

**REASONS FOR THE REVOLT  
OF THE  
LENAPE AND SHAWANESE  
1722-1759**

This book was originally published for the King of England and his counselors. It was the result of a committee appointed by King George II to investigate the reasons for the sudden violence that began in November 1755 when Lenape warriors (called Delawares throughout the book) turned against England and allied themselves with France.

A contemporary language version

**ALIENATION OF THE DELAWARE AND SHAWANESE INDIANS  
1722 – 1759**

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**Title page, 1759 edition:**

AN ENQUIRY INTO THE CAUSES OF THE ALIENATION  
OF THE DELAWARE AND SHAWANESE INDIANS  
FROM THE BRITISH INTEREST.

And into the measures taken for recovering their friendship. Extracted from the public treaties, and other authentic papers relating to the transactions of the Government of Pennsylvania and the said Indians, for nearly forty years; and explained by a map of the country.

Together with the remarkable journal of Christian Frederic Post, by whose negotiations, among the Indians on the Ohio, they were withdrawn from the interest of the French, who thereupon abandoned the Fort and Country. With notes by the editor explaining sundry Indian customs, etc. Written in Pennsylvania. London: Printed for J. Wilkie, at the Bible, in St. Paul's Church-yard. MDCCLIX (1759)

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**Title page, 1867 edition:**

CAUSES OF THE ALIENATION  
OF THE DELAWARE AND SHAWANESE INDIANS  
FROM THE BRITISH INTEREST

Philadelphia: John Campbell, MDCCCLXVII (1867)

Edition of 250 copies  
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**Note by transcriber**

*The journal of Christian Frederic Post was an appendix which is not included in this contemporary language version.*

*This book was originally published for the King of England and his counselors. It was the result of a committee appointed by King George II to investigate the reasons for the sudden violence that began in November 1755 when Lenape Warriors (called Delawares throughout the book) turned against England and allied themselves with France, which at that time was at war with England. Over-running the back countrysides they left a path of death and flaming ruins behind them. Up until this time they had been committed to a "chain of friendship" with England and Williams Penn's colony in Pennsylvania; now England's entire western colonial frontiers were threatened and France was poised to take over.*

*The investigation soon focused on the sons and grandson of William Penn, who were the "Proprietaries" of the land which had been given by King Charles II seventy-five years before in order to pay off a debt owed to William Penn's father.*

*Making this valuable work available for easy reading was decided as the priority. I have therefore substituted contemporary words instead of the archaic words of the original, as well as contemporary spelling and punctuation. We thank Dennis Knicely of California for calling attention to it, and Philip Grey Wolf Rice (Waktame) of Gordon, Pennsylvania, for downloading it from the Internet.*

*The "remarkable journal of Christian Frederic Post" is transcribed separately. Parenthetical comments in italics are my own.*

*Donald R. Repsher, March, 2005*

## THE INTRODUCTION

It has been a cause of wonder to many people how it came to pass that the English have so few Indians allied to their interest, while the French have so many at their command.

For what reasons did these neighboring tribes in particular, who, at the first arrival of the English in Pennsylvania (and for a long series of years afterwards) showed every mark of affection and kindness, became our most bitter enemies and treat those whom they had so often declared they looked upon as their brethren, nay, as their own flesh and blood, with such barbarous cruelties?

By some they are looked on as faithless and perfidious. Others, considering their former friendship, the many services they have done for the English, and the steady attachment they have showed to our interest during several wars with France, imagine there must be some cause for this change in their behavior.

The Indians themselves, when called upon in a public meeting to explain the motives of their conduct, declare that the solicitations of the French, joined with the abuses they have suffered from the English (particularly in being cheated and defrauded of their land) have at length induced them to become our enemies and to make war upon us.

That the French had been active in trying to draw away from us the Indians, and engage them in the French interest, was not doubted. But as to the complaints that the Indians made of abuses received from the English, and of being wronged of their lands, many efforts have been taken to represent them as groundless and only lame excuses for their recent perfidiousness. Nay, some have gone so far as to say that these complaints are the effects of the unhappy divisions that prevailed in this Government.

In order, therefore, to clear up these points and to examine the foundation and truth of these complaints, recourse has been taken to as many of the treaties and conferences held between the Indians and this Government, for over thirty years past, as could be procured.

It is a matter of no small consequence for us to know the grounds of the complaints made by the Indians, so that in case they are false, justice may be done to the characters of those who are injured thereby; but if true, that proper remedies may be applied so that the Crown of Great Britain may not, by the avarice and wickedness of a few, be deprived of the friendship and alliance of those nations who are capable of being our most useful friends – or most dangerous enemies.

It could have been wished, for the sake of the truth, that access had been allowed to the Minutes of the Provincial Council in Philadelphia, which are the only public record kept of the transactions between the Government of Pennsylvania and the Indians; or that the Minutes of several conferences with the Indians had been properly taken and regularly published; or that all the Deeds granted by the Indians had been recorded in the Rolls-Office as they ought to have been. Had this been done, the matter might have been set in a fuller and clearer light.

However, by pursuing the following excerpts, taken from such treaties as could be acquired, from the votes of the Philadelphia Assembly, from such Deeds as have been recorded, and from other authentic papers and letters, it will be clearly seen whether the complaints of the Indians are only invented to absolve them of their recent conduct; or whether their complaints are reasonable and their demands consistent with justice.

**1722**

### **Conestogo Treaty**

*(Comment: This chapter confirms that the Lenape believed that the land would be shared with them, not taken from them, when William Penn made his purchases. Their traditional hospitality welcomed this*

*arrangement, even though they were uncomfortable with it. No one anticipated such an influx of settlers.*  
– D. Repsher)

Governor Keith, in 1722, received advice that some persons under the pretence of searching for copper mines (*near the Maryland border*) intended to take up lands by virtue of Maryland's rights on the west side of the Susquehanna River above Conestogo, and issued a proclamation to prevent them.

Soon after, having advice that some persons had actually gone from Maryland to survey the land, he went there himself with the Surveyor-General of the Province of Pennsylvania. And arriving first, he ordered the Surveyor-General (by virtue of Proprietary Rights which he had earlier purchased) to survey for him five hundred and thirty acres of land upon that location, which he perceived likely to prove a bone of contention and the occasion of mischief.

Upon his return, being informed that the young men of Conestogo were going out to war, he thought it necessary to hold a Conference with those Indians. Accordingly he went to their town and called a meeting of the chiefs of the Mingo, the Shawanese, and the Ganaway (Conoy) Indians, at which he reminded them of the friendship that existed between them and this Government, of the favors he had done for them, how he had gone to Virginia to serve them, and at their request removed one John Grist from a settlement he had made beyond the Susquehanna and had strictly forbidden any person from taking up lands or settling there without his permission, etc.

In the close of his speech he informed them of the news he had heard of their going to war, and absolutely forbade them to go.

Hereupon the Indians called a Council, and having agreed upon an answer, met the Governor the next day. And Civility, their chief, in the name of the Indians, thanked the governor for the efforts he had made to serve them, and expressed the confidence they had in his Government, and declared that although their Warriors were intending to go to war against the Catawbas, yet because the Governor disapproved of their going they would be immediately stopped. Then he proceeded to say:

"When the Proprietor, William Penn, came into this country forty years ago, he got some person in the Colony of New-York to purchase the lands on the Susquehanna from the Five Nations, who pretended a right to them because they claimed to have conquered the people formerly settled there.

When William Penn came from the Colony of New-York he sent for them to hold a Council with him at Philadelphia, and showed them a parchment which he told them was a right to those lands that he had purchased from the Five Nations, for which he had sent a great many goods in a vessel to New York. When the Conestogoes understood he had bought their land, they were sorry. Then William Penn took the parchment and laid it upon the ground, telling them that it would be held in common among both the English and the Indians.

Later, when William Penn had given them the same privilege to the land as his own people, he told them he would not do as the Marylanders did, by calling them only Children or Brothers. "Often," he said, "parents would be apt to whip their children too severely, and brothers sometimes would differ." Neither would he compare the friendship between him and the Susquehanna Indians to a chain, for the rain might sometimes rust it or a tree might fall and break it. But he said that instead the Indians would be esteemed by him and his people as the same flesh and blood with the Christians."

After they had made so firm a League with William Penn, he gave them that Parchment (here Civility held a parchment in his hand) and told them to preserve it carefully for three generations, that their children might see and know what then passed in Council, as if he remained himself to repeat it with them, but that the fourth generation would both forget him and it.

Civility presented to the Governor the parchment in his hand to read. It contained articles of friendship and agreement made between the Proprietary and them, and confirmed the sale of lands made by the Five Nations to the Proprietary.\*

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\* *Question:* By what Chief Civility says, would it not appear that the Indians were not made fully acquainted with the nature of that parchment? After what is said of their being sorry that the Proprietor had bought their lands, can it be imagined that the intended by it to give up their right to that land, or to confirm to the Proprietary the purchase made of the Five Nations without reserving for themselves a right to those lands in common with the English, agreeable to what they imagined was promised to them? But it may be noted, all we know of the contents of the writing is from this account given by the Proprietary agents.

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The Governor's answer to this is as follows:

"I am very glad to find that you remember so perfectly the wise and kind expressions of the great and good William Penn toward you. And I know that the purchase which he made of the lands on both sides of the Susquehanna River is exactly true as you tell it. Only I have heard further that when he was so good to tell your people that notwithstanding that purchase the lands should still be held in common between his people and them, you answered that a very little land would serve you and thereupon you fully confirmed his right by your own consent and goodwill, as the Parchment you showed me fully declares."

On the second day of the Conference the Governor requested Civility to ask all the Indians present if they were well pleased to understand that the Governor had taken a small tract of land so near them on the other side of the Susquehanna River.

They answered, that they liked it very well, and said it was good luck to them that there was anything to be found there which could invite the Governor to make a settlement among them. But they desired to know if the Governor's settling there would not cause the immediate settlement of everything on that side of the River, and if that was the Governor's intention.

To which the Governor answered, "It is not the intention of the Government, as yet, to allow that side of the River to be settled, since they could have no magistrates or great men there to keep the people in peace and good order." The Governor added that he had only taken up that land himself at this time to prevent others from doing it without his knowledge and contrary to his orders; and that he might be nearer to them himself in order to save and protect them from being disturbed by any persons whatsoever.

At this Treaty the Indians complained of the damage they receive by strong liquor being brought among them. They said, "The Indians could live contentedly and grow rich if it were not for the quantities of Rum that are allowed to come through among them, contrary to what William Penn promised them."

In answer to this the Governor, after letting them know how much he is pleased with the satisfaction they expressed at his making a small settlement near them, "Assures them that he will try his best to make it useful and convenient to them by endeavoring to hinder his people from bringing such quantities of Rum to sell among the Indians."

## **1727 Philadelphia Treaty, July**

*(Comment: The Five Nations claimed ownership of Pennsylvania lands by right of Conquest and that they, not the Indians living on these lands, are the only ones with the right to sell. – D. Repsher)*

In the meeting held at Philadelphia in July, 1727, between Governor Gordon and the Deputies of the Five Nations, the Indians' speaker, Tannewhannegah, informed the Governor: "The chiefs of all the Five Nations, being met in Council, and understanding that the Governor of this Province had different times

sent for them to arrive, has therefore sent me and those present with me in order to know the Governor's wishes."

After this he proceeded to say, "The first Governor of this place, Onas (i.e., Governor William Penn), when he first arrived here, sent to us to ask us to sell land to him, and we answered that we would not sell it then but might do it in time to come. And after being sent for several times, we are now come to hear what the Governor has to offer, that when the Governor was at Albany he had spoken to us, saying: "Well, my brethren, you have gained the victory, you have overcome these people, and their lands are yours. We would like to buy them from you. How many commanders are there among you?"

And being told that there were forty, he said, "Then if you will come down to me I will give each of these commanders a suit of clothes like I wear."

He further noticed that a former Governor, meeting some of the warriors of the Five Nations at Conestoga, asked them to speak to their chiefs about the purchase of the land at Tsanandowa; but that because there was no wampum to send by them as a token of the message, he gave the warriors a cask of powder with some shot, a piece of red, coarse woolen cloth called strowds, and some duffel-bags; and that the warriors, having delivered their message to their chiefs, have now been sent to let the Governor know they are willing to proceed to a sale.

In answer to this the governor told them that he was glad to see them. He takes their visit very kindly at this time, but they were misinformed when the supposed Governor had sent for them because Governor Penn had, through Colonel Duncan, already bought from the Five Nations the lands on the Susquehanna River.

"The chiefs of the Five Nations, about five years ago when Sir William Keith was at Albany," he said, "had confirmed the former grant and absolutely released all pretensions to these lands. And the present which a former Governor made to some Indian warriors at Conestoga was not for the purpose of purchasing the lands at Tsanandowa, but a gift to show his appreciation for their offer to sell their lands if they were not yet purchased." He added that for this reason he could not discuss this with them at present. But William Penn's son, who was born in this country, is expected to return here. When he comes, he may discuss it with them if he thinks it proper. In the meantime, because these lands lie next to the English settlements, even though at a great distance, he shall take this offer as proof of their resolve to keep them for him.

After this the Indians, desiring a further Conference with the Governor, informed him that many kinds of traders came among them, both Indians and English, who all cheat them, and though they get their animal skins they receive very little remuneration. And they have so little for themselves that they cannot live and can scarcely procure powder and shot to hunt with and get more. These traders bring little powder and shot but instead bring Rum, which they sell at a very expensive price.

They also said that both the French and the English are raising fortifications in their country, and in their neighborhood, and great numbers of people are sent there, the meaning of which they do not very well understand; but they fear some bad consequences from it. They desire that no settlements may be made up the Susquehanna River further than Paxton; that none of the settlers thereabouts be allowed to keep or sell any Rum there; since that is the way by which their people go out to war. They are apprehensive of mischief, if they find liquor, for the same reason they desire that none of the traders be allowed to carry any Rum into the Ohio Territory. And this they want to be taken notice of as the mind of the chiefs of the Five Nations."

To this the Governor answered that "As to trade, they know that the method of all traders is to buy as cheaply and sell it as expensively as they can, and everyone must make the best bargain that he can. The Indians cheat the Indians, the English cheat the English, and everyone must be on his guard. And as far as Rum is concerned, several laws have been made to prevent its being carried among them, and they could break the casks and destroy all the Rum that was brought to them. "And up until the present time no settlements have been allowed to be made above Paxton. But as young people grow up, they will of

course spread out, although that will not be very soon. And as to fortifications, since the English are their friends they had nothing to fear from any fortifications that are made; and as far as the French are concerned, they were so remote that he knew nothing about them."

**1728**

*Source: Minutes of the Provincial Council*

As a result of information given to the Governor in April, 1728, by one Letort (an Indian trader) that Menawkyhichon, a Delaware chief, to avenge the death of Wequeala \* (or Weekweley) who had been hanged in the Jerseys the year before, was endeavoring to enlist the Miamis, or Tweektwees, to make war on the English, and that the Five Nations had joined with him, it was thought advisable to enquire further into this matter.

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\* This Weekweley is the same referred to in the Lancaster treaty of May, 1757, whose death is assigned by the deputies of the Five Nations as one of the causes of the present problems between the Delawares and English.  
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In the meantime, it was judged proper that the Governor should take some notice of the Indians on the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers, these people generally thinking themselves slighted, as no treaty had been held with them for some time.

*Treaty of Conestogo, 1728*

As a consequence of this the Governor, as soon as he received advice that Captain Civility, chief of the Conestogo Indians, was returned with his people from hunting, dispatched a wish to inform those Indians that he would meet with them about the twenty-third of May at Conestogo, where he desired that the chiefs of all the Indians might be present and that Captain Civility would dispatch messengers to Sassoonan, Opekasset, and Manawykyhickon, chiefs of the Delawares who live up the Susquehanna River, to be there.

At the time appointed the Governor went and met the chiefs of the Conestogoes, the Delaware Indians, on Brandywine, including the Canawese and the Shawanese Indians.

At this Conference the Governor reminded them of the League of Friendship which had long existed between them and this Government, and refreshed their memory by repeating the principal terms of it. After this he informed them that he heard the Tweektwees were coming as enemies against this country, which he thought must be false as he had never hurt the Tweektwees.

He then told them of a recent skirmish between eleven foreign Indians and about twenty of his people at a place called Mahanatawny; that, upon receiving the news, he immediately went to the place but found the Indians gone.

Upon his return he was informed that two or three furious men had killed three friendly Indians and hurt two Indian girls,, which grieved him very much. Thereupon he had the murderers apprehended and put in prison, where they would be tried and punished in the same way as if they had killed white people.

He also let them know that about eight months before an English man was killed by some Indians at the house of John Burt in Snake-Town, and wants them to apprehend the murderers and bring them to justice.

The Indians, in their answer, let the Governor know that they were well satisfied with what he had said, and assured him that what had happened at John Burt's house was not done by them, but by one of the Minisinks, \* another nation, for what reason they did not know.

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\* Here it appears that the Minisinks were declared to be a nation over whom they had no authority.  
(Note: The Minisinks and Munsees are elsewhere described as one and the same. – D. Repsher)

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*Treaty at Philadelphia, 1728*

As the messages which Captain Civility sent to the Delaware chiefs who lived on the Susquehanna River did not reach them soon enough for them to attend the Treaty at Conestogo, the Governor desired them to meet him at Philadelphia.

Accordingly, a few days later, Sassoonan, king of the Delawares, with Opekasset and a few more of his principal men, came to Philadelphia, where the Governor gave them a hearty welcome, renewed the treaties of friendship which William Penn had made with them, acquainted them of the skirmish that had happened between his people and a party of Shawanese who came armed and painted for war, and were taken for strange Indians, informed them of the unhappy accident that had followed, and of his causing the murderers to be apprehended and put in jail to be tried and punished as if they had killed one of his Majesty's subjects; and lastly, he condoled with the friends of those who were murdered and comforted them after the Indian manner. \*

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\* Although a message was sent to Manawhyhichan, as well as to these, yet he did not come, being at that time full of resentment because of the death of his kinsman.

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In answer to this, Sassoonan thanked the Governor for the speech he had made, declared himself well pleased with what the Governor said in relation to the accident that had happened to the Indians, and wished that no misunderstanding might arise on that account, and concluded with saying that in two months he planned to return and speak more fully.

But being told that if he had anything at all upon his mind it was now a proper time to speak it, that it might be heard by everyone there.

Therefore, addressing himself to Mr. James Logan, \* he proceeded to say that he was grown old, and was troubled to see the Christians settle on lands that the Indians had never been paid for. They had settled on his lands, for which he had never received anything. He is now an old man, and must soon die. His children may wonder why all their father's lands had gone from them without his receiving anything for them. The Christians now make their settlements very near them, and they shall have no place of their own left to live on. This may eventually cause a difference between their children and us. And he would want to prevent any misunderstanding that may happen.

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\* Mr. Logan was the Secretary and the Proprietaries' principal agent for land affairs during almost forty years. (Note: Around 1740 James Logan, now getting old, remained on the Proprietary Council but turned his secretarial duties over to Richard Peters. – D. Repsher)

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As this speech was addressed to Mr. Logan, he, with the permission of the Governor, answered that he was not involved in the lands of this Province other than with what he, with other Commissioners, was entrusted by the Proprietor to manage his affairs of property in the Proprietor's absence. Mr. Logan added that William Penn had made it a rule never to allow any lands to be settled by his people until they were first purchased from the Indians; that his Commissioners had followed the same rule, and there was little reason for any complaint against him, or the Commissioners, as he would now testify."

Mr. Logan continued: "Sassoonan, who is now present with various other Indian chiefs, about ten years before, having a notion that they had not been fully paid for their lands, came to Philadelphia to demand what was due to them. The Business was heard in the Proprietary Council. He then showed

those Indians a great number of deeds by which their ancestors had fully conveyed, and were fully paid for all their lands from Duck Creek to near the Forks of the Delaware.

The Indians were then entirely satisfied with what had been shown to them, James Logan concluded; "and the Commissioners, to put an end to all further claims or demands, in consideration of their journey and trouble, made them a present in the Proprietor's name and in his behalf, upon which they agreed to sign an absolute release for all those lands, and of all demands whatsoever upon the account of the said purchase."

And exhibiting the said instrument of release, he asked that it might be read, which was done in these words:

"We, Sassoonan king of the Delaware Indians, and Pokebais, Metashicbay, Aiyamaikan, Pepawricman, Gbettpenceman, and Opekaffet, chiefs of the said Indians, do acknowledge that we have seen and heard several deeds of sale read to us, under the hands and seals of the former kings and chiefs of the Delaware Indians, our ancestors and predecessors who were owners of lands between the Delaware and Susquehanna Rivers; by which deeds they have granted and conveyed to William Penn, Proprietor and Governor in chief of the Province of Pennsylvania, and to his heirs and assigns, all and singular their lands, islands, woods and waters, situated between the two Rivers of Delaware and Susquehanna, and had received full satisfaction for the same.

"And we do further acknowledge that we are fully content and satisfied with the said grant. And whereas the commissioners or agents of the said William Penn have been pleased, upon our visit to this Government, to bestow on us, as a free gift, in the name of the said William Penn, the following goods, viz:

Two guns,  
Six Strowd-water coats (*made of coarse cloth*),  
Six blankets,  
Six duffel match-coats,  
and four kettles. \*

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\* The value of these goods was about ten pounds sterling, or one year's quit-rent for 20,000 acres of land at the old rent, or 5,000 acres at the new.  
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"We therefore, in gratitude for the said presents, as well in consideration of the several grants made by our ancestors and predecessors, and of the several goods herein before-mentioned, the receipt whereof we do hereby acknowledge, do, by these Presents, for us, our heirs and successors, grant, remiss, release, and forever quit claim unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, all the said lands situated between the said two Rivers of Delaware and Susquehanna, from Duck Creek to the mountains of this side of Lechaity;

"And all our estate, right, title, interest, property, claim and demand whatsoever, in and to the same, or any part thereof; so that neither we, nor any of us, nor any person or persons, in the behalf of any of us, shall, or may hereafter, lay any claim to any of the said lands, or in any way molest the said William Penn, his heirs or assigns, or any person claiming by, from, or under him, them, or any of them, in the peaceable and quiet enjoyment of the same.

