

"IS IT NOT OUR LAND?" AN ETHNOHISTORY
OF THE SUSQUEHANNA-OHIO
INDIAN ALLIANCE,
1701-1754

By

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C O P Y R I G H T

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PREFACE

"Is it not our land? What Right has Onontio [the Governor of French Canada] to our Lands? I desire you may go home directly off our Lands."

-The Seneca sachem Tanaghrisson,
1751 Logstown Conference

While I was growing up in central Pennsylvania my Mother told me stories of the Indians who once inhabited the area, and of the fabled "Tulpehocken Trail," which she said ran just south of where we lived. This important trail, often used by the Indian interpreter Conrad Weiser and his Iroquois friend Shikellamy, connected my home town of Sunbury, Pennsylvania with the colonial capital of Philadelphia. When I was in my early teens I discovered a portion of the trail when climbing nearby Kershner's Hill, and on it a pristine piece of wampum apparently dropped by some Indian traveler over two hundred years before. My father had also excited my curiosity by taking me to search for arrowheads on the cornfields of Packer's Island on the Susquehanna River, which had been part of the Delaware Indian village of Shamokin. These misty views of the past never left me, and after doing other things for a few years I found myself once again immersed in the study of the Indian peoples of the Northeastern Woodlands.

This dissertation describes the birth, consolidation,

and decline of the Susquehanna-Ohio Indian Alliance, an inter-cultural alliance among the various native peoples of the Susquehanna and Ohio valleys. This includes the peoples of the Iroquois Confederacy (including the Tuscarora), the Delaware (Lenape), Shawnee, Wyandot, and Miami nations, and other minor groups. It will tell the story of these peoples in the first half of the eighteenth century, and attempt to answer the most important questions concerning them: Who were they? What were they like? Where and how did they live? Finally, and most important, why are they no longer in the Susquehanna and Ohio valleys?

The focus of this dissertation is a multicultural analysis of the Indian peoples of the Susquehanna-Ohio Indian Alliance using ethnohistorical methods. History can be defined as the study of the process of change among human individuals and populations using written and other primary records as the basic source of information. Yet ethnohistory is somewhat different, an interdisciplinary hybrid. According to one of its most prolific practitioners, "ethnohistory is essentially the use of historical and ethnological methods and materials to gain knowledge of the nature and causes of change in a culture defined by ethnological concepts and categories."¹ Another

¹James Axtell, "Ethnohistory: An Historian's Viewpoint," Ethnohistory 26 (Winter 1979): 2.

more anthropologically-oriented definition of ethnohistory is: "an advancement of the understanding of culture or cultural process by analysis of human group behavior through time using protocols of an historic nature, preferably analyzed for purposes other than those originally intended by the authors, and in categories based upon modern ethnographic field investigation."² Such a methodology forms the core of modern research into the lives of non-European peoples often misrepresented in the past by ethnocentric writers. This work hopes to avoid such cultural traps which have plagued earlier writers (despite the sincere attempts of some of them to be fair) by the rigorous use of ethnohistorical techniques and analysis.³

I would like to thank the following for their help in my academic career and in the preparation of this dissertation. Dr. L.G. Moses, my advisor and friend, has never lost confidence in me and has been a continual source of inspiration and encouragement over the years. The other members of my advisory committee, Dr. Michael Smith, Dr. Donald Brown, and Dr. Richard C. Rohrs, offered patience, encouragement, and invaluable advice. Dr. Ron Petrin took

²Robert C. Euler, "Ethnohistory in the United States," Ethnohistory 19 (Summer 1972): 201.

³A bibliographical essay addressing this and other historiographical issues can be found in the Appendix.

me on an eye-opening voyage into the historiographical realm and provided me with the funding and physical facilities for completing this dissertation. Dr. Mary Jane Warde prevented me from making some major interpretive errors early in the research phase. My fellow graduate students, Pam Koenig, Cliff Coppersmith, Amy Carriero, Julie Jones, Rich Faillace, David Amstutz, and David Tait functioned as an ever-patient sounding board for my oftentimes half-baked ideas over the years. Sandy Rife, the Director of the Pennsylvania's Lycoming County Historical Society, and her friendly and helpful staff provided immeasurable help to an unknown scholar just beginning work on his dissertation. Special thanks go to Dr. Jim Bressler, the Society's archeologist, for his tour of the Otstonwakin village site. Dr. Stephen Griffith of Lycoming College, my undergraduate mentor, and his wife Ricki were considerate hosts always ready with a word of encouragement. Gerald and Carrie Hause and their children of Lewisburg, Pennsylvania provided a base of operations for my fieldwork in Pennsylvania. Special thanks go to their stalwart son, James, who literally blazed a trail through the undergrowth for me so that I could view the Chillisquaque village site. My friend Chuck Slaton of Perry, Oklahoma, and my parents-in-law, Howard and Faye Smith of Owasso, Oklahoma gave much needed help along the way. Our department secretary, Susan Oliver, provided

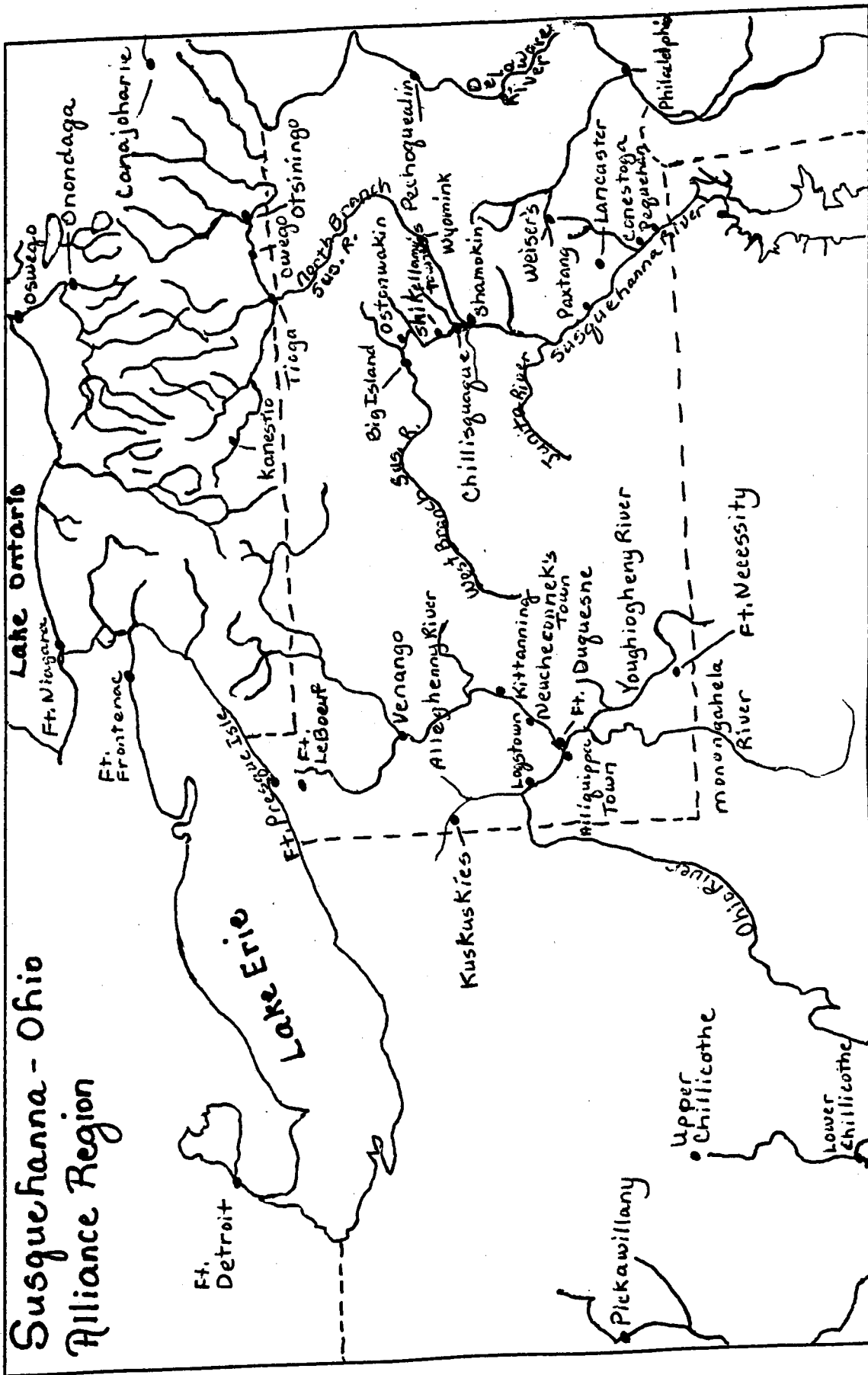
invaluable help and advice during the printing of the dissertation. Jane Johnson, the department graduate secretary, gave a never-ending store of friendly advice and took the time to proofread the manuscript. My late Mother, Martha Snyder Brown, bequeathed to me a love of literature and an unrelenting interest in early American History. My late Father, Malcolm Putnam Brown, taught me the virtues of hard work at an early age and unceasingly encouraged me to pursue my academic avocation despite the harpings of the "Idols of the Marketplace." My sisters, Beverly Hill and Barbara McCusker, provided continual support and encouragement over the years. My children, Michael, Robert, Carrie, Jeremiah, William, Abigail, Christopher, Jacob, and Matthew, unselfishly shared me with my work. My ever-patient wife, Linda, sacrificed greatly for six long years so that I could pursue my academic dream, and should also receive special recognition for producing the map. Finally, He whom the Iroquois call the "Master of Life" has protected and instructed me throughout my life and unfailingly guided me in the conception and writing of this work.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- DHSNY -- Documentary History of the State of New York
- EAIDTL -- Early American Indian Documents, Treaties, and
Laws
- EJCCV -- Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial
Virginia
- IESYW -- Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War, 1747-
1755
- JR -- Jesuit Relations
- NYCD -- Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the
State of New York
- PA -- Pennsylvania Archives
- PCR -- Pennsylvania Colonial Records
- PWJ -- Papers of Sir William Johnson
- PWP -- Papers of William Penn
- SCP -- Susquehannah Company Papers
- WCNP -- Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania
- WHC -- Collections of the State Historical Society of
Wisconsin



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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION

The Susquehanna River is one of the most beautiful and pristine river systems in the continental United States. It has two main branches, the North Branch, whose headwaters originate in upper New York State, and the West Branch, whose waters form in streams along the eastern flanks of the Allegheny Mountains in Western Pennsylvania. These two major waterways flow together at what was the old Indian town of Shamokin, the location of the present-day Pennsylvania towns of Sunbury and Northumberland. There the vast watery system moves majestically and inexorably southward past the fields, forests, and mountains of the Ridge and Valley Region of central Pennsylvania. Augmented by the flow of other streams, such as the Juniata River, it eventually flows resolutely but serenely into Chesapeake Bay. Although large craft are not able to navigate the Susquehanna over its entire length, from as early as 500 B.C. the river was a major northeastern diplomatic and trade conduit. In early post-contact times the river allowed North-South canoe traffic from Chesapeake Bay to New York's Finger Lakes and Mohawk River Valley, and provided an East-West route from the Delaware River to the Ohio Valley or

Great Lakes. In the early eighteenth century, canoe-borne Indian travelers could easily journey from the headwaters of North Branch in the Iroquois homeland to Shamokin and back again in the space of one leisurely summer season.¹

East of the river are the occasional high ridges of the Appalachian Mountains to the northeast, and low rolling hills and fertile valleys to the east and south. In the eighteenth century the Iroquois aptly called the imposing blue-hued northern Appalachian monoliths, stretching row on row to the horizon, the "Endless Mountains." West of the river's alluvial flood plain are the vast, forested concourses of the Allegheny Mountains. A high plateau region cut by deep gorges carved by fast-running streams and rivers, the Alleghenies were an impenetrable barrier to wagons and sometimes even horses from the colonial era until the railroads first pierced their gaps and overran their

¹Ben Marsh and Pierce Lewis, "Landforms and Human Habitat," in E. Willard Miller, ed., A Geography of Pennsylvania (State College, PA: Penn State University Press, 1995), 19; William C. Sturtevant, ed., Handbook of North American Indians, 15 vols., hereafter cited as Handbook (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978-1988), 15:364. A large portion of the Iroquois Great Council, composed of men who were past their prime in company with their women and children, made such a journey from Onondaga to Shamokin by canoe and thence overland to Philadelphia in the late summer and fall of 1736. Minutes of the 1736 Philadelphia Conference with the Iroquois, in Samuel Hazard, ed., Pennsylvania Colonial Records, 16 volