

The Lancaster Treaty of 1748

by Lyle L. Rosenberger

Official records of colonial Pennsylvania devote considerable space to Indian negotiations and reveal a great deal about European-Indian relations. Historians have pointed out that the Indian was often cheated in such agreements as the Walking Purchase (1737) and the Albany Land Purchase (1754).¹ Another moment in this phase of discreditable action was the Lancaster Treaty of 1748, six years before the beginning of the French and Indian War. These negotiations contributed significantly to Shawnee alienation, provoked them to seek a French alliance and eventually culminated in the Indian reprisals on the frontier between 1755 and 1763.

European-Indian diplomacy did not take place in a vacuum nor promote European interests solely, but was complex and dynamic. Indian nations followed their own self interests as diplomatic lessons were quickly learned from the European. The aboriginal inhabitants shrewdly maneuvered so that they would benefit from certain alliances. The European sought to control the Indian but could not compel his loyalty. Historical reality therefore suggests great movement and interaction between the Indian and European. This is clearly evident in the negotiations at Lancaster in 1748.

The purpose of the present article is to focus attention on the circumstances surrounding the treaty of Lancaster, noting especially: the initiative shown by the Miami² and Shawnee nations as they sought to align themselves with the English; the deliberate humiliation brought upon the Shawnee Indians by the Pennsylvania negotiators; and the reasons behind the differential attitude of the English as they sought to favor the Miami.

This conference dealt primarily with the Miami and Shawnee Indians, located in the "Ohio Country", an area to the west and north of the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers respectively. By the second quarter of the eighteenth century, France and England became keenly interested in this territory for economic and political reasons.³ At first, the advance agents of England (traders, scouts and interpreters)⁴ carried out all negotiations for the "Ohio Country" through the Six Nations⁵ who had jurisdiction over this area.⁶ After 1747-48, however, direct negotiations were established with the Ohio Indians,

chiefly through the efforts of George Croghan,⁷ an English licensed trader.

By early 1747, French and English activity had increased considerably in the Ohio Valley. Following the murder of several French traders in the spring, a plot emerged among several Indian nations⁸ and George Croghan, to destroy all French trading posts. The uprising was largely unsuccessful—a few French forts sustained minor damage.⁹

The immediate consequences were significant. George Croghan promptly petitioned the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania to send presents to the Ohio Indians, who he feared would now join the French.¹⁰ His request was urgent, for if no presents were delivered, the discontented Indians might keep his traders from this profitable area. After numerous urgings by acting governor Anthony Palmer area.¹¹ After numerous urgings by acting governor Anthony Palmer¹² and council member Thomas Lawrence, the Assembly finally appropriated £200 for the needed gifts.¹³ Croghan delivered this present in the spring of 1748, but claimed that the gift was so small that not even half the Indians could be adequately supplied. He therefore added £224/5/0 from his own funds and bought powder, lead, knives and flints to be included among the gifts, so the Indians could “. . . kill themselves meat.”¹⁴

Some Indians renewed their former French alliance and did not permit English gifts to attract them.¹⁵ But the Wyandots and Miami were of a different mind, for they actively sought an alliance with England.¹⁶ Their initiative in this direction was understandable for several reasons; as leaders in the recent uprising, a return to French alignment could mean either punishment or qualified acceptance; the French might find it difficult to understand why nearly a century of friendship was broken, especially on the part of the Miami; and then, within the Miami nation itself the revolt had produced a violent schism which caused some Indians to realize that it would be more advantageous to align with the English rather than their hostile fellow-tribesmen.¹⁷ There was also the economic attraction. In trade, English prices and service were superior to the French.¹⁸ It was probably no coincidence, therefore, that shortly after Croghan had distributed his gifts in the spring of 1748, a delegation of Miami Indians left the “Ohio Country” to meet with Pennsylvania authorities at Lancaster.¹⁹

The Shawnee nation also sought an alliance with the English at Lancaster. Their background, however, was unlike that of the Miami nation, who had continuously supported France for nearly a century. The history of Shawnee-English relations was not that stable—at times the Shawnee had supported the English, but later backed the French. This was especially true in 1744, when an influential trader, Peter Chartier,²⁰ led 300-400 Shawnee into a French alliance and westward migration.²¹ Several years later, some of these Indians

returned to the "Ohio Country" under the leadership of Neuchecunno. Scarrowyady, an Iroquois sachem, was set up to look over them. By the spring of 1748, the Shawnee took steps to renew their old alliance with the English. Although the evidence is not complete, it would appear that their motivation was caused by disillusionment with the French. Now in a penitent²² mood, they asked the old Shawnee chief Kakewatcheky, who had not gone over to the French, and the Iroquois sachem Scarrowyady to plead and speak on their behalf.²³