"In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals, at Philadelphia, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighteen:

Sassoonan his mark   o  
Pokebais his mark   o  
Metashecchau his mark   o  
Ayyamaikan his mark   o  
Ghettypenceman his mark   o

Opekasset his mark o  
Pepawmaman his mark o

"Sealed and delivered (by all but Pokehais and Pepawmaman, who were absent) in the presence of W. Kieth, Robert Asheton, Samuel Preston, Anthony Palmer, Jonathan Dickinson, Indian Sam (son of Essepenaike), Indian Peter (Pokebais's nephew or Aweaykoman), Kachaguesconk (or Toby), his mark, Tussoigbeeman, his mark, Neeshalappih (or Andrew), his mark.

"Sealed and delivered by Pokebais and Pepawmaman in the presence of James Logan, Robert Asheton, Clement Plumsted, David Evans, Nedaway (or Oliver), Neeshalappy (or Andrew)."

Sassoonan and Opekasset both acknowledged this Deed to be true, and that they had been paid for all the lands therein mentioned. But Sassoonan said the lands beyond these bounds had never been paid for; that the lands which had been paid for reached no farther than a few miles beyond Oley, and their lands on Tulpyhockin were already settled by the Christians.

Mr. Logan answered that he understood at the time the deed was drawn, and ever since, that Lechay Hills, or mountains, stretched from a little below Lechay (or the Forks of the Delaware) to those hills on the Susquehannah that lie about ten miles above Paxton. Mr. Farmer said those hills passed from Leebay a few miles above Oley and reached no farther, and that the Tulpyhockin lands lay beyond them.

Mr. Logan proceeded to say that whether those lands of Tulpyhockin were within or outside the bounds mentioned in the deed, he nevertheless well knew that the Indians, some few years before, were living on them, and that he, with the other commissioners, would never consent for any settlement to be made on lands where the Indians were living; that these lands were settled entirely against their wishes, and even without their knowledge.

After this, Mr. Logan (by a petition presented to Governor Keith by the Dutch (*i.e., the Germans*) settled at Tulpyhockin goes on to prove that merely by the authority of Governor Keith and no one else "Those foreigners (namely the Dutch) (*Germans*) had been encouraged to invade these lands (at Tulpyhockin) to the manifest injury of the Proprietor, and to the great abuse of the Indians, who, at that very time were living there, and had their corn destroyed by those people's creatures."

Then turning to the Indians, "He desired that although these people had seated themselves on the Tulpyhockin lands without the Commissioners' permission or consent, yet that they would not offer them any violence, or injure them, but wait until such time as that matter could be adjusted."

As the Governor had examined Civility \* and the Conestogo Indians about the murder that was committed at John Burt's, so likewise he enquired of them whether they had heard about it, and whether the Indians who committed the murder belonged to them.

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\* An Indian chief called by that name.  
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They said they had heard of it but it was not done by any of their people, but by some of the Minissink Indians.

The Governor then asked them where those of that Nation lived, and under what chief.

To which they answered, That the Minissinks lived at the Forks of the Susquehanna above Meehayomy, and that their king's name was Kindassowa.

Thus we see that the Minissinks are quite a distinct Nation from the Northern Delawares, of which Sassoonan was king, and consequently no lands of the former could be conveyed away by any grant from the latter.

As the boundaries between the Indians and the English are so fully ascertained in this Treaty, it was thought proper to be thus specific. Everything relating to land affairs are here so clearly stated, the Deed of Release so full and explicit, that for the future one would imagine no doubts could arise respecting lands; or, should any arise, they might easily be resolved.

By what is here said, it appears plain that the Delaware Indians can have no pretensions to the lands laying between the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers, from Duck Creek to the Lechay Hills below the Forks of the Delaware; and that the English at that time had no right or pretensions under Indian titles to any lands north of the said Lechay Hills; that all the deeds, formerly given by the Indians, were carefully examined, and the extent of the lands therein granted was fully ascertained, and all included, in the Deed of 1718.

It may not be amiss to mention here that the year before, when some persons wanted to take up lands in the Minissinks (which is in the Forks of the Delaware), Mr. Logan wrote to the surveyor of Bucks County to prevent it. Indeed, he would not permit any lands to even be surveyed on the Lechay Hills four miles above Durham, because they were not purchased from the Indians, unless the Indians previously agreed to part with it very reasonably.

This appears from the annexed copy of the letter, which has been compared with the original:

Philadelphia, 20 November, 1727

Friend Thomas Watson,

This morning I wrote to thee by Jacob Taylor concerning warrants that may be offered thee to be laid out on the Minissink lands, and was then of the opinion that the bearer hereof, Joseph Wheeler, proposed to lay his there.

Having since seen him, he tells me he has no such thought, but would have it laid three or four miles above Durham on a spot of pretty good land there, among the hills; and, I think, at some distance from the River, proposing, as he says, to live there himself with his kinsman who was here with him.

Please take the first opportunity to mention it to J. Langhorn; for, if he has no considerable objection to it (that is, if he has laid no right on it) I cannot see that we should make any other than that *it was not purchased from the Indians*, which is so material an evidence that, without their previous agreement to part with it very reasonably, it cannot be surveyed there.

But of this they themselves (I mean Joseph Wheeler, etc.,) propose to take care. This is what offers on this head from thy loving Friend,

James Logan.

## 1729

*(Comment: The King's committee on investigating the cause or causes of the Lenape uprising could easily have blamed the Indians for their lack of restraint regarding the abuse of alcoholic beverages. But, instead their conclusion was critical of the Governors and Proprietaries. "The (Indians) had nice promises made to them but no effective measures seem to have been taken."*

*The inference is that there was little or no attempt to restrain the alcohol merchants. Instead, the committee on investigation seems to be aware that the Governors and Proprietaries were fully aware of the vulnerability of the Indians and closed their eyes to what was happening, knowing that alcohol made the Indians easy victims to land-taking and profit-making schemes. Today we are told by the medical profession that more often than not alcoholism is the result of a chemical reaction that produces addiction.*

*It may also be helpful to remember that Europeans, with hundreds of years of exposure to alcoholic problems, still had a high record of drunkenness..*

*This section of their report implies that the King's investigators were becoming increasingly unimpressed with the pretended integrity of Governors and Proprietaries.*

- Donald R. Repsher)

*Treaty with the Conestogoes, etc., at Philadelphia*

In 1729, when the Conestogoes and Ganaway Indians came to return the Governor's visit, and to make him a present, the Shawanese did not come, having (as Civility said) unhappily spent all their provisions on Rum; for which reason they were obliged to stay at home and provide subsistence for their families.

However, they contributed their part of the present to be made, and desired that those who came would speak in their name.

At this treaty Tawenna, an aged Counselor, repeated the substance of several conferences which Mr. Penn (*William*) had held with the Indians. He had expressed the desire that love and friendship might always continue between the English and the Indians; and that what he had spoken to them might always be remembered.

He continued by saying that he was well pleased with all that had passed between us and them, but was apprehensive because some mischief might happen because of the great quantities of Rum which were daily carried among the Indians, who, being greedy for that liquor, were soon debauched by it and might then be easily stirred up to some unhappy or bad action.

Concluding his speech, Tawenna said that William Penn had told them he would not allow any large quantity of liquor to be brought among them, and that they could break open the barrels and spill them if they found any in the woods.

"But," Tawenna concluded, "at the present time several hogsheads of Rum are being brought to Conestogo and to several other places in their road, and near Indian settlements, by which means the Indians are tempted not only to sell their pelts but likewise their clothing for that liquor, and are thereby much impoverished."

To this Civility added that he was very uneasy lest any mischief should happen because of the great amount of Rum daily brought among them. His concern, he said, "was not so much for fear of any accident among the Indians themselves, for if one Indian should kill another we have many ways of dealing with such an event." But his uneasiness proceeded from an apprehension lest a Christian should be ill-used by any Indian intoxicated with liquor.

The Governor, in his answer, said that he was pleased to see them, and glad to find they remembered what William Penn had said to them. But regarding their complaint about the Government allowing Rum, many laws had been made against it but the Indians make all these laws of no effect. They will have it; they send their women for it to all places where it can be had. And he could make no laws against their drinking it; the Indians must make these laws for themselves. If their women would refuse to carry any, it would be more easy to eliminate the problem. "However," he said, "I shall endeavor to prevent its being carried in such large quantities."

This was commonly the case when the Indians complained. They had nice promises made to them but no effective measures seem to have been taken to redress the grievance.

*(Comment: Here is the little-known historical background behind the infamous Walking Purchase of 1737. William Allen (for whom Allentown, Pennsylvania, is named) began selling land in the Minissink area (also known as the Forks of the Delaware) before the Indians were even asked if they were willing to sell it. A lottery sold tickets for the land, hoping to raise money quickly to purchase the land, but did not sell enough; now people began moving in thinking their deeds were legally theirs. William Allen and the Proprietaries were in a real mess and they put together a scheme – the false Deed for a Walking purchase – to acquire the land regardless of the consequences to Indians, settlers or the British interest in preserving peace while the French were pushing hard at the western frontiers. – D. Repsher)*

#### *Meeting with the Shawanese at Philadelphia*

In 1731 the Governor, having received information that the Shawanese had been once or twice at Montreal to visit the French Governor, was apprehensive that the French were endeavoring to gain them over to their interest, and therefore sent to invite them to a Conference at Philadelphia.

In September 1732, Opakethwa and Opakeita, two Shawanese chiefs, accompanied by two others, came to Philadelphia.

Upon their arrival, the Governor asked them why they had gone so far away as the Allegheny or Ohio Rivers, and why they had been so often, recently to Canada?

To this they answered that they had formerly lived at Potomack, where their king died; that, upon his death, not knowing what to do, they took their wives and children and went over the mountains to live; that they had gone to Canada at the earnest invitation of the French Governor but without any intention of leaving their brethren the English or turn their backs upon them.

They were then reminded of their coming to Conestogo about 34 years before, and of the treaties they had entered into with this Government, and were informed that it was a matter of surprise that they should leave the Province without first informing the Governor. They were told that Thomas Penn, who was present, was not pleased they should travel to such a distance; that he wanted them to live near us; and to keep them from being in need of land there was a large tract laid out for them near Paxton, which would be always kept for them and their children for all time to come, or as long as any of them should continue to live with us.

To this they answered that they had heard of the land that was laid out for them, and that they would go and see the land, but the place where they are now suits them much better and is safer to live in. Nevertheless they were pleased with the land that was laid out for them, and wished that it might be procured for them.

The next day the Proprietor told them that he would send a surveyor to run lines about the land intended for them and that none but themselves and Peter Chartiers would be allowed to live on it.

But now to return to the Delawares.

We have seen, above, that the lands on the Delaware belonged to the Delawares, and that from them the Proprietor, or his agents, had at several times bought the lands between Duck Creek and the Leechay Hills. However, the white people, not confining themselves to these bounds, went over and settled on the Indian lands.

This gave the Indians uneasiness. They complained of the settlement at Tulpyhochin, and were persuaded not to molest the people that settled there but to wait till the matter could be adjusted. Having waited for some time without receiving any satisfaction for their land that was unjustly taken from them, and seeing further encroachments being made, they renewed their complaints so that in 1731 the Assembly took notice of them, went to the Governor, and expressed the desire that the Indians should be calmed down regarding their lands which they said were taken from them.

*From the Votes of the Assembly  
Vol. III, page 158*

In answer to this the Governor in his message to the Assembly said "Your concern that our own Indians should be calmed down, and those complaints be removed that they have made of the Christians settling on the lands they claim as their own, is wise and prudent and justified and, in compliance with your request, I shall not only ask the Proprietary Trustees to make a purchase from these Indians, but shall promote it by all the means in my power."

The Governor continued: "I understand that this has been delayed so long, solely in the expectation of the arrival of some of our Proprietors, who, as descendants of their late honorable father, for whose name all the Indians have the highest regard, would be the most proper to manage such an affair with his own financial resources.

"But as I am assured the gentlemen now working for them have all possible zeal and affection for the peace and true interest of the country, it is not to be questioned but that, when they are convinced of the necessity for it, they will proceed to the utmost length of their ability, as far as they can with safety to themselves, to answer your and my request in so important an affair."

Thus we see that both the Governor and Assembly think it just and reasonable, nay that it concerns the peace of the country, that the Indians should be pacified in regard to their lands, and that their complaints should be removed.

Nothing, however, was done in that affair until the arrival of the Proprietary Thomas Penn, Esquire, which was the following year (1733). Soon after his arrival a purchase was made of the lands at Tulpyhockin. This is proved by many living testimonies, although the deeds have not, as far as we can find, been recorded.

*Minissink lands illegally taken*

But at the same time the Indians were satisfied on the one hand, they were injured on the other. While they were paid for their lands on Tulpyhockin, they were very unjustly and forcibly dispossessed of their lands in the Forks of the Delaware.

At this very time Mr. William Allen \* was selling land in the Minissinks which had never been purchased from the Indians. Nay, this was nearly forty miles above the Leechay Hills, which was so solemnly agreed upon to be the boundary between the English and Indians.

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\* William Allen was one of the principal gentleman in Pennsylvania, and a great dealer in lands purchased from the Proprietaries.  
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Governor Penn had, by his last Will and Testament, given to his grandson William Penn and his heirs 10,000 acres of land to be located in proper and beneficial places in this Province by his Trustees. Mr. Allen purchased these 10,000 acres from William Penn the grandson, and by virtue of a Warrant or Order of the Trustees to Jacob Taylor the Surveyor-General to survey the said 10,000 acres, he had part of that land located or laid out in the Minissinks because it was good land – though it was not yet purchased from the Indians.

Had he contented himself with securing the right to himself, and allowed the lands to remain in the possession of the Indians till it had been duly purchased from them and paid for, no ill consequences would have ensued. But (probably supposing the matter might easily be accommodated by them in some

future treaty) no sooner was the land surveyed than he began to sell it to those who wanted to settle upon it immediately.

In William Allen's deeds to Nicholas Depue, dated 1733 and recorded in the Rolls-Office of Bucks County, it appears that one of the tracts he granted included a Shawanese town, and another was an island belonging to the same tribe of Indians which they called the Shawna Island.

About this time the Proprietor published proposals for a lottery of one hundred thousand acres of land which the fortunate winners would receive. According to the Fifth Article in the Proposals, they would be allowed to "Lay out anywhere within the Province, except on Manors, lands already surveyed or agreed on with the Proprietors or their agents, or that have been actually settled and improved before the date of these Proposals; provided nevertheless that such persons who are settled on lands without warrants for the same and may be entitled to prizes, either by becoming adventurers themselves or by purchasing prize tickets, may be at liberty to take their rights on the lands where they are so seated."

Accordingly, there was no provision for not selling lands unpurchased from the Indians. Instead there was an expressly stated promise on behalf of those who had already unjustly settled themselves there.

Again, in the last article, it is "farther agreed, that whereas several of the adventurers may be unacquainted with the proper places for locating the prizes they have been entitled to, several tracts of the best vacant lands shall be laid out and divided into lots for all prizes not less than 200 acres."

As a result, several tracts were laid out in the Forks of the Delaware and divided into lots, as above agreed. And although the Lottery did not readily sell enough tickets, and consequently was never drawn, yet so many tickets had been sold that they entitled ticket-holders to rights to the land and the tracts laid out in the Forks were quickly taken up and settled.

These transactions provoked the Indians. They saw themselves likely to be deprived of their lands without any consideration or remuneration. They complained loudly, and not only complained but began to threaten.

The Proprietor had two or three meetings with them, but the minutes of those meetings were never published. And finding that his efforts did not stop their outcries, he decided to try another method, which was to go to the deputies of the Five Nations who were expected to come to Philadelphia to complete the business of a treaty which some of their chiefs held with this Government in the year 1732, and complain that the Minissink Indians were treating the settlers unfairly.

## 1736

*(Comment ... The first paragraph concludes with these important and informative words: "No minutes were published." Again and again the minutes of the Proprietary Council, when James Logan was secretary and continuing when Reverend Richard Peters followed him in that office, were either not taken or else made unavailable to the King of England's committee on investigation. The committee was not fooled: things were done which the Proprietaries and their supporters wanted to keep hidden.*

*William Penn had been given the land fifty years before as payment on a debt which King Charles II owed to William Penn's father, and after William Penn died in 1718 his heirs were able to run the colony of Pennsylvania as their own personal possession and for their own self-interest.*

*Eager to make a profit, they sold tracts of land before even approaching the Indians to enquire if they were willing to sell. Settlers purchased lands from the Proprietors and land speculators like William Allen, not knowing that they were paying for land which had never been purchased from the Indians in the first place.*

*The report of the committee for investigation reveals that the Penns and their collaborators not only betrayed the Indians. They also betrayed the settlers; their own British government which suffered the consequences of having the Indians turn to the French (who were at war with England); they betrayed the Six Nations which were placed in the unenviable position of working for corrupt managers who were willing to turn a profit at anyone's expense; and ultimately they betrayed themselves because they lost all semblance of integrity. Richard Peters' biographer states that when Peters died on the eve of the American War for Independence he was so despised that the newspapers refused to even print his obituary. And his nephew, also named Richard Peters, became one of the respected leaders in the cause for American independence.*

*– D. Repsher)*

In 1736 the deputies of the Five Nations arrived in Philadelphia.

We are informed by the Treaty of 1742 that a complaint was made against the Delawares to the Six Nations in 1736. But in what terms the complaint was made, or what notice the deputies from the Six Nations took of it, we are at a loss to say, as no minutes were published on that affair.

Indeed, the Minutes published of the Treaty of 1736 are so imperfect that they only serve to show that a great deal was transacted, and much was said, of which little or no notice was taken and over which a veil seems to be cast.

*Deed of release for Indian purchase,  
October 11, 1736*

We are only told that the most part of a week had been spent in discussing with the Proprietor about the purchase of lands, and that the Indians had signed releases to him for all the lands lying between the mouth of the Susquehanna and Keitachtaninius (Kittatinny) Hills.

By the deed itself it appears that the extent of the land eastward was "as far as the heads of the branches or springs which run into the said Susquehanna River" and therefore did not interfere with the rights of the Delawares, who claimed the lands lying upon the waters that flow into the Delaware River.

As matters of land were passed over almost in silence, so likewise were the Indians' complaints regarding our traders.

No notice is taken of the Delawares except in the speech which Mr. Logan, at that time the president, afterwards made to them. Nor would we have known they complained had Mr. Logan not mentioned it.

"You have wanted us," said he to the deputies of the Six Nations, "to recall our traders from the Ohio or Allegheny Rivers, and the branches of the Susquehanna, but we do not know what you mean by asking us to recall them. You know that the Indians cannot live without being supplied with our goods; they must have powder and lead to hunt, and clothes to keep them warm, and if our traders do not carry them, others will come in from Virginia, Maryland, the Jerseys, and other places. And we are sure that you do not want the Indians trading with those people instead of with ours.

Mr. Logan continued: "The traders of all nations find the Indians so universally fond of Rum that they will not do any trading without it. We have made many laws against carrying it. We have given the Indians permission to break the kegs of all that is brought among them, but the woodlands do not have easily-located streets like Philadelphia and the paths that are in the woodlands are so endless that the traders cannot be stopped, and the Rum will be carried from one country to another."

"If," replied the Indians, "the woods are dark and it is impossible to prevent Rum from being carried to the Allegheny River, you had better hinder any persons going there at all, and confine your traders to the Susquehanna River and its branches. Because Indian warriors continually pass by the Allegheny, where so

much Rum is constantly to be had, we fear that some mischief may happen, and the thought of this often troubles us."

In answer to this the Indians were told that the traders could not be prevented from going where they might best dispose of their goods, and that the best measures in our power would be taken to hinder them from carrying Rum in such quantities. It was hoped that the Indians would give strict orders to their warriors to be cautious and prudent so that all kinds of mischief might be prevented.

It has been remarked above that the lands granted by the deputies of the Five Nations lay only along the waters that run into the Susquehanna River. This was not enough to give anyone the right to settle upon the lands in the Forks of the Delaware.

Therefore, to allow for further discussions, some of the Indians who remained in town (after the kind treatment they had met with and the large presents they received) were induced, eleven days after the public treaty negotiations were ended, and fourteen days after the date of the first deed, to sign a piece of writing, declaring that "their intention and meaning, by the former deed, was to release all lands lying within the bounds and limits of the Government of Pennsylvania, beginning eastward on the River Delaware, as far northward as the said Ridge of Endless Mountains as they cross the country of Pennsylvania from the eastward to the west."

With respect to this writing it should be noted that because the Five Nations claimed no right to the lands on the Delaware River they could, by the above treaty, convey none.

They only claimed the lands on the Susquehanna River. And it was for this reason that they said in the Treaty: "If Civility at Conestego should attempt to make a sale of any lands to us, or any of our neighbors, they must let us know that he has no authority to do so and that, if he does anything of the kind, the Indians will utterly disown him."

But nothing like this was said of the Delawares, even though it was well known to the Five Nations that the Delawares tried to sell lands to the English and had but a short time before sold the Tulpyhockin lands.

But, even if the Five Nations would have had the right to sell those lands, yet can it be supposed that they would release that right without any remuneration? The extent of land taken in by the last instrument of writing is evidently double that described in the first deed, yet for this additional grant there is no remuneration that was paid.

## **1737**

### **The "Walking Purchase"**

The Proprietor himself did not seem to think he had a right to these lands without a release from the Delawares. Therefore, in 1737, he had a meeting with Monokykickan, Lappawinzoe, Tishekunk and Nutimus, chiefs of the Delaware Indians, at which time he prevailed upon them to sign a release by means of which he thought he might gain what he wanted.

We have no minutes of that conference or treaty.

But, in the Preamble of the Release then granted, it is said that Tishekunk and Nutimus had about three years before (*in 1734*) begun a Treaty at Durham with John and Thomas Penn; after that another meeting was scheduled for Pennsbury the next Spring, to which they went with Lappawinzoe and several other of the Delaware Indians; and that at this meeting (*in 1735*) several deeds were showed to them for several tracts of land which their forefathers had, more than fifty years before, sold to William Penn.

