

**“The Lands would be entirely theirs again”:**

**Indians and the Seven Years’ War in the Ohio Valley**

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Indians in the eastern Ohio Valley during the mid-eighteenth century came from diverse ethnic backgrounds. They spoke various languages and lived in many different, typically small, settlements. In 1754 a skirmish occurred in the area of present southwestern Pennsylvania at a place that came to be known as Jumonville Glen. This skirmish, which involved limited numbers of Indian, English, and French fighters, touched off a larger conflict called the Seven Years’ War (in North America sometimes named the French and Indian War). Although this war expanded to many parts of the globe, the Ohio Valley, with its various Native inhabitants, remained an important theater of the conflict.

***Iroquois, Shawnees, and Delawares in the Eastern Ohio Valley***

Prominent among the Indians who resided at this time in the eastern Ohio Country, including major portions of the river valleys of the Allegheny, Monongahela, and the upper Ohio itself, were Six Nations Iroquois, Shawnees, and Delawares. Of these groups, the Shawnees probably had the oldest connections to the Ohio Valley. Many Shawnees had left the area in the seventeenth century and then joined Delawares and Iroquois from the east and north in repopulating the Ohio Country in the eighteenth century.

The Six Nations Iroquois called themselves the People of the Longhouse (or *Haudenosaunee*). Their homelands were in the region of present New York State, where they built fortified towns on hilltops. Within these settlements, extended families lived in bark-covered longhouses, on average about one hundred feet in length. The Mohawks were the easternmost nation of the Iroquois, and the Senecas were the westernmost nation. Between these groups were the territories of the Cayugas, Onondagas, and Oneidas. These five nations formed a confederacy, which they organized around a council held in the territory of the Onondagas (near present Syracuse, New York). In the 1720s the Iroquois Confederacy added a sixth nation—the Tuscaroras—who had migrated from North Carolina following traumatic warfare with Euro-Americans. Each nation had its own language, all classified within a larger linguistic family called “Iroquoian.”<sup>1</sup>

In the seventeenth century the Iroquois increasingly obtained European goods, such as guns, hatchets, and cloth, which supplemented and then replaced traditional items, such as bows and arrows, stone tools, and clothing made from animal skins. European traders however did more than introduce new trade goods; ships’ crews also transported unfamiliar diseases that killed many in Iroquois communities. Beset with epidemics, Iroquois eased their grief and replenished their populations by obtaining captives in warfare against Indian peoples to the north and west of them. In addition, Iroquois fought in order to control the fur trade, which gave access to the new European-made goods. Some enemies of the Iroquois lived in the Ohio Valley, an area that promised an abundance of valuable beaver pelts. By the 1650s the Iroquois had overpowered an Ohio group called the Eries. Some of the defeated Eries scattered to new

locations, including those who were apparently adopted by the Iroquois. With the Eries no longer a threat, the Iroquois had freer access to hunt in the Ohio Valley.<sup>2</sup>

Although many Iroquois did not leave their homelands, others migrated to the Ohio Country and established settlements there in the eighteenth century. In contrast to the traditional fortified hilltop towns, these typically were smaller scattered settlements, probably mostly consisting of groups of relatives who grew crops of corn, beans, and squash near their homes and hunted in surrounding territories. As the westernmost Iroquois group, the Senecas were especially evident among the Ohio Valley's Six Nations residents. The Iroquois were a substantial presence among the inhabitants of the valley by midcentury. In 1750 Pennsylvania's governor commented "that Numbers of the Six Nations" had recently moved out of their homelands and had "settled on the Branches of mississippi," which would have included the Ohio.<sup>3</sup>

The Shawnees (or *Shaawanwa*) spoke a language classified within the Algonquian language family, whose features differ significantly from that of Iroquoian speakers. To make a living, Shawnees hunted, gathered wild foods, planted crops, and traded with Europeans—a pattern that was common among various Indians of the eastern Ohio Valley. At an early date the Shawnees organized themselves into five divisions--the Chalaakaatha ("Cillicothe"), Mekoche, Kishpoko, Pekowi ("Piqua"), and Thawikila. Each division had certain political or ritual responsibilities. Shawnees were affiliated with one of these groups through their father's side. For example, if a father was from the Mekoche division, then his child would also belong to the Mekoche. Anthropologists call this system *patrilineal*. Shawnees differed from the Iroquois and the Delawares, who

followed a *matrilineal* system by which they inherited membership in descent groups, such as clans or lineages, through their mothers.

Although there is much that is unknown about the early history of the Shawnees, it appears that before European contact the Shawnees lived in Ohio. Later, like the Eries, Shawnees became embroiled in warfare with the Iroquois. Conflicts with the Iroquois between 1662 and 1673 resulted in the dispersal of the Shawnees. Some went to Illinois, and others to the Savannah River on the present border of South Carolina and Georgia. A group of Shawnees, probably some from Illinois, moved to the mouth of the Susquehanna in Maryland in 1692. Two years later other Shawnees from Illinois relocated to the Delaware River Valley in present eastern Pennsylvania.

In the eighteenth century Shawnees increasingly dealt with the English colony of Pennsylvania, including attending an important council with the colony's founder William Penn in 1701. These contacts continued as Shawnees moved farther up the Susquehanna Valley, where they settled, for example, in areas within present Lancaster and Cumberland counties. Nevertheless, by the 1720s pressure from the expanding Euro-American population of Pennsylvania and the decline in available game for hunting led many Shawnees to seek better living conditions in the Ohio Valley. Pennsylvania's leaders became anxious about the westward migration of the Shawnees, which brought them into closer contact with French traders coming down from Canada and the Great Lakes. Recognizing the potential for commercial losses and a dangerously strengthened French presence on their borders, Pennsylvania's leaders sought help from the Iroquois to try to convince the Shawnees to return to the Susquehanna. Although the Six Nations claimed jurisdiction over Shawnees and other Indians in the Susquehanna and Ohio

valleys, neither they nor Pennsylvania officials were able to convince the Shawnees in Ohio to return east.<sup>4</sup>

The Delawares (or *Lenape*, meaning “ordinary person” or “real person”) were also Algonquian speakers. Their homelands were in the Hudson and Delaware River valleys, including parts of the present-day states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. They consisted of many different groups and lived in scattered small communities under different leaders. Eventually the term *Munsee* was commonly used for those who spoke a northern Delaware language (also called *Munsee*) in contrast to those who spoke a southern Delaware language called *Unami*. Seventeenth-century Delawares had many contacts with Dutch, Swedish, and English traders and settlers. Delawares sold or gave parcels of land to Europeans, while continuing to claim rights to use their homelands for hunting, fishing, and planting crops. Like many of the Native peoples who ended up in Ohio by the mid-eighteenth century, Delawares were exposed to diseases unknown to them before colonization. Illnesses like smallpox brought by Europeans hit Delaware communities hard, causing many deaths even before Pennsylvania was chartered in 1681.

As the European population of Pennsylvania surged after the colony’s founding, Delawares increasingly faced pressures to give up their settlements in their homelands. Some moved to the upper Schuylkill River Valley near present Reading, and many turned to the Susquehanna Valley as a place where they hoped to escape further encroachments. The Susquehanna Valley had been the homeland of the Susquehannocks, Iroquoian-speakers who still lived in small numbers there in the eighteenth century. Delawares lived near these Susquehannocks as well as near new migrants to the Susquehanna

Valley, such as Conoys and Nanticokes from Maryland, Tuscaroras, and Shawnees. It did not take long, however, for Euro-American settlers to begin moving to the rich farmlands of the Susquehanna Valley, causing further disruptions to Native settlements and more migrations. By the 1720s, some Delawares, in close association with Shawnees, had already moved farther west to the Ohio Valley.

Although Pennsylvania was not the site of large-scale warfare before the Seven Years' War, there was much discontent among Native peoples as they confronted the impact of Euro-American settlement. Delawares opposed various schemes to acquire their lands. Illegal Euro-American settlements on the upper Schuylkill and on the Brandywine Creek in the 1720s angered Delawares, as did Pennsylvania's acquisition of a portion of the Lehigh Valley the following decade. Through trickery, Pennsylvania officials convinced Delawares to sign over these Lehigh lands to the province. Delawares expected the government to mark off the area with a walk that would take a day and a half to complete. This "walk" turned out to be more of a run, and Pennsylvania's "walkers" covered much more ground than the Delawares had been led to expect. Delawares were embittered over this "Walking Purchase," as it was called. Not only did the "Walking Purchase" further alienate Delawares from the province but it hurt their relations with Iroquois whom Pennsylvania had persuaded to help pressure Delawares to leave the area.<sup>5</sup>

### ***Indian Goals of Land and Trade***

Indians who migrated to the Ohio Country faced competing French and British attempts to possess the area. The French recognized that British expansion would

prevent them from using the Ohio River to maintain a vital connection between their settlements in Canada, Louisiana, and the Illinois Country. In 1749 a force of over two hundred under Céloron de Blainville marched into the Ohio Valley in order to assert French dominance there. Planting the royal coat of arms and burying lead plates inscribed with France's claim to Ohio, Céloron admonished Indians in the region to shun English traders. These traders, primarily from Pennsylvania and Virginia, represented the forward edge of British expansion in the mid-eighteenth century. The Pennsylvanian George Croghan and his partners traded with Indians, first in the area of present Cleveland and then farther west on the Great Miami River. Another group, the Ohio Company of Virginia, sought profits both through trade and land. This company built fortified trading posts at Wills' Creek (present Cumberland, Maryland) and at the confluence of Redstone Creek and the Monongahela. Its members planned an additional storehouse at the strategically significant Forks of the Ohio, where the Monongahela and the Allegheny both flow into the Ohio (at present Pittsburgh). Further, the Virginians hoped to conduct lucrative sales of lands near their posts.<sup>6</sup>

Ohio Indians did not acquiesce in either French or British designs on the region. One of their spokespersons was Tanaghrisson, also known as the "Half King," who was born a Catawba but was adopted as a war captive among the Senecas. He told the French that neither they nor the British had a right to the Ohio Country. "Both you and the English are white," he said, "we live in a Country between; therefore the Land belongs to neither one nor t'other: But the Great Being above allow'd it to be a Place of Residence for us." Should the French be expelled from the Ohio Country, Indians were not eager to

see the British fill their place. Instead, Indians argued, “the Lands would be entirely theirs again, and neither of the two Nations (English or French) could have any pretence to it.”<sup>7</sup>

