

PENNSYLVANIA'S INDIAN DIPLOMACY 1747-1753

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THE basis of Pennsylvania's Indian Diplomacy from 1747-1753 rested on four important points: presents were regularly employed by both French and English as a measure of securing the friendship of the Ohio and Pennsylvania tribes; the colony of Pennsylvania abandoned the traditional policy of friendship with the Indians close at hand and developed Conrad Weiser's theory that it was better to benefit all of the colonies through an alliance with the Iroquois; the expansion of the Indian trade became closely associated with the policy of an aggressive defense against possible attack by the French and Indians; the decline of Pennsylvania's hegemony over the Ohio and Western Pennsylvania Indians was directly related to the pacifistic policies of the Quaker Assembly which refused to take to military defense when war emerged on the western frontier in 1752.

The Pennsylvania traders were courageous men who formed the crux of Indian diplomacy by spearheading the fierce competition for Indian allegiance by delivering presents. These traders had, in the early 1700's, pushed to the remote rim of Indian lands beyond the Ohio. As early as 1715, Peter Bezaillion was trading on the Allegheny; James Le Tort operated in the 1720's on the tributaries of the Mississippi River itself.¹ Indeed, by the 1730's a great number of traders such as George Miranda, Philadelphia shopkeeper, George Croghan, Andrew Montour, James Lowrey, Michael Teaffe, John Fraser, Peter Trustee, Robert Callender, and many others were dealing with the Ohio Indians.² Thus the struggle for the Ohio Valley really began in 1747, not in 1754 as usually stated, and the major British agents of this imperial struggle were the Pennsylvania traders.

Previous to the death in 1748 of Shikellamy, the Iroquois repre-

Dr. Everett, a member of this Society, has contributed an article on Indian diplomacy which touches on new material gleaned from old sources.—Ed.

1 Thomas Penn to James Hamilton, Feb. 12, 1748, Penn Letter Book, II, 295, in Penn Manuscripts in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter denoted as H.S.P.).

2 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Oct. 25, 1739; Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, July 20, 1747, *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st series), I, 761-762; *ibid.*, II, 14.

sentative who lived at Shamokin, Conrad Weiser dominated the policy of buying Iroquois friendship. It was his policy that reached beyond the bounds of Pennsylvania into the Ohio and Wabash lands to bind these Indians to the Penns. By 1700 the upper Ohio region westward into present Indiana had been conquered by the Iroquois confederation. The Iroquois, especially the Seneca, drifted throughout this region and began to settle. Into this land from eastern Pennsylvania drifted the restless Shawnee and the Delaware, accompanied by the Pennsylvania traders.

Thus the Iroquois of the Ohio region, although not given representation at the Iroquois Council at Onondaga, extended the concept of hegemony over the Ohio tribes.³ Iroquois towns emerged; Logstown, Kuskuskies, Aliquippa's Town, and various "Mingo Cabins" appear on the early maps. In the records of the early 1700's the traditional Iroquois caste system emerged: Tanagharisson (Half-King), a Seneca, had some sort of suzerainty over the Delawares; Scarroyady (Monacatootha to the Shawnees), an Oneida, held sway over the Wyandots; Kagsedaniunt (Belt of Wampum) was the keeper of the wampum.

To the Six Nations the Ohio region was a private domain. As early as March 23, 1731, the Seneca chiefs wrote from "Kanaosedago" to Governor Gordon: "that it [the Ohio land] is their Land but that your people may trade there but not build Stone or Timber houses, but of Bark."⁴

Conrad Weiser's recommendations usually reached the Pennsylvania government through Richard Peters, the secretary and clerk of the provincial council.⁵ Conrad Weiser practically had a monopoly over negotiations with the Indians before 1748; after 1748 there was more work than one man could perform, and William Trent, Andrew Montour, and George Croghan took on the roles of negotiators, as well as being Indian traders. So expert were these men in Indian relations that they were also employed at various times by Virginia and Maryland.

When Weiser became fully occupied with the affairs of the Six Nations, Croghan was the chief negotiator for the Ohio Indians. No one played a greater role in alienating the Ohio Indians from the French than Croghan. In 1747 he conveyed their messages to the Pennsylvania Assembly, which heeded his recommendation that

³ *Colonial Records*, V, 357, 478.

⁴ *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st series), II, 725.

⁵ *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st series), I and II; see also *Colonial Records*, V, 68.

an Indian present should be sent out. On behalf of the Province he delivered the present on the Ohio in April, 1748, and conducted a conference calculated to hold the Indians to the English. It was Croghan who gave France the greatest blow of all in July, 1748, by bringing the Twightwee or Miami nation to Lancaster to negotiate an alliance.⁶ With this tribe as an ally, Pennsylvania gained access to one of the richest fur-bearing countries known to the white man. Never before had Pennsylvania's prospects for success in the Indian trade been brighter than in 1748.