In particular, there was one deed from Maykeerikkisho, Sayhoppey and Taughbaughsey, the chiefs or kings of the northern Indians along the Delaware River, who for a certain quantity of goods had granted to William Penn a tract of land, as follows:

Beginning on a line drawn from a certain Spruce Tree on the River Delaware by a west-north-west course to Neshameny Creek;

From there back into the woods as far as a man could go in a day and a half and bounded on the west by the Neshameny Creek, or the most westerly branch thereof, as far as the said branch extends;

And from there back to the River Delaware, and so down the course of the River to the first mentioned Spruce Tree.

And this appeared to be true according to the testimony of William Biles and Joseph Wood, who upon their affirmation did declare that they well remembered the Treaty held by the agents of William Penn and those Indians. \*

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\* *Query*: Does remembering that there was a Treaty prove the execution of a deed at that Treaty? *Joseph Wood's* name is given as evidence that the Paper produced was a copy of the Deed of 1686; but why then did he not prove there was such a sale made or Deed given?  
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Because some of the old men of the Delawares were absent, they asked Mr. John Penn and Mr. Thomas Penn to give them more time to consult with their people concerning this Treaty. This request (*made in 1735*) was granted.

Then, after more than two years since the Treaty at Pennsbury, they were now come to Philadelphia, with their Chief Monokyhickan and several other old men, and upon a former Treaty held upon the same subject, acknowledged themselves satisfied that the above described Tract was granted by the persons above mentioned.

For this reason, Monokyhickan, Lappawinzoe, Tishekunk, and Nutimus agreed to release to the Proprietors all rights to that tract of land; and agreed that it might be walked, traveled, or gone over by persons appointed for that purpose.

It will, no doubt, appear strange that no notice was taken of the Deed of 1718, and that Sassoonan the Delaware king, with whom the Treaty of 1728 was held, although still alive, was not present at any of these meetings.

But the reason was plain: the Deed of 1718 fixed the boundaries so securely that no advantage could be taken of it. And had Sassoonan been there, he might have obstructed their plans. For, if he had doubted the existence of the Proprietaries deed, he might have objected that the evidence of persons declaring that they remembered a meeting was held to make a Treaty (for that is all that William Biles and Joseph Wood said) did not prove that a Treaty with a consequent Deed was granted.

And he might have called upon them to prove it by the evidence of those who were witnesses to the execution of it. Or, had he admitted the existence of that Deed, he might have insisted that it was fully considered at the Treaty in 1718, and that the Tract therein described had already been walked out, and was included in the Deed granted in 1718.

And how these objections would have been answered is hard to say.

He would, no doubt, have asked them to remember that their recent purchase of the lands on Tulpyhockin was a further confirmation on their part of the boundaries agreed to in the Deed of 1718, because thereby the Proprietaries admitted that the Oley Hills (which are a continuation of the Lechay

Hills) were the northernmost extent of any claim the Proprietors could make under any former Indian purchases.

It was therefore necessary, in order that things might be carried on quietly, that the Deed of 1718 should be passed over in silence, and that Sassoonan should not be present, nor any of those who had signed that Deed.

If it is asked what advantage could be gained by getting the Deed of 1686 confirmed, we shall easily see by an account of the Walk, and of the advantage taken by the blanks in the Deed of Release.

The account of the Walk shall now be given in the words of the persons who were eye-witnesses, as written and signed by them.

*Testimony of Thomas Furniss*

The testimony which Thomas Furniss, saddler, gives concerning the day-and-a-half Walk made between the Proprietors of Pennsylvania and the Delaware Indians, by James Yeates and Edward Marshall:

"At the time of the Walk I was a dweller at Newton, and a near neighbor to James Yeates. My location gave James Yeates an easy opportunity for acquainting me with the time of setting out, as it did me of hearing the different sentiments of the neighborhood concerning the Walk, some alleging it was to be made by the River, others that it was to be traveled along a straight line from somewhere in Wrights-Town, opposite to a spruce tree upon the River's bank, said to be a boundary to a former purchase.

"When the walkers and the company started I was a little behind, but was informed that they proceeded from a Chestnut tree near the turning out of the road from Durham Road to John Chapman's; and being on horseback, overtook them before they reached Buckingham, and kept company with them for some distance beyond the Blue Mountains, though not quite to the end of the journey.

"Two Indians also went with them, whom I considered to be deputies appointed by the Delaware Nation, to see that the Walk was honestly performed. One of them repeatedly expressed his dissatisfaction.

"The first day of the Walk, before we reached Durham Creek, where we dined in the meadows of one Wilson, an Indian trader, the Indian said the Walk was to have been made up the River, and complained of the unfitness of his shoes for such a journey as they were taking, saying that Thomas Penn should have made him a present of some shoes.

"After this some of us that had horses walked and let the Indians ride by turns. Yet in the afternoon of that same day, and some hours before sunset, the Indians left us, having often called to Marshall that afternoon to forbid him to run.

"At their parting they appeared dissatisfied and said they would go no further with us; for, as they saw that the walkers would pass all the good land, they did not care how far or where we went.

"It was said we traveled twelve hours the first day. And since it was in the latter end of September, or beginning of October, to complete the time we were obliged to walk in the twilight.

"Timothy Smith, who was Sheriff of Bucks County, held his watch in his hand for some minutes before we stopped, and because the walkers had a piece of rising ground to ascend, he called out to them, telling the number of minutes they were behind, and told them to stop; which they did so quickly that, as soon as the sheriff said the time was up, Marshall clasped his arms around a sapling to support himself. And when the Sheriff asked him what his problem was, he said he was almost gone and that, if he had gone a few steps further he would have fallen.

"We lodged in the woods that night, and heard the shouting of the Indians at a Cantio which they were said to be having that evening in a nearby town.

"Next morning the Indians were sent for, to learn if they would accompany us any further, but they declined, although I believe some of them came to us before we started and drank a dram with our group, and then straggled off about their hunting or some other amusement.

"Upon our return we came through this same Indian town or plantation. Timothy Smith and I were riding about forty yards ahead of the rest of us, and as we approached within about 150 paces of the town, the woods being cleared, we saw an Indian take a gun in his hand and advancing toward us for some distance he placed himself behind a log that lay near our path.

"Timothy, observing his motions and being somewhat surprised, looked at me and asked what I thought the Indian meant by his actions. I said that I hoped it would be no harm, and that I thought it best to keep on. When the Indian saw this he arose and walked before us to the settlement. I think Timothy Smith was surprised – I well remember that I was – through an awareness that the Indians were dissatisfied with the Walk, something all of us seemed to be sensible of. And upon the way as we were returning home, we frequently expressed this among ourselves.

"And indeed, the unfairness practiced in the Walk, both in regard to the way in which it went and the manner in which it was done, and the dissatisfaction of the Indians concerning it, were the common subjects of conversation in our neighborhood for some considerable time after it was done.

"When this Walk was performed I was a young man in the prime of life. The novelty of the thing inclined me to be a spectator. And as I had been brought up most of my time in Burlington, the whole transaction to me was a series of occurrences almost entirely new, and which therefore made the most strong and lasting impression on my memory."

- Thomas Furniss

*Joseph Knowles' account of the said walk  
is as follows:*

"June 30, 1757, I, Joseph Knowles, living with Timothy Smith at the time of the day-and-a-half walk with the Indians (Timothy Smith being at that time the Sheriff for Buck's County) do say that I went some time ahead of the walkers to carry the chair and help to clear the road, as I was directed to do by my uncle, Timothy Smith.

"When the Walk was performed I was then present, and carried provisions, liquors, and bedding.

"About sunrise we set out from John Chapman's corner at Wrights-town and traveled until we came to the Forks of the Delaware. As near as I can remember it was about one-of-the-clock on that same day. The Indians began to look sullen, and murmured that the men walked too fast, and several times that afternoon they called out and said to them, 'You are running; that's not fair; you were to walk!'

"The men appointed to walk paid no regard to the Indians, but were urged by Timothy Smith and the rest of the Proprietor's party to proceed until the sun was down.

"We were near the Indian town in the Forks. The Indians would not allow us to go into the town with the excuse that they were having a Cantico. We slept in the woods that night.

"Next morning, because it was dull, rainy weather, we set out by the watches; and two of the three Indians who walked the day before came and traveled with us about two or three miles and then left us, being very much dissatisfied. We proceeded by the watches until noon.

"The above I am willing to take an oath by any time when desired. Witness my signature, the day and year said above."



which had been long ago purchased from them and since conveyed by the Proprietaries to some of our own inhabitants, and for its future security in case of a war with the French.”

The truth of the matter is this:

The Minisink and Forks Indians saw themselves unjustly dispossessed of their lands. Nutimus and others who had signed the release of 1737 saw themselves cheated. They were therefore not willing to quit the lands, nor give quiet possession to people who were swarming in and taking land and settling in the Forks of the Delaware.

These Indians had complained about the Walk, as we have seen. But no regard was paid to their complaints. So now they proceeded to other measures. They got letters written to the Governor and Mr. Langhorne, a magistrate, of Bucks County, in which they accused the Proprietors of a great deal of misuse of freedom, remonstrated against the injustice that was done to them, and declared their resolution to maintain the possession of their lands by force of arms.

This alarmed the Proprietor, who in 1741 sent Shicalamy (a Six Nation Indian who resided at Shamokin) to the Six Nations to request them to come to Philadelphia. It was well known that the Six Nations had great authority over the Delawares; it was therefore thought sufficient to enlist them to impose their authority and force the Delawares to quit the Forks of the Delaware.

*Treaty at Philadelphia, 1742*

Accordingly, when the deputies of the Six Nations came to Philadelphia in 1742, the Governor told them: “The last time the chiefs of the Six Nations were here they were informed that their Cousins, a branch of the Delawares, gave this Province some disturbance about the lands which the Proprietors had purchased from them, and for which their ancestors had received a valuable remuneration more than fifty-five years ago, as appears by a deed now lying on the table.

Some time after this, Conrad Weiser delivered to Thomas Penn their letter, where they requested him and James Logan not to buy any land, etc., and that this had been shown to the Delawares and interpreted.

“Nevertheless they had continued their disturbances, and had the insolence to write letters to some magistrates of this Government wherein they abused the worthy Proprietaries and treated them with the utmost rudeness and ill manners. Being reluctant, out of regard for the Six Nations, to punish the Delawares as they deserved, he (the Governor) had sent two messengers to inform them that deputies of the Six Nations were expected here and would be reminded of their bad behavior.

“And since the Six Nations on all occasions requests this Government to remove all white people who are settled on lands before they have purchased them, and since this Government forcefully moves such people off, \* so now he expects from the Six Nations that they will cause these Indians to move from the lands in the Forks of the Delaware and not give any further disturbance to the persons who are now in possession.”

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\* *(About a dozen settlers west of the Susquehanna had been chased off and their cabins burned by Government troops. Now the Six Nations are asked to return the favor by forcibly removing entire Indian villages. – D. Repsher)*

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And this he emphasized by laying down a string of Wampum, according to Indian custom.

Then were read several conveyances, the paragraph of the letters written by the chiefs of the Six Nations relating to the Delawares, the letters of the Forks of the Delaware Indians to the Governor and to Mr. Langhorne, and a draft of the land.

When this complaint was made Sassoonan, the chief with whom the Treaty of 1728 was held, was present, as well as Nutimus, one of those who had signed the Release of 1737. So was Nutimus, one of those who had signed the release of 1737. But it does not appear that they were allowed to make any defense or to say anything for their own vindication.

Had there been any desire to do justice to the Delawares, or to preserve the friendship of those who from the earliest settlement of the Province had been kind neighbors and friends, they would have been allowed to speak for themselves and provide their reasons for refusing to quit the lands.

But then the doing of this might have shown the iniquity of the Walk and other unfair advantages taken by the Proprietaries, and might have brought back the boundaries to the Lechay Hills which was the place agreed upon in the Deed of 1718 and the Treaty of 1728. And these were very well known by the commissioners of the Proprietaries, as appears from Mr. Logan's letter (already quoted) and from the purchase which the same gentleman and company made from the Indians about the year 1729 of a tract of land near Durham.

In this case it might then have cost the Proprietaries three or four hundred pounds more to purchase the lands in the Forks (if the Indians there would have been willing to dispose of those lands). Or, if the Indians had refused that offer, it might have been difficult to remove the people who had settled there and to return the money they had paid the Proprietaries for the land they had settled in.

Besides, some private persons (as we have seen above) \* were carving out very large estates by getting the good lands in the Forks surveyed for them by virtue of old rights which they had purchased. And because it does not always happen that peace and tranquility is preferred above private interests, these people might be unwilling to give up their rights unless the Proprietaries would give them some suitable compensation.

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\* *(This could have been the unnamed "gentleman" who had purchased 10,000 acres of undesignated land several years before. – D. Repsher)*  
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For these and other reasons, therefore, it was judged best to call in the assistance of the Six Nations, and to remind them of other occasions when they claimed a right to sell land belonging to the Delawares, because they had been conquered by the Six Nations.

And lastly, by means of a considerable present which the Province of Pennsylvania might be persuaded to give them, to enlist them to "cause the Indians to move from their lands in the Forks of the Delaware and not to give any further disturbance to the persons who were then in possession."

Accordingly, on the second day after receiving a present from the Province to the value of three hundred pounds (and how much more from the Proprietor himself is uncertain), Canassatego, in the name of the deputies, told the Governor: "We see that the Delawares have been an unruly people and were altogether in the wrong. We have therefore decided to remove them, and compel them to go across the Delaware River and quit all the claims to any lands on this side for the future, because they have been and it has gone through their guts long ago."

Then addressing the Delawares he said:

"You deserve to be taken by the hair of the head and shaken severely, until you recover your senses and become sober. I have seen with my eyes a Deed signed more than fifty years ago by nine of your ancestors for this very land, and a Release signed not many years ago by some of you and your chiefs who were still living, to the number of fifteen and more."

"But how came you," he continued, "to take it upon yourselves to sell any lands at all? We conquered you. We made women of you. You know you are women and can have no more right than women to sell land. Nor should you have any right to sell lands, since you would abuse it. This land that you claim has

gone through your guts. You have been furnished with clothes, meat, and drink, by the goods paid to you for it, and now you want it back again like the children you are.

“But what makes you sell lands and keep us in the dark? Did you ever tell us that you had sold this land? Did we ever receive any part of what you had been paid, or even received so much as the value of a pipe-stem? You told us a lie, saying that you sent a messenger to us to inform us of the sale. He never came among us. Nor have we ever heard anything about it from anyone else. This is keeping us in the dark, and very different from the conduct that our Six Nations observe in the sales of land. On such occasions we give public notice and invite all the Indians of our united nations, and give all of them a share of the present we receive for their lands. This is the behavior of the wise united nations.

“But we find you are none of our blood. You act dishonestly, not only in this but also in other matters. Your ears are forever open to slanderous reports about your brethren!

“For all these reasons we demand that you remove yourselves and your people instantly. We will not give you the liberty to even think about it. You are women. Take the advice of a wise man and leave these lands immediately. Go to the other side of the Delaware River from where you came, if you can; but we do not know whether, considering how you have demeaned yourselves, you will be permitted to live there. Maybe you have swallow that land down your throats as well as the land on this side of the River.

“We therefore assign you two places to go: either to Wyoming or Shamokin. You may go to either of these places. And then we shall have you under our eyes and shall see how you behave. Don't stop to deliberate. Remove yourselves and your people, and take this belt of Wampum along with you.”

After this he forbade them ever again to meddle in land affairs, or presume to sell any land. And then he commanded them to immediately depart from the Council because he had something to discuss privately with the English.

The Delawares dared not disobey this peremptory command. They therefore immediately left the Council, and soon after moved from the Forks of the Delaware. Some went to Shamokin and Wyoming, and some went to Ohio.

But although they did not dare to dispute the order, yet, when the present Troubles began in 1755, and they found the French ready to support them, they showed this Province of Pennsylvania, as well as the Six Nations, how much they resented the treatment they received in 1742. They took a severe revenge on the Province by laying waste their frontiers and paid little regard to a menacing message which the Six Nations sent to them. Instead, they threatened to turn their arms against the Six Nations and at last forced them to acknowledge that they were Men – that is, a free and independent nation.

We see above that great emphasis is laid upon a Deed which is said to have been granted over fifty-five years before, the so-called Deed of 1686. Yet, though it is mentioned here as lying on the table, and although the Indian speaker says he had seen it with his own eyes, yet it is still questionable as to whether there really was such a Deed. It is certain that no such Deed is in existence now. Nor has it ever been recorded. For, at the Treaty at Easton in 1757, when the Indian King (*Teedyuscung*) demanded that the Deeds might be produced to prove that the Proprietors had owned the lands, and the Governor and his Council determined to follow the Proprietors' plans and justify their claims by the Deed of 1686 and the Release of 1737, they had no Deed of 1686 to produce. And instead they produced a writing, said to be a copy of that Deed but not attested nor even signed by anyone as a true copy.

Some of us have been ready to conclude that the charge brought by the Indian chief (*Teedyuscung*) at the Easton Treaty in 1756 is within justifiable grounds. He says that some lands were taken from him by fraud and forgery. And afterward, when called upon to explain what he means by these terms, he says “When one man had formerly the liberty to purchase lands, and he took a Deed from the Indians for it, and then died; and after his death his children forge a Deed like the true one, with the names of the same Indians in it, and thereby take lands from the Indians which they never sold; this is fraud.”

We also wonder, if there was such a Deed, why was it not recorded as well as the Release of 1737?

It may not be amiss to observe here the different manner in which the English and French treat the Indians. The English, in order to acquire their lands, drive them as far away as possible and do not seem to care what becomes of them as long as they can get them moved out of the way of their present settlements. The French, on the other hand, thinking they will never want their land in America, enjoy the friendship of the Indians and use everything in their power to draw as many into their alliance as possible. And to secure their affections, the French invite as many as can to come and live near them and make their towns as near the French settlements as they can.

By this means they have drawn off a great number of the Mohocks and other tribes of the Six Nations, and having settled them in towns along the banks of the St. Lawrence River, have so secured them to their interest that they can command more than six or seven hundred fighting men – which is more than Colonel Johnson has been able to raise in all the northern district, despite all his efforts.

But to return: In this Treat of 1742 the deputies of the Six Nations themselves complain that they are not well used with respect to the land still unsold by them.

“Your people,” they said to the Governor, “daily settle on our lands and spoil our hunting. We must insist on your removing them, because you know they have no right to settle north of the Kittochtinny Hills. In particular we renew our complaints against some of your people who settled at Juniata (a branch of the Susquehanna River) and along the banks of that river as far as Mahaniay. We want them immediately to be made to go off the land, for they do great damage to our cousins, the Delawares.” The deputies of the Six Nations also laid claim to some lands in Maryland and Virginia, which resulted in the Treaty at Lancaster in 1744.

As to the people settled at Juniata, the Governor said “Some magistrates were sent expressly to remove them;” and he thought none of them would presume to stay after that.

Here they interrupted the Governor and said: “These persons did not do their duty. Instead of removing the people they made surveys for themselves, and are now in league with the trespassers. We want more effective methods to be used, and more honest men employed.”

Which the Governor promised would be done.

## **1744**

### *Lancaster Treaty*

As a consequence of the claims which the Six Nations made for the lands south of this Province of Pennsylvania, letters were written to the Governors of Maryland and Virginia. They readily showed a willingness to come to any reasonable terms with the Six Nations regarding these lands, and decided to set a time and place for making a treaty with them.

But before this happened an unfortunate skirmish occurred in the back parts of Virginia between some of the Militia there and a party of Indian warriors of the Six Nations. To mend this breach the Governor of Pennsylvania offered his services, which was accepted by both parties.

Soon afterward Conrad Weiser was dispatched to Shamokin where he met the deputies from Onondago. The Grand Council of the Six Nations informed him that they were well pleased with the mediation of the Governor of Pennsylvania and that they would follow up on the invitation sent to them by the Governor of Maryland and meet him the following year.

After this the Deputy who was addressing himself to the Governor of Pennsylvania expressed the desire, in the name of the Six Nations, for the people who were settled on the Juniata River to be removed. "We have," he said, "given the River Juniata for a hunting-place to our cousins the Delaware Indians, and to our brethren the Shawanese. And we ourselves hunt there sometimes. We therefore want you to immediately, by force, to remove all those settlers who live on the said River Juniata."

It was agreed that Lancaster would be the place of meeting for the deputies from the Six Nations and commissioners from Virginia and Maryland, in June 1744. The Governor of Pennsylvania was also present.

When the meeting opened the Indians from the Six Nations complained that they had endured many inconveniences since the English had come among them, particularly from pen and ink work, of which they gave the following instance.

"When," they said, "our Brother Onas (i.e. William Penn) a long time ago went to Albany to buy the Susquehanna lands from us, our brother the Governor of New-York, who we thought did not have a good relationship with our Brother Onas, advised us not to sell any land to him because he would not make good use of it. And pretending to be our friend, the Governor of New-York advised us that in order to prevent Onas (*William Penn*) or any other person from imposing themselves on us, we would always have our land whenever we wanted it, if we put it into his hands."

They continued: "He also told us that he would keep it for our use. He would never open his hands to allow them to come in, but keep his hands closed. He would not, he said, part with any of it except at our request. Accordingly we trusted him and put our lands into his hands, and charged him to keep them safe for our use.

"But some time afterward he went to England and carried our land with him. And there he sold it to our brother Onas (*William Penn*) for a large sum of money. And when, at the request of our brother Onas we were of a mind to sell him some lands, he told us we had already sold the Susquehanna lands to the Governor of New-York, and that he had bought them from the Governor of New-York when he was in England. When Brother Onas understood how the Governor of New-York had deceived us, he very generously paid us for our lands all over again."

After this they proceeded to show the reasons for their claim to some lands in Virginia and Maryland.

With regard to Maryland they acknowledged the purchases which the Marylanders had made of the Conestogo Indians to be just and valid. But they alleged that the lands on the Potomack, which they also claim, are not situated within the boundaries set by those deeds and therefore remain to be purchased. And because they had conquered the Conestogoes, they insisted that the purchases be made through them.

Canassatego, the Indian speaker, further said: "Since the three governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania had divided the lands among them, we could not tell how much each had received; nor are we concerned about it as long as we are paid by all the Governors for the several parts each one possesses. And we leave this to your honor and justice."

Replying to this, the commissioners of Maryland said that although they could not admit the right of the Six Nations to these lands, yet they wanted to live in brotherly love and affection with the Six Nations. Therefore, if the Six Nations would give them a release in writing for all their claims to any lands in Maryland, they would compensate them to the value of three hundred pounds currency. \*

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\* (*Comment: Three hundred pounds for all the lands claimed by the Six Nations in Maryland is the same amount given by the Provincial Governor of Pennsylvania to Cannassatego for his infamous speech to the Lenape chiefs in 1742. And this did not include what Canassatego was given by the Penn Proprietaries. – D. Repsher*)

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The deputies of the Six Nations agreed to this, and a Deed of Release was made out accordingly.

The lands in Virginia, which the Indians claimed, lay south of the Potomack and west of a high ridge of mountains that extended along the frontier settlements of Virginia. The commissioners of Virginia, after disputing the rights and claims of the Six Nations, offered them a quantity of goods worth two hundred pounds in gold, on condition that they immediately make a Deed recognizing the King's right to all the lands that are or shall be, by his Majesty's appointment, in the Colony of Virginia.

The Indians agreed to this, only desiring that their case might be represented to the King, in order to have a further remuneration when the settlements increased much further back. To which the commissioners agreed; and, for a further security that they would make this representation to the King, they promised to give the deputies a writing under their hands and seals to that purpose.

Accordingly the Deed was signed and everything settled to everyone's mutual satisfaction

At this Treaty the Indian deputies told the Governor of Pennsylvania that the Conoy (called in former Treaties Ganaway) Indians had informed them that they had sent him a message some time before to inform him that they were ill used by the white people in the place where they had lived, and that they had come to a resolution to move to Shamokin and requested some small remuneration for their land. And since they had never received any answer from him, they desired the Six Nations to speak on their behalf. They therefore recommended their case to his generosity.

To this the Governor answered that he well remembered the coming down of one of the Conoy Indians with a Paper, setting forth that the Conoys had come to a resolution to leave the land reserved for them by the Proprietaries, but that the messenger had made no complaint of ill usage from the white people.

The Governor further said that he had not yet heard from the Proprietors about that arrangement, but from the favor and justice they had always shown to the Indians they are assured the Proprietors will do everything that can be reasonably expected from them in that case. \*

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\* *(Comment: In view of the evidence of conniving between the Penn Proprietors and the Provincial Governors at this period of time, I question if we can believe anything which the Governors might have said. – D. Repsher)*  
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Some time before this Treaty, one John Armstrong, an Indian trader, and two of his men, had been murdered by a Delaware Indian, and his merchandise carried off. There were three Indians present when this happened, but only one had committed the murder. Upon learning of this, Sheckalamy and the Shamokin Indians had two of the three apprehended and sent down to the English. But the Indians who were in charge of them, finding that one was innocent, gave him an opportunity to escape. The other was carried to Philadelphia and put in prison.

The Governor, therefore, now informed the Six Nation Deputies of what had been done, and told them to use their authority so that the two other Indians who had been present at the murder would be seized and delivered to be tried with the principal Indian involved who was now in custody. And he promised that if, upon examination, they were found innocent, they would be sent safely home.

The Indians from the Six Nations replied by telling the Governor that they had heard of what was done and in their journey here had a conference with the Delawares about it, and reproved them severely. They additionally promised that upon their return they would renew their reproofs and hold the Delawares responsible for sending down some of their chiefs with these two young men (but not as prisoners), to be examined by him. And they said they thought that, upon examination, he would not find them guilty; and they relied on his justice not to do them any harm but permit them to return in safety.

Accordingly some of the Delaware chiefs came down to Philadelphia in October following, and brought with them the two young men, who, after being examined and found innocent, were dismissed.

*Source: "Votes of the Assembly,"  
Volume III, page 555*

By the message which the Governor sent to the Assembly immediately after his return from Lancaster, it appears that the Shawanese had been endeavoring to draw the Delawares from Shamokin to Ohio. And it was whispered among the Six Nations that, if the Six Nations were obliged to take part in the war between the English and the French, they would have the Shawanese, and perhaps the Delawares also, opposing them.

This shows there was some estrangement between the Delawares and Six Nations, notwithstanding the outward show of friendship, and that the Delawares only wanted a favorable opportunity to throw off the yoke. In fact, they have since done exactly that – to avenge themselves of the insults they had received from Canassetego two years before.

There is one paragraph in the Governor's report to the Assembly which deserves strict attention. "I cannot," said the Governor, "be anything but apprehensive 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 spiritous liquors among them and take advantage of the inordinate appetite of the Indians in order to cheat them of their animal pelts and wampum (which is their money). And often these same traders debauch their wives in the bargain.

"Is it to be wondered at then, that when they recover from their drunken fits they should take some severe vengeance?"

"If I am rightly informed," the Governor's report to the Assembly continued, "similar abuses by traders in New-England were the principal causes of the Indian wars there, and finally obliged the Government to take the trade into its own hands. This is a matter that well deserves your attention, and perhaps will soon require us to take the trade into our own hands."

It would be too shocking to describe in detail the conduct and behavior of the traders when they are among the Indians. And it would be endless to enumerate all the abuses the Indians have received from the traders over a series of years. Suffice it to say that several of the tribes at last became weary of bearing this.

And since these traders were persons who were representative of the character of the English in the mind of the Indians, and by whom the Indians judged our manners and religion, they conceived such invincible prejudices against both our manners and our religion, and particularly against our holy religion, that when Mr. Sergeant, a gentleman in New-England, took a journey in 1741 to the Shawanese and other tribes who were living along the Susquehanna River and offered to instruct them in the Christian religion, they rejected his offer with disdain.

They reproached Christianity. They told him that the traders would lie, cheat, and debauch their women – and even their wives – if their husbands were not at home.

Moreover, these Shawanese and other tribes added that the Senecas had given them their country and commanded them never to receive Christianity from the English.

**1749**

*Source: "Hopkin's Memoirs"  
Relating to the Housatunnuk Indians,*

*Pages 90 and following*

We shall pass over the Treaty of 1747, held at Philadelphia with the Ohio Indians, at which they complained that the English had engaged them in a war with the French and left them to fight it out themselves. We will also pass over the Lancaster Treaty of 1748, at which the Twightwees (a powerful nation from Ohio) entered into an alliance with the English. Instead, we will proceed to 1749, a treaty meeting at Philadelphia with some deputies from the Senecas.

These had been sent to meet some other chiefs from each of the Six Nations who had been appointed by the Grand Council at Onondago to go to Philadelphia on some affairs of importance. Coming at the time appointed to the place of rendezvous, and having arrived there, they awaited in vain for the arrival of the other deputies for some time and finally agreed to proceed to Philadelphia by themselves.

"One of the most important points," said their speaker to the Governor, "which induced the Council to send deputies at this time was that they had heard the white people had begun to settle on their side of the Blue Mountains. And we, the deputies of the Senecas, staying so long at Wyoming, had an opportunity for enquiring into the truth of this information and to our surprise found the story confirmed – with this addition, that even this Spring, since the new Governor's arrival, numbers of families were beginning to make settlements."

Their speaker continued: "As our boundaries are so well known, and so remarkably distinguishable by a range of high mountains, we could not suppose this was done by mistake. Either it was done wickedly by bad people without the knowledge of the Government or else the new Governor has brought some instructions from the King or the Proprietaries relating to this affair, whereby we are likely to be hurt very much."

He concluded: "Will the Governor please tell us whether he has brought any orders from the King or the Proprietaries for these people to settle on our lands? And if not, we earnestly desire that they may be made to move instantly with all their effects, to prevent the sad consequences which will otherwise follow."

These deputies also renewed the demands of the Conoy Indians for some satisfaction on account of the land they had left behind when they went to settle on the Juniata River. We have seen that the Indians do not easily give up a right; and these Conoys had engaged the deputies of the Six Nations to represent their case to Governor Thomas, who told them he had not heard from the Proprietors about this, but they might be assured that the Proprietors would do everything that could reasonably be expected from them. Now they got the Senecas to renew their demand to the newly-arrived Governor Hamilton.

In answer to the speech of the Indian chief, the Governor acknowledged that the settling of these people on the Juniata River was contrary to the agreements of this Government to the Indians. He also acknowledged that he had received no orders from his Majesty the King, or the Proprietors, in favor of these settlers. Nor did they have any permission from the Government. Therefore, every effort would be made on his part to bring the offenders to justice and to prevent all future cause of complaint.

With respect to the Conoys he let them know that he was informed by the Proprietary Officers that this land, for which the Conoys demanded remuneration, was not reserved out of the Grant of the Lands sold by the Six Nations; and that their living there was only a favor, or indulgence, of the Proprietor.

He also told the deputies that the Six Nations had frequently wanted the Proprietaries not to give money to any tributary Indian nations for land. And since the Conoys are a tributary nation, the Six Nations would have a good reason to find fault with the Proprietaries if they paid anything to the Conoys, especially since they had already given to the Six Nations a valuable remuneration for that same land. Thus, besides losing a few pounds of currency, they would lose the affection of the entire Indian tribe.

At the departure of these deputies the Governor, considering that the Province of Pennsylvania had been put to some expense by their visit, told them that if they met the other deputies they should inform them what had been done here and persuade them to return.

Accordingly the Senecas, returning, met the other deputies and informed them as the Governor had desired. However, these other deputies determined to proceed to Philadelphia and obliged the Senecas to return with them.

Upon learning of this, the Governor sent a hasty message to Conrad Weiser, the Provincial Interpreter, asking him to "try all possible methods to divert them from continuing on their journey to Philadelphia."

*Source: Conrad Weiser's letter to Secretary Peters,  
August 6, 1749*

Hereupon Conrad Weiser immediately set out to meet them, and was surprised to see over two hundred, mostly men. He stood at a distance like a stranger for over a quarter of an hour, to signify that he was not well pleased.

At last he was obliged to shake hands with some of them. He then sat down with Canassatego, the chief speaker, and asked him where he was going with such a number of Indians.

Canassatego told him that he could hardly be at a loss to know where they were going after receiving the message he had sent to him.

Mr. Weiser replied that when the message was sent he had not yet met the Seneca chiefs who, having already been at Philadelphia and did what was to be done. Therefore, Mr. Weiser said, another journey to Philadelphia was unnecessary.

Canassatego's answer was that he had since met the Seneca chiefs and had brought them back with him. And everything was not done that should have been done. And since he had come this far with the deputies of the Six United Nations he could not return before he had gone to Philadelphia.

Conrad Weiser told him that he should have left the Shamokin and other Susquehanna Indians behind.

The day after that he had another conference with Canassatego and others, in which he told them that he thought it would be imprudent for them to go to Philadelphia with such a large number of people who had no business there except to get drunk.

He added that because there was so many of them they could not expect to get enough food for everybody; that among the white people everything was sold; and the money by which provisions were purchased was a free gift given by the inhabitants. And since the Seneca deputies had already been to Philadelphia with a good number of other Indians not long ago, at great expense to the people, he thought that going again was unnecessary.

At least, he said, they must not expect to receive any presents unless they had something else to do about which he did not know. He added that they remembered very well that when they had gone to Philadelphia before, they had been invited. And when they received large presents it was for some land which the Proprietors had paid for. And, he added, they ought to know that the great number of good-for-nothing people who were with them made their case even worse.

By this speech, Mr. Weiser told Mr. Peters in his letter, he thought that he had greatly offended the Indians. This is certainly not to be wondered at. The Indians were very sensitive about the services they had done for the English during the recent war with the French. They had served the English as a substitute for forts and guards against the incursions of the French and their Indian allies. How much it therefore must have displeased them the end of the war to meet with such a cold reception!

As a consequence of this speech the Indian chiefs immediately held a Council where they debated for a considerable time what to do. Some proposed to go home again. However, at last, regardless of all that Conrad Weiser could say to the contrary, it was agreed to proceed to Philadelphia.

Accordingly the deputies of the Six Nations, accompanied by some Mohickans, Tutelas, Delawares, and Nanticokes – in all, 280 – set forward and arrived in Philadelphia about the 14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> of August, 1749.

On their arrival the Governor paid them a visit. And on the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the month, a day appointed for a public conference, they met and after everybody had taken their seats Canassatego the chief speaker arose and addressed the Governor, the Council, and all the people of Pennsylvania. He reminded them of the friendship that had long endured between the English and the Indians. He said that the Treaties had established a good road between his people and the people of Pennsylvania.

Because of the war, he went on to say, it had been some time since he and his people had used the trail they had so frequently traveled on. But now they had come to pay a visit and, as was their custom after a long absence, to renew their pledges (or, as they say, to brighten the Chain of Friendship). This was now necessary, he said, because they had something to communicate of a disagreeable nature.

After this he asked us to remember that the Indians were a country on the frontier between our enemy and ourselves, and had been our guards and protectors. And things had been managed so well that the war had been kept from our doors, even though the Indians themselves had been exposed to many calamities and blood had been shed among them.

Yet, he continued in his address to the people, his people had not troubled us with any account of their hardships during all of this war. And nothing had happened that had lessened their friendship for us. Having now the time, they had come to pay a brotherly visit and hoped their coming would be agreeable.

Then Canassatego addressed the Governor and Council. "By what the treaties promised," he said (only to the Governor and Council) "all white people should have been hindered from settling on lands that were not purchased from us. Or if they should make any settlements (as they might at such a distance from Philadelphia without the Governor or Council knowing about it) they had promised to remove those settlers whenever they were discovered.

"Despite your promises many people have settled on the east side of the Susquehanna River. And although you may have made efforts to remove them, yet we see these have had no effect and that white people are no more obedient to you than our young Indians are to us.

"And since it may now cause a great deal of trouble, we have taken this possibility into our consideration, having, while we were on our journey, observed your people's settlements. We are willing to give up the lands on the east side of the River Susquehanna, from the Blue Hills to where Thomas Magee the Indian trader lives, and leave it to you to decide how much they are worth."

But at the same time they said they were willing to sell the land east of the Susquehanna River, they insisted with all the more earnestness that the people should be removed from unpurchased land west of that River.

They informed the Governor that they had seen some papers which they were told were orders for these people to remove because of the complaints made by deputies of the Seneca nations. They thanked him for taking notice of the complaints and for taking measures to have the people moved. But Canassatego told him they feared that no better results would follow these efforts than former efforts of the same nature.

"If that should be the case," said he and the other deputies, "we must absolutely insist on their removal, because this is on the hunting-ground of our cousins the Nanticokes and other Indians living on the waters of the Juniata. You must use more vigorous measures and forcibly remove them."

After this they informed the Governor that one of their young warriors, Canassatego's nephew, had recently been murdered, and pressed him in strong terms to investigate carefully into the truth of how this warrior came by his death, and to judge impartially without favor or affection to his own people.

In answer to this the Governor thanked them in front of everyone for their firm loyalty to the interest of his Majesty the King during the war, and for the particular Declaration of Regard they had expressed for the people of the Province of Pennsylvania. He informed them that their visit was taken kindly. And as proof for this, they would be provided with a handsome present.

Having answered what concerned the public, the Governor then proceeded to speak to that which was addressed to himself and the Council.

"Brethren," he said, "we have considered your offer of some lands lying on the east side of the Susquehanna River. Although we have no instructions from the Proprietaries, who are now in England, to negotiate with you for lands, yet, because we judged it would be for their benefit as well as for the public good not to reject the offer you have thought proper to make.

"Therefore we sent word to you by the Interpreter that we would negotiate with you for a new purchase. But at the same time we want you to understand that we can by no means agree to your proposal in the manner in which you limited it, viz., only to the lands lying on the east side of the Susquehanna as far as Thomas Magee's.

"You must be sensible about this, because the head of the River Schuylkill does not lie far from the Susquehanna. And not far from the head of the Schuylkill runs one of the main branches of the River Delaware. And the Delaware Indians, in their last Treaty, granted the lands from this branch to very near the Lechawachsein on the Delaware.

"I say," the Governor continued, "that considering all these things which were explained to you in an explanatory proposal, it appears that all you are offering us is mountainous, broken and poor land. Surely you must know that this is not worth our accepting it.

"But we added that if you would extend your offer to go more northerly on the Susquehanna as far as Shamokin, and that the tract might go as far as the Delaware River so that we could justify it to the Proprietaries, we would close the agreement with you and provide a good and fair remuneration for the lands.

"Then you held a Council meeting and made us a second offer, that you would sign a Deed to the Proprietaries for all that tract of land that lies within the following bounds, viz.:

"Beginning at Kittochtinny Hills where our last purchase ends on the Susquehanna;

"From thence by the course of the River Susquehanna to the first mountain north of the Creek called in the Onondago language Cantawgby and in the Delaware language Maghooniaby, on the River Susquehanna which is the western boundary.

"Then for the north boundary, a straight line would be run from that mountain to the main branch of the Delaware River at the north side of the mouth of Lechawachsein, so as to take in the waters of Lechawachsein.

"The east boundary would be the range of Kittochtinny Hills back to the place of beginning, together with the islands in the rivers of Susquehanna and Delaware within those boundaries.

"Having received this second offer, even though there is very little good land, yet, more in regard for your poverty than for the real value of the land, we notified you that when you signed a Deed we would pay you the sum of five hundred pounds."

As for the people settled on the River Juniata, the Governor informed the Indians that it would be no difficult matter to remove these intruders if some of the Indians do not want them near. But not more than four or five years before, all of them had been removed from the Juniata. And they would not have presumed to return except for the fact that they had been allowed to do so by some of the Indians.

He gave them an example of some Indians, about a year before, who had objected to the removal of white people settled on the path leading to the Allegheny, and told them that they must neither defend nor invite back the people who had been sent away. And for his part, he assured them that he would make the people move.

With regard to the Indian who was murdered, he informed them that he had already caused a full and impartial enquiry to be made into the cause of his death, and that the most probable conjecture that could be formed was that the murder was committed by some of the Indian's own comrades.

The Governor added that Mr. Croghan, the magistrate before whom the matter was laid, would have examined the Indians but they would not submit to it, and one of them in particular ran away. However, the white people at whose house the Indians got liquor were all bound over to the court, and if it appeared that they, or any others, were involved in the murder they would suffer for it the same as if they had killed a white man.

After several conferences with the chiefs of the Indians concerning the new purchase of lands (of which no minutes have been published), the limits were finally agreed to by both sides, and the money paid, whereupon the Indians executed a Deed for the same.

Either this sale of lands was authorized by the Tribal Council at Onondago or else the Indian deputies sold the land without authorization from the Council, because when they arrived at Philadelphia they realized that their visit was unwelcome and they would receive no presents unless they sold some of their lands. In any case, at the present time we shall not discuss the question of whether the land was sold by the Council or by their deputies.

Nor shall we insist upon what Canassatego, in the name of the Six Nations, declared in the Treaty of 1742, viz., that after that time they would sell no lands except when their Brother Onas was in the country and the Six Nations would know ahead of time the quantity of goods they would receive so that they could change their minds.

But because this purchase of 1749 is the last which the Proprietaries or their agents have made from the Indians on the east side of the Susquehanna River, it may not be improper to stop here and gather into one summary what relates to the lands on that side, in order that we may see whether there are any just grounds for the complaints which the Delaware Indians recently have made of their being cheated out of their lands.

It is true that since the Indians have no writings, nor records among them, except their memories and belts of Wampum, we can only have recourse to the Minutes taken, and records kept, by one party – namely, the Proprietaries and the Assembly.

And it is also true that the records which were made available for us were written by those who, if any advantage was taken at the expense of the Indians, would have been involved in it and consequently would not care to have everything recorded truthfully because it might result in their own disgrace.

## SUMMARY

*(Comment: This section of the investigative committee's report is so important that I have also provided a copy of the original text, which follows. Those who wish can thereby compare my editing for contemporary readers with the original.*

*– D. Repsher)*

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In 1718 we find that an enquiry was made into land affairs by the Proprietary Commissioners and the Delaware Indian chiefs.

We find that the old deeds were carefully inspected, the boundaries of the purchases made from the Indians at various times were fully ascertained.

And to put an end to all doubts and disputes for the future, a Deed of Confirmation was granted by the Indians for all the lands which they had heretofore sold to the Proprietaries, namely from Duck Creek to the Lechay Hills which are south of the Forks of the Delaware.

In 1722 settlers came to Tulpyhockin and made a settlement there.

In 1728 the Indians complained at a public treaty meeting that this settlement was upon their land. Upon examination, and referring back to the earlier Deed, it was found to be as they said. The Indians were requested not to molest or injure the people who settled there, but to wait until the matter could be adjusted.

Thus the matter rested until the Proprietor came over from England in 1732, when this tract of land was purchased from the Indians.

But although the purchase which the Proprietaries had made from the Indians were still (except at Tulpyhockin) bounded by the Lechay Hills, one gentleman purchased a right to 10,000 acres of lands with no specific location, \* and then found the means to have part of these acres located in the Forks of the Delaware more than 30 miles above the boundaries in the Indian country.

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\* *i.e., land in general, the exact place or places where the right is to be located among the vacant lands in the wilderness, not yet being chosen or ascertained by any survey.*

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Encouraged by this gentleman's example, many others soon afterward entered and possessed themselves of the adjacent countryside. Of this the Indians complained.

But instead of paying any regard to their complaints, a lottery of land was begun by the Proprietor in 1734, whereby the greatest part of the lands in the Forks of the Delaware – then full of Indian settlements – were offered for sale by the Proprietors.

In the meantime, to keep the Indians happy, several conferences were held with some of their chiefs., viz., one at Durham, one at Pennsbury, and one at Philadelphia. But since no minutes of these conferences were ever published (and if any minutes were taken they were only entered in the Proprietary Council books to which access has been denied to us), we would have been at a loss to know what was debated and transacted there, except for the Release granted at the last of the conferences.

In the Preamble of this Release we are informed that the problem relating to the lands was the subject of these conferences. The Proprietor, in order to settle matters with the Indians, instead of referring to the Deed of 1718 (as had been done before), went to a writing which was produced as a Deed which they said had been granted by their forefathers to William Penn in 1686.