By mid-July the Indian delegation from Ohio (including the Shawnee and Miami nations) arrived at Harris Ferry on the Susquehanna River. The Provincial Council hurriedly convened and found out that the Indians did not want to come to "sickly" Philadelphia but wished to meet Pennsylvania authorities at Lancaster.²⁴ After much deliberation, the Council finally agreed to the meeting in Lancaster, appointing four commissioners²⁵ to negotiate with them. A set of "Instructions" and a "Commission" were hurriedly drawn up and appropriately signed.²⁶

The commissioners were instructed to investigate the sincerity of the Miami nation and carefully scrutinize the past behavior of the Shawnee, particularly the circumstances surrounding Peter Chartier's defection, making sure that those who returned acknowledged their fault and ". . . promise never to be guilty of any behaviour again that may give such reason to suspect their fidelity. . ." ²⁷ The commissioners were to receive the Six Nations in a "most affectionate manner" and congratulate them for their conduct during King George's War.²⁸ According to these instructions, the Six Nations were granted a place of honor and importance, while the Shawnee and Miami were to be inspected at a distance before friendship and recognition could be extended to them. Ostensibly, these were the guidelines to be followed by the four commissioners. But a careful study of events which preceded the Lancaster conference reveals that the commissioners were privy to information that probably influenced them against the Shawnee before negotiations took place in July.

The Provincial Council had met in late June, 1748, to discuss a number of Indian matters. A large part of this meeting was devoted to a careful reading of "Instructions"²⁹ to Conrad Weiser, an influential trader and negotiator who dominated Pennsylvania Indian policy up until 1748. It is significant that three of the four commissioners who were later selected to represent Pennsylvania at Lancaster, were present and heard the "Instructions" read. Equally important, the document displayed condescending attitudes toward the Shawnee—similar to those of Conrad Weiser.³⁰ According to these "Instructions" Weiser was to examine the past behavior of the Shawnee, particularly the circumstances surrounding Peter Chartier's activities with the French. The Shawnee, the "Instructions"

continued, had acknowledged their error to the Pennsylvania authorities and had asked to return again to an English alliance. This nation was told that if deputies were sent to Philadelphia to acknowledge their error, they could be assured of pardon for past misbehavior. But the Shawnee had corresponded with Indian traders in such a haphazard fashion that the Pennsylvania authorities had not received all the letters. This, according to the "Instructions," ". . ." was not a becoming manner of addressing the Government, ". . ." even if all letters had been received.³¹ The Shawnee had demonstrated initiative in determining where and how they should meet the English. It was clear that this was to be done in their own way. This approach greatly disturbed colonial officials who wanted respect and diplomacy on their terms. As a consequence of this presentation in council, the commissioners at Lancaster found it difficult to treat the Shawnee without a predisposition.

All of the discussions in the five day (July 19-23) conference took place in the Court House in Lancaster³² except one session which met in Conrad Weiser's orchard. The notables at the deliberations included the four commissioners appointed by the Provincial Council; fifty-five representatives of the Six Nations, Delaware, Shawnee, Nanticokes and Miami Indians (eighteen from the "Ohio Country"); the chief magistrates of Lancaster County and many residents of the city.³³ Although Conrad Weiser's name seldom appears in the minutes of the conference, he acted as official interpreter for the Six Nations and probably did much to shape the commissioners' views favoring the Six Nations and Miami over against the Shawnee nation.³⁴ His colleague, Andrew Montour, served as the interpreter for the Shawnee and Miami nations and also translated for Scarowady, who was not able to attend the regular conference sessions.³⁵ George Croghan also attended this conference, but participated only as a signatory witness.³⁶ He was more responsible than any other Englishman for bringing the Miami to Lancaster.³⁷

Throughout the conference, the Miami were shown every consideration and honor. This is clearly indicated at numerous times: whenever all parties were present, the Six Nations always spoke first about the Miami; much more negotiation time was devoted to explaining the importance and value of the Miami alliance; and the Miami were given a chance to speak on behalf of themselves two full days before the Shawnee. The Shawnee quickly sensed this mood at the very beginning of the discussions.