In the autumn of 1744 George Croghan had extended his trading operations to the south shore of Lake Erie; here at a Seneca village near the mouth of the Cuyahoga River on Lake Erie the Irishman bartered for beaver skins deep in the very heart of the French fur-trading domain. Yet the dangers of operating beyond the fringes of English control did not hamper his activities, even though the French bribed Ottawas to plunder, kill, and drive off all English traders along La Riviere Blanche, as the French called the Cuyahoga.⁷ Croghan's penetration of the Ohio region was remarkable; indeed he extended his influence westward, contacting even the Wyandots.

Coming within the realm of Pennsylvania influence at Sandusky was a Wyandot village established by Chief Nicolas. Here was a trade outpost to rival Detroit. At Sandusky the Pennsylvania traders secured their control by building a blockhouse.⁸

During King George's War 1744-1748 the English and the French time after time met the Ohio Indians in council and gave them large presents. During this war Peter Chartier, a licensed Pennsylvania fur trader on the Allegheny, defected to the French in April, 1745. After killing two traders, he led a large band of Shawnee down the Ohio into Wabash country.

In the early spring of 1747 Chief Nicolas permitted French fur traders to be murdered at Sandusky and confiscated their furs. From this event emerged a plot in 1747 to destroy all the French posts; the very heart of this uprising was the Sandusky Wyandots and the Twightwees. That Croghan was the amalgam of this con-

⁶ Thomas Cookson and Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, July 14, 1748, *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st series), II, 91.

⁷ Beauharnois to Count de Maurepas, Oct. 8, 1744, in E. B. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1855), IX, 1105; *ibid.*, IX, 1111.

⁸ Albert J. Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement 1741-1782* (Cleveland, 1926), 25; *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st series), I, 734-741.

piracy cannot be doubted. So effective was the leadership of the Indians that Fort Detroit narrowly escaped destruction by Chief Nicolas, and the French fort on the Maumee River was partially burned by the Twightwees.⁹ Croghan sent an account of this conspiracy of 1747 to Richard Peters in a letter dated May 26, 1747: "I am just returned from the Woods and has brought a Letter a french Scalp and some Wampum for the Governor from a part of the Six Nations Ingans that has thire Dwelling on the boarders of Lake Arey . . ." ¹⁰ Concluding this letter, Croghan urged presents to the Indians on the Ohio and offered to transport such goods with his own men.

On June 18 and August 18 Governor Thomas urged the Council to take action on Croghan's request. Finally in a letter to Thomas Lawrence, Croghan's eastern representative and a member of the Council, Croghan demanded presents to the Ohio Indians, if these people were to remain loyal to the English.¹¹ The Assembly awarded gifts of £ 200 to be transported by Croghan to the Ohio Indians. When the Irishman delivered the gifts, he added an additional £ 224: 5:0 in powder, lead, knives, flints, brass wire, and tobacco from his own stock. In justification of this expenditure he argued that he had found fifteen hundred natives in need of arms for hunting purposes. That this augmented gift was important to Pennsylvania diplomacy is demonstrated by the offer of 730 warriors of the Six Nations living on the Ohio to go to war at the bidding of Brother Onas (Pennsylvania).¹²

In the meantime in the Ohio lands the Indian uprising against the French had failed, and a number of tribes renewed the French Alliance. This was not true of the Sandusky Wyandots and the Twightwees. Rather than come under French hegemony, Chief Nicolas destroyed Sandusky and led his people eastward toward the Cuyahoga and the Ohio, and "Old Briton" (called La Demoiselle by the French) led the Twightwees to Pickawillany on the Great Miami to settle.¹³

The Indian uprising of 1747 was condemned in a French report as a scheme of the Pennsylvania traders. "This conspiracy is fo-

⁹ *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st series), I, 741; O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, X, 138.

¹⁰ *Colonial Records*, V, 138; *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st series), I, 742, 770, 750; Provincial Papers (State Library of Pennsylvania), X, 62.

¹¹ Croghan to Lawrence, Sept. 18, 1747, Provincial Papers, X, 17.

¹² *Colonial Records*, V, 185, 295, 180-190, 197; *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st series), II, 61.

¹³ O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, 138, 162.

mented by the English, who, by force of presents and lies, excite the Indians against us, insinuating in their minds that we are not in a condition to furnish them with any supplies; that we have no goods, as they take all our ships, and that Quebec has been already captured. This is their ordinary language."¹⁴

One prime point emerges from the official records regarding Pennsylvania's diplomacy with the western Indians. Conrad Weiser and George Croghan did not see eye to eye on colonial policy with the Ohio Indians. Conrad Weiser's tutor in Indian affairs was Shikellamy, the Iroquois chief who looked after the Susquehanna tribes, and Shikellamy refused to go with Weiser to the Ohio lands, since he was jealous of any direct negotiations with the Ohio Indians.¹⁵ Besides, the Iroquois Council at Onondaga regarded the Ohio Iroquois as "hunters," not "counsellors."