And to prove the validity of this, the evidence of two persons was taken, who solemnly declared not that they had seen such a Deed executed, and that this was the very Deed, but that they remembered there was a meeting held at that time to discuss a treaty between the Indians and the agents of William Penn.

By what is said in the Preamble it would appear as if the Deed of 1686 itself had been shown to the Indians, and that the Proprietor had waited patiently until the Indians were satisfied of the truth within it.

But exactly the opposite is evident. More and more people, during these conferences, were already settling in the Forks of the Delaware. And as to the Deed itself, it is clear that no actual Deed was shown to the Indians.

Instead, the Indians were made to believe that their forefathers had granted such a Deed. Then they were prevailed upon, without any further consideration, to sign a Release certifying that such a Deed had been made.

There is some reason to believe that the Six Nations had, by their own authority, forced the Indians into this agreement.

The year before, their deputies had been at Philadelphia and sold the lands on the Susquehanna, for which these deputies had received a large quantity of goods in addition to a considerable present. At this time complaints were made to them against the Delawares, accusing them of disturbing the Province of Pennsylvania about lands which, as was said, the Proprietor had purchased from them (and paid for) more than 55 years ago. On their return home the deputies, loaded with presents, passed through the Delaware country. And the next Spring some of the Delawares came down to Philadelphia and signed the Release mentioned above.

Because the land granted by this Release was to be measured by a day and a half's walk, the Proprietor found men who were famous for walking. The Proprietor had a road prepared and laid out with a compass, and provided horses to carry them over rivers, by which means they were enabled to travel over a prodigious extent of the countryside.

Nor was the extent of the purchase determined by the journey which the two men performed who were first hired. Another person who, knowing himself capable of performing an arduous journey, had, in order to ingratiate himself with the Proprietor, joined the other two and traveled about six miles farther than any of them. \*

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\* *(Could this third man have been Solomon Jennings who, instead of dropping out as we speculated earlier, managed to walk an extra six miles? Seeking an answer to these questions is beyond the scope of this book but a review of other historical reports would be helpful. – D. Repsher)*  
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But even more than that, at the end of the Walk, instead of drawing a line directly east by the nearest route to the River Delaware, or parallel to that from which they had set out, they ran a line northeast to near the mouth of the Lechawachsein. And by this means the boundary line was extended many miles beyond the Lechaw Hills and took in many hundred thousand acres more than it ought to have done.

The Indians immediately saw and complained of the fraud, nor would they relinquish their land until they were forced to, as we have seen above, by the deputies of the Six Nations in 1742.

With respect to the purchase of 1749, it is to be observed that the deputies of the Six Nations at first only offered to sell the lands east side of the Susquehanna. And they never seem to have claimed the right to sell lands on the Delaware.

It is true that fourteen days after the deed of 1736 was granted, a few Indians who remained in Philadelphia were persuaded to sign a writing that declared they had intended to extend the grant to the

Delaware River. But this was not an action of the entire group, nor was any remuneration paid. And instead of considering all the circumstances they only thought of how Indians usually debauch themselves with liquor after they think the public business is finished. It may be said that this was done in a manner not far removed from the suspicion of deliberate trickery.

But, however that may be, we never find that the Six Nations objected to sales previously made by the Delawares.

At present, since the Proprietary Officers would not buy unless the Tract extended to the Delaware River, the Indians (we are told), after holding a Council, agreed that it would extend that far. And to leave no doubt that the sale was sanctioned, Nutimus and Qualpaghach, two Delaware chiefs, were made parties to the Deed and brought in to sign it.

But how far an action which was done through compulsion really binds them, or even if it is admitted that the action was voluntary on their part, yet how far it would bind a nation whose form of Government is such that nothing is considered valid unless it is deliberated and agreed upon in their public Councils, is easily determined.

Again, if it was necessary to make some of the Delawares parties to the Deed, why were not some of the Munsey or Minisink Indians also brought in? A large part of their country was included in this Grant. Yet they were never consulted. Not a deputy was present from their nation.

Such are the facts. Each one of them can be proved by public records or living witnesses. Whether, then, the complaints of King Teedyuscung, who in a public capacity represents the several tribes of the Delawares as well as the Munseys, etc., who have of late united in one League and chosen him for their head; that is, whether the complaints of all or any of these tribes or nations of Indians have any just foundation, let the world be the judge.

But to return from this digression. Since the people who had settled on the lands which were not purchased from the Six Nations did not pay any regard to the Governor's proclamation, it was deemed proper to put the law strictly into execution against them. And for that purpose Mr. Peters, Secretary of the Provincial Council, was sent up there in May, 1750.

*Mr. Peters' report to the Governor*

On his way he met with some Indians, to whom he described his business. They told him they were very pleased to hear that he was going to remove those people, and that it was an affair which the Council of Onondago or the Six Nations had very much in their hearts. But, they said, they were afraid this would prove to be just like all the other attempts. The people would be removed now and next year they would return. And if that happened, they said that the Six Nations would no longer put up with it but would do whatever was necessary to receive justice for themselves.

After this Mr. Peters continued on his journey. And accompanied by those Indians, he broke up the settlements in Sherman's Valley on the Juniata River, at Ancquick (also called Aughwick) in the Path Valley and Big Cove (which all lie beyond the Kittochtinny Hills), everywhere dispossessing the settlers, taking possession for the Proprietors, and burning most of the ordinary houses and cabins.

Some of the settlers at Little Cove, which was part of the unpurchased lands on the borders of Maryland, presented Mr. Peters with a petition addressed to the Governor, asking that they might be allowed to remain there until a purchase was made of the lands from the Indians. But since only a few had signed the petition, he returned it to those who presented it, telling them that when more people signed it, if it appeared to him that they were north of the temporary line (i.e., within the boundary of Pennsylvania) he would recommend their case to the Governor.

Strange!

The man who was sent to remove those people who had settled on the Indians' land, who knew so well how much the Indians were irritated by them settling there and how heatedly they protested against it, and who himself declared "This is certain, that if I do not at this time entirely remove these people it will not be possible for the Government to prevent an Indian War," – that, after this, he should try to intercede for those intruders and, as he says himself, to recommend their case to the Governor!

But the Indians had previously observed that people who had been sent on that same errand had not been reliable for doing their duty. And instead of removing the people, they even had made surveys of the land for themselves and were joining the trespassers.

By the message which the Governor sent to the Assembly with Mr. Peters' report it appears that he had really done nothing to change the situation, and it would be absolutely necessary to take further measures against these intruders.

In short, this journey of Mr. Peters had so little effect that those who had been spared felt their spirits raised so much that others came and settled near them.

And in a few years the settlements in the Indian country were more numerous and further extended than ever before.

### **1753 Treaty at Carlisle**

In 1753, when the French came with an armed force to take possession of the lands on the Ohio River and to build a fort, the Indians of the Six Nations, along with the Shawanese and Delawares who were living along the Ohio River, seemed very much alarmed and resolved at all events to oppose them.

Upon first hearing of their coming, these Indians had twice sent orders to the French not to proceed. But finding their messages did not have the desired effect, they agreed to divide themselves into two parties: one to go to Virginia and Pennsylvania to request assistance, and the other to go to the French commander with explicit orders to quit their country, or otherwise they would declare war against him.

The first party, having transacted their business with the Governor of Virginia, set out for Pennsylvania and were met at Carlisle by commissioners appointed by Governor Hamilton to negotiate with them.

At this time they wanted Pennsylvania and Virginia to stop people who were settling on Indian lands west of the Allegheny Hills. These people had gotten this far even though no purchase had yet been made beyond the Kittoctinny Mountains. They asked these Governments to call back their people who were living on the west side of the Hills. They didn't use threats as had been done before. The times were critical and the Indians did not want to say or do anything which could make the English question their friendship.

At another time the Indians would have insisted on in a peremptory manner (and if we may judge from their former conduct, enforced with threats). But now they prudently made requests instead of demands. And seemingly out of respect for our feelings they said they did not want "any damage to be done that would make us think ill of them."

They especially expressed the desire that no people should be allowed to settle on the Juniata lands until matters were settled between them and the French.

After this they asked the commissioners to give special attention to what they were going to say because it was a matter of great importance. They proceeded to tell us that our Indian traders are too numerous and scattered and the French look enviously at the number of these traders in Ohio. The Indians told us that they wanted most of these traders to be recalled and only three locations designated for their places of business: Log's-Town; the mouth of the Canawa; and the mouth of the Monongahela

River. Here, they said, they would protect the traders; and they would go only to these places to buy goods, and nowhere else.

This was what the Indians had wanted for a long time. They understood their own weakness and immoderate desire for strong drink, by which they exposed themselves to many abuses and inconveniences. They had frequently complained to the English Governments, and wanted some measures to be taken which would prevent liquors from being carried among them in such quantities. But nothing was done about it.

Indeed, they were told that they should simply break the casks and spill all the liquor that was brought among them. But they knew from experience that this would not suffice. The rum-carriers, as they called the traders, found ways to avoid losing their rum.

As long, therefore, as these traders were allowed to go into their country, the Indians saw clearly that no remedies could be found which would prevent the evil of which they complained. For this reason, in 1736, they had wanted the traders to be recalled from the Ohio and confined to some place along the Susquehanna River.

At subsequent treaty meetings they renewed this request, and now asked for a limit of three places for the traders to reside in. They also requested that none but honest and sober men should be allowed to trade with them.

Had this request been complied with, the English might easily have kept the trade and secured the affections of many of the Indian nations. But by neglecting this and allowing bandits under the guise of traders to run up and down from one Indian town to another, cheating and debauching the Indians, we have given them a bad opinion of both our religion and our manners, and lost their esteem and friendship.

The earnestness with which the Indians wanted to have the trade regulated may be seen from the speech of the Indian chief to the commissioners: "Your traders," said he, "bring hardly anything but rum and flour. They bring very little powder and lead or other valuable goods. The rum ruins us. We beg you to prevent its coming in such quantities. Regulate the traders. We never thought that the trade would be for whiskey and flour. We want it forbidden, and none sold in the Indian country. If Indians want any, they can go to the traders' towns and deal with them there."

He added: "When these whiskey-traders come, they bring thirty or forty kegs and put them down in front of us and make us drink. Then they get all the skins that should have gone to pay the debts we owe for goods bought from honest traders. And in this way we not only ruin ourselves but the honest traders as well. The wicked whiskey-sellers, when they have gotten the Indians full of liquor, make them sell the very clothes from their backs. In short, if this practice is continued, we will inevitably be ruined. We most earnestly, therefore, beg you to remedy this problem."

But the commissioners did not have the power to remedy these disorders. So instead they promised to take these requests to the Governor and tell him the great need for those regulations which the Indians wanted to be made. And they did this. But as usual nothing more was done about it.

The Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, after reading the minutes of these discussions and examining several more papers and evidence about Indian affairs, deplored the miserable situation of our Indian trade carried on (with a few exceptions) by the vilest of our own people and convicts who were imported from Great-Britain and Ireland. Because of these people our English nation is unhappily represented among our Indian allies in the most disagreeable manner.

"These," the Assembly continued, "trade without any control, either beyond the limits or at least beyond the power of our laws. They corrupt both the Indians and themselves with spiritous liquors, which they now make abundantly in direct violation of our laws. And they are helped along, as we are informed,

by some of the magistrates who hold a commission under this Government, as well as other inhabitants in the back country." (The source of this information is the Message to the Governor, February 27, 1754.)

In the Treaty of Carlisle mention is made of some Shawanese being made prisoners and confined in Charles-Town. To try to get them released, Scarroyady, the principal Sachem, was appointed, and had already started to go to Carolina when the commissioners thought that his presence was very necessary at the Ohio. So they asked him to return and informed him that the prisoners would be released sooner by the influence of the Governor of Virginia and Pennsylvania than by his personal solicitation. They promised to recommend this to the governors, and Scarroyady agreed.

## **1754 Treaty at Albany**

The next summer, by an order from England, a large Treaty Meeting was held with the six nations at Albany. Commissioners from most of the Provinces on the continent were present.

At this time a purchase of land was made for the Proprietors of Pennsylvania which ruined our friendship with the Indians and threw most of them – especially those who were west of us – entirely into the hands of the French.

It was bounded northerly by a northwest-by-west line, drawn from near Shamokin to Lake Erie, and to the west and south by the farthest extent of the Province. By this the lands where the Shawanese and Ohio Indians lived, and the hunting-ground of the Delawares, the Nanticokes, and the Tuteloes, were included. And consequently these nations had nothing to expect but to see themselves in a short time, at the rate the English were settling, violently driven from their lands (as the Delawares had formerly been) and reduced to leaving their country and seeking a settlement they knew not where.

There can be no doubt but that this encouraged many of these people to listen to the French, who declared that they did not come to deprive Indians of their land but to hinder the English from settling westward of the Allegheny Hills.

The Council of the Six Nations were also displeased at this Grant. For it is to be observed that this sale or grant was not made according to the method which the deputies of the Six Nations, at the Treaty of 1742, declared they always observed in the sale of lands. It was not agreed upon in the Council of Onondago. Instead, it was condemned by them as soon as they heard of it. Neither had there been any deputies present from the Indians on the Ohio, who looked on these lands as part of their possession guaranteed to them by the Senecas.

In what manner and by what means this Grant was obtained is well known to some who attended the Treaty, as well as the trickery which was used for nearly a week to induce the Indians to execute the Deed.

The people of Connecticut had, under the guise of their charter, laid claim to some lands in the northwest part of the Province of Pennsylvania. And only a short time before, some persons had come from Connecticut and made surveys a short distance above Shamokin. At this Treaty, their commissioners wanted to negotiate with the Indians about the purchase of these lands. The Proprietary agent, hearing this, endeavored to get ahead of them, and proposed to purchase the lands for the Proprietors. The Indians refused to sell.

At this point they were told that unless they signed something in writing for these lands to the Proprietary agent, it would be assumed that they had either sold them to the French or else intended to sell them to the people of New-England.

In order, therefore, to remove that suspicion, some of the Indians were, after much persuasion, by a person known to have considerable influence among the Indians, or at least those of the Mohock Nation,

\* prevailed upon to sign the Release – contrary to the established custom and usage of the Six Nations. It was done not so much for the purpose of conveying the lands as to give the Proprietaries assurance that the Indians would not sell them to any others. Yet even this agreement could not be obtained without some private gifts to particular Indians of known influence and authority.

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\* *Comment: The culprit, in my opinion, was undoubtedly Conrad Weiser himself. He had grown up with the Mohawks, who had no special fondness for the Lenape or the Shawanese, and as the interpreter for the Six Nations would have been in the best position to be persuasive. In the next paragraph we read that "he had been very active in the bargain" and we can almost hear him being told: "Mr. Weiser, you made this mess, now get us out of it."* – Donald R. Repsher

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*Source: Conrad Weiser's journal  
which was delivered to the Governor*

In the Fall of this year Conrad Weiser was sent by the Governor to meet at Aughwick (or Aucquick) the Delawares and Shawanese who lived on the Ohio. As he had been very active in the bargain recently made at Albany, it was necessary that he should now use his endeavors to smooth things over about the transaction in such a manner as would give least anger to the possessors of the lands which had been purchased without their knowledge or consent.

The account he thought proper to give in writing of this part of his business – or at least as much as was laid before the Assembly – is very short. He only says that at this meeting he informed the Indians at their own request of what had been done in the Treaty at Albany, and of the purchase of land that was made there.

They immediately showed their dissatisfaction. Soon after this, Shecalamy declared that the Indians did not understand the points of the compass; but if the line would run as to include the western branch of the Susquehanna River they would never agree to it. But, upon letting them know the New-England people's design, and reminding them that the French had possessed themselves of the Ohio lands which they might look upon as lost to them, he says, "They were content but would have been more so if they had received part of the remuneration."

And their dissatisfaction continued. It was soon made very clear to one of the Proprietary's surveyors who, being sent to survey some of these lands, was met by some of the Indians and taken prisoner to an Indian-Town. There he was detained until the next day. After several consultations he was taken back by a guard towards the English settlements and told that if he ever came again upon the same business he would not depart in the same manner as at the present.

It was very unfortunate for the English interest that, at the same time the affections of the Indians were alienated from us by the abuses committed in trade, and by our dispossessing them of their lands, their opinion of our military abilities was very much lessened.

Only a few months before this Treaty at Aughwick Colonel Washington was defeated. Colonel Washington's conduct and behavior was so offensive to the Indians that Thanachrishon, a Seneca chief commonly known by the title of "Half King" (head of the western Indians who were dependent on the Six Nations) could not help complaining about it, although in a very modest manner.

*Conrad Weiser's journal*

"The Colonel," Conrad Weiser wrote about George Washington, "was a good-natured man, but had no experience. He took it upon himself to command the Indians as if they were his slaves. He made them go scouting for him every day and then attack the French all by themselves. He took no advice from any of the Indians. He stayed in one place from one full-moon to the next without making any fortifications, except for a little thing on a meadow. If he had taken the advice of the Half-King and built the

fortifications that the Half King had suggested, he might easily have beat off the French, because in the engagement the French acted like cowards – and the English acted like fools.”

*Summary of recent events*

But we will pass over this, as well as the haughty manner in which General Braddock, who arrived the following year, behaved to the Indians, whereby we lost the friendship of many who had previously remained loyal to us. Nor will we mention Braddock’s dismal defeat which happened soon afterward, confirming the opinion of the Indians that we lacked both prudence and skill in war.

We will pass over these things and instead make the following observations which show that the complaints of the Indians are by no means new.

They complained of, and thought themselves aggrieved in, the death of Weekweley the Delaware Chief, who was hanged in the Jerseys.

They complained of the imprisonment of the Shawanese warriors in Carolina, where the principal man died.

They complained about the abuses they received from the Indian traders.

And all of these complaints, except that about the traders (which was not mentioned at this time) are exactly identical to the problems which had been described by the deputies of the Six Nations at the time of the Treaty meeting at Lancaster, when they were called upon to declare if they knew why the Delawares and Shawanese were making war upon the English.

There can be no doubt but that the critical combination of events, the solicitations and promises made to them by the French, together with their success when they took up arms, might persuade them to attack the English at this particular time because it looks like the most favorable opportunity for taking revenge.

But above all it was the wrongs and abuses they have suffered which inflamed their resentment and, as they themselves say, made the blow they laid upon us fall the heavier.

And, if we look closely, we shall find that neighboring nations, as they also have imagined themselves more or less aggrieved, have also shown their resentment by acting more or less vigorously against us.

The several tribes of the Delawares who were deprived of their lands and driven from their homes and settlements in the Forks of the Delaware, and so ignominiously treated and expelled from the Council (back in 1742), and above all the Munsey or Minisink Indians whose lands were taken from them without any semblance of justice, now took a severe revenge.

The Shawanese who had, with others, complained in vain about the traders, who saw themselves deprived first of their hunting-ground on the Juniata and afterwards of their entire country by the purchase of 1754, were not much behind the former in their cruel attacks.

The slowness of the Senecas to heal the breach when once it was made – or to be more accurate, the encouragement and support they gave the Indians who declared themselves our enemies – may easily be attributed to their resentment at seeing the lands west of the Kittochtinny Hills (which they considered as especially under their care) unjustly invaded, their complaints and protests little regarded, and, lastly, the vast purchase of 1754 which was made without their consent and approval.

But it still remains a question whether all the Delawares would have declared themselves our enemies had it not been for the imprudent conduct of one Charles Broadhead of Northampton County.

Teedyuscung declares that because of this young man he was surprised into the war before he had time to think. After the first raid made upon the English subjects by the western Delawares and other Indians from Ohio, that man came to Wyomen and (although he had no authority) acting as if he had been commissioned to do so, charged Teedyuscung and his people with beginning hostilities. This Charles Broadhead then threatened them with a very high temper, and said that the English were preparing to take a severe revenge.

The Indians, alarmed at this, immediately told Broadhead to carry a message from them to the Governor of Pennsylvania to assure him of their friendship, and to return with an answer. Broadhead never returned. When the Indians had waited for the time appointed to receive an answer, and no answer was received, they decided that everything must be true which Broadhead had said. So they prepared to defend themselves. And being urged on by the French, they chose to attack instead of waiting to be attacked.

Then, when they found themselves suddenly drawn into the war between the French and the English, all the mistreatment they had formerly endured was immediately remembered and their resentment was awakened and armed them with a double fury.

Having thus traced the grounds of the Indians' uneasiness, and the causes of the war, it now remains to show the measures which were taken to heal the breach, and the method which the Indians propose for securing a real and lasting peace.

#### **1755:**

#### **A new confederation**

About the time when the present quarrel between England and France began, the Indians on the Susquehanna considered their situation with its divided state of affairs. Every tribe was a distinct and independent Government. They plainly saw that their power could not be great and that one by one they might easily be crushed. Therefore they resolved to create a new model for their Government, and out of several tribes form one nation.

Accordingly the Munseys and two tribes of the Delawares, viz., The Lenopi and Wanami, joined together in a league and chose a chief, sachem or king, into whose hands they put the management of their affairs. Those who had been sachems before willingly, for the sake of the public good, resigned their positions, contenting themselves with a place in the Council.

Teedyuscung was the person chosen King. He immediately appointed captains and regulated the force of the nation. Soon after, a number of stragglng Indians, who lived up and down without any chief, joined in and strengthened the alliance.

By this means, with some of the Mohiccons or River Indians and Shawanese also joining, Teedyuscung soon found himself at the head of a very considerable body of people.

He now resolved to wait and see what turn events would take. And when it was determined to attack the English, he laid his plans carefully so that the frontiers of Pennsylvania, New York, and New-Jersey were ravaged and destroyed all at the same time.

Upon the first notice of the Indian attacks the Governor of New-York sent a hurried letter to General Johnson with the news. As soon as he received this, General Johnson (who had just returned from Lake George) sent a message to the Six Nations and asked them to meet with him immediately.

On the seventh of December (1755) some of the Mohawks, Senecas, Oneidas, and Tuscaroras came to his house and told him of the hostilities committed by the Shawanese, Delawares, and River Indians, viz., the Munseys or Mohiccons:

"These Indians," said General Johnson, "are regarded by us as allies and dependents of you, the Six Nations, and living within the boundaries of your country. Therefore I must ask that you will, without loss of time, reprimand them for what they have already done, prevent their doing any more mischief, and insist on their turning their arms with us against the French and their Indians, both your enemies and our enemies, and without any loss of time."