Although they opposed European powers’ attempts to take over lands, Ohio Indians continued to seek access to European traders’ goods, which had become integrated into the daily lives of Indian communities. One of the greatest demands was for a ready supply of gunpowder as Native hunters came to rely on muskets instead of bows and arrows. Very little of this powder was milled in North America, leaving Indians who sought ammunition no alternative but to obtain imported stocks through Euro-American traders. Native peoples had constructed numerous relationships with Euro-American traders by the mid-eighteenth century. Such connections not only included Iroquois, Delawares, and Shawnees but also Wyandots, Ottawas, Ojibwas, Potawatomis, Miamis, Nipissings, and Algonquins. All of these peoples came to play a role in events pertaining to the Seven Years’ War in the Ohio Country.<sup>8</sup>

### *Northern and Western Indians*

The Wyandots were, in part, the descendants of the Iroquoian-speaking Wendat peoples who had begun trading with the French by the early seventeenth century and acted as middlemen between other Indians and the French in the 1630s and 1640s. The Wendats, whom the French called the Hurons, consisted of five tribes linked in a confederacy with homelands in present Ontario east of Lake Huron. Like the Iroquois, they lived in agricultural settlements, consisting of collections of longhouses. Between 1634 and 1640, smallpox and other diseases struck the Wendats, resulting in the terrible loss of about half of their population. Soon thereafter the Wendats faced more

devastation in attacks by Iroquois seeking furs and captives. This violence led to reorganizations. Some Wendats merged with a neighboring people, the Khionontateronons (called “Petun” or “Tobacco People” by the French), who also suffered from warfare with the Iroquois. A number of Wendat and Khionontateronon peoples escaped westward from their homelands, where they coalesced into the group that came to be known as the Wyandots.<sup>9</sup>

In relocating, Wyandots found homes in the neighborhood of the Ottawas (or Odawas), an Algonquian-speaking people living near the Straits of Mackinac, which separate the lower and upper peninsulas of Michigan. Some Wyandots also lived close to Ottawas on the southwest side of Lake Superior in today’s northern Wisconsin. Like the Wyandots, the Ottawas developed relationships with the French, with whom they traded at places such as Montreal and Quebec. Ottawas positioned themselves as intermediaries between the French and northwestern Indians supplying furs for trade. In addition to trading, Ottawas made a living from fishing, hunting, gathering wild foods, and growing crops. Some Ottawas also supported themselves by constructing housing and canoes for the French.<sup>10</sup>

The Ojibwas (or Chippewas), another Algonquian-speaking people of the Great Lakes region, became an important ally of the French. Marriages between French fur traders and Indian women helped build these alliances. In their homelands especially north of Lakes Superior and Huron, Ojibwas followed many of the same subsistence practices as the Ottawas. Particularly important to the diet of the Ojibwas, however, was wild rice, which was harvested in the fall and then dried, parched, de-husked, winnowed, and kept in birchbark bags for later consumption. Like many of the French-allied

Indians, Ojibwas became involved in wars with the Iroquois over the course of the seventeenth century. In the 1650s Ojibwas defended themselves against incursions from the Iroquois and three decades later mounted a successful offensive against them. During the eighteenth century some Ojibwas also looked to Albany for trading opportunities with the English, despite French attempts to monopolize the trade across Lake Ontario by building posts at Niagara and elsewhere in 1720.<sup>11</sup>

According to an oral tradition, the Potawatomis were once the same people as the Ojibwas and the Ottawas. Relations between members of these three groups were especially close, and they had a shared name for themselves—*Anishinabe*, which, like *Lenape*, means “ordinary person.” At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Potawatomis lived on the west side of the lower peninsula of Michigan. The effects of trade-related warfare involving many Indian groups spilled over into Potawatomi territory and resulted in migrations. By the 1650s Potawatomis were living in the area of Green Bay, Wisconsin, where they were visited by French traders. Working through Ottawa intermediaries, Potawatomis obtained additional European trade goods on trips to Lake Superior. Increasingly they expanded their dealings with the French through canoe trips to Montreal and in warfare as French allies during the 1680s and 1690s. Potawatomis and many other Indians also encountered the French through Jesuit missionaries, who visited Native communities and preached throughout the Great Lakes region. In the process of developing their ties with the French, Potawatomis expanded their range of influence and came to inhabit a sizeable region along both sides of Lake Michigan.<sup>12</sup>

In the seventeenth century, Miami peoples lived in the area around the lower part of Lake Michigan, including a region that would later become home to Potawatomis.

These speakers of the Algonquian language Miami included six different groups, some of which faded from view in the colonial period. Two of the Miami-speaking groups—the Piankashaw and the Wea—continued as separate tribes into the nineteenth century. A third group—the Atchatchakangouen—apparently formed the basis of the tribe actually called Miami in the eighteenth century. A fourth group—the Pepikokia—likely became part of the Weas after 1742. The Miami-speaking groups relocated in the wake of Iroquois attacks and moved northward into Wisconsin. By the eighteenth century they had made their way south again, positioning themselves in the Wabash and Maumee river valleys. Here they traded with the French but, to a greater degree than some of their Indian neighbors, also traded with the English.<sup>13</sup>

The Nipissings and Algonquins were two Canadian groups who had a long history of contact with the French. “Algonquin” here refers to a specific people who came from the Ottawa Valley in Ontario, rather than the larger “Algonquian” linguistic category that encompassed many peoples, including the Nipissings and the Algonquins themselves. The Nipissings’ homelands were to the west of the Algonquins in Ontario and north of the Wendats. The Algonquins and Nipissings fought with the Iroquois in the seventeenth century and had extensive contacts with French Catholic missionaries. Although they were primarily French allies, Algonquins and Nipissings carried on some trade with the English at Albany in the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>14</sup>

### *Native Communities in the Ohio Country*

The region where the early events of the Seven Years’ War occurred was a place of waterways—the Allegheny, Monongahela, Youghiogeny, and Ohio rivers as well as

lesser streams. Sizeable ridges cut through the region—such as Laurel Hill and Chestnut Ridge. Indian communities formed and re-formed over the years in the eastern Ohio Valley. One of the significant sites in the region was Logstown, a settlement on the north side of the Ohio River near present Ambridge, Pennsylvania. Logstown was home to Shawnees, Delawares, Iroquois, and others. The region between Logstown and the Forks of the Ohio, where the Ohio Company planned to establish a post, was described as “very hilly and many of the Hills was Steep” with “3 Considerable Creeks.” Near the forks was Shannopin’s Town, named for a Delaware leader who had already died by the time the Seven Years’ War broke out. This spot offered a good place to ford the Allegheny, and Euro-American traders passed through Shannopin’s Town frequently on their way west. Below the forks where the Youghiogheny meets the Monongahela (at present McKeesport) lived the Seneca known as Queen Alliquippa. Representatives of the Ohio Company encountered her there in 1753 and found her friendly toward the English.<sup>15</sup>

Along the Allegheny were other Indian settlements. Kittanning, approximately forty miles above the forks, was an important Delaware town in the eighteenth century. In 1731 about fifty families lived there, and during the Seven Years’ War it became a place where large numbers of Shawnee and Delaware warriors congregated. Farther up the Allegheny at French Creek was Venango, the home of Delawares and Iroquois. An Englishman John Fraser lived there before the war, trading with Indians and fixing their broken firearms. Near present Irvine, Pennsylvania, was another settlement called Buckaloons or Kachinodiagon. It lay at the mouth of the Brokenstraw Creek and had Iroquois inhabitants.<sup>16</sup>

Farther west in the Ohio Country were additional Indian towns. The Lower Shawnee Town lay on both banks of the Ohio near the mouth of the Scioto River. In 1751 the Lower Town had approximately forty dwellings on the south side of the Ohio and around one hundred homes on the north side. An Upper Shawnee Town was at present Point Pleasant, West Virginia, during the 1750s. Some Delawares also lived on the Scioto in the 1750s. Wyandots friendly toward the English began moving in the mid-eighteenth century into the area near Sandusky Bay southwest of Lake Erie and then farther into the Ohio Country. In the early 1750s some Wyandots lived close to the mouth of the Tuscarawas River in the Muskingum Valley at present Coshocton, Ohio, and as far east as the Beaver River in present western Pennsylvania. In general, however, the Wyandots had stronger ties with the French, including those Wyandots who joined Potawatomis, Ottawas, Ojibwas, and other Indians who gathered around the French trading center at Detroit after its establishment in the early eighteenth century.<sup>17</sup>

### *Changing Relations with the French*

Although many Great Lakes Indians were allies of the French, for a variety of reasons these alliances became strained and in certain cases severed during the 1740s. The movement of some Wyandots toward the English was one sign of this shift. Another sign was the developing relationship between British traders and Miami-speaking peoples. In 1748 at a treaty at Lancaster, several Miamis formed an alliance with representatives of the province of Pennsylvania. At about this same time the Piankashaw leader Memeskia (or La Demoiselle) became such a friend of the English that he was

referred to as “Old Briton.” Memeskia gathered a large Indian following at Pickawillany on the Great Miami River, where he welcomed British traders.<sup>18</sup>

These developments raised alarms among the French and their remaining Indian allies; thus, starting in the late 1740s, they sought to destroy the growing influence of the British in the west. Céloron’s march through the Ohio Valley in 1749 was one result of these concerns. Furthermore, in 1752 Ojibwa, Ottawa, and French forces, totalling approximately two hundred and fifty, punished the Pickawillany Indians for their pro-British stance. Attacking the town, they pillaged the stores of the traders and killed a number of inhabitants, including Memeskia. Given his authority and large following, Memeskia may have been seen by the Ojibwas and Ottawas as a leader with spiritual power. Perhaps as a way of ritually acquiring this power for themselves, the attackers boiled and ate his remains.<sup>19</sup>

France’s attempts to control the Ohio Valley continued in 1753 with the construction of a line of forts. Traveling from Montreal, French forces built Fort Presque Isle (present Erie, Pa.), Fort Le Boeuf (Waterford, Pa.), and Fort Machault at Venango. Like the Virginians, the French also set their sights on establishing themselves at the forks of the Ohio. The leader of the French expedition was the sixty-year-old Pierre Paul de la Malgue, Sieur de Marin, who was accompanied by Indian allies from the upper Great Lakes—Ottawas and Caughnawagas (Iroquois associated with French Catholic missions).<sup>20</sup>

Assertive actions as well as trading reforms aimed at more competitive pricing helped the French regain some of the allies they had lost during the 1740s. Having come to rely on European goods, Indians in the eastern Ohio Valley felt growing pressures to

choose either the French or the British as allies and trading partners. For their part, both the French and the British needed Native allies in order to make gains in the Ohio Country. Undersupplied and underfed, the French troops soon became sick and worn out as they traveled into the Ohio Country. Marin sought help from Delawares who met him at Fort Le Boeuf; however, the French remained in a precarious state as the Delawares failed to deliver the hoped-for goods. English success also depended on how Ohio Indians positioned themselves in the imperial conflict between Britain and France. If these Indians joined forces with the French, Virginia's Ohio Company would face major difficulties. Control of key posts in the Ohio Valley would allow France to become the dominant trading partner of local Indians, thus threatening Virginia's plans for commercialization and expansion.<sup>21</sup>

### *Tanaghrisson, Scarouady, and the British*

The Seneca Tanaghrisson and another Iroquois man, the Oneida Scarouady (also called Monacathootha), were two major allies of the British in the 1750s. Together these individuals attempted to lead Ohio Indians to support the British and oppose the French. Tanaghrisson and Scarouady reported back to the Iroquois Confederacy; however, by taking a pro-British stance, they acted with a certain degree of independence from the Confederacy, which tried to hold a neutral position. In 1753, as the French army advanced, Scarouady told the governor of Virginia, "we do not want the French to come amongst Us at all, but very much want our good Brothers the English to be with us, to whom our Hearts are good and shall ever continue to be so." Tanaghrisson warned the French "to put a stop to the establishments," or forts, that they were constructing. His

hatred of the French must have deepened when Marin retorted, “I despise all the stupid things you said. I know that they come only from you, that all the warriors and chiefs” on the Ohio “think better than you.”<sup>22</sup>

Ohio Indians who were friendly toward the British may have looked to them as a counterbalance to, rather than as a replacement for, the French. Scarouady and Tanaghrisson did not support British conquest and possession of the Ohio Country. They looked to the British as allies and trading partners not as overlords. Scarouady met with the English in both Virginia and Pennsylvania. At the latter meeting, held at Carlisle in September 1753, Scarouady demonstrated that the Ohio Indians were unhappy with British expansionism. “We desire that *Pennsylvania* and *Virginia* would at present forbear settling on our Lands, over the *Allegheny* Hills,” he said, and “We advise you rather to call your People back on this Side the Hills.” He spoke against the uncontrolled advance of traders throughout the region. “You have more Traders than are necessary,” he asserted, “and they spread themselves over our wide Country.” Instead, Scarouady asked that English traders limit themselves to three locations—Logstown, the mouth of the Kanhawa, and the Forks of the Ohio.<sup>23</sup>

Indians in the Ohio Country did not necessarily agree with Tanaghrisson’s and Scarouady’s alliance with the British. Ohio Indians remembered how English settlers had encroached on their homelands in the east, and recent developments promised more of the same. Tanaghrisson and Scarouady faced great difficulties convincing a large number of Indians to follow their lead. In late 1753 George Washington, just age twenty-one, set out for Fort Le Boeuf under instructions from Robert Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia. Washington carried a warning to the French to leave the Ohio lands. In

undertaking this mission, he sought Indian assistance; however, he ended up with only four Iroquois, including Tanaghrisson, accompanying him to meet Legardeur de Saint-Pierre, who had been made commander at Le Boeuf after Marin's death in October. Tanaghrisson failed to round up helpers for the expedition from the Delawares and Shawnees.<sup>24</sup>

Saint-Pierre paid no heed to the warning from Dinwiddie. After his admonition was ignored, the Virginia governor sent a force in 1754 to establish a storehouse at the Forks in cooperation with the Ohio Company. With the new facility, Dinwiddie hoped to occupy this strategic spot before the French could possess it. Assisting with its establishment, Tanaghrisson pronounced the structure to be a joint possession of the Indians and the Virginians. Dinwiddie sent Washington off with fewer than 160 men to defend the Forks. Meanwhile, Captain Claude-Pierre Pécaudy, seigneur de Contrecoeur, who had replaced Saint-Pierre, was descending the Allegheny with a large army. Taking control of the Forks before Washington's much smaller force had even arrived, the French under Contrecoeur established Fort Duquesne in place of the English storehouse.<sup>25</sup>

As Washington returned to the Ohio Country, he again depended on information and guidance from Tanaghrisson. By May the Virginians were camped at the Great Meadows located east of present Uniontown, Pennsylvania, between Laurel Hill and Chestnut Ridge. From his own headquarters nearby, Tanaghrisson carried reports to Washington about French movements. Learning from the Seneca leader about a French camp to the northeast of the Great Meadows, Washington joined forces with Tanaghrisson and advanced on this location, where they defeated a French detachment.<sup>26</sup>

Multiple accounts exist for the skirmish that occurred at this spot, a ravine that came to be known as Jumonville Glen. At the end of the affair, between ten and fourteen of the French, including their commander, Ensign Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville, lay dead. The Virginians took twenty-one prisoners and lost only one of their own men. There are differing versions concerning who killed whom and how the killings occurred. Several accounts indicate that Jumonville died while he was trying to present a “summons” explaining his orders. The preponderance of descriptions point out that Tanaghrisson struck and killed Jumonville. According to two of these accounts, Tanaghrisson stated, “You are not yet dead, my father,” as he sunk his tomahawk or hatchet into the ensign. “Father” was a term frequently used by Indians for the French; hence, Tanaghrisson’s strike on Jumonville seemed a dramatic symbol of his broader rejection of France. Washington’s own report does not reveal Tanaghrisson as Jumonville’s assailant, and a Native eyewitness told Contrecoeur that the Indians on hand had actually prevented the Virginians from wiping out all of the French in the skirmish.<sup>27</sup>

### ***The Battles at Fort Necessity and on the Monongahela***

Ohio Iroquois friendly toward the British established themselves near Washington’s encampment at the Great Meadows. After the fight with Jumonville’s detachment, Washington and his men built a circular stockade there known as Fort Necessity. Tanaghrisson and Aliquippa with about eighty Iroquois, including children, gathered nearby. Toward the end of June, Scarouady burned Logstown and moved to the Indian camp not far from Fort Necessity.<sup>28</sup>

Washington's Indian allies soon became disillusioned. The British gained some reinforcements from Virginia and South Carolina; however, they were still significantly outmanned by the French forces. Furthermore, Washington was low on provisions and could offer little to sustain his Native supporters, who had abandoned their homes to join him. Their traditions taught Indians that alliances between peoples should be constructed and reinforced through rituals of gift giving. Washington came poorly equipped to carry out such rituals and was unable to fulfill Indian allies' expectations. Not only did he begin to lose his Iroquois supporters but he also failed to win over other Ohio Indians to his cause. Although ill-prepared, the young inexperienced Virginia officer determined to move directly against the French at Fort Duquesne. Stopping for a meeting at the Ohio Company's Redstone Fort, Washington unsuccessfully appealed to Shawnees, Delawares, and Iroquois for help.<sup>29</sup>

Once it became clear that hundreds of French and Indians were on the move against them, the Virginians retreated to Fort Necessity, where they were attacked on July 3. According to one report, 100 Indians and 600 French struck Fort Necessity. The Indians who participated in the battle were probably from a variety of groups with long-standing ties with the French, such as Wyandots, Caughnawagas, Ottawas, Nipissings, and Algonquins; however, it also seems that a number of those allied with the French at this time were Shawnees, Delawares, and Ohio Iroquois, who had recently been friends of the British. Indeed, the English soldiers knew some of their Indian opponents by name, suggesting former alliances. More than likely other Ohio Indians did not take sides in the battle and simply stayed out of the way. These included Tanaghrisson and other Iroquois who had camped near Fort Necessity. They evacuated the area before the

French arrived. Tanaghrisson explained that he “had carried off his Wife and Children” and “so did other Indians before the Battle begun, because Col. Washington would never listen to them.” In the Half King’s view, Washington “was a good-natured man but had no Experience” and he “command[ed] the Indians as his Slaves.” The British lost thirty men at the battle of Fort Necessity, ten times more than were lost on the French side. Two Indian allies of the French died in the battle.<sup>30</sup>

At least a few Ohio Indians tried to maintain connections with the English after the battle at the Great Meadows. Shawnees, Delawares, and Iroquois held a friendly meeting with a Pennsylvania representative at Aughwick, the site of Croghan’s trading post in the Juniata Valley. Despite a troubled history of dispossession, some Delawares saw themselves as part of a long-term relationship with Pennsylvania, which they were not ready to abandon. One Delaware leader Tamaqua stated at the Aughwick meeting: “when William Penn first appeared in his Ship on our Lands. We looked in his Face and judged him to be our Brother.”<sup>31</sup>

Nevertheless, the British continued to have trouble gaining, let alone retaining, Native allies. Indians may not have felt particularly safe at the English post at Aughwick, where some had settled after the British defeat in 1754. That spot was unhealthy, as some sort of illness—a “bloody flux”—struck those who had sought refuge there. Nor was the situation any better farther east on the Susquehanna, where Tanaghrisson and his family, now “in a very low Condition,” had gone to stay with the English trader John Harris. An ailing Tanaghrisson died at Harris’s in early October. By the end of the month Tanaghrisson’s followers were “breaking up,” and some had gone to the French “to ask for pardon.”<sup>32</sup>

A major British defeat on the Monongahela in July 1755 and its aftermath revealed the further weakening of Indian support for the British. Major General Edward Braddock led the large British force that suffered the pivotal loss. Braddock was undiplomatic and contemptuous toward Indians. He was unmoved by their desires to retain Ohio lands. Braddock informed the Delaware leader Shingas in no uncertain terms that once the French were defeated, the English would take over and control the Ohio Country. “No Savage Shou[ld] Inherit the Land,” Braddock boasted to Shingas, who had clearly hoped for a different response from the general. This close-up look at British arrogance undoubtedly helped the French gain additional allies among the Indians. Failing to conquer Fort Duquesne, Braddock lost his own life on the Monongahela. Scarouady blamed Braddock for the debacle. “We must let you know,” he said, “that it was the pride and ignorance of that great General. . . . he looked upon us as dogs, and would never hear any thing what was said to him. We often endeavoured to advise him and to tell him of the danger he was in with his Soldiers; but he never appeared pleased with us, & that is the reason that a great many of our Warriors left him & would not be under his Command.”<sup>33</sup>

At the Battle of the Monongahela, a huge number of British—about nine hundred—lost their lives, compared to twenty-three deaths among the allied French and Indian forces. The ongoing and worsening shortage of Indian allies made the British especially vulnerable in the struggle. Only eight Indians fought on the side of the British at their debacle on the Monongahela. In contrast, over six hundred Indians—including Wyandots, Ottawas, Mississaugas (a type of Ojibwa), Potawatomis, Iroquois, Shawnees, and a few Delawares—were allies of the French during the conflict. After Braddock’s

defeat, a military alliance with the English likely seemed suicidal to Ohio Indians. Indeed, after the Battle on the Monongahela, Ohio Indians increasingly turned against the British.<sup>34</sup>

### *After Braddock's Defeat*

After 1754 Pennsylvania claimed lands beyond the Alleghenies by virtue of negotiations with the Six Nations at Albany, giving Ohio Indians all the more reason to mistrust British designs. By October the following year, Shawnees and Delawares had begun attacking British settlements along the line of the Albany Purchase. In retaliation, colonial governments paid cash for Indian scalps, which encouraged Euro-Americans to kill even friendly Indians. In 1756 Colonel John Armstrong from Carlisle, with a force of three hundred, destroyed the Delaware town Kittanning on the Allegheny. The French took Oswego on Lake Ontario soon after, however, and continued to attract Indian allies. Another area of heated conflict was around Lake George in northeastern New York. Ottawas, Ojibwas, and Potawatomis gathered with French forces there as did other Indians from the northwest, such as Menominees, Winnebagos, and Fox Indians.<sup>35</sup>

In 1758 events finally began to shift in favor of the British. France's Indian allies were not prospering. Smallpox and famine had struck their communities. The British navy had managed to block supplies from reaching Canada via the St. Lawrence River. Despite the substantial Indian assistance that they had received, the French did not necessarily consult the wishes of their Indian allies and Native support for France diminished. Meanwhile, channels between the British and Indians, especially the Delawares, began to open up, and British relations with Ohio Indians slowly improved. In

November 1758 the British captured the Forks of the Ohio, where they constructed Pittsburgh at the site of the former French Fort Duquesne. By 1760 Niagara, Quebec, and Montreal were under British control; however, warfare between England and France continued overseas, and a treaty was not signed until 1763. British-Indian relations remained tense as Euro-Americans moved into areas still claimed by Indians. Native discontent with British encroachments and restrictive trading policies erupted in Pontiac's War (1763-1765), named for the Ottawa leader who headed an intertribal resistance movement. More intertribal opposition arose in the years after the American Revolution as the United States pushed its territorial claims west.<sup>36</sup>

Through times of struggle against difficult odds, Native peoples endured. Some Indians stayed in their homelands, but most took part in migrations, sometimes multiple migrations under pressure from a swelling Euro-American population. Seeking new territories for its settlers in the nineteenth century, the United States government forceably removed many Indians in the east to territory west of the Mississippi River. Over the years Indians experienced not just dispossession from their lands but also repression of their languages and ways of life. In response to this troubled history, Indians organized, especially in the twentieth century, to retain and strengthen their traditional cultures and demand their civil rights. These efforts continue to have an impact today as Native peoples face the challenges of the twenty-first century.

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<sup>1</sup> Richter, 1, [16]-18; *Handbook of North American Indians (HNAI)*, 519. Mohawk and Oneida are similar enough that some might argue they are different dialects rather than different languages. *HNAI*, 335-36.

<sup>2</sup> *HNAI*, 481, 352-56, 590-91; Richter, 32-36, 57-64.

<sup>3</sup> *HNAI*, 591; *Minutes of the Provincial Council (MPC)*, 5: 463.