Croghan on the other hand viewed trade relations with the Ohio Indians as adjunct to a forceful policy against French dominion. In a brief time Croghan won Weiser over to his viewpoint, and direct treaty negotiations were established by Weiser with the Ohio Indians in July and August, 1748.

In the summer of 1748 the Twightwees requested an alliance with the Iroquois and with Pennsylvania. Thus in July, 1748, a conference was called at Lancaster with the Twightwees.¹⁶

The treaty of Lancaster in 1748 marks a projection of Pennsylvania into the Ohio lands. Just as the Iroquois were to serve as a buffer for Pennsylvania against the French in New York, so also the Twightwees were now to serve as a buffer for this colony in the Ohio lands. In principle the Twightwee treaty served as an effective instrument of power, for these Indians were inducted into a direct alliance with the Iroquois, and thus under Pennsylvania influence.¹⁷ Also the Iroquois sachems spoke on behalf of the Shawnees at the Lancaster conference and brought them once more into the realm of English friendship, after the Shawnees had defected briefly to the French under the leadership of Peter Chartier, the former Pennsylvania trader. It is interesting to emphasize that

¹⁴ Boisherbert's report on Indian affairs, November 1747, O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, X, 84; see also *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, XVII (1906), 474. In 1751 John Patten, a captured English trader, told the French that "Croghan . . . had at all times persuaded the Indians to destroy the French . . ." Neville B. Craig, *The Olden Time* (Cincinnati, 1876), II, 186.

¹⁵ Provincial Records, L, 436-437; *Colonial Records*, V, 357-358.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, V, 300.

¹⁷ *Colonial Records*, V, 331-332.

Weiser, Andrew Montour, Richard Peters, four members of the Council, the magistrates of Lancaster County, and George Croghan met with fifty-five Indians of the Shawnee and Twightwees in Lancaster from July 19 to July 23, 1748.¹⁸

That the Twightwees treaty was a stroke of brilliant Indian diplomacy no one can doubt. This is adequately revealed in the minutes of the conference: "The principal Deputy of the Twightwees laid down with Chalk the Courses of the Mississippi, of Onabache, 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 will be deprived of the most convenient and nearest communication with their Forts in 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."¹⁹

By August 27, 1748, Weiser and Croghan were at Croghan's tradinghouse at Logstown on the Ohio. Here Weiser held council with the Iroquois, Delaware, Shawnee, and Wyandot Indians. Weiser met each tribe separately, always drumming home two points: the war was ended and closer relations were needed between the English and the Indians, especially in trade. Here also gifts from Pennsylvania valued at five hundred pounds and from Virginia valued at two hundred pounds were given by Weiser.²⁰

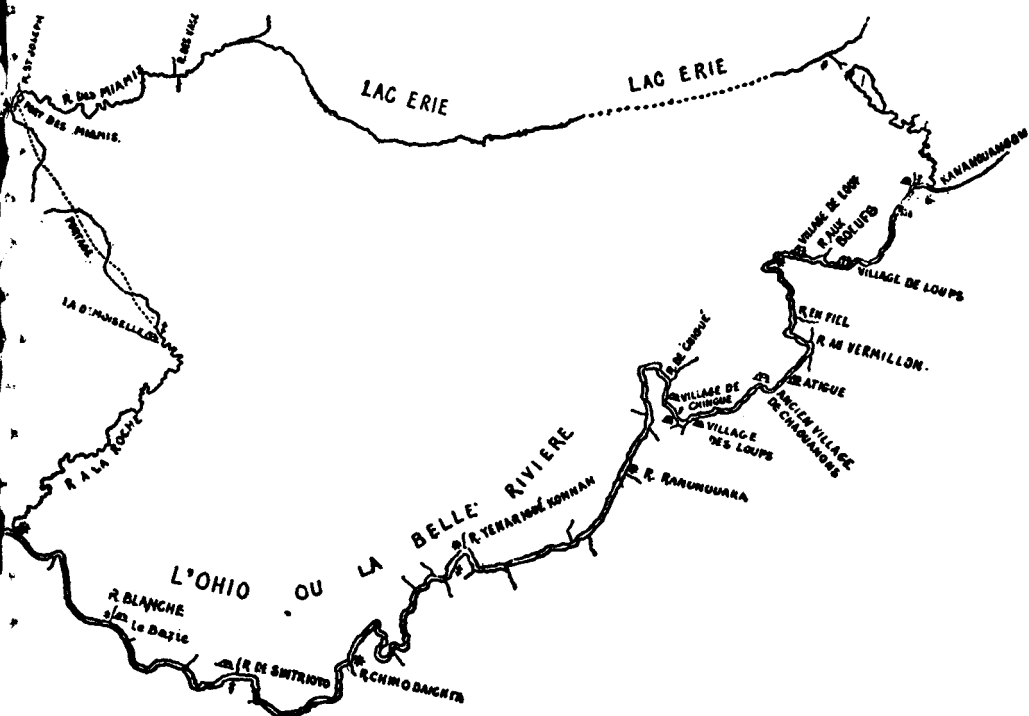
Thus in the year 1747-1748 Pennsylvania, through Croghan and Weiser, had built a defensive alliance on its western frontier, had widened the economic horizon of colonial leaders living in Philadelphia to include the Ohio fur trade, and had strengthened the Iroquois bonds even more tightly to the colony. It cannot be refuted that the expansion of the Indian trade went hand in hand with a forceful policy of defense against possible attack by the French and Indians. Indeed the treaty of Logstown represents the apex of English influence in the Ohio region, never to be achieved again until after 1763.

To counteract this influence, the French governor general sent

18 Minutes of the Conference, *Colonial Records*, V, 307-319; *Notes of the Assembly*, IV, 13; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 28, 1748.

19 *Colonial Records*, V, 315; Pres. and Council to the Proprietors, July 30, 1748, *ibid.*, 322.

20 Instructions to Weiser, June 23, 1748, *Colonial Records*, V, 290, 304. It is interesting that Ben Franklin sent his son, William, to this meeting; William kept a journal. Could this be the beginning of Ben Franklin's interest in Croghan and western lands? For in later years Croghan and Franklin tried to establish colonies beyond the mountains.



A map of the Ohio Country created by Father Bonnecamp in 1749. It was along this river system that Celoron de Blainville made his voyage in the summer of 1749.

Céloron de Blainville to distribute gifts to the Ohio and Lake Erie Indians. To help him in this task Céloron secured the aid of Philip Thomas Joncaire, past master at Indian diplomacy and trade.

Céloron's party traveled by way of the St. Lawrence, reaching Fort Niagara by July, 1749; thence the party moved southward burying lead plates as it went. The Senecas dug up a lead plate buried along the Ohio River and sent it to the Cayuga sachems. At a conference held in 1750 the Cayuga sachems gave the lead plate to William Johnson. When translated the plate revealed that France took possession of the Ohio Valley, based on the force of arms and the treaties of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix-la-Chapelle.²¹

As Céloron moved westward along the Ohio he continued to bury lead plates and give presents to the Indians, trying to win

²¹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVIII, 40; *Colonial Records*, V, 508, 510-511.

them to the French trade. Hostility from the Ohio Indians toward the French was predominant because of the high rates charged by French fur traders.²² By August, 1749, Céloron's party reached the mouth of the White River, headquarters of the Miami towns; here it was that Céloron tried to win over La Demoiselle's ("Old Briton's") tribe on the Great Miami. La Demoiselle and other Miami chiefs smoked the calumet and received the French presents, but after Céloron had departed the Miami towns, La Demoiselle sent strings of red wampum and blankets of red and black cloth to the tribes of the Miami confederacy. These symbols of war and death were appeals to Twightwee to rise up in a conspiracy against the French.²³

About this time also bitter rivalry broke out between traders from Pennsylvania and those from Virginia and Maryland, supported by the Ohio Company of Virginia. The Pennsylvanians warned the Indians of the Ohio lands that the roads which the Virginians were building would open them to attack by the Catawbas and would lead Virginians to appropriate Indian lands.²⁴

From 1749 on, rumors of French preparations for war became frequent. Detroit became the focus of this activity: hundreds of soldiers and Indians were rendezvousing at Detroit, and great supplies of arms and powder gravitated here. Intelligence was passed on first to Sir William Johnson, then to Governor Clinton of New York, and then to Governor Hamilton. Soon Joncaire was on the Ohio, giving valuable presents to any influential Indians who would accept them.²⁵ About this time Pickawillany traders who had been captured by the French told Conrad Weiser how the French at Detroit gave presents of tobacco to any Indian who would capture English traders.²⁶ Indeed, John Fraser, a Pennsylvania trader who had just recently escaped the French after capture near Pickawillany, claimed that the French offered one thousand dollars for the scalp of George Croghan or James Lowrey. To bind the Indians to French control Joncaire was buying up Indian allegiance with fifteen hundred pounds in presents.

On November 16, 1750, Croghan wrote Hamilton from the Ohio that Joncaire was at the headwaters of the Ohio giving out presents and preparing to build a fort. He also emphasized that

