

The Indian Treaty of 1744

By M. LUTHER HEISEY

Turn back the pages of history two hundred years, and we find here in this two-year old borough of eleven hundred souls a gathering fraught with importance and anxiety. To this inland town, rapidly growing in influence, gathered a notable group of Indian chiefs and their retinue from the Six Nations of New York State, to meet the Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, the Commissioners of Maryland and of Virginia, to negotiate new treaties and renew and clarify old ones. Here in Lancaster, for thirteen days, from June 22 to July 4, negotiations were carried on.

Why Lancaster Was Chosen

There were definite reasons for choosing Lancaster. Let us see what gave it consideration as a favorable site for a treaty conference. The Indians desired to meet in a frontier town, such as Lancaster then was, away from the more thickly settled portions of the province, in a place where there was ample space and accommodations for the construction of a camp after their own manner, for they refrained from entering and dwelling in the white man's house, preferring the freedom and naturalness of their open camp life.

To settle disputes over the title to lands the Governor of Maryland, two years before the time set for the Lancaster conference, had agreed to meet representatives of the Six Nations at Conedogwinet,¹ but after better counsel they chose Lancaster.

But let us hear what Canassatego, orator and chief of the Onondaga tribe, had to say on this matter:

"When you invited us to kindle a Council Fire with you, Conedogwainet was the place agreed upon, but afterwards you by Brother Onas [the name given by the Indians to Governor George Thomas], upon second thought, con-

¹ Doubtless, this was a point on Conedogwinet Creek in Cumberland County, not far from Harris' Ferry. It shows the Indians desire to remain away from civilization, and keep on the west bank of the Susquehanna River.

sidering that it would be difficult to get Provisions and other accommodations where there were but few houses or Inhabitants, desired we should meet Our Brother at Lancaster, and at his instance we very readily agreed to meet you here, and are glad of the Change, for we have found plenty of everything, and as yesterday you bid us Welcome, and told us you were glad to see us, we likewise assure you we are as glad to see you, and in token of our Satisfaction we present you with this String of Wampum.”²

Lancaster was a goodly town in 1744, with a courthouse, market and taverns; the latter kept by George Gibson, George Sanderson, Peter Worrall, Henry Bostler, Conrad Schwartz and a few others. Round about were productive farms. Grist mills were in operation nearby, and everything indicated a successful and substantial community.

In 1742, Governor Thomas had tendered his good offices to secure an understanding between the several parties, but before arrangements were completed an unfortunate skirmish occurred in the back parts of Virginia between some militiamen and warriors of the Six Nations, with losses on both sides. The governor temporarily healed the breach, and arranged for the gathering to be held at Lancaster.

The Meeting Place

The sessions of the council were held in our first courthouse, located in the center of Penn Square. Some local historians have called it “a little modest courthouse.” But Witham Marshe, secretary to the Commissioners of Maryland, makes the statement that “it is a pretty large brick building two stories high” and “is capable to contain above eight hundred people without incommoding each other.” Although this figure seems very high, remember Marshe saw the building, we did not.

Penn Square, granted by Andrew Hamilton, was a plot 165 feet in size. In its center was a smaller plot, 66 feet square, reserved for the courthouse. Assuming that several feet were required for pavement, that would give sufficient space for a building, say, 45 by 60 feet. This would permit passageways or streets on all sides of the building at least 50 feet wide, ample space to allow the ponderous four-horse or six-horse Conestoga teams to pass with freedom. We feel that the building held the same prominence and importance to the little borough of 1744 that the Griest Building now bears to the city of 1944.

There is no known print of this first courthouse, except the small representation found on the survey of November 8, 1753 (see facsimile on page 68. This drawing shows a central door with two windows on either side, much as the second courthouse appeared, and from this we would infer that they were substantially of the same dimensions, the second possibly built on the very foundations of the one destroyed by fire on June 9, 1784.

² *An Authentic History of Lancaster County*, by J. I. Mombert, 1869, app. p. 58.

The Camp

On Friday noon, June 22, while the Commissioners of Maryland and Virginia were dining in the courthouse, they were interrupted by a commotion outside. The Indians, led by their chiefs, were arriving for the conference. Canassatego, at the head of the procession of 252 Indians, sang a song of peace and conciliation as they approached the courthouse. They were followed by "a great concourse of people," and small wonder, for even to later days people would line the streets to gain a view of Buffalo Bill's or Pawnee Bill's "vanishing Americans."