On Wednesday,³⁸ the Six Nations informed the commissioners that since they were encouraged to bring allies under England's influence, they now had the pleasure of presenting the Miami nation—a powerful people who sought alliance with England. The Miami had carefully considered the implications of this move and had asked the Six Nations, since the fall of 1747, to go before the English with this request. The Miami deputies then spoke through Montour and

asked to become a link in the chain of English friendship pledging fidelity ". . . as long as the rivers run."³⁹ To demonstrate their deep sincerity, they presented the commissioners a calumet pipe ". . . curiously wrought, & wrapp'd round with wampum of several colours, & fill'd with tobacco, which was smoked by the commissioners & the Indians according to custom."⁴⁰ The Miami had one further request—they knew of other Indian nations who were also interested in an English alliance. Would the English wish to have them as allies?

The commissioners replied to these words at the Friday morning session, noting the sincerity and careful thought which the Miami had given to this matter. The English were prepared to receive the Miami into their friendship and alliance. The calumet pipe was accepted and the English presented to the Miami a double belt of wampum as an "Emblem of Union."⁴¹ In order to acquaint the Miami with English treaty making, the commissioners patiently explained how compacts were drawn up and even showed them a few examples for demonstration purposes. The commissioners were delighted over the prospect of acquiring other Indian allies and pointed out that they were ". . . always ready to receive favourably the applications of all those whom our brethren of the Six Nations shall recommend as worthy of our friendship and regard."⁴² To emphasize their good will, the commissioners invited the Miami deputies to dinner where a "handsome entertainment" was laid out.⁴³ After the feast, the Miami informed the commissioners that they and their Indian allies represented a force which included twenty towns and a thousand warriors. They also pointed out the location of two French forts and emphasized that if the allies remained faithful to the English, they would cut off French communication on the Mississippi River.⁴⁴ Such careful reporting removed all the commissioners' doubts regarding the sincerity and value of having the Miami as allies.

In contrast, the Shawnee were treated less cordially. At the end of the first day of negotiations, the Six Nations' representatives speaking with Montour as interpreter, brought to the commissioners' attention that they were also acting as intercessors for the Shawnee nation.⁴⁵ The Shawnee, it was pointed out, were aware that their allegiance had shifted from the English (before 1744) to the French, and now back again to the English. They had acknowledged their wrong, according to the Six Nations, in not responding to letters sent out by the Pennsylvania governor several years ago.⁴⁶ Standing now before the commissioners, the Six Nations' deputies were convinced that the Shawnee would evidence better behavior in the future.⁴⁷ Their final plea was:

Forgive us, therefore, if we entreat you wou'd be pleas'd to drop your resentment, and however they have behav'd hitherto, we hope a sense of your goodness will prevail with them to become good & faithful allies for the future.⁴⁸

The Indians did not meet in full conference the following day because the commissioners decided on a separate session to hear a

special report from Weiser and Montour. Here the commissioners revealed a strange coolness because the six Nations appealed on behalf of the Shawnee.⁴⁹ Earlier on Thursday the commissioners sought the attestation of Scarrowyady, who had been authorized by the Six Nations to look over the Shawnee since their recent return from the French alliance.⁵⁰ In the presence of Weiser and Montour, Scarrowyady recalled the details of a previous meeting held with the Shawnee in the "Ohio Country." At that conference were represented not only repentant Shawnee, but those who had never left the English alliance. In an eventful session, all the Shawnee who were present took the blame for defecting to the French, and pleaded with visible emotion that the Six Nations would intercede on their behalf before the English. Scarrowyady recalled how the Shawnee had spoken:

. . . [we] have been misled, & have carried on a private correspondence with the French without letting you or our brethren the English know of it. We travell'd secretly through the bushes to Canada, and the French promis'd us great things, but we find ourselves deceived. We are sorry that we had any thing to do with them. . . . We earnestly desire you wou'd 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.⁵¹

As a result of that meeting, Scarrowyady concluded, the Six Nations became their intercessors and brought three important Shawnee chiefs to Lancaster in order to make personal submission.⁵² The sachem's words confirmed exactly what was spoken on the previous afternoon. Perhaps the commissioners hoped to find a discrepancy in the accounts that were given. In any event, the next day (Friday) the Shawnee saw further evidence of displeasure and uneasiness over the intervention on their behalf.