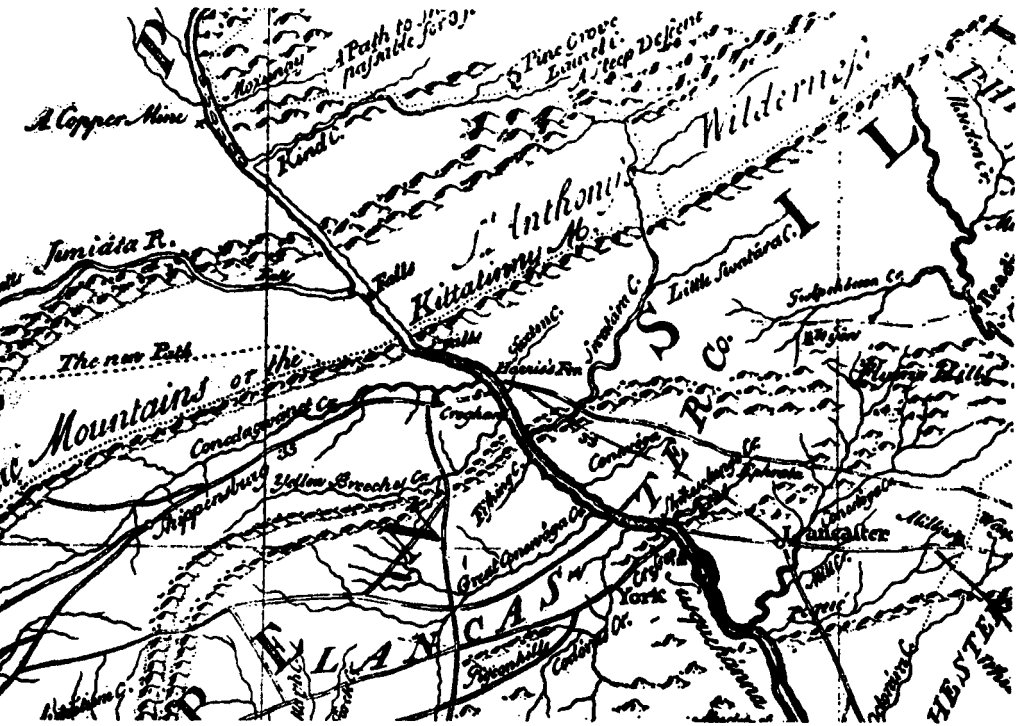
²² *Ibid.*, V, 508.

²³ Charles Raymond to La Jonquiere, September 4, 1749, in *ibid.*, 105-106, 109, 120.

²⁴ Dinwiddie to Hamilton, May 21, 1753, *Colonial Records*, V, 631; see also Croghan to _____, July 3, 1749, *Provincial Papers*, X, 62.

²⁵ La Jonquiere to Céloron, Oct. 1, 1751, T. C. Pease, *op. cit.*, 384, 421.

²⁶ *Colonial Records*, V, 482-483; see also *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVIII, 112.



Part of Lewis Evans' map of 1749. He marks Croghan's settlement as being just west of Harris' Ferry.

traders and Indians were taken prisoners or killed by both sides and that the Ohio tribes felt the need of an English fort on the Ohio.²⁷

The fear of war in the Ohio lands emphasized the need for the colonial government to cultivate the friendship of her own Indians. As in the past the Pennsylvania Indians complained of exploitation of their own lands. Settlers had poured across the Susquehanna in the early 1700's to such an extent that Cumberland County was created by 1750. Under this new county government, Croghan was appointed one of the Justices of the Peace and of Common Pleas. In this capacity he gave service in removing squatters from Indian lands beyond the Blue Mountains and in the Juniata Valley. In 1750 Secretary Peters, Croghan, Conrad Weiser, a deputy sheriff, and six justices of the new county began to remove squatters. Dur-

²⁷ Colonial Records, V, 485, 496.

ing this time two conferences were held at his home west of the Susquehanna on Conodoquinet Creek, Pennsborough Township.²⁸ In removing the whites, Peters gave money to some of the poorer squatters; those who were removed were never prosecuted, and, for that matter, not even the better cabins were burned. As a sign of appeasing the Indians only the poorer cabins were destroyed. Peters reported: "The Cabins or Log Houses which we burnt were of no considerable Value, being such as the Country People erect in a Day or two . . ." Westward movement of the whites had been temporarily checked; danger of Indian hostilities dimmed—temporarily.²⁹

The year 1750 ended without major French excursions on the Ohio. Mainly Joncaire had failed in the Ohio lands, even though the French were generous with their gifts so as to drive the English traders away. The Pennsylvania Assembly remained unperturbed.³⁰ Isaac Norris argued in the Assembly that the danger would "blow over, and from the Caution and Unanimity of the Indians in our alliance, the French may be obliged to alter their measures."³¹

This complacency on the part of the Assembly was partly because of the boom times in eastern Pennsylvania. Philadelphia trade was fantastic in its prosperity; Water and Front Streets bustled with buying and selling. The harvest was good, and the price of grain reached gigantic figures because of the competitive bidding of those in the West Indian trade. Inflation set in; what had been ten shillings before now sold for fifteen.³² Prosperity in the east projected liberal credits into the Indian trade.

If the Quakers enjoyed prosperity at home, they were loath to send presents to the Twightwees and their allies. Governor James Hamilton thundered abuse at the penny-pinching Assembly, urging it to send presents into the Ohio lands. At last Isaac Norris stirred

28 Deed Book 1A, 19, Recorder of Deeds Office, Carlisle; Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, Sept. 28, 1750, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence (H.S.P.), V, 59; *Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania*, V, 87-94; *Colonial Records*, V, 408, 431-438, 529; *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st series), 15.