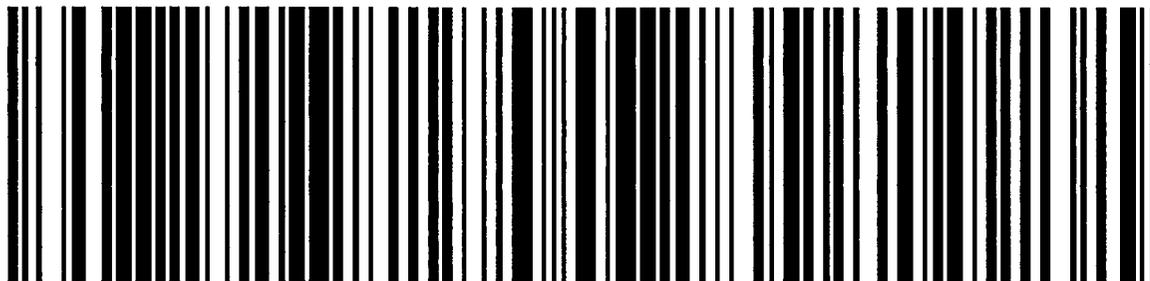
<sup>4</sup> For paragraphs on the Shawnees: *HNAI*, 622-24, 630-31; Howard, 1-2, 5-9; *MPC*, 2: 14-18 and 3: 579-582; Donehoo, 193-195.

<sup>5</sup> For paragraphs on the Delawares: *HNAI*, 213, 224-36; Schutt, chapters 2 and 3; Jennings, *Ambiguous*, 330-40; Wallace, 25-28; Hunter, "Documented."

<sup>6</sup> Vaughan, 220; Anderson, 25-29; Steele, 179; Kent, 3-10.

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- <sup>7</sup> De Léry, 19; Jackson and Twohig, 137; *MPC*, 6: 614.
- <sup>8</sup> Dowd, 29.
- <sup>9</sup> *HNAI*, 398-99, 394-96, 349-55, 368-69, 375-380, 387, 602; Sioui, [3-5].
- <sup>10</sup> *HNAI*, 399, 603, 772-74; Dowd, 25-26.
- <sup>11</sup> *HNAI*, 743-47, 774; Schmalz, 16-23, 36-40.
- <sup>12</sup> Dowd, 9; *HNAI*, 768, 726-28, 603; Edmunds, 8-9; Schmalz, 15-16.
- <sup>13</sup> *HNAI*, 681, 686-87; Rafert, 7, 1, 27.
- <sup>14</sup> *HNAI*, 792-97, 787-91.
- <sup>15</sup> Waddell, 1; Tanner, 41; Kent, 9; *MPC*, 5: 519, 349; Donehoo, 190; Bond, 67; Darlington, 86; Wallace, 173; Jackson and Twohig, 156; Lambing, 351.
- <sup>16</sup> Donehoo, 82-83, 243-44, 13-14; *Pennsylvania Archives (PA)*, 1: 299, 301; "Council held at Carlisle," 85; Thwaites, 85; Hanna, 1: 270-71; Kent, 7 and n. 14.
- <sup>17</sup> Mulkearn, 15-16, 486 n. 83, 11; Wheeler-Voegelin, 1: 118-20, 132-42, 150, 206, 226-29, 237-41; Tanner, 41, 50; *MPC*, 5: 351; Longueuil, 249; *HNAI*, 400, 604; McConnell, 68.
- <sup>18</sup> Vaughan, 183-84; Stevens and Kent, 29-30; McConnell, 72; White, 216, 230-31; Steele, 182.
- <sup>19</sup> White, 230-31; Trent, 84-88; Richter, 35-36.
- <sup>20</sup> Kent, 27-41, 14; Jennings, *Empire*, 52-53; McConnell, 89-90, 101-103, 109; *MPC*, 5: 635.
- <sup>21</sup> White, 210-11, 231-32; Edmunds, 47-48; McConnell, 102; Kent, 30-40; *MPC*, 6: 11.
- <sup>22</sup> White, 225; McConnell, 105-106; *MPC*, 5: 635; Vaughan, 279-80.
- <sup>23</sup> McConnell, 104-105; Vaughan, 270, 290-91.
- <sup>24</sup> Kent, 70, 72-75; Vaughan, 308-12; McConnell, 107-108; Anderson, 43-44.
- <sup>25</sup> Anderson, 46-50; Waddell, 1-2, 4; Gipson, 22-23; McConnell, 109.
- <sup>26</sup> Anderson, 52-53; Gipson, 30-31.
- <sup>27</sup> Gipson, 31; Anderson, 5-7, 52-59; De Léry, 19, 27-28; White, 240-41.
- <sup>28</sup> McConnell, 110; Anderson, 56-59; Gipson, 33; Alberts, 21, 25, 28.
- <sup>29</sup> Alberts, 27; Anderson, 29, 61; Gipson, 33-35, 39.
- <sup>30</sup> *PA*, 2d ser., 6: 168-69; Alberts, 30; Gipson, 41; Anderson, 64-65; *MPC*, 6: 151-52.
- <sup>31</sup> *MPC*, 6: 156.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 149, 184; Stevens and Kent, 84.
- <sup>33</sup> Bond, 63; *MPC*, 6: 589.
- <sup>34</sup> Anderson, 63, 96; Gipson, 96-97; Kopperman, 26, 266-67; Schmalz, 49; Schutt, ch. 4; Ward, ch. 2.
- <sup>35</sup> Schutt, ch. 4; McConnell, 124; Anderson, 163, 187; Jennings, *Empire*, 282.
- <sup>36</sup> Anderson, 196-200, 236-37; Jennings, *Empire*, 405-11.

# Record Barcode Cover Sheet



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