After the exchange of proper greetings, their interpreter, Conrad Weiser, conducted them to their camp on "some vacant lots in the back part of the town." *Where was this camp located?*—has ever been a mooted question. We would place it a few blocks from the courthouse, to the *west* of the settled portion of town because "back part" in colonial parlance indicated a westerly direction. What is now Water Street was then Roaring Brook, a sizable stream with small tributaries having their source in springs and flowing into the brook from the west and northwest. We are familiar with the history of one such spring, of copious flow, rising at a point where now Mulberry and Fulton streets join.

The camp was not far from the inhabited portion of the town, for Witham Marshe, from his room in Peter Worrall's inn, on West King Street near the Square, could hear the drum beats and songs of the Indian dancers far into the night. On one occasion, Conrad Weiser, the interpreter and also representative for the powerful Mohawk tribe, accompanied several chiefs "*up* to the courthouse." At another time a group of young braves, decorated with paint, and having a great quantity of feathers on their heads, and carrying arrows and tomahawks, "ran out of their camp, hallooing and shrieking, *up* the street to Mr. Cookson's," where they performed fantastic ceremonial dances for Governor Thomas and the Commissioners. The governor was an intimate friend of Thomas Cookson, who entertained him in a lavish manner while a guest at the Cookson mansion, at the northwest corner of Orange and Lime streets. These two instances would indicate to us that the Indians camped west of Water Street, coming *up* West King Street to the courthouse, and *up* Orange Street to Cookson's.

Poles and boards were given to the Indians, and these with boughs of trees gathered from the adjacent woods, enabled them to construct cabins after their manner. These they occupied during the days of the treaty.

To the inhabitants of the town this large group of Indians was an attractive spectacle; they visited their camp, and stayed to enjoy the many ceremonial dances performed by the young, agile braves, to the accompaniment of drums beaten by three of the old men. These Indians were nothing if not colorful, so they added war paint, which gave them a most hideous and ferocious appearance. While they carried firearms, and bows and arrows, they resented the appearance of white men at their camp bearing arms, for that irritated them and made them suspicious.

Pleasure Was Mixed With Business

The old courthouse was the scene of much conviviality. Here the Commissioners and Indians wined and dined and danced. The Indians were given punch, wine, pipes and tobacco, and on occasion bumbo and sangree. The former was a mixture of rum and water; sangree was composed of wine and water spiced. It pleased the Indians when pennies were thrown about the camp for their children to gather. Their dances at camp drew the white settlers, who watched their antics with amazement and awe.

The first Monday evening at the courthouse, Governor Thomas arranged a merry program for the visitors and townspeople. Music was furnished by two passing Germans, who were impressed into service, and prevailed upon to play their instruments — a harp and a fiddle. There was dancing to this music. Then on Wednesday evening, June 27, James Hamilton, the proprietor of Lancaster, gave a ball, with music again from the harp and the fiddle. Marshe was not pleased with the actions of some of the ladies present, for two of them "danced wilder time than any Indians," but there were some Jewesses present who favorably impressed Marshe, for they "made a tolerable appearance, being well-dressed and of an agreeable behaviour."

On the Saturday preceding the Treaty, the Governor, Commissioners and others repaired to the cloisters at Ephrata, for the fame of this colony, the mode of living, and the unique buildings, had spread already throughout the province, and made them a point of attraction, though the cloisters had been built but a few years.

Madame Montour

A conspicuous character found with the Indians was Madame Montour, who as a child of ten years was captured and reared by the Indians in their way of life. She claimed to be the daughter of a governor of Canada, but such was not the case. She was in fact a half-breed, her French father having married an Indian. Madame Montour was beautiful and intelligent, genteel and of polite address. She could speak French, and English, and several Indian dialects, and she, and later her children, often acted as interpreters at various councils. Marshe says she was "in great esteem with the best sort of white people [being herself of a very light complexion], and by them always treated with abundance of civility; and whenever she went to Philadelphia (which formerly she did pretty often), the ladies of that city always invited her to their houses, entertained her well and made her several presents."

Her son, Andrew, was always loyal to the British interests, and with rank as captain commanded a company of Indians in the French and Indian War. There was no Indian "to whom the English were under greater obligation for valuable service and strict fidelity than Andrew Montour."

The name persists in Pennsylvania annals through Montoursville and Montour County.