Immediately after this the Six Nations dispatched some messengers to the Delawares to learn the reason why they made war on the English, and to command them to stop.

About the same time (namely in December 1755), the Indian chief Scarroyady and another Indian were sent from Philadelphia to the Council of the Six Nations to place before them the hostile actions of the Shawanese and Delawares. In order to find out how these tribe were disposed, they took the route that led up the Susquehanna River.

*Scarroyady's account of his journey,  
read in the Assembly of April 10, 1756*

All the way to Wyomen they found that the Indians were against us. They saw some men going to war, who they tried to stop, but in vain.

At an Indian Town about 30 miles above Wyomen, they met Teedyuscung, who told them that he had sent to the Senecas and Oneidas for assistance against the English but had not received an answer. He said that he was going to send again to the Six Nations, and if he did not receive an answer he would know what to do.

From there the deputies proceeded to Diahogo, where they met the messengers who were dispatched to the Delawares by the Oneidas, Cayugas, and Mohawks at the urging of General Johnson. Here the messengers of the Six Nations delivered what they had to say to the Delaware Council.

In their answer, the Delaware Council expressed their submission to the Six Nations and promised that they would send some of their chiefs along with them to the Council of the Six Nations, which they accordingly did.

When they arrived there, the Council sharply censured the Delawares and ordered them to put a stop to their actions. The Delawares tried to justify their conduct by the ill usage they had received from the English. However, they promised to inform their Nations and their warriors of what the Six Nations said, and would return an answer speedily.

## **1756**

From Diahogo, Scarroyady and his companion proceeded to Fort Johnson, where, in February 1756, there was a meeting of about 580 people from the Six Nations and their allies. At this meeting Col. Johnson again urged the Six Nations to put a stop to the raids and ravages of the Delawares, which were still continuing.

At first the Six Nations seemed to dismiss the matter. But, after the request was repeated more urgently, they at last agreed that some delegates from the Six Nations should become involved and use their utmost endeavors to arbitrate between the English and the Delawares. With that purpose in mind they sent a message to the Delawares to come and meet them at Otsaningo, an Indian Town on the Susquehannah.

The Delawares came, and a meeting was held at which it was recorded that "the deputies of the Six Nations ordered the Delawares to get sober, because the Six Nations thought their actions looked like the actions of drunken men." \*

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\* *Quoted from the Treaty of Lancaster, 1757, printed in Philadelphia, Fol. 12.*  
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The Delawares answered that they looked upon themselves as men and would no longer acknowledge any authority that any other nation had over them. "We are men, and are determined not to be ruled like women any longer by you. And we are determined to get rid of all the English except those who made their escape in ships. So do not say anything more to us about keeping the peace, lest we make women (*i.e., peacekeepers*) of you as you have done to us. \*

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\* *(Comment: As "women" they were peacekeepers among the tribes. When they declared themselves "men" they no longer accepted the peacekeeping role but publicly stated that they would now defend themselves by war if necessary.*

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- D. Repsher)

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"In the meantime," they continued, "although we do not any longer acknowledge the Six Nations in general as our uncles, we will listen to what the Senecas say."

(It is to be observed that the Senecas, although urged by Sir William Johnson and the other Five Nations, would not agree to accommodate Johnson's request but instead sympathized with the Delawares and encouraged them. The most probable reasons for doing this have been described before.)

The resolute answer of the Delawares, and the known encouragement they received from the Senecas, convinced the deputies of the Six Nations that nothing could be done by threats. Therefore, changing their style to softer language they prevailed with the Delawares to agree to a truce, and to meet with Colonel Johnson to discuss a possible peace.

At the same time that the messengers of the Six Nations set out to invite the Delawares to a Council at Otsaningo, Scarroyady set out on his return to Philadelphia where, arriving in April 1756, he gave the Governor an account of his peacemaking mission.

A few days after this the Governor, without waiting for the result of the Council at Otsaningo, and finding that the Delawares were still continuing their raids, declared war against them and offered a reward to anyone who would bring in Delaware scalps or prisoners.

A few days before war was declared, some of the people in Philadelphia called Quakers addressed the Governor, asking him to suspend the Declaration of War until some further peaceful measures were tried, and offering to help with both their property and their own time and effort toward a peaceful solution to the problems.

But war was declared. Some of these people nevertheless got the Governor's permission and had several meetings with Scarroyady and other Indian chiefs who were at that time in Philadelphia. Conrad Weiser and Andrew Montour were the Provincial interpreters. And Daniel Claus, who was General Johnson's deputy-secretary, was also present.

In the course of the conversation some information was exchanged that provided some hope that the difference between the Delawares and the English might be taken care of in an amicable manner. And Scarroyady, being asked to give his advice on how to bring about such a desirable thing, proposed to send three Indians, two of whom, Captain Newcastle and Jagrea from the Council of the Six Nations; and one William Loquis, a Delaware, were designated to go to Wyomen to let the Delawares know that "There are people in Philadelphia who want peace restored, but the Delawares must first stop from doing mischief and not be afraid, but willing, to come and negotiate with the English."

The Governor was informed of this, and during the conferences (having received information from the Governor of New-York about what had taken place at Otsaningo with regard to the proposed meeting

between Sir William Johnson and the Delawares) he agreed to send the three Indian messengers. And when they were ready to leave he gave them a message to give to the Delaware and Shawanese Indians living on the Susquehanna, the essence of which was that he had, by means of the Governor of New York, received an account from Sir William Johnson of the meeting at Otsaningo, and of the truce that was agreed there.

And he said that if the Delawares would deliver up their English prisoners to the Six Nations, listen to their advice by laying down the hatchet, and abide by such terms as would be agreed upon, even though much blood had been spilt and the English, resenting this, were well prepared to avenge themselves, yet they had such a high regard for the Six Nations that it would be in their power to persuade the English to discontinue the war and accept fair, just, and honorable terms.

He added that he himself was for peace and that a great number of people, the descendants of those who had come over with the first Proprietor, were desirous to work with the Government to receive the submission of the Delawares, overlooking what was past, and re-establish peace, and had frequently come to him with that purpose in mind.

The Delaware messenger was also asked to inform his countrymen of the kind treatment those of their tribe who lived among us had received.

The messengers went and delivered their message. And on the 31<sup>st</sup> of May they brought back an answer from Teedyuscung, saying that he was willing to renew the Treaties of Friendship which William Penn had made with his forefathers, and that he and his people had agreed to what the Delegates of the Six Nations had required of them at Otsaningo. He added that they begged to have the past forgotten and that they had laid down the hatchet and would never use it again against the English.

After receiving this message the Governor delayed returning an answer for several days. The messengers became very uneasy and informed Conrad Weiser that they were apprehensive that their long stay would make the Diahogo Indians (those who had received the messages and had sent their replies) think that they were either cut off by the English or that this Government did not mean to conclude a peace treaty with them.

*Source: Minutes of Council delivered to the Assembly*

Whereupon the Governor, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of June, sent them back to Diahogo with a message informing the Indians that he thanked them for the kind receptions they had given his messengers and that he was glad to find they had listened to his message. He said that they on their part had confirmed the Treaties and Leagues of Amity existing between them and this Government, so he on his part ratified all former Treaties and Engagements.

Therefore, to give them an opportunity to make these mutual declarations at a public convention, he expressed the desire for them to meet him at Conrad Weiser's homestead, assuring them that they could come and go unmolested, etc., but that he desired that nothing proposed by him should interfere with any invitation they might have received from Sir William Johnson or the Six Nations.

And because a Council would be held in the country of the Six Nations, with the Indians at Diahogo invited, he would like them to attend. He further said they could go to either place, whichever they preferred.

After this a 30-day truce with the northern Indians was proclaimed at Philadelphia.

But very unfortunately it happened that at the same time a truce was proclaimed in Pennsylvania, war was declared against the same Indians in New-Jersey, and a company of soldiers was sent against Wyomen, one of the first towns of these Indians.

The news of this was brought to Bethlehem just as the messengers were setting out from there. They therefore waited at Bethlehem until they heard that the soldiers from the Jerseys had already been to Wyomen and burned the already-deserted town, had returned, and were now advancing to meet Teedyuscung at Diahogo.

*The Easton Treaty, August, 1756  
Printed in Philadelphia; pages 10 and 14*

Teedyuscung was at that time holding a treaty meeting with the deputies of the Six Nations. They had now agreed to acknowledge the independence of the Delawares and the authority of Teedyuscung over the four nations of the Lenopi and Wanami (two Delaware nations), the Munseys and the Mohicons. They requested him and his people not to act for themselves but to confer with the Six Nations, in the hope that by uniting their Councils and strength they might succeed to promote the general interest of the Indians in a better way.

They told Teedyuscung that both the English and French were fighting for the Indians' lands, and they wanted him to unite with them to defend them.

At the same time they gave him a large Belt with several figures on it. In the middle was a Square which represented the lands of the Indians. At one end there was the figure of a man, representing the English, and at the other end was the figure of a man representing the French. "Both of these," they said, "covet our lands. Let us join together to defend our lands against both the English and the French. And you shall join with us for keeping all our lands."

The proposal was too advantageous not to be accepted. Teedyuscung immediately agreed to it and, together with the Six Nations, developed a plan for bringing about peace with the English while at the same time making their own lands secure.

As it had been agreed to meet with Sir William Johnson at Otsaningo, Teedyuscung sent Nutimus (who had formerly been a king of one of the Delaware tribes) with some of his people, to meet Sir William. He told them how to act, while he himself prepared to meet the Governor of Pennsylvania. He took the responsibility for meeting the Governor upon himself, because that was the most dangerous and hazardous enterprise. It required him to go through the inhabited part of the country among an extremely angry and vengeful people because of the destruction that had been committed by his people.

Not only was this the most hazardous mission. It also required the greatest speech and diplomacy, because affairs of the greatest importance were to be negotiated.

The Six Nations gave him the authority to act in their behalf as their agent, promising to ratify whatever he should do.

On the second of July the Delaware delegates, who were joined by Packsinosa the old Shawanese king, met Sir William Johnson at Onondago, and from there continued on to Fort Johnson where, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of the same month, a treaty meeting was held.

*Sir William Johnson's Treaty  
With the Shawanese and Delaware Indians, 1756*

At this meeting Sir William Johnson bluntly described the murders and devastations they had committed. He reproached them for their conduct. Then, after blaming it on the influence of the French, he told them, "By virtue of the authority I received from his Majesty, if you are sincerely disposed to continue to be his Majesty's dutiful children and to maintain your fidelity to him, with unbroken peace and friendship toward all his subjects and their brethren the English here in this country, and would exert your

honest zeal and best effort to reclaim those of your people who have been deluded by the French, upon these conditions I am ready to renew the Covenant Chain of Peace and Friendship.”

To this the Delaware chief calmly replied that he had carefully listened to what was said and it was pleasing to him. But he could not take upon himself a definite answer. Instead, when he returned to his home, at the first opportunity he would deliver Sir William Johnson’s speech to all his Nation. And their resolutions and answer would be returned as soon as possible.

Upon receiving this answer, Sir William summoned a Council of the Indians of the Six Nations who attended the treaty meeting and informed the Council of the Six Nations of the reply he intended to make. He told them that he expected them to support him in his reply. They answered that they would speak to the Delawares and prepare them for what he intended to say, and at the same time urge them to declare their real intentions.

The next day Sir William, addressing the Delaware chief, let him know that what he had answered yesterday was somewhat surprising, as it was his nation which had been the aggressors, and the English were the injured party. Therefore the present state of affairs between the English and his people required a speedy and definite response.

He had received accounts that hostilities were still being continued by some of the Delawares and it was therefore necessary that he should, without delay, explain himself in behalf of his nation in such an explicit and satisfactory manner that his Majesty’s injured Provinces might know how to react. And he could depend upon it the English would not continue to bear the bloody injuries tamely which they had suffered for some time.

Upon this, the Delaware chief answered that his people had already ceased hostilities, that they would follow the example of the Six Nations, that they would take hold of the Covenant Chain that bound together the English and the Six Nations, that they renounced friendship with the French, and that since Sir William Johnson had used the Mohicans well, he promised to return the English prisoners that were among his people.

After this, Sir William expressed satisfaction at what was said, and offered them the hatchet as a symbol of what would be used against the French. They accepted it and immediately sang the War Song and danced. And upon their return, as the Shawanese king afterwards told Sir William Johnson, they informed Teedyuscung of what had been done.

While these things were being done, Teedyuscung took appropriate measures to protect himself from danger and to be avenged if any injury was done to him. \* Then he set out with the messengers to meet the Governor of Pennsylvania. On the 18<sup>th</sup> of July he arrived at Bethlehem. There he stopped and sent some of his people with Captain Newcastle to Philadelphia to inform the Governor of his arrival and to let him know that he would be glad to meet him in the Forks of the Delaware, and that he was authorized to speak not only in behalf of his own people but also of the Six United Nations.

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\* Teedyuscung left groups of his warriors encamped between the settlements of Pennsylvania and Wyomen at such a distance from each other that if he did receive any injury one group or the other would soon know and revenge it.  
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*From the minutes of Council  
Which were delivered to the Pennsylvania Assembly*

Captain Newcastle, having arrived with his message, urged the Governor to lose no time. “I have,” said he, “been entrusted with matters of the greatest concern. I declare to you that I have used all my ability that I can muster in the management of these matters, and done that with the greatest

cheerfulness. I tell you that in general things look well. I shall not go into particulars because Teedyuscung will do this at a public meeting, which he expects to be soon.

“These times are dangerous. The sword is drawn and glittering all around you. Numbers of Indians are on your borders. I beseech you, therefore, not to delay this important matter. Tell us where the Council Fire is to be kindled. Come to a conclusion immediately. Let us not waste a moment, lest what has been done should fail.”

The solemn manner in which this was delivered affected the Governor as much as the speech itself. Accordingly, by Captain Newcastle's advice, Easton was fixed upon for the place of the meeting. The Governor and four of his Council members, three commissioners from the Assembly, and about forty citizens of the City of Philadelphia (mostly from the people called Quakers) met with the Indians on the 28<sup>th</sup> of July.

### *Easton Treaty in July and August, 1756*

At the first meeting the Governor gave Teedyuscung and his people a hearty welcome, and Teedyuscung informed him that he came authorized to speak in behalf of ten nations; as an ambassador from the Six Nations and as chief or head of the other four. Teedyuscung told him that he would only hear what the Governor had to say, and then report it to the ten united Nations for their decision.

On the following day the Governor informed the Indians of the steps he had taken after the Delawares had begun to commit hostilities, and of the preparations he had made to carry the war into their own country, from which he was diverted by the Six Nations, who informed him that at their request the Delawares had laid down the hatchet.

After this, Teedyuscung informed them of the several messages he had sent with Captain Newcastle and the other Indian messengers, and of the answers he had received. And he assured them that Captain Newcastle acted by his authority.

The Governor let them know that he and the people were well disposed to renew the ancient friendship that had existed between William Penn and the Indians, and desired that this might be told to the Six Nations and all the Indians far and near, whom he invited to come and meet him at the Council Fire.

But the Governor insisted that as evidence of their sincerity, and the only terms on which they might expect a true and lasting peace, they should bring their prisoners with them.

When the Governor had ended his speech, Teedyuscung took out the Belt he had received from the Six Nations, explained what it signified to the Governor, namely, that the Belt held together ten nations who were under the direction of two chiefs only. These two chiefs were giving their full attention to see who were genuinely disposed for peace. And whoever was willing to guarantee these lands for the Indians, whether French or English, him they would join. But whoever would not comply with these terms for peace, the ten nations would join against him and strike him.

“Whoever,” said Teedyuscung, “will make peace, let him lay hold of this Belt. And the nations surrounding us shall see and know it. And I will endeavor to give to the people of this Province of Pennsylvania the same good spirit that possessed the good old William Penn.”

The Governor accepted the Belt and declared that he was most heartily disposed to put into action the meaning of it. And in return he gave Teedyuscung another Belt, and asked him to show it everywhere, and to make known the good dispositions of the people of this Government, and the treatment he had met with, to his own people, the Six Nations, and all his allies.

And having requested Teedyuscung to be an agent for the Province of Pennsylvania among the Indians, he took out two Belts joined together, and addressing Newcastle and Teedyuscung, declared them agents for the Province and gave them authority to do the public business together.

He recommended to them mutual confidence, esteem, and intimacy, and wished them success in their negotiations. They accepted the charge and promised to be mutual good friends, and do everything in their power to promote the weighty matters entrusted to them.

After the Treaty, Teedyuscung returned to his country, and Captain Newcastle went to Philadelphia, from where he was soon after dispatched by the Governor to the Six Nations by way of Albany. But not long after that, returning from Albany, the Governor was seized with Small-Pox and died at Philadelphia. He was much lamented.

In the meantime Teedyuscung sent messengers to the tribes of Indians under his jurisdiction, in addition to the Six Nations, and informed them of the reception he had met with and invited them to another meeting.

But just as he was ready to leave for that meeting he received a message from Fort Johnson advising him, for his own safety, not to go to Pennsylvania. He paid no regard to the first message. But another message was sent, telling Teedyuscung and those who would travel with him not to go to Pennsylvania because letters were coming out of Philadelphia informing them that a plot was being made to trap them in an ambush as soon as enough people could be gotten together.

This message reached Teedyuscung as he was on his journey. And because it was delivered in public, it had such an effect upon many of those who were with him that they immediately turned back. Teedyuscung neither entirely believed the message nor disbelieved it. He decided to proceed on the journey, but also resolved to take what steps could be taken to guard against the worst.

Therefore, sending back most of the women and children, he continued toward Philadelphia with his own family and a few other families, after leaving some of his most able captains and bravest warriors at appropriate places on the frontiers to wait for accounts of how he was received, and then to act accordingly.

Some time before Teedyuscung arrived in Philadelphia, Lord Loudon had written to the Governor and forbade him or his Government to confer or negotiate with the Indians in any way whatever. Lord Loudon also directed that all business with the Indians that might arise in his Government or Province should be referred to Sir William Johnson, who his Majesty had appointed as the only agent for these affairs under Lord Loudon's direction.

When, therefore, the Governor received the news of Teedyuscung's arrival in Philadelphia, he did not know what to do. He asked the Assembly, which was in session at Philadelphia, for advice. The Assembly suggested that the Treaty which had been begun by the late Governor who had died of Small-pox before Sir William Johnson's authority was made known, and for which reason the Indians had come down, should not be entirely discontinued because the Indians might become disgusted and the opportunity for bringing them to a general peace with all the British colonies could be lost.

"We think it advisable," the Assembly suggested, "that your Honor should give them an interview, give them the customary presents, in behalf of this Government, to pay them for their necessary expenses, and assure them of our sincere desire to take them again into friendship, forgiving them of their offences, and making a firm peace with them."

The Assembly continued: "But at the same time we must let them know that the Government of this Province cannot make peace with them for Pennsylvania and at the same time leave them at liberty to continue their war with our people in the neighboring colonies."

"We must inform them that our King has appointed Sir William Johnson to manage all of these Treaties for all the Provincial governments in this part of America, and to him we must therefore refer the Indians for a final conclusion and ratification of the Treaty of Peace.

"An interview of this kind with the Indians at this time, we believe, could be greatly for his Majesty's best interests and would not be inconsistent with the intention of Lord Loudon's letter." \*

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\* The source of this information, as noted in the margin of the original publication, was from the "Votes of the Assembly for 1756," page 24.  
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*Easton Treaty, November, 1756, page 20*

Meanwhile, Teedyuscung had arrived at Easton near the latter part of October with a number of Delawares, Shawanese and Mohicans as well as some deputies from the Six Nations. The Governor, along with his secretary, a member of his Council, four commissioners appointed by the Assembly, and a number of citizens from Philadelphia (chiefly from among the people known as Quakers), met him at Easton on the 8<sup>th</sup> of November.

After several days had been spent to little purpose, the Governor's advisors suggested that they ask the Indians for the reason for their uneasiness. The Governor agreed, and the following paragraph was added to the speech he had already prepared:

"Brother Teedyuscung, what I am now going to say should have been mentioned some time ago. I now desire your strict attention. You were pleased to tell me the other day that the League of Friendship, made by your forefathers, was still fresh in your memory. You said that it was made so strong that a small thing could not easily break it.

"As we are now meeting together at a Council Fire kindled by both of us, and have promised on both sides to be free and open to each other, I must ask you, why did that League of Friendship come to be broken? Have we the Governor or people of Pennsylvania done you any kind of injury? If you think we have, you should be honest and tell us what is on your hearts. You should have made complaints before you struck us with war, for so it was agreed in our ancient League.

"However, now that the Great Spirit has happily brought us once more together, speak your mind plainly on this subject and tell us, if you have any good cause for complaint, what it is. So that I may obtain a full answer on this, I give you this Belt of Wampum."

In answer to this, Teedyuscung assigned three causes. First, the imprudent conduct of Charles Broadhead, which has already been mentioned, Second, the instigations of the French. And lastly (which made the Indian assaults all the more severe) the grievances he and his people suffered from this Government and the Jerseys.

The Governor called upon him to explain what these grievances were.

"I do not need to go very far for an example," said Teedyuscung. "This ground that is under me" (stamping with his foot) is mine, and has been taken from me by fraud and forgery."

The Governor asked him what he meant by fraud and forgery.

To which he replied, "If one man (*William Penn*) had been given the privilege to purchase lands, and he took a Deed from the Indians for it and then died, and if after his death his children forged another Deed like the true one with the same Indian's names upon it, and thereby took lands from the Indians which they had never sold: this is fraud.

"Also," Teedyuscung continued, "if one king has lands beyond the River, and another has lands on this side of the River, with rivers, creeks, and springs which cannot be moved on both sides of the River, and the Proprietaries, greedy to purchase lands, buy from one king what belongs to the other king: this likewise is fraud."

"Have you," asked the Governor, "been treated like that?"