29 Justice Smith to Governor Hamilton, July 25, 1750, *Colonial Records*, V, 452; Official Report to Governor Hamilton, July 2, 1750; *ibid.*, V, 440-449. The renegade Simon Girty was removed at this time. The town of Burnt Cabins in Fulton County secured its name as a result of these events.

30 Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, Feb. 25, 1751, Penn Letter Book (H.S.P.), III, 43, 75; *Colonial Records*, V, 461.

31 *Colonial Records*, V, 459.

32 Richard Hockley to Thomas Penn, Feb. 15, 1750, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence (H.S.P.), III, 185; Edward Shippen to his cousin Greenough, Nov. 6, 1752, Shippen Letter Book (H.S.P.).

the Assembly into making one more gift to move westward in the spring of 1751.³³ The value of the present was to be the largest of its type, amounting to seven hundred pounds.³⁴

Throughout the winter of 1750-1751 Croghan and Andrew Montour traveled among the Ohio tribes, informing them of the large presents to be given them at Logstown the following spring. In February they delivered the Twightwee present at Pickawillany in preparation for the conference to be held at Logstown. Earlier Croghan and Montour had been joined by Christopher Gist, agent for the Ohio Company, who sought their protection through the Ohio lands. This proves the power of Pennsylvania's dominion in the Ohio lands, for a Virginia agent felt safe only under the protection of two Pennsylvania representatives as they traveled through the villages of the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, finally arriving at the Twightwee village of "Old Briton." In the meantime Joncaire sent five canoes southward loaded with presents to try once more to win the allegiance of the Ohio tribes.³⁵

During the last two weeks in May, Croghan and Andrew Montour and ten other English traders conducted the gift-giving ceremony at Logstown. On May 30, two days later, Joncaire and a French party, including forty Iroquois, arrived at Logstown to demand a reply to Céloron's command that the Indians send the English traders away.³⁶

At the Logstown conference Croghan outmaneuvered Joncaire, for he secretly, before the conference convened, gave strouds, matchcoats, and stockings to the head tribesmen.³⁷ At the conference Croghan delivered separate speeches to the Delaware, Shawnee, Wyandots, Twightwees, and the Six Nations, thus dealing with them as separate diplomatic units, instead of agents of the Iroquois. Montour's orations bound the tribes even more closely to the English, for he concluded his speeches with a presentation of gifts. Throughout these negotiations Montour and Croghan always men-

33 *Colonial Records*, V, 488.

34 *Ibid.*, V, 498, 519.

35 William M. Darlington, *Christopher Gist's Journals . . .* (Pittsburgh, 1893), 34-35; Kenneth P. Bailey, *The Ohio Company of Virginia and the Westward Movement 1748-1792* (California, 1939), 33-61; James Hamilton to Thomas Penn, June 27, 1751, Penn Manuscripts, Additional letters, 20.

36 George Croghan to James Hamilton, June 10, 1751, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, V, 59. It is interesting to note that Andrew Montour was instructed to serve as "master" of the speeches. *Colonial Records*, V, 630-639.

37 Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels 1748-1849* (Cleveland, 1904-1907), I, 58-69.

tioned the chiefs in every speech. So effective were these little niceties in diplomacy that an Iroquois chief, in keeping with the tradition of Indian dominion, repudiated Joncaire by casting aspersions on his presents. To ridicule the French diplomat Indians danced around the immobile Joncaire pointing their fingers in derision to his nose.³⁸ Croghan did not miss a trick; at the conclusion of the conference he mended, at his own expense, the guns, kettles, and hatchets of the Indians.³⁹

If the success of Croghan and Montour was great, it was not unalloyed, for Croghan made the mistake of accepting Joncaire's letter for Governor Hamilton which proclaimed the French aims and demands. For this Croghan received a blistering attack from the Pennsylvania Assembly.⁴⁰

This phase of Pennsylvania diplomacy marks the end of peaceful competition between the French and English for the allegiance of the Ohio tribes. If the colony had won a complete victory over French diplomatic stratagems, it had also within it the very seeds of defeat for its Indian policy. The very decisive nature of Quaker control would accept the theory of presents to be used for extension of Pennsylvania fur trade, but could not accept presents as a means to extend a military alliance into the Ohio lands. The French, thanks to a centralized government, could boast of one arm and one system of unity in giving presents; the British, on the other hand, were hampered by conflicting colonial and imperial aims in handing out gifts to the Indians. This conflict of aims is aptly demonstrated in the differences of policy that existed between the Quaker Assembly and Croghan. For example, in the spring of 1748 the Pennsylvania Assembly voted a gift of two hundred pounds, composed mainly of beads, wampum, strouds, and tobacco. To the dismay of the legislators Croghan included an additional £ 225: 5:0 of arms, powder, lead, knives, and flints.⁴¹

The power of Pennsylvania's leadership on the Ohio ran out in late 1751 and early 1752. This was accomplished by three things: the refusal of the Pennsylvania Assembly to create a fort in Ohio

38 *Ibid.*, I, 690; see also Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, Sept. 28, 1751, Penn Letter Book (H.S.P.), III, 105.