Early in the day, the commissioners had been in a friendly mood as they replied to the Miami and smoked the calumet pipe. Suddenly, their amicable state changed as they turned to the Six Nations' delegates. "Your intercession for the Shawonese puts us under difficulties."⁵³ Two years had passed since the governor of Pennsylvania offered to pardon those Shawnee who had broken their former allegiance. The recalcitrant should have gone immediately to Philadelphia to evidence their sincere repentance. But since it had not been done ". . . what can be said for them? . . . some of them it may be allowed are weak people, and were perverted from their duty by the persuasions of others, but this cannot be thought to be the case of Neucheconno & a few more."⁵⁴ Now, concluded the commissioners, since the Six Nations were their intercessors, they should chastize Neucheconno and his followers with a proper severity and then ". . . tell the delinquent Shawonese that we will forget what is past and expect a more punctual regard to their engagements hereafter . . . tis but Justice to distinguish the good from the bad . . ."⁵⁵ While this judgment applied to most Shawnee, there were a few,

conceded the commissioners, who had not followed the French and therefore would always be remembered with gratitude.

The Shawnee had just witnessed the other side of English diplomacy. Apparently the warmth of acceptance, respect and honor were not to be their lot. These words had not been spoken to them directly, but to the Six Nations, the ones who had taken upon themselves the role of intercessor. After the lavish entertainment of the noon hour, the Shawnee themselves came before the commissioners and Taming Buck, one of their chiefs, spoke. He immediately recognized that the Shawnee had been ungrateful for past English favors and had acted foolishly even though they knew what was right. Their penance was evident in that they had travelled to Lancaster without so much as looking up. Taming Buck continued:

We are sorry for what we have done and promise better behaviour for the future. We produce to you a certificate of the renewal of our friendship in the year 1739, by the Proprietor and Governor. Be pleased to sign it afresh, that it may appear to the world we are now admitted into your friendship & all former crimes are buried & entirely forgot.⁵⁶

Now the commissioners had a chance to show forgiveness for past deeds, and admit brave warriors into a close bond of friendship. But they had other intentions. Apparently bent on embarrassing and humiliating this proud nation, the commissioners refused to sign the certificate. The only course open, according to the commissioners, was conditional forgiveness—if the Shawnee behavior was better in the future, and then it would be time enough to seek for testimonials.⁵⁷ No strings or belts of wampum were given by the Commissioners to demonstrate their sincerity, only the order to mend the Shawnee guns and hatchets.⁵⁸ The commissioners made no attempt to hide their contempt for this people. Unfortunately, Pennsylvania officials continued to show the same attitudes as they had earlier in 1748.

The next day the formal Treaty of Lancaster was read and carefully interpreted in the presence of the commissioners and all the Indians.⁵⁹ The Miami were now considered allies and good friends of the English, the calumet pipe was smoked and mutual presents exchanged. The treaty was signed by the four commissioners and the three Miami deputies. Twenty-three other names followed as witnesses to this document. The names of the English and Six Nations' chiefs were listed first, while Shawnee names appeared almost at the bottom of the list. Ironically, the conference originated with the purpose of bringing the Shawnee and Miami into an English alliance, but concluded with one nation accepted, while the other was merely a witness.

After the treaty was signed, Suchraquery, a Seneca chief, requested one final favor—would the traders give the Miami a good price for skins and weigh them with less stones? The commissioners

agreed and an additional present was given to the Miami deputies as a departing gesture.⁶⁰ The formal negotiations ended and the participants left the frontier town of Lancaster in the heat of summer. But negotiations do not take place in a vacuum; they are related to the past and also impinge on the future. Consequently, the significance of the Lancaster treaty must be examined.

The benefits of this settlement accrued largely to the English in Pennsylvania and the Miami nation on the western frontier. For provincial Pennsylvania, it meant the Miami had now joined the English and formed the most western defense barrier against the French in the imperial struggle for supremacy. The Miami had shown initiative in seeking this agreement and would benefit through higher priced fur sales. Financial rewards would also be garnered by English traders and trappers who had a much larger territory to exploit. Economic and military advantage became a part of the credit side of the Lancaster treaty.

In many respects, the debit side of the conference was even more significant. The deliberations brought much hurt to the Shawnee, who had consciously sought a rapprochement with the English through contrition and penance. But the commissioners had refused to sign the proffered 1739 agreement thus bringing disgrace and humiliation to these proud people.⁶¹ This behavior might be explained by looking at the differential attitude of the English *vis a vis* the Miami and Shawnee. The Miami had supported France for nearly a century, strong evidence of an ability to maintain a stable and dependable relationship. They were practically unknown to the English and since the Six Nations gave the Miami a strong recommendation, and further revealed a preference for them at Lancaster, it was not difficult for Pennsylvania officials to accept them into an alliance.

