danger of intoxicating drinks, which had been brought among them by their new neighbors and were making idle all their efforts at keeping the peace and living orderly.”