39 Croghan to Hamilton, June 10, 1751, *Colonial Records*, V, 539, 547; Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs (H.S.P.), I, 72; *Colonial Records*, V, 530-539.

40 James Hamilton to Thomas Penn, June 27, 1751, Penn Manuscripts, Additional Miscellaneous Letters (H.S.P.), I, 70; *Colonial Records*, V, 539.

41 *Colonial Records*, V, 295.

Country, the rise of Virginia hegemony in western Pennsylvania and the Ohio lands through the coming to power of Governor Robert Dinwiddie, and the development of French aggression to stop the flow of British presents after June, 1752.

The major proposal that emerged from the Logstown conference was the Indian request for a fort on the Ohio River. One Indian chief put the problem succinctly: "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 trade with us, for without our Brothers supply us with Goods we cannot live." Here was the very core of the Indian problem.

When the Pennsylvania Assembly reconvened in August, 1751, Governor Hamilton called some of the Assembly leaders to meet with him and "urged the expediency of it [building a fort on the Ohio], upon them, by all the arguments I was master of; and tho they had not the desired success, yet I must do the gentlemen the justice to say, they did not offer to argue against the reasonableness of the measure, any other ways, than by putting me in mind of their religious persuasion, and therefore for the most part they kept silence."⁴²

When the proposal for the fort reached the floor of the Assembly, the Quaker majority took testimony to prove that the forks of the Ohio were beyond the limits of Pennsylvania.⁴³ Finally the Assembly called Conrad Weiser and Andrew Montour. If the testimony of these two men bore out the truth of Croghan's journal, conceivably the Assembly might be influenced to vote funds to build such a fort.

Before the pacifistic Assembly, Weiser denied any knowledge of Croghan's instructions relating to a fort, though he supported the idea.⁴⁴ As for Andrew Montour, the "master" of the speeches at Logstown and Croghan's companion, the half-breed repudiated Croghan's journal, asserting that the Indians had not consented to a fort and that the Indians on the Ohio would never consent to such a proposition.⁴⁵ Even though Croghan obtained a signed statement from Montour upholding his journal of the conference, the Irishman

42 James Hamilton to Thomas Penn, June 27, 1751, Penn Manuscripts, Additional Miscellaneous Letters, I, 70 (H.S.P.).

43 *New York Colonial Documents*, VII, 268.

44 *Colonial Records*, V, 547.

45 James Hamilton to Thomas Penn, Sept. 14, 1751, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, V, 173 (H.S.P.).

could not repair his damaged reputation.⁴⁶ In its report to Governor Hamilton, the Assembly insinuated that Croghan had either misunderstood or misrepresented the Indian request. Montour's testimony had broken Pennsylvania's control of the Ohio lands. The refusal of the Assembly to build a fort on the Ohio eventually led the Delaware and Shawnee to support the French. The whole structure of Pennsylvania diplomacy with the western Indians was destroyed, and the leading role in the English defense against the French expansion passed from Pennsylvania to Virginia. Virginia's policy in Indian relations was that of too late with too little.⁴⁷ There was something prophetic in Governor Hamilton's letter to Governor Clinton: ". . . I have little reason to expect they [the Virginians] will ever act a proper part in Indian affairs, until . . . some notable calamity befall our back inhabitants."⁴⁸

To signify the end of Pennsylvania control over the Ohio Indians, Governor Hamilton encouraged Andrew Montour to serve the colony of Virginia. Indeed, Governor Hamilton sent Montour to the Ohio country with instructions to tell the Indians that "the kinder they are to the Virginia people, and particularly to those who are minded to trade with them, the more agreeable it will be to me."⁴⁹ Even Croghan and William Trent, former agents of Pennsylvania, served the colony of Virginia now. In June, 1752, Croghan was at Logstown to help negotiate a treaty with the Ohio Indians for Virginia. The Irishman's task was a touchy one, for he had been the main influence to prejudice the Ohio Indians against Virginia traders. Yet the success of Croghan in helping to get the Indians to switch sides was remarkable. At Logstown the Indians agreed to Virginia's building two forts on the Ohio, creating some white settlements, and developing fur trade in the Ohio lands.⁵⁰ Virginia's slowness and ineptitude in developing an aggressive In-

46 Richard Peters to Conrad Weiser, Sept. 19, 25, 1751, Peters Manuscripts (H.S.P.), III, 47, 48. Even Thomas Penn, believing Montour's first testimony, attacked the character of Croghan. Thomas Penn to James Hamilton, March 9, 1752, Penn Letter Book, III, 113.

47 Virginia Commission to Trent, June 14, 1752, Etting Collection, Revolutionary Papers (H.S.P.), I, 90.

48 Message to the Assembly, March 2, 1754, *Colonial Records*, V, 751, 756; see also Hamilton to Dinwiddie, May 6, 1753, *ibid.*, 629.