Prior Treaties

Claims to a vast portion of the western continent were made by European monarchs, following discoveries by their subjects. As early as 1609, the English king granted to the London Company all the territory extending along the coast for two hundred miles north and south from Point Comfort, and "*up into the land, throughout from sea to sea, west and northwest.*" In 1662, Charles II granted to Connecticut an extension of her borders *from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean*. Thirty years later, Massachusetts was granted a somewhat similar charter to western lands.

But the French ruler also made claims to the western lands, which he called Louisiana. By a treaty in 1713 between Great Britain and France, the northern limit of this territory was fixed at the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, but after the French and Indian War, at the Treaty of Paris in 1763, this territory was ceded to the English.

Henry Howe states: "The principal ground whereon the English claimed dominion beyond the Alleghenies was, that the Six Nations owned the Ohio Valley, and had placed it with their other lands under the protection of England. Some of the western lands were also claimed by the British as having been *actually purchased at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1744, at a treaty* between the colonists and the Six Nations at that place. In 1748, the 'Ohio Company,' for the purpose of securing the Indian trade, was formed. In 1749, it appears that the English built a trading house upon the Great Miami, at a spot since called Loramie's Store. In 1751, Christopher Gist, an agent of the Ohio Company, who was appointed to examine the western lands, made a visit to the Twightwees, who lived upon the Miami River, about one hundred miles from its mouth.

"Early in 1752, the French having heard of the trading house on the Miami, sent a party of soldiers to the Twightwees and demanded the traders as intruders upon French lands. The Twightwees refused to deliver up their friends. The French, assisted by the Ottawas and Chippewas, then attacked the trading house, which was probably a block house, and after a severe battle, in which fourteen of the natives were killed and others wounded, took and destroyed it, carrying away the traders to Canada. This fort, or trading house, was called by the English, Pickawillany. Such was the first British settlement in the Ohio Valley, of which we have any record."³

The Five Nations deeded to John, Thomas and Richard Penn, for a large quantity of powder, lead, guns, clothing, tobacco, pipes, and many other articles, "all the said river Susquehannah, with the Lands lying on both sides thereof, to Extend Eastward as far as the heads of the Branches or Springs which run into the said Susquehannah, And all the Lands lying on the *West side of the said River to the setting of the Sun.*"⁴

³ *Historical Collections of Ohio*, Henry Howe, 1889, vol. 1, p. 34.

⁴ *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1664-1747, October 11, 1736, pp. 494-5.

In 1652, the Susquehannocks had sold to Maryland their possessions and conquest rights on both sides of the Chesapeake Bay. These Indians, also called Minquas, after long wars with Senecas and Cayugas, were finally defeated, and their lands acquired by the victors. Later, Governor Thomas Dongan, of New York State, purchased this land, at least that part south to Conewago Falls, to obstruct William Penn in his claims. But Dongan sold these deeded rights to Penn in 1696. The Conestogas, a remnant of the once powerful Susquehannocks, sold their land rights to Penn in 1699, giving "the rights that their ancestors have, could, might, or ought to have had, held or enjoyed."

The Marylanders, at a treaty in 1736, denied to the Six Nations any rights to land in their province, referring to their old deed of purchase from the Susquehannocks in 1652 as covering all or nearly all their lands, but this treaty did not clearly define the *western* limits of the province. To this the Indians replied: "We acknowledge the deed to be good and valid, and that the Conestoga or Susquehanna Indians had a right to sell those lands unto you, for they were then theirs; but since that time we have conquered them, and their country now belongs to us, and the lands we demand satisfaction for are no part of the lands comprised in those deeds—they are the Cohongorontas [Potomac] lands."

In 1736, the Chiefs of the Six Nations agreed, so said Governor Thomas, "to the release of Certain Lands on both Sides the River Susquehannah to the Southward of the Endless Mountains and within the Limits & Bounds of the King's Grant of this Province."⁵

At the treaty in Philadelphia on July 7, 1742, Canassatego, chief of the Onondagos, laid claim to lands in Maryland, saying, "You will inform the person whose people are seated on our lands that that country belongs to us in right of conquest—we have bought it with our blood, and taken it from our enemies in fair war."