Historically, the Shawnee had never wholly supported the English—a fact recognized by the commissioners. It was evident that the Six Nations showed less favor to the Shawnee at Lancaster. Since Chartier's defection, the English were skeptical of Shawnee reliability and this was probably augmented by Conrad Weiser's influence—widely known for his contempt of this people.⁶² A distrustful mood pervaded the Lancaster negotiations whenever the Shawnee were discussed. Conrad Weiser was the dominant English negotiator at this treaty and either influenced the commissioners against the Shawnee, or failed to prevent their humiliation.

In many respects it would have been advantageous for the commissioners to renew their former alliance with the Shawnee. They were aware of the point of view displayed earlier in 1748 in Weiser's "Instructions," and consequently approached the Lancaster conference with less than an open mind. Thus the Shawnee were victims of inauspicious circumstances. Confidence and trust, the first steps needed to build a strong and lasting alliance, could have been re-

stored if the Pennsylvania commissioners and Conrad Weiser had changed their stereotyped view of the Shawnee. Since they did not, they share the responsibility and blame for the discrimination at Lancaster.

Finally, Pennsylvania officials were not aware of all the implications that could emerge from the Shawnee humiliation. Present at this conference was the Delaware nation who for the past decade had also been subjected to injustice and indignity at the hands of the English. Consequently, since the Shawnee nation had much influence over the Delaware, the events of July drew them closer together.⁶³ Within a few years, other unfortunate incidents completely alienated the Shawnee and Delaware from the English.⁶⁴ The Indian again demonstrated the ability to create his own response to the French and English bid for imperial control. By 1755, Indian attacks began to bathe western Pennsylvania in blood. It was a painful reminder that the Indian diplomacy of colonial Pennsylvania had serious limitations.

About the Contributor

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NOTES

¹ For the official record of these two contracts see *Pennsylvania Archives, First Series* (Philadelphia, 1852-1860) I, 539-543; and *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania: Colonial Records* (Harrisburg, 1838-1853), VI, 57-129, cited hereafter as *Council Minutes*.

² The record of the Lancaster Conference uses the name Twightwee rather than Miami.

³ The beginning of the struggle for this area is usually set at 1754, the opening of the French and Indian War. Actually the conflict began some twenty years earlier and included the Treaty of Lancaster (1748).

⁴ Indian Traders, 1748, *Pennsylvania Archives, First Series*, II, 14.

⁵ The Six Nations (Iroquois) were located in New York. See *Council Minutes*, IV, 565, 576.

⁶ Nicholas B. Wainwright, *George Croghan Wilderness Diplomat* (Chapel Hill, 1959), 17, hereafter cited as Wainwright, *George Croghan*.

⁷ Albert T. Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement 1741-1782* (Cleveland, 1926), 56, cited hereafter as Volwiler, *George Croghan*.

⁸ The Wyandots and Miami were the leading conspirators.

⁹ E. B. O'Callaghan (ed.) *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1856-1887), X, 84. Hereafter cited as O'Callaghan,