"Yes," replied Teedyuscung. "I have been treated exactly like that in this Province of Pennsylvania. All the land extending from Tohiccon over the great Mountain as far as Wyomen is mine. And some of it has been taken from me by fraud. For when I agreed to sell the land to the old Proprietary (*William Penn*) by the way the River runs, the young Proprietaries came and ran the line by a straight course of the compass. And by that means they took in twice the quantity of land that was intended to be sold."

It may be thought unnecessary for the purpose of this investigation to mention the opposition that was made by Secretary Richard Peters and Conrad Weiser to asking the Indians the cause of their uneasiness. Perhaps it should not be mentioned how the secretary, Mr. Peters, threw down his pen and declared that he would take no minutes when Teedyuscung began to complain about the Proprietaries.

So we will pass over these things and only observe that after some debate it was agreed upon (at the suggestion of the Commissioners) to offer the Indians immediate compensation for the injury they thought had been done to them, whether their claim was right or not.

This being done, Teedyuscung let the Governor know that the main reason for his present coming was to re-establish peace. Once peace was established he had intended at another meeting to lay open his grievances.

He emphasized that what he had said now about fraud was only at the request of the Governor, and he did not have the authority to receive any compensation at this time because several persons were absent who were concerned in these lands. He would therefore endeavor to bring these people to the next meeting. And then the matter could be considered further and finally settled.

**1757**

*Source of information:  
"Votes of the Assembly," January 1757*

A few weeks after this Treaty-meeting Mr. George Croghan arrived in Philadelphia. Mr. Croghan had been appointed by Sir William Johnson to be his deputy agent for Indian affairs. His instructions, dated November 24, 1767, were as follows:

"Proceed to Philadelphia or any part of the Province of Pennsylvania and endeavor to find out the disposition of the Indians in those parts. Try to convince them that it is in their best interest to continue as friends to the English and the Six Nations. Also, enquire into the cause of the Delaware and Shawanese behavior to the English in those parts and assure them that if they would come and let Sir William Johnson know wherein they were injured, he would endeavor to have justice done for them so that the unhappy difference might be settled."

Soon after his arrival, Mr. Croghan informed the Governor of this. At the same time he expressed his opinion regarding what had passed at the last Treaty, and said that this Government could not avoid giving the Indians a meeting to settle the differences that existed between them.

Mr. Croghan further assured the Governor that he would do everything he could to settle these differences in an amicable manner. In the meantime he would let Sir William Johnson know that the Indians would meet here, and that he expected to receive further instructions. And because he thought it

necessary that the meeting should be held soon, he suggested that messengers be sent to Teedyuscung and the Susquehanna Indians as soon as possible.

Accordingly, the messengers were sent with two messages: one to the Shawanese, Nanticokes, and Six Nations living at Otsaningo and Diabogo; and the other to Teedyuscung. These are the messages:

*George Croghan to the chiefs  
of the Shawanese, Nanticokes, and Six Nations*

“Brethren of the Shawanese, Nanticokes, and Six Nations living at Otsaningo and Diahogo! I came here about a month ago from Sir William Johnson, who is charged with the care of all the Indians in this part of America by the great King of England, your father and his master.

“On my arrival, your brother Onas showed me a copy of the conferences he had with you at Easton, where I find that you have agreed to have another meeting in the Spring in order to finally settle all the differences existing between you and your brethren the English, and to brighten the ancient Chain of Friendship which has lately contracted some rust.

“Because your brother, Sir William Johnson, sent me here to enquire into the causes of the differences between you and your brethren the English in these parts, I promise you in his name that I will do everything in my power to settle these differences between you and see that full compensation is made to you for any injustice you have received.

“To make sure that this meeting will include your people, and for better settling all differences, I am inviting a few of your chief men to meet me at John Harris’s. We will consult with each other about how to bring to this general meeting some of the chiefs of our brethren from Ohio in order once more to brighten the ancient Chain of Friendship.

“In confirmation of this, I give you this Belt of Wampum in the name of Sir William Johnson, your Brother Onas, and the descendants of the first settlers who came over with your ancient brother William Penn, with whom you began this good work at Easton this past Fall.”

The other message follows in these words:

*George Croghan to the Delawares at Diahogo,  
and all the branches of the Susquehanna River*

“Brother Teedyuscung, when I came here from Sir William Johnson, your Brother Onas told me that you had promised him another meeting in the Spring, in order to settle all the differences existing between you and your brethren the English.

“And because your Brother, Sir William Johnson, has ordered me to assist at these meetings and help to see matters reconciled and justice done for you, by this Belt of Wampum I would like you, in the name of Sir William Johnson, your Brother Onas, and the descendants of the first settlers who came over with your ancient Brother William Penn, to use your utmost endeavors to bring all your people, and as many of your uncles in the Six Nations that live among you, as will be necessary to accomplish the good work which you began.

“I promise in the name of Sir William Johnson, whom the great King of England, your Father and his Master, has ordered to take care of all the Indians in this part of America, that I will see justice done for you.”

When the above message was delivered to the Indians at Diahogo, the Indian Council immediately dispatched two men to Ohio, to inform the Delawares and Shawanese living there of this meeting and to invite some of them to come. But if none of them would be willing to come, these messengers were then

to insist that none of the Delawares and Shawanese living on the Ohio should go to war against the English until this meeting is over and they have time after returning home to let them know how it ended.

About the time when Mr. Croghan dispatched the messengers up the Susquehanna River, he sent three others to the Indians on the Ohio, inviting them to the conference. These messengers, upon their arrival at Venango (one of the chief towns on the Ohio) called a meeting of the Indians and delivered their message, with which the Delawares who were present seemed well pleased. They said they would go down, but must first go and consult their uncles the Senecas, who lived further up the River.

The next day they went and consulted with the Senecas, who, having heard the messages, persuaded the Delawares not to go because the Wampum Belts (or messages) sent were not the proper kind for the occasion. They said that they knew George Croghan and would be very pleased to see him. So if he would send the proper kind of Wampum Belts made out of old Council-Wampum (i.e., a message from the Government and people who were old friends and with whom they had formerly negotiated) both they and the Delawares would go and see him.

The messengers, upon their return, called at Diahogo and informed Teedyuscung of the message they carried to Ohio and the answer they brought back.

Thereupon Teedyuscung sent a message to inform the Governor and Mr. Croghan that neither the Belts which were sent, nor the person who carried them, were proper for the occasion; and that if they wanted to have a meeting with the Indians they should send wise, older men instead of young warriors to invite them.

In addition to the foregoing messages, the Governor and Mr. Croghan wrote to Sir William Johnson asking him to send a number of people from the Six Nations to assist at the proposed meeting. These arrived first – about one hundred and sixty men, women, and children. On the 29<sup>th</sup> of March, 1757, Mr. Croghan met them at Harris's \* on the Susquehanna River (about 90 miles from Philadelphia) and was informed by them that Teedyuscung had gone into the Seneca's country to get a number of Senecas to come with him, and that he would be down as soon as possible with 200 Indians. But whether he would come to Easton or John Harris's, they did not know.

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\* Harris's was present-day Harrisburg, Pennsylvania  
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From Harris's they were persuaded to go to Lancaster, where having waited until the 26<sup>th</sup> of April with the Small-pox breaking out among them, and finding that Teedyuscung still did not come, they sent messengers to Philadelphia to invite the Governor to come and meet them soon, because they wanted to return to their homes again.

On the 9<sup>th</sup> of May the Governor arrived at Lancaster. On the 12<sup>th</sup> he met with the Indians. He informed them of what had passed between him and the Delawares, and asked them to advise him about what measures they thought would be most likely to bring about peace with these Indians.

In answer to this the Six Nations chief told the governor: "It gives us great pleasure to hear that you have been so fortunate as to find out the true cause from which the differences arose between the English and the Delawares and Shawanese, because we and Sir William Johnson have gone to a lot of effort to find it but with no success."

After this he informed the Governor of the meeting which the deputies from the Six Nations had with the Delawares at Otsaningo, and how the Delawares had thrown off their dependence upon the Six Nations and declared they would no longer acknowledge any except the Senecas as their uncles and superiors.

"Now, Brother," said he, "our advice to you is that you immediately send proper messengers to the Senecas and invite them, along with the Delawares and Shawanese, to come to a meeting with you here.

And when they come, be very careful in your proceedings with them. If you are respectful and not rash, you will be able to settle all the differences that exist between you and them.”

In answer to this the Governor thanked the Indians for informing him of the close connection between the Delawares and Senecas. He acknowledged that their advice was good and wholesome. And following that advice the Governor promised to send a messenger to Teedyuscung and invite him to come down and bring with him whoever he wished to accompany him. The number of his uncles and other friends would be entirely his choice, however many as he thinks proper.

After this George Croghan informed the Indians that he was the person, and not the Governor, who had been appointed and ordered by Sir William Johnson to inquire into and hear the complaints of the Indians. He was the one appointed to try to get those complaints corrected. He insisted that those present should open their hearts to him without reservations. They should inform him of everything they knew concerning the frauds which Teedyuscung had complained of, and any other injuries or injustices done to them or any of the tribes of the Six Nations or other Indians allied with his Majesty King George in this or the neighboring colonies.

And he would be the one who would inform his Majesty, the King of England, the true state of their grievances.

Then George Croghan asked them to recommend to the Delawares and Shawnees that they should come down and meet with the Governor and make their complaints and have them adjusted. Otherwise, if they did not come, the Governor would take it for granted that they had no good reason for complaining.

Hereupon the speaker for the Six Nations described four causes which had given rise to the present quarrel between the English and the Delawares and Shawanese:

- (1) The death of the Delaware chief Weekweley who was hanged in the Jerseys for accidentally killing a man.
- (2) The imprisonment of some Shawanese warriors in Carolina, where the chief man of the prisoners had died.
- (3) The dispossessing of the Indians from their land.
- (4) And, lastly, the instigations of the French.

Regarding the last two items Six Nations' chief said, “We must now inform you that in former times our forefathers conquered the Delawares and put Petticoats on them. \*

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\* *(Comment: “Putting petticoats on them;” in other words, requiring them to have no more warriors and, instead, they were to be peacemakers, following the honored and traditional role of women. – D. Repsher)*

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“For a long time after that they lived among you, our brothers. But then some differences arose between you and them. And we thought it proper to move them, giving them lands to plant and hunt on at Wyomen and Juniata on the Susquehanna.

“But you, covetous of land, made plantations there and spoiled their hunting grounds. Then they complained to us and we looked over those lands and found their complaints to be true.

“At this time they carried on a correspondence with the French, by which means the French became acquainted with all the causes of complaint they had against you.

"Your people were daily continuing to increase their settlements. And because of this you drove these Indians back into the arms of the French. And the French took advantage of this and aroused their anger against you. And they were told by the French: 'Children, you see that we have often told you how the English your brethren would treat you. They plant all the countryside and they push you back, so that before long you will have no land. It is not so with us. Although we build trading-posts on your land, we do not plant the land because we have our own provisions from over the Great Water.'

"Now you see," continued the speaker for the Six Nations, "we have opened our hearts to you and told you what complaints we have heard that they have against you. And our advice to you is that you send for the Senecas and the Delawares and treat them kindly. And instead of arguing with them, give some part of their fields back to them. It is in your power to settle all the differences with them, if you really want to.

"As to what passed between you and Teedyuscung last Fall, regarding the purchase of lands, we know nothing about that. Teedyuscung and his people are not here, and if we ask you about it we will only hear your version of the story. We would have liked the Delawares and Shawanese to have been here at this time, so that we might have heard the complaints on both sides of the issue. Then we would have been able to judge who was at fault. We are determined to see justice done to those who have been aggrieved.

"You say that if you have done the Indians any injustice you are willing to give them compensation. We are glad to hear it. And as you have writings to refresh your memories about every transaction that has happened between you and the Delawares and Shawanese, we heartily recommend that you give them what is right and honest."

Because the Six Nations had so strongly urged him to send for the Senecas, the Governor promised that it would be done. And accordingly he sent a message to Teedyuscung to inform him of the advice the Six Nations had given. And he invited Teedyuscung to come down as soon as it would be convenient for him, and to bring with him the Senecas and whoever else among the Senecas that he would like to bring, and open his heart to his brethren the English.

The Governor also promised Teedyuscung that if it should appear that he had been defrauded of his lands or received any other injuries from the Province of Pennsylvania, he would receive compensation.

This was sent by a special messenger from Lancaster to Teedyuscung. Upon receiving this, Teedyuscung hurried to Easton, the place for the meeting, and arrived there around the middle of July. He brought with him a few principal men from the Senecas as well as from the rest of the Six Nations. These, along with his own people, numbered about 300 men, women and children.

The Governor, with six members of his Council, the speaker of the House of Assembly, four of the Provincial commissioners, and one or two other members of the Assembly, along with a number of citizens of Philadelphia and other inhabitants of the Province, attended this treaty-making.

Before the public business began, Teedyuscung asked the Governor to allow him the liberty of appointing a person to take the minutes of the meeting for him, in addition to Mr. Peters, who had been appointed to be the secretary. Teedyuscung reminded the Governor of how he had seen the secretary of the Province at the last Easton Treaty meeting throw down his pen and declare that he would not take minutes when complaints were made against the Proprietors. He did not know but what the same thing would happen again, because the same complaints would be repeated.

Besides, he added, the business to be transacted was of the utmost importance and required the minutes to be exactly written, which he thought might be accomplished by the method he proposed.

The Governor then presented George Croghan to Teedyuscung. The next day the Governor told Teedyuscung that Sir William Johnson "had constituted and appointed Mr. Croghan to be his deputy-agent for Indian affairs in the Province of Pennsylvania, with particular directions to hear complaints and

assist in accommodating the differences which the Indians might have with his Majesty's subjects, with particular attention to those differences which were described at the Treaty-meeting in the previous November.

As to the matter of a secretary, he let Teedyuscung know that by a special agreement between him and Mr. Croghan at the last Treaty at Lancaster, no one was to take minutes of the proceedings except the secretary who was appointed by Mr. Croghan. And he had also been told that it was the constant practice of Sir William Johnson, as well as everyone else involved in Indian affairs, to employ their own secretaries.

"Because this method," the Governor continued, "was settled at Lancaster as a precedent to be observed in future Treaties, I shall not take it upon myself to make any changes in this regard."

Teedyuscung knew that this was a denial of his request, and was very dissatisfied. The refusal of a request which was so just and reasonable, and which he had only made for the sake of truth and regularity, awakened his suspicions and made him think that there was a plot to lead him on as if he were blindfolded and in the dark, and then take advantage of his ignorance.

Therefore, considering his request, he stated that he no longer asked that this be given him as a favor. Instead, he asserted, this was something he had a right to demand, because it was not only reasonable but absolutely necessary to make sure the truth was recorded. And since this was something that had been ordered in his own Council back at his home, he informed the Governor that if he insisted in refusing this request he and his people would not take part in this meeting but leave and go home.

The Governor told Teedyuscung that since no Indian chief had ever made such a demand before, and a secretary had never been provided for the Indians in former Treaties meetings, and in fact that because he himself had not even nominated a secretary for the Province, he could not help declaring that this procedure was against his better judgment. "However," he said, "to prove to you my friendship and regard, if you insist upon having a secretary, I will no longer oppose it."

Four days had been spent in this debate about a secretary who would take the minutes for Teedyuscung.

On the fifth day the public negotiations began, after Teedyuscung nominated a person to take the minutes of the proceedings for him. The person he nominated was Charles Thomson, who had, at the particular request of Mr. Peters, taken minutes at the last Easton Treaty and of whom, it was likely, the Indians had a good opinion because of the close attention he gave to the business when the secretary of the Province, Mr. Peters, seemed confused and threw down his pen.

The Governor opened the public conference by informing Teedyuscung that he was glad to meet once more with him and his people and some of the Six Nations according to the agreement of last November.

Then the Governor reminded Teedyuscung of the question that was asked relating to the cause of the breach between the English and the Delawares, and of the answer he gave.

He let him know that he had put the minutes of that meeting before Sir William Johnson (who had been appointed by the King to be the sole agent for Indian affairs in this district) and that Sir William Johnson had appointed Mr. George Croghan to act in his behalf. Mr. Croghan would therefore attend this Treaty meeting and inquire into every grievance the Indians may have suffered, either from their brethren in Pennsylvania or the neighboring Provinces.

After this Mr. Croghan addressed the Indians and told them that he had been ordered by sir William Johnson to attend this meeting and to hear any complaints they had to make against their Brother Onas in regard to his defrauding them of their lands mentioned in the last Easton Treaty, or any other injuries they had received from any of his Majesty's subjects.

And Mr. Croghan further assured them, in the name of Sir William Johnson, that he would do everything in his power to have all the differences amicably adjusted to their satisfaction, in accordance to his orders and instructions.

Answering this, Teedyuscung described the same causes of the difference between him and the English that he had at the last Treaty-meeting at Easton, and suggested that the Governor and his people examine their own hearts and writings for the truth of what he said.

And having hinted at the injustice of the English in taking all the lands from the Indians and leaving them no place in which to live, he told the Governor that he would not give him the responsibility for making a lasting peace.

Teedyuscung said that he wanted nothing but what was reasonable. This land, he said, was first given to the Indians by the Almighty Power who created all things. "And because," said he, "it has pleased the Almighty Power to bring you to us and unite us in friendship in the manner already mentioned, which was well known by our ancestors, it is now within your power – that this friendship may not be broken as it has been. And if it should be broken it will be because of you."

Then Teedyuscung continued: "This is all that I ask, that I may have some place for my people to live in, and for other good purposes to which we will both agree. But because I am a free agent, like you, I must not be confined to live in a place only of your choosing. I must have the liberty to settle where I choose."

Because Teedyuscung had been for four or five days (that is, from the day before the public Treaty meeting began to the time he delivered his speech) kept almost continually drunk, it is not to be wondered that several parts of his speech, as it is recorded in the Minutes, appear unintelligible and confused, as they did to the Governor – and even more especially because at the time when the speech was delivered, the interpreter was dozing because of liquor and lack of sleep.

However, after this, Teedyuscung refrained from liquor because his Council intervened and told him to stop drinking.

And the next morning, when he was sober, Teedyuscung was called upon by Mr. Croghan (at the request of the Governor) to explain what he had said the day before. And in particular he was asked if he still insisted on the complaints he had made last Fall, about his being defrauded of lands and the right to live where he had intended. Teedyuscung therefore made the following speech:

"I still maintain that the complaints I made last Fall are true. Some lands have been bought by the Proprietary or his agents from Indians who had no right to sell them, because the lands did not belong to them.

"I think also, that when some lands were sold to the Proprietary by Indians who did have a right to sell a certain area, whether that purchase was to be measured by miles or by a walk of a certain number of hours, that the Proprietaries – contrary to agreement or negotiation – took in more land than they ought to have done as well as lands that belonged to others.

"I therefore now want you to produce the Writings and Deeds by which you say that you hold the land.

"And let them be read in public and examined, that it may be fully known from what Indians you bought the lands that you hold. And let everyone see how far your purchases really extend. I also want to have copies made of all of them so they may be laid before King George and published for all the Provinces under his Government.

"I will make no further demands about what was fairly bought and paid for. But if any lands were bought from Indians to whom these lands did not belong, and who therefore had no right to sell them, I expect compensation for those lands.

"And if the Proprietaries have taken more lands than they bought from the true owners, I likewise expect to be paid for that.

"But as far as the persons to whom the Proprietaries may have sold the lands are concerned, who have settled in these places which rightfully belonged to me, I do not want to disturb them or force them to leave.

"But I do expect that a full remuneration shall be paid to the original owners of these lands, even though the Proprietaries (as I said before) might have bought them from persons who had no right to sell them.

"Because we intend to live at Wyomen, we also want to have exact boundaries made between you and us, and an exact amount of land established, which it will not be lawful for us or our children ever to sell. Nor shall it ever be lawful for you or any of your children ever to buy.

"And because we intend to live at Wyomen and build different houses from what we have done before – houses that may last not only for a little while but for our children after us – we would like you to assist us in making these settlements by sending us persons who will instruct us in building houses and in making the basic things that will be useful.

"And we would like you to send us person who will instruct us in the Christian religion, which may be helpful for our future welfare, and to instruct our children in reading and writing.

"We would also like to have a fair trade established between us, with such persons to manage these affairs as shall be agreeable to us."

Ignoring these messages from Teedyuscung, Mr. Croghan and the Governor sent to Teedyuscung a repetition of the promises made at Lancaster, and what both had said in the beginning of the present Treaty meeting about their willingness and readiness to hear the complaints of the Indians and to make amends for their grievances.

And when the governor did refer to Teedyuscung's speech he told him that he must go to Sir William Johnson, because the orders of his Majesty's ministers were that the complaints of the Indians should be heard only by Sir William Johnson and Mr. Croghan had informed him that he had no authority to allow any discussions on this complaint, and he did not think it would be for the good of his Majesty's service, etc.

The Governor remarked that "As far as the lands between Shamokin and Wyomen are concerned, the Proprietaries never bought them from the Indians and therefore never claimed to own them under any Indian purchase."

The Governor added that he was pleased with the choice Teedyuscung and his people had made of Wyomen and would try by all the means in his power to have these lands designated for him and his posterity as Teedyuscung had requested.

As to the other purposes for which Teedyuscung desired these lands, the Governor said that they were so reasonable he had no doubt but that that on his recommendation of them to the Provincial Assembly they would cheerfully enable him to comply with them.

After this speech was delivered, the Indian king and his Council immediately withdrew to deliberate upon it. The result of this deliberation was that they would not go to Sir William Johnson.

And in order to show that the reasons for their refusal might appear as strong as possible, they agreed to follow the example of the Governor by having their speech written down, examined in their own Council, and then read to the Governor. The manner in which Teedyuscung had earlier shown himself in public induced the Council to require this procedure now.

Accordingly, next morning they met again, sent for the secretary, and had the speech written down and carefully examined. But when Teedyuscung met the Governor at the public conference and asked that what was written down in the Council might be read and accepted as his speech, both the Governor and Mr. Croghan joined in opposing it.

After some debate Teedyuscung, finding that they would not give him the same privilege that they had taken for themselves, informed them from his memory of the substance of what was agreed upon in his Council.

And after calling attention to the disparity that appeared to him when the Governor told him at one time that George Croghan was Sir William Johnson's deputy and appointed to act between the English and Indians, and then at another time that Mr. Croghan had no authority, etc., he made the Governor understand that he would not go to Sir William Johnson for the following reasons:

First, because he did not know Sir William.