Following the treaty held in 1742, in behalf of the Government of Pennsylvania with a number of the chiefs of the Six Nations, Governor Thomas wrote: "I was desired by them to write to the Governor of Maryland concerning some Lands in the Back Parts of the Province which they claim a Right to from their Conquests over the Antient Possessors, and which have been settled by some of the Inhabitants of that Government without their Consent or any Purchase made from them. It was at that time understood that the Claim was upon Maryland only, but it has since appeared by some Letters formerly wrote by Mr. President Logan to the late Governor of Maryland that it related likewise to some Lands in the Back parts of Virginia. The Governors of those Colonies soon manifested a truly equitable Disposition to come to any Reasonable Terms with the Six Nations on account of those Lands, and Desired that for that End a Time and Place might be fixed for a Treaty with them."

⁵ *Pennsylvania Archives*, 4th series, vol. 1, p. 787.

The tribes of the Six Nations were considered as a buffer frontier for the English, in effect protecting them from the ravages of other Indian tribes and the French; if unfriendly they could ravage the back parts of the English and German settlements; if neutral, they could deny the French a passage through their lands, and give the English timely warning of any French encroachment. The governor further stated at the Treaty: "The French very well know the Importance of these Nations to Us, and will not fail by Presents and their other usual Arts to take advantage of any Misunderstandings we may have with them."

The Great Treaty at Lancaster

Before the weighty matters of land disputes and mutual assistance pacts were taken up, the Indians wanted to be assured that their worn guns, hatchets and kettles would be mended, for so it had become customary in their dealings with the white man. This was agreed to.

Throughout the treaty sessions, there seemed to be an unlimited exchange of strings and belts of wampum, as an assurance of the sincerity of the words spoken, and as a reminder of the contracts entered upon. This exchange was usually followed by the Indian shout of approbation, "Jo-hah." They placed more reliance on belts of wampum, than on the suspicious "pen and ink work" done by the commissioners' secretaries. Their protestations of friendship were couched in beautiful and picturesque language; they longed to keep the Chain of Friendship unbroken and free from rust, and to dwell in brotherly kindness, even though they complained that "when the White People came first here they were poor, but now they have got our Lands and are by them become Rich, and we are now poor. What little we had for the Land goes soon away, but the Land lasts forever." The white men came "like flocks of birds" and squatted upon their land.

Two matters of great importance engaged the attention of the commissioners, each of vital concern to the colonies; the one, the adjusting of boundary disputes; the other, the avowal of loyalty to the English cause by the Six Nations.

Governor Thomas gave some sage advice when he told the delegates that "a Present now and then for the Relief of their necessities, which have in some measure been brought upon them by their intercourse with us, and by our yearly extending our Settlements, will probably tye them more closely to the British interest. This has been the method of New York and Pennsylvania, and will not put you to so much Expense in Twenty Years as the carrying on a War against them will do in One."

The Indians gave the assurance that they would work for their mutual welfare, and before coming to Lancaster, Onantio, the Governor of Canada, had been told "that neither he nor any of His people should come through our Country to hurt our Brethren the English, or any of the Settlements belonging to them." This promise was kept by most of the tribes.

What was the extent of the land involved in this treaty? The Commissioners made the statement "that the Great King holds Virginia by Right of Conquest, and the Bounds of that conquest *to the Westward is the Great Sea*. If the Six Nations have made any Conquest over Indians that may at any time have lived on the *West side of the Great Mountains of Virginia*, yet they never possessed any Lands there that we have ever heard. That part was altogether deserted, and free for any People to enter upon, as the People of Virginia have done by order of the Great King, very justly as well by an Antient Right as by its being freed from the Possession of any other, and from any Claims, even of you the Six Nations, our Brethren, until within these Eight years."

Was the Great Sea, as above mentioned, a reference to the Pacific Ocean? Quite likely, for both Indian and White had but a vague idea of the vastness of the territory extending westward. Most always, it seemed, the western boundary in their treaties was poorly defined.

The following letter (printed in part) shows clearly the extent of land claimed by the officials of the provinces. Anthony Palmer, President of the Province of Pennsylvania wrote to His Excellency, Samuel Ogle, Esq., Governor of Maryland:

Philadelphia 25 Jan'y 1747

Sir

I have the pleasure to inform you that the Indians Seated on the Branches of Ohio and to the South and West of Lake Erie (Places within the Bounds of Virginia, Maryland and Pensilvania) have this last Summer shown great Zeal for his Majestys Interest in those Parts, and by their Seasonable Declarations of War, have Prevented some very bad Designs of the Governor of Canada which would otherwise have taken Effect . . .

. . . letting the French Governor know that they were heartily for the English and would fight for them and not against them. . . .⁶

Many were the treaties, prior to and following this one, with the Indians, but few, if any, had such a vital bearing upon the security and expansion of what later became the United States of America. Here, hugging the Atlantic seaboard, stretched the English colonies with little depth of territory. Farther back of them, from the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi, were found here and there French pioneers, explorers and priests, claiming the land for France, and weaning away from the English every Indian tribe they could influence. Had they succeeded in their plans, and had France won her European struggles, it would have altered the political complexion of all America. The northwest territory would have become a New France, the struggling provinces would have remained under British rule, hampered further by the Spanish to the south.

⁶ *Archives of Maryland*, 1748-1751, vol. 46, p. 4.

Captain Céloron de Bienville, the French explorer, in 1749, headed an expedition from Canada, down the headwaters of the Allegheny river, and into the Ohio, to the mouth of the Scioto, to take possession of the Ohio country for France. Traveling onward, they came to the mouth of the Great Miami, then continued up that stream to the town of Piqua. Although he had a band of nearly 250 men, he refrained from using force. Céloron planted six leaden plates at the mouth of various streams, signifying a renewal of possession of the country. This was done with ceremony. The record states: "His men were drawn up in order, Louis XV was proclaimed lord of all that region; the arms were stamped on a sheet of tin, nailed to a tree; a plate of lead was buried at the foot, and the notary of the expedition drew up a formal act of the whole proceeding."

The inscription on the plate read: In the year 1749, the reign of Louis XV, King of France, we Céloron, commandant of a detachment sent by Monsieur the Marquis of Gallissonniere, Commander in Chief of New France, to established tranquility in certain Indian villages of these Cantons, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Ohio and of Toradakoin, this 29th July, near the river Ohio, otherwise Beautiful River, as a monument of renewal of possession, which we have taken of the said river, and of all its tributaries and of all the land on both sides, as far as to the sources of said rivers, inasmuch as the preceding Kings of France have enjoyed (this possession) and have maintained it by their arms and by treaties, especially by those of Ryswick, Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle.⁷

It was one thing to claim possession of a country by word of mouth, but quite another to hold it by force of arms.

Céloron demanded that the Miami Indian chief, known as "Old Britain," should return with his tribe to Canada, their former home. "If fair means would not prevail, they were to take them away by force, but the French finding that they were resolved to adhere to the English, and perceiving their numbers to be great, were discouraged from using any hostile measures, and began to be afraid lest they should themselves be cut off. The French brought them a present consisting of four half-barrels of powder, four bags of bullets, and four bags of paint, with a few needles and a little thread which they refused to accept of; whereupon the French and their Indians made the best of their way off for fear of the worst, leaving their goods scattered about. But, at the time of their conference, the French upbraided the Indians for joining the English, and more so for continuing in their interests, who had never sent them any presents nor even any token of their regards for them."

Cold Foot, chief of the Miamis, located in Indiana, lamented: "It is the source of all my grief to be the only one who loves you, and to see all the nations of the south let loose against the French." Céloron sadly observed: "All I can say is that the nations of these localities are very badly disposed

⁷ Howe, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 232.

towards the French, and are entirely devoted to the English. I do not know in what way they could be brought back. If our traders were sent there for traffic, they could not sell their merchandise at the same price that the English sell theirs, on account of the many expenses they would be obliged to incur."

In February, 1751, Christopher Gist, taking with him George Crogham, an English trader, and Andrew Montour, the Seneca half-breed, visited the Indian chief, "Old Britain," at Pickawillany. Gist was an agent of the Ohio Company, and had been given a royal grant to examine the western country, "to mark the passes in the mountains, trace the course of rivers and observe the strength and numbers of the Indian nations."

During Gist's visit, four Ottawa or French Indians came to the village in an effort to induce the Miamis to attach themselves to the French side. "Old Britain," in strong terms, showed their affection for the English, and in conclusion stated that "they would die here before they would go to the French."