- Documents; Indian letter to Governor Thomas, 16 May 1747, *Pennsylvania Archives, First Series*, I, 741-742 and George Croghan to Richard Peters, 26 May 1747. *Ibid.*, 742; and Neville B. Craig (ed.) *The Olden Time* (Cincinnati, 1876), II, 186.
- ¹⁰ *Council Minutes*, V, 119-120. The policy of granting presents was an integral part of Indian diplomacy. To the Indian, presents were the equivalent of words. If gifts of sufficient value and amount were given, Indian nations might be persuaded to be an ally. See in this connection Wilbur R. Jacobs, *Diplomacy and Indian Gifts: Anglo-French Rivalry along the Ohio and North-west Frontiers, 1748-1763* (Stanford, 1950).
- ¹¹ George Croghan to Thomas Lawrence, 18 September 1747, *Pennsylvania Archives, First Series*, I, 770.
- ¹² George Thomas resigned his post as Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania in May, 1747 and Anthony Palmer, President of the Council became the acting governor from June, 1747 until November, 1748.
- ¹³ These gifts were distributed among 1500 Indians. See *Council Minutes*, V, 76 and 119.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 295.
- ¹⁵ O'Callaghan, *Documents*, X, 84, 138, 162.
- ¹⁶ The Wyandots (Owendatts) did not become formal allies of the English until 1751. See *Council Minutes*, V, 532-536.
- ¹⁷ The Wyandots and Miami moved eastward, where the latter settled along the Great Miami River.
- ¹⁸ Volwiler, *George Croghan*, 56, 59; Bert Anson, *The Miami Indians* (Norman, 1970), 37, 42, hereafter cited as Anson, *The Miami*.
- ¹⁹ *Council Minutes*, V, 288, 289-290.
- ²⁰ Chartier's father was French-Canadian and his mother Shawnee.
- ²¹ *Council Minutes*, IV, 757-759; and Governor Hamilton to Board of Trade, 1751, *Pennsylvania Archives, First Series*, II, 61-62.
- ²² Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 28 November 1747, *Council Minutes*, V, 167, 289-290, 311.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 311.
- ²⁴ Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 14 July 1748, *Pennsylvania Archives, First Series*, II, 9-10 and *Council Minutes*, V, 298.
- ²⁵ The commissioners were: Benjamin Shoemaker, Thomas Hopkinson, Joseph Turner and William Logan. See *Council Minutes*, V, 307.
- ²⁶ Commission and Instructions, 16 July 1748, *Ibid.*, 299-300.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, 300.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ For full text see *Ibid.*, 290-293.
- ³⁰ Weiser's contempt for the Shawnee was partly due to his relationship with the Six Nations—he was an adopted member of this Indian confederation. See Joseph S. Walton, *Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1900), 32, 126, cited hereafter as Walton, *Conrad Weiser*.
- ³¹ Instructions to Conrad Weiser, 23 June 1748, *Council Minutes*, V, 293.
- ³² Complete minutes of the conference are found in *Ibid.*, 307-319.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, 307.
- ³⁴ Walton, *Conrad Weiser*, 126.
- ³⁵ Scarrowyady was the Six Nations' sachem who had been injured in a recent fall and was resting in Conrad Weiser's orchard, about twenty-five miles from Lancaster. See *Council Minutes*, V, 307-308.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, 318.
- ³⁷ Wainwright, *George Croghan*, 21.
- ³⁸ This was the second day of the conference. The first day was taken up with ceremony and opening remarks. See *Council Minutes*, V, 307.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, 309

- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 309-310.
⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 312-313.
⁴² *Ibid.*, 314.
⁴³ *Ibid.*, 315.
⁴⁴ *Ibid.*
⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 310.
⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 758.
⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, V, 310.
⁴⁸ *Ibid.*
⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 311.
⁵⁰ See footnote 35.
⁵¹ *Council Minutes*, V, 311.
⁵² *Ibid.*
⁵³ *Council Minutes*, V, 314.
⁵⁴ *Ibid.*
⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 314-315.
⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 316.
⁵⁷ *Ibid.*
⁵⁸ *Ibid.*
⁵⁹ The full text of the treaty is found in *Ibid.*, 316-318.
⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 319.
⁶¹ We do not have record that the Shawnee ever attempted to petition English authorities to sign the 1739 agreement again.
⁶² Several days after the conference, Conrad Weiser was still impressed by the sincerity of the Miami, but remained silent about the repentant Shawnee. See Conrad Weiser to Secretary Peters, 4 August 1748, Clement Z. Weiser, *The Life of John Conrad Weiser* (Reading, 1876), 168; and Walton, *Conrad Weiser*, 32, 126.
⁶³ George P. Donehoo, *Pennsylvania A History* (New York, 1926), II, 637.
⁶⁴ Volwiler, *George Croghan*, 76-77.

INDIAN NAMES OF LOCAL INTEREST WITH THEIR ORIGIN AND MEANING

by M. Luther Heisey

Accomac, signifies "on the other side," or "the other side land." A Nanticoke name. Another definition is "across the water." The first would apply to Accomac of the Eastern Shore of Virginia, "on the other side" of Chesapeake Bay, while the latter would apply to our local Accomac, "across the water" from the present site of Marietta, Pa.

Chesapeake, "the place where there is a great body of still water stretched out." Or "superior saltish bay."

Chikisalonga supposed to mean "place of crabs, or crab-fish," or "the creek on which the ground is full of holes made by the crab-fish." Or, "long piece of land where rabbits burrow."
(Boyd)