Second, because the same nations would be present who had created this misunderstanding by the manner in which they had treated his people, by selling their lands in this Province.

And third, because the decisions being postponed might embroil us in another war.

Teedyuscung further told the Governor that he wanted nothing for his lands except that the deeds should be produced and well investigated, and copies made and put with the Minutes of this meeting.

This done, he offered to confirm a peace immediately. And regarding the injury he thought he had received in land affairs, he left that to be decided by the King of England and said he would wait for his determination.

"Let copies of the Deeds be sent to the King," Teedyuscung insisted, "and let him be the judge. I want nothing of the land until the King has sent letters back. And then if any of the lands be found to belong to me, I expect to be paid for them – but not before."

The Governor, finding that Teedyuscung was not to be ignored, resolved to appear as if he was complying with his request. But because it was agreed not to deliver up all the Deeds and this might cause the Indians to be resentful, Mr. Weiser and Mr. Croghan were privately sent to consult with Teedyuscung and to persuade him to be content with the delivery of only part of the Deeds, alleging that all of the deeds were not brought up because only those that were related to his complaint and the past purchases were needed.

Almost two days were spent in these discussions, and in the meantime the Indians were plied with liquor.

Finally the Governor met the Indians. He blamed some late orders from the King's ministers as the reasons for referring Teedyuscung to Sir William Johnson. He told him that he so earnestly wanted to see the Deeds for the lands that were mentioned in the last Treaty that he had brought them with him, and would give Teedyuscung copies of them in agreement with his request.

At this point some deeds were laid upon the table. The Governor said that he wanted all further debates and arguments concerning lands to wait until they should be fully examined and evaluated by Sir William Johnson and then sent to the King of England for his royal determination.

When Teedyuscung was told that the Deeds were delivered, without examining to see what Deeds were there and what Deeds might be missing, he immediately in the name of the Ten Nations solemnly concluded a Peace.

The reading of the Deeds was postponed until the next day.

In the meantime, upon examination, it was found that very few Deeds had actually been delivered. And those that were delivered were not enough to throw full light into the matters in dispute. This proved that there was no desire for doing justice or of making a full and candid enquiry into the complaints of the Indians.

For example: the Deed of 1718 was withheld. And a paper, called a "copy" of the last Indian purchase of 1686 (although not even attested to as a copy) was produced as a substitute for a Deed.

Mr. Thomson, who was Teedyuscung's secretary, before he knew that there would be any intention of nominating him to take Minutes, had an opportunity to read the Treaty of 1728. And seeing there the emphasis that was placed upon the Deed of 1718, and considering that the Governor had only recently arrived and might not be acquainted with that matter, thought he could not fulfill his responsibility unless he informed the Governor that there was such a Deed. This he did by a letter which he delivered into the Governor's own hands.

But this did not have the desired effect. Because the very next day, when the Deeds were again produced, the Deed of 1718 was still missing.

The Proprietary's agents, it seems, had plotted to deceive and withhold the necessary document. And they knew that it was imperative to follow those plans at all cost, regardless of the consequences. Doubtless it was for this reason that the Deed of 1718 was withheld and the Paper which was called a Copy was produced as if it was a Deed, when in fact there was not even any kind of Certificate to attest that it was a copy. And two of the most important places were left blank. It cannot even be imagined that a true Deed could have allowed these blanks. Nor could it be imagined that the Indians would ever knowingly have approved and executed something like that.

However, it was necessary to produce this document, flawed as it was, because the Release of 1737 depended upon it. It was because of this supposed "Deed" that the Walking Purchase was made and the greatest part of the land in dispute was taken from the Indians.

In addition to these documents, there were produced (1) a Release from the Indians of the Five Nations for the lands on the Susquehanna River (October 11, 1736); (2) a Release from the Six Nations of lands below the mountains east of the Delaware River (dated October 25, 1736); and (3) another Paper endorsed upon it (dated the 9<sup>th</sup> of July 1754).

Upon finding that the Deed of 1718 had not been delivered, notwithstanding the notice that had been given to the Governor, Teedyuscung's secretary informed Mr. Croghan, the King's deputy-agent, about this by means of a letter written and delivered into his hands at the table just in time for the public meeting.

The reason for not mentioning this failure to produce the Deed of 1718 in public was that if it reached the ears of the Indians that they were being abused like this even at this Treaty-making itself, they might break up the conference and go away angry.

The ferment among the Indians that had taken place only the evening before, including the Resolution they had taken to go home (based upon imagining that some delays in the public business was because of a reluctance on the Governor's part to conclude a peace) gave what looked like reasonable grounds for this fear that the Indians would walk away from the meeting.

For this same reason the commissioners from the Pennsylvania Assembly, even though they knew that the necessary Deeds had not been delivered, did not mention this to the public at this time. They were hoping that, upon more thoughtful deliberation, the Governor would order that the documents which were so necessary should be added later and then sent to the King of England and his Council.

The reasoning was that since a true determination could not be given if Papers and Deeds of such importance were withheld, and because the lives of so many of his Majesty's subjects – as well as the alliance of many Indian nations – depended upon an honest determination, it could not be imagined that the Governor would join the Proprietaries in a plot like this, attempting to deceive the King and his Council in a matter of such great importance.

After the previously mentioned Deeds and Papers were produced and copies of them made available, Teedyuscung requested that Mr. Norris, speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, together with all the Assembly, would look into these matters and send to the King of England an copy of the Deeds and Minutes of this Treaty-meeting. He said that he hoped the Governor and Mr. Croghan would not object.

And here the affair rests.

And these are our conclusions:

- (1) If all the proper papers, with a true statement of the case, is laid before the King and his Council for an honest determination;
- (2) If the Indians will be assisted in making this settlement, and made secure in their present property, and instructed in religion and the civilized arts (in keeping with their request);
- (3) If the trade with them will be regulated and set on such a basis that they may be safe from abuse

Then there is not the least doubt but that the alliance and friendship of the Indians may be forever secured for the British interest.

But on the other hand, if these things should be neglected, the arms of the French are open to welcome the Indians into an alliance with them.

We have already experienced the cruelties of an Indian war. And there are more instances than one to show that they are capable of being either our most useful friends or, on the other hand, our most dangerous enemies.

And whether for the future they will be one or the other seems that now, at this point in time, to be in our own power to decide.

How long matters will rest like this, or whether, if the present opportunity should be neglected, such an opportunity will ever return, is altogether uncertain.

It is important for men of wisdom and prudence to leave nothing to chance, where reason can decide.

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in the making of the previous extracts**

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Treaty between Governor Gordon and the Five Nations (October 10)	1728
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Sir William Johnson's Treaty with the Shawanese and Delaware Indians (Jul) Published at New-York, 1757	1756
Sir William Johnson's Treaty with Shawanese, Nanticokes, and Mohickanders (April) Published at New-York	1757

### **Thirteen Indian deeds taken from the public records**

2<sup>nd</sup> October, 1685, for the lands from Duck-Creek to Chester-Creek.

12<sup>th</sup> January 1696, for the lands on both sides of Susquehanna, lately purchased by Thomas Dungan from the Seneca and Susquehanna Indians.

5<sup>th</sup> July 1697, for the lands from Pennopeck-Creek to Neshameny.

13<sup>th</sup> September, 1700, for the lands on both sides of Susquehanna, as far as the Susquehanna Indians have a right to claim, confirming the Grant formerly made by Col. Dungan to William Penn.

23<sup>rd</sup> April 1701, articles of friendship and agreement between William Penn and the Susquehanna, Shawanah, and North Patomack Indians.

17<sup>th</sup> September 1718, Sassoonan, King of the Delawares, and his six councilors, to William Penn, their Deed of Confirmation of all former sales of lands from Duck-Creek to the mountains on this side of Lechay.

11<sup>th</sup> October 1736, release of all the lands on Susquehanna to the southward of the Kittochtinny Hills from the chiefs of the Six Nations to John, Thomas, and Richard Penn, Esquires.

25<sup>th</sup> October 1736, release from some of the chiefs of the Six Nations (parties to the last-mentioned Deed) of all their rights to the lands in the Province of Pennsylvania, southward of the Kittochtinny Hills. On this Deed appears an endorsement made at Albany, 9<sup>th</sup> July 1754, confirming the Deed and promising to sell no lands within these limits to any person except Thomas and Richard Penn, Esquires.

25<sup>th</sup> August 1737, a Deed of Confirmation of a purchase therein recited to have been formerly made of so much land as a man could go over in a day and a half, beginning at Pitcock's Falls on the Delaware, thence westward to Neshameny, and to the head of the most westerly branch of the said Creek, and thence to the end of the walk, etc.

23<sup>rd</sup> July 1748, articles of friendship between the chiefs of the Tweghtwees and the Government of Pennsylvania.

22<sup>nd</sup> August 1749, release of the chiefs of the Six Nations of lands between the Kittochtinny Mountains and Maghoinoy on the Susquehanna, and the said Mountains and Lechawachsein on the Delaware.

6<sup>th</sup> July 1754, release from the chiefs of the Six Nations of lands on the West Side of the Susquehanna, beginning at the Kittochtinny Hills and thence to a creek northward of the Kittochtinny Hills, called Kayanondinbagh; thence northwest and by west to the western boundaries of Pennsylvania, thence to the Maryland line; thence by the said Line to the south side of the Kittochtinny Hills; thence by the said south side of the said Hills to the place of beginning.

9<sup>th</sup> July 1754, and endorsement made by some of the parties to the said Deed, promising to sell no lands within the limits of Pennsylvania to any but the Penns.

A paper, said to be a copy of a Deed dated the 28<sup>th</sup> of the sixth month in 1686, and endorsed, copy of the last Indian purchase. To give it some credit, it has been confidently asserted that the said endorsement is in the handwriting of William Penn. But on its being produced in Easton and examined, it appeared clearly (and was confessed by the Secretary and several others acquainted with Mr. Penn's handwriting) not to be his nor indeed is it even like it. Its chief mark of credit is that it appears to be an ancient paper. But there is no certificate of its being a copy, nor was it ever recorded. As the name of Joseph Wood is put as one of the evidences, and as a person of that name declared at Pennsbury in 1734 that he had been present at an Indian Treaty in 1686, and it is not known that there was any

other person with that name, it seems extraordinary (if this be a genuine copy) that he was not then called upon to provide some proof for it.

There is a considerable number of Indian deeds in the hands of the Secretary for Lands purchased at several times, and particularly for the lands on the branches of the Schuylkill River above Tulpyhochin, purchased in 1732 and 1733, which it was particularly desired might be produced.

But they will neither record nor produce them. \*

There is reason to believe that the said last-mentioned deed would particularly militate against the subsequent proceedings from 1733 to 1737.

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\* *"They" refers to the Proprietors and the Proprietary Council, which claimed to have these deeds on hand but refused to allow the members of King George II's investigative committee to see.*

*As this entire document is studied, it is interesting to note that the committee of investigation has not one good word to say for the integrity of the successors to William Penn.*

*The inference, in my opinion, is that the burden of guilt for the bloody attacks of Indians on white settlers must be borne by the Penns and their policies which cheated the Indians and misled the settlers into believing they had uncontestable rights to the lands upon which they settled.*

*- Donald R. Repsher, transcriber and editor*

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**FINIS**

## CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Donald R. Repsher, March 2005

Transcribe *and* edit? I suppose both would describe what I have tried to do. Purists and scholars will want to see an original copy of this important work. Every decision to substitute a contemporary word or phrase for the now-archaic language of the 1750's calls into question the editor's ability to reproduce the true meaning (and feeling) of the original. No editing which attempts to do this is without flaws.

On the other hand, however, an equally important question arises. How accurately can non-professional contemporary readers be expected to understand the nuances and intentions of 18<sup>th</sup> century words and phrases whose meaning has changed through the centuries?

How much patience would contemporary readers have when they try to wade through 18<sup>th</sup> century styles of printing as well as archaic language?

It is my opinion that this book is too important to sit on some dusty archival shelf, unnoticed and unread by inquirers who are not experts in 18<sup>th</sup> century language.

Almost all the published literature available from previous centuries was written from the European-Christian point of view. Native people were seen, and often caricatured, through European lenses that were clouded with a European bias. A time-curtain is drawn that makes it difficult to feel the full depth of emotions that might have been going on deep within the soul of the Original People.

There are also our own contemporary American cultural traits that must somehow bridge the gap into another world, another time, and another culture.

As we read the old European-Christian literature we repeatedly see three popular descriptions of the Lenape (and all Native people) that reveal the European-Christian bias: "savages;" "pagans;" "heathen."

And sad to say, Christianity at that time not only followed this attitude which de-humanized human beings who were different; Christianity encouraged it. Even the Moravians, so highly regarded for their attempts to be helpful, require Native converts to shed their culture, deny their ancestral roots, and discard their "pagan" names to "Christian" names. For example, when Teedyuscung became Christianized for a time, he became no longer Teedyuscung but Gideon Harris. When the investigating committee retain his Indian name throughout their report it was a sign of respect for the old tradition.

The Original People were sometimes called "savages" because in warm weather they were not shy about wearing few if any clothes.

On the other hand, however, Europeans often wore clothes that lied about what they were truly like. Some European people like the Proprietaries and members of their own Proprietary Council, after William Penn had died, undoubtedly wore beautiful clothes. But in their hearts they were, in reality, anything but beautiful people.

The Original People sometimes were also called "savages" because, when aroused to defend or avenge themselves, some of them resorted to brutality. The same could be said of Europeans, who had a long tradition of religious and political wars in Europe that devastated entire populations.

When William Penn arrived, he found a peaceful people. He expressed concern that Europeans would destroy the good character of the Lenape. His concern was well taken.

William Penn described the Lenape he knew in these words: "They are generally tall, straight, well-built, and of singular proportion... I know not a language spoken in Europe that hath words of more sweetness or greatness in accent or emphasis than theirs.... If an European comes to see them, or calls for lodging at their house, they give him the best place and first cut of meat. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an 'Itah' which is to say Good be with you.... In liberty they excel, nothing is too good for

their friend.... Light of heart.... The most merry creatures that live.... They never have much, nor want much... They care for little, because they want but little..." \*

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\* Quotations are from "William Penn's Own Account of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians," edited by Albert Cook Myers (Wilmington, Delaware: The Middle Atlantic Press, 1970), pages 21-31.

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The Proprietaries and their allies, less than twenty years after William Penn's death in 1718, began to change all that and brought upon themselves and many innocent people the tragedies that followed in the footsteps of their European greed.

The Lenape were called "pagans" and "heathens" because they worshipped the Great Spirit – a benevolent Creator – outdoors and in the woodlands instead of within the confines of a church building. And they didn't follow a creed that placed the Deity within a carefully crafted statement of belief. Instead, they preferred to live with the awesome mystery of a sacred Presence that was beyond the ability of humans minds and human words to fully express.

They were called "uncivilized" because they warmed themselves by clothes made of deerskins, lived in huts that could fall apart within the time frame of a dozen years, and preferred to keep the trees of the forest standing instead of cutting them down to be devoured by the hungry furnaces of an industrialized, "Christian" society.

While much has been written about occasional, brutal Indian raids into what was then the frontier, it is often forgotten that sacred lands were continually desecrated and innocent Indian men, women, and children, including the aged and infirm, were again and again evicted from their homes, often without consideration for where they might go.

Meanwhile, as we learn in this committee's report, wealthy land speculators were living comfortably and safely in Philadelphia and London selling those lands to immigrants who were led to believe that they were buying vacant land.

In this book we meet Europeans who by their greed undermined the foundations essential for any healthy civilization. To be civilized means to be civil, does it not? It was the Lenape (i.e., Delawares) who honored respect for others outside their own traditions. It was the Lenape who followed a way of life built on trust instead of deceit. It was the Lenape who practiced an economics based upon need instead of greed. It was the Lenape who provided a hospitality of sharing instead of grabbing, until they were taken advantage of once too often. And yet even then they were slow to anger, slow to seek vengeance.

Yes, there were exceptions. There were Europeans, for example, who were kind, gentle, honest and generous.

But in the pages of this book, written to provide an honest report for the King of England, we have learned that the real causes for the bloodshed on the frontiers of Pennsylvania were not bloodthirsty Indians, but descendents of William Penn and their allies on the Proprietary Council in Philadelphia and elsewhere who had set their priorities on unprincipled greed.

Not the least among these unprincipled, unscrupulous people was the Reverend Richard Peters, who had abandoned two wives in England (one was pregnant, who he had married without a divorce from the first wife in a culture which condemned divorced as a social disgrace and a religious sin).

It was his biographer, Hubertis Cummings, in a book titled "Richard Peters: Provincial Secretary and Cleric" (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944) who narrates the details, although with much more sympathy than I am producing here. But Mr. Cummings reveals his bias when he calls the Lenape "red-skinned monsters." The King of England's investigative committee report, much closer to the original events, hardly agrees with that.

When his first wife had come knocking on his door in London, as Mr. Cummings informs us, Reverend Peters had taken the first ship to America and was hired as assistant to the pastor of Christ Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. (Richard Peters the clergyman is not to be confused with his nephew, also named Richard Peters, who was a Patriot and American leader during the War for Independence.)

After insubordination to the church's head of staff which divided the congregation into two quarreling factions, Richard Peters left the church and obtained a job as secretary for the Penns' land warranty office.

This placed him in the position of being able to invest in lands on the frontier. An old map of what is now the village of Gilbert in Monroe County, Pennsylvania (the former site of a Moravian mission village named Wechquetank) shows him owning land adjoining the south side of the Pochopocho Creek where it was joined by another creek. This was, in Lenape tradition, a sacred place known as "the marriage of the waters.") Reverend Richard Peters had displaced the Lenape-Christian villagers who had hoped and prayed in vain for a secure living space.

It is the careful, meticulous objectivity on the part of the investigative committee that wrote this report which leads me, in my personal opinion, to the following conclusions:

The Proprietaries and their allies betrayed Lenape hospitality.

They betrayed settlers who had been led to believe that they were purchasing land which was clear from legal and ethical entanglements.

They betrayed their own homeland, England, by alienating hitherto friendly tribes and turning them into the arms of the French with whom England was at war.

They betrayed their adopted land, Pennsylvania, by allowing thieving and unscrupulous traders and merchants to operate without restraint in Indian country, using addictive drugs – in the form of rum – to destroy what had once been a quiet, peaceful civilization.

They betrayed the hope and vision of William Penn who believed that being Christian meant treating all people fairly and honestly, regardless of ethnic or cultural origins.

And ultimately they betrayed themselves, for Creator gave them no descendants who can take honest pride in the inter-cultural accomplishments which William Penn had hoped so much to establish.

Teedyuscung died on April 19, 1763. His little village at Wyomen (Wyoming), in the heart of what would become the anthracite coal mining center of Pennsylvania a hundred years later, had been abandoned. Settlers from Connecticut were now claiming as their own all of the land corridor from the present-day state of Connecticut to Wyomen. The Susquehanna Company (Connecticut Yankee land speculators) was as bent on profiteering as the Proprietaries down in Philadelphia, and Proprietaries and Yankees were both trying to claim the entire area for themselves.

Teedyuscung was murdered. His cabin was burned to the ground during the night as he lay inside sleeping. Twenty other buildings which had been abandoned because of the encroaching Connecticut Yankees were also burned that night.

In his book "King of the Delawares" (1949, 1990), Anthony F. C. Wallace discusses two theories: (1) assassins sent from the Six Nations; (2) assassins hired by the Susquehanna Company or some Connecticut settlers.

Wallace quickly discounts the Six Nations theory because Teedyuscung was living as their guest on what the Six Nations claimed as their land. His conclusions about the involvement of the Susquehanna Company or Connecticut Yankee settlers are, in my opinion, well thought through.

And yet, the Susquehanna Company and the Connecticut settlers had every reason to fear reprisals for Teedyuscung's murder, which should have made them think twice before committing murder. Indeed, a fear of reprisals was based on reality. Captain Bull, Teedyuscung's son, led a band of Lenape warriors into parts of what was then the northwestern frontiers of Northampton County. Then they entered the Connecticut settlements near Wyomen, and took into captivity some settlers and killed others.

I would like to suggest a third possible theory as to who may have been responsible for Teedyuscung's murder: Richard Peters and/or members of the Proprietary Council, hiring assassins to do the evil deed.

When someone is murdered, it's standard procedure to suspect whoever profited most. Teedyuscung perennially stood in the way of the Proprietaries' pursuit of land. The lands claimed by the Connecticut Yankees and the Susquehanna Company were coveted by the Proprietaries, and there was Teedyuscung determined to live out his days on the land he desired. And the Reverend Richard Peters, along with the other members of the Proprietary Council, were safe in Philadelphia – while the Connecticut people were vulnerable on the dangerous frontier.

Add to this the virulent hatred that the Reverend Richard Peters had toward Teedyuscung. Remember how the committee investigating the Proprietaries reported the display of temper which Richard Peters demonstrated when he threw down his pen and refused to take any further minutes. That was not a world-shaking event by any stretch of the imagination; yet it allows us to see evidence of the intense hatred and complete disrespect for Teedyuscung which was deep within the soul of Richard Peters.

He and other members of the proprietary Council had doubtless met Teedyuscung's son, Captain Bull, on more than one occasion. They would have had little question but that Captain Bull would have wanted to avenge his father's murder. And they knew that the first people Captain Bull would have thought of in connection with the murder were the Connecticut Yankees. After Captain Bull and his warriors first raided parts of Northampton County, as if they were bent on vengeance there, they vented their full wrath on the Connecticut people, just as the clever plotters and manipulators in Philadelphia could have predicted.

Teedyuscung's murder may have been the perfect crime. Think about it. At the very least, when Richard Peters heard the news, he would have had a smirking smile upon his hypocritical face.

The fact is, we'll never know for certain who was responsible for the murder of Teedyuscung. And because this book was prepared four years previously, Teedyuscung's murder is consequently outside of our sphere of study but not beyond our sphere of interest.

In closing, I trust you have found this book helpful in learning more about an inglorious age in American history; and if your conclusions are different than mine, freedom of thought is one of the great characteristics of a decent civilization.