49 *Colonial Records*, V, 568; Thomas Penn to James Hamilton, March 9, 1752, Penn Letter Book, III, 113.

50 Robert Dinwiddie to the Board of Trade, October 5, 1752, Public Record Office, Colonial Office (transcripts in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.), 5, 1327; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVIII, 104.

dian policy created a power vacuum that opened the way for French control.

The year 1752 saw a decisive change in French policy. From 1749-1752 Joncaire, who had been governor of Canada, carefully developed Indian diplomacy along peaceful lines; however, in 1752 the new governor, Duquesne, was instructed to confiscate English trade goods, drive out English traders, and destroy English trading posts.⁵¹ The reason for such decisive action was partly explained by the fact that up to 1751 the Indians along the Ohio were sympathetic to Pennsylvania traders; indeed, it was worth a Frenchman's scalp to venture near Pickawillany.

The first important aggressive attack by the French was made at Pickawillany. This was but a point of logic to the French, for Pickawillany was the center of the Pennsylvania trade; here Croghan had his main supplies, and here "Old Briton," the very heart of English leadership in the Twightwee confederation, held sway. In June, 1752, Charles Langlade with two hundred and forty French and Indians marched from Detroit and surprised Pickawillany. The victory was decisive: about thirty people, including English traders, were killed, trade goods to the value of three thousand pounds were confiscated, and "Old Briton" was boiled and eaten.⁵² In one stroke of aggression the French had soundly punished the rebellious Twightwees.

Perhaps never before had a single attack on Indians accomplished so much: the alliance between Pennsylvania and the Ohio Indians crumbled, the buffer against French extension into western Pennsylvania was ended, the Delaware and Shawnee gravitated toward French allegiance, English trade on the Ohio was at an end, Pennsylvania and Virginia were too weak to take up reprisal, despite threats of war the Iroquois did not declare war on the rebellious Ohio tribes, and finally the French now could advance eastward into Pennsylvania.⁵³

51 Instructions to Duquesne, May 15, 1752, *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVIII, 121; *Colonial Records*, V, 483. *Pennsylvania Archives*, II, 173.

52 Twightwees to Robert Dinwiddie, June 21, 1752, Public Record Office, Colonial Office (Library of Congress), 5/1327; Journal of William Trent, June 21, 1752, *ibid.*, 5/1327; *Colonial Records*, V, 600-601; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVIII, 128-131; *Maryland Gazette*, November 9, 1752; of the goods confiscated at Pickawillany about one-third belonged to Croghan.

53 *Colonial Records*, V, 599; Trent to William Logan, May 8, 1753, Shippen Papers (H.S.P.), I, 147, Governor Hamilton to Governor Clinton, May 10, 1753, Public Record Office, Colonial Records, 5/1065; Darlington, *op. cit.*, 192.

It must be emphasized that the British Board of Trade immediately realized the importance of the Pickawillany massacre and was fully aware that the Twightwee confederacy was important for the security of the colonies, for it voted a sum, not to exceed one thousand pounds, to be used for gifts.⁵⁴ In July Thomas Burney, one of two white survivors at Pickawillany, related to the Pennsylvania Assembly the disaster that had befallen the Twightwees. At the end of his account he gave the following Twightwee message: ". . . before we will be subject to the French, we will perish here."⁵⁵ Shortly thereafter the Assembly voted two hundred pounds for a gift to the Twightwee confederacy, to be used for the "Necessaries of Life." Six hundred additional pounds was donated to be spent on other tribes which were in alliance with Pennsylvania. Virginia also appropriated supplies of powder, lead, guns, and blankets for the Ohio Indians. This in itself was good policy, for in war many gifts were needed to "brighten the chain of friendship," as it was known.⁵⁶ Constant delays in getting these gifts to the Ohio lands tore the very heart out of English diplomacy with these Indians. Strange as it may seem the gifts appropriated in 1752 were not delivered to the Twightwees and their Iroquois allies until the Carlisle conference in September, 1753, more than a year after the attack on Pickawillany.⁵⁷ The Virginia presents were not given the Indians until the spring of 1753 at Winchester. So it was that the Twightwees had no word from their allies for over a year. Is it any wonder that the loyalty of the Twightwees finally broke under the strain of French pressure, and a part of them deserted the English?⁵⁸ One can easily understand the truth of William Trent's statement: ". . . the Indians are in such confusion that there is no knowing who to trust."⁵⁹

54 Public Record Office, Colonial Office, 5/1327.

55 *Colonial Records*, V, 600.

56 This is mentioned in almost all Indian treaties involving Pennsylvania and New York with the Iroquois; examine *Colonial Records*, V, VI, VII, *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st series), I, II.

57 *Colonial Records*, V, 666-686.

58 Robert Dinwiddie to Captains Cresap and Trent, February 10, 1753, Alonzo Brock, ed., *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie . . . 1751-1758* (Richmond, Va., 1883), I, 22-24.

59 Trent to Hamilton, April 10, 1733, W. M. Darlington, *op. cit.*, 192.