But the French were to be rebuffed for but a year. In June, 1752, Charles Langdale, a Canadian, heading 250 Chippewas and Ottawas, descended upon the fort of Pickawillany, and destroyed the place. This was one of the provocatives of the French and Indian War. Two English traders escaped the massacre; the one, Thomas Burney, with a message from the Miamis, hastened to Carlisle to present the same to the governor of Pennsylvania. The message read:

"We, your brothers, the Miamis, have sent you by our brother, Thomas Burney, a scalp and five strings of wampum in token of our late unhappy affair at Pickawillany; and, whereas, our brother [the governor] has always been kind to us, we hope he will now put to us a method to act against the French, being more discouraged for the loss of our brothers, the Englishmen who were killed, and the five who were taken prisoners than for the loss of ourselves; and, notwithstanding, the two belts of wampum which were sent from the Governor of Canada as a commission to destroy us, we shall still hold our integrity with our brothers and are willing to die for them. . . .

"We saw our great Piankeshaw King (who was commonly called "Old Britain" by us) taken, killed and eaten within a hundred yards of the fort, before our faces. We now look upon ourselves as a lost people, fearing our brothers will leave us; but before we will be subject to the French, or call them our fathers, we will perish here."

To Governor Robert Dinwiddie, of Virginia, they wrote:

"Elder Brother! This string of wampum assures you that the French King's servants have spilled our blood and eaten the flesh of three of our men. Look upon us and pity us for we are in great distress. Our chiefs have taken up the hatchet of war. We have killed and eaten ten of the French and two of their negroes. We are your Brothers."

Such keen rivalry developed also among traders in the several provinces for the Indian business, so that President Thomas Lee of Virginia, in November, 1749, wrote to Governor James Hamilton of Pennsylvania, complaining of "the insidious behavior, as I am informed, of some Traders from your Province, tending to disturb the peace of this Colony, and to alienate the affections of the Indians from us. His Majesty has been pleased to grant some Gentlemen and Merchants of London and some of both sorts, inhabitants of this Colony (the Ohio Colony of Virginia having been organized in 1748), a large quantity of land *west of the Mountains*. The design of this grant and one condition of it, is to erect and garrison a Fort, to protect our trade and that of any of the neighboring Colonies (from the French); and by fair, open trade to engage the Indians in affection to His Majesty's subjects; to supply them with what they want, so that they will be under no necessity to apply to the French; and to make a very strong settlement on the frontiers of this Colony; all which His Majesty has approved, and directed the Governor here to assist the said Company in carrying their laudable design into execution. But your Traders have prevailed with the Indians on the Ohio, to believe that the Fort is to be a bridle for them; and that the Roads which the Company are to make is to let in the Catawbias upon them to destroy them, and the Indians, naturally jealous, are so possessed with the truth of these insinuations that they threaten our Agents, if they survey or make these Roads that they had given leave to make; and by this the carrying of the King's grant into execution is at present impracticable. *Yet these are the lands purchased of the Six Nations by the Treaty of Lancaster.*"

Subsequent Treaties

Including the treaties conducted at Conestoga Indian town, there were more treaty conferences held in and about the little borough of Lancaster than in any other area of like size in the British colonies. Besides the great treaty of 1744, there were others held in 1748, 1756, 1757 and 1762.

In 1748, the Twightwees, a Indian nation dwelling in Ohio and Indiana, sending a message through the Shawnee tribe, desired the friendship of the English. But the Shawnees, desiring to be convinced of the sincerity of their request, inquired, "Are you proof against the solicitations that the Governor of Canada and his people will certainly use to engage your adherence to him? Can you withstand his resentment? Consider this well, lest when we shall have recommended you to our Brethren the English, you should prove unsteady, and so we should lose their Esteem."

But the Twightwees persisted, and finally met with the Commissioners in treaty in Lancaster in 1748. Conrad Weiser acted as interpreter for the Six Nations; Andrew Montour, acting as spokesman and interpreter for the Shawnees and Twightwees, said:

"We present to You the Calumet Pipe, and pray we may be admitted to become a Link in your Chain of Friendship, and give you the strongest as-

surance if this favour be granted to us that we will keep it bright as long as the Rivers run."

Then the Deputies laid down a Calumet Pipe with a long stem curiously wrought, and wrapped round with Wampum of several colors, and filled with tobacco, which was smoked by the Commissioners and the Indians according to custom.

Allies of the Twightwees heard of their desire to join with the English, and should they be successful, they in turn would "apply for the same favour."

Some of the Shawanese were not in good favor with the English because of broken promises, but now they are in repentant mood, and so they say, "We the Shawanese have been misled, and have carried on a private correspondence with the French without letting you (the Twightwees) or our Brethren the English know of it. We travelled secretly through the Bushes to Canada, and the French promised us Great Things, but we find ourselves deceived. We are sorry that we had any thing to do with them. We now find that we could not see, although the Sun did shine. We earnestly desire you would intercede with our Brethren the English for us who are left at Ohio, that we may be permitted to be restored to the Chain of Friendship and be looked upon as heretofore the same Flesh with them."

Then the Shawanese, after receiving proper chastisement, were again restored into the Chain of Friendship.

The Twightwees showed the advantage to the English of the alliance with them. Situated as they were on the Wabash, "it is Manifest that if these Indians and their allies prove faithful to the English, the French will be deprived of the most convenient and nearest communication with their Forts on the Mississippi, the ready Road lying through this nation, and that there will be nothing to interrupt an Intercourse between this Province and the great River."

This treaty was signed by twelve Indian chiefs, and, among others, Michael Hubly, Edward Smout, Thomas Cookson and Peter Worrall, names of prominent Lancastrians.

In May, 1757, chiefs of the Six Nations, Nanticokes and Delawares met with Governor William Denny and others in conference. The French, as well as the English, continued their zealous efforts to retain the friendship and assistance of these tribes.

The Delawares, subjects of the Six Nations, had been ordered to occupy certain lands, but even on these the onward surge of English settlers crowded them off and spoiled the hunting of game, upon which the Indians largely subsisted. The plaint reached the ears of the French, who wooed them with these words, "Children, you see, and we have often told you, how the English, your Brethren, would serve you; they plant all the country, and drive you back; so that in a little time you will have no land. It is not so with us;

though we build Trading Houses on your land, we do not plant it; we have our Provisions from over the Great Waters."

The Shawanese and the Delawares had promised "to turn the edge of their hatchet against the French," but their word was not kept. "But for our parts," said the Six Nations, "we have been engaged in the war with you, and are always ready when we see an English Flag to join our Brothers, and go with them and share the same fate."

Matters were adjusted and the Indians returned to their own lands, but only after they had asked for a Walking Stick, which in their language meant a keg of rum.

At a treaty held in Lancaster in August, 1762, chiefs of the Six Nations living to the Northward, and chiefs of some tribes living on or near the waters of the Ohio, with their warriors, numbering 557 in all, met with Governor James Hamilton and his representatives. Much time was consumed in renewing pledges of friendship, settling land disputes, and in assurances that English prisoners would be released. So much was said that fifty-five pages were required to cover the proceedings.⁸

Most of the meetings were held in the courthouse, but that on Tuesday, August 24, was held in the *Old* (Trinity) Lutheran Church. Chiefs of the Six Nations met the Governor there, and Andrew Montour and Isaac Stille acted as interpreters. The meeting was actually held in the *old* Lutheran Church, for the present edifice was in process of construction at that time, not being completed until 1766. The Rev. John S. Gerock was then the pastor.

And so the struggle for possession of the land by the English, French and Indians seemed to be interminable, but thanks to the hardy provincial troops in the French and Indian War, to the loyalty of many Indian tribes, yes, and not only to the Lancaster Treaty, but to the Lancaster rifle, the fully-laden Conestoga wagon trains with flour and feed, thanks to Washington, Lee, George Rodgers Clark, Stanwix, Bouquet, Armstrong, Forbes Lowrey, Burd, Shippen, Jamison, Ewing, and thousands of brave colonists and pioneers, these English colonies were preserved and extended to include what finally constituted the union of forty-eight sovereign states.

Following the Revolutionary War, this Northwest Territory (the land extending from Ohio to Minnesota) was ceded to the United States at the Treaty of Paris, September 3, 1783. The states of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Virginia relinquished their claims, and the lands were placed under the jurisdiction of the national government.

In 1783, the Legislature of Virginia empowered its delegates in Congress "to convey, transfer, assign, and make over unto the United States in Congress assembled, for the benefit of said States [proposed new states northwest

⁸ *Colonial Records*, vol. 8, pp. 721-775.

of the Ohio], all right, title and claim, as well of soil as of jurisdiction, which this Commonwealth hath to the territory or tract of country within the limits of the Virginia Charter, situate, lying and being to the northwest of the river Ohio.”

And so our story, which began with the treaty in the little borough of Lancaster in 1744, ends with the final acquisition by the new nation of the lands involved, and this territory in time was formed into several powerful and creditable states of the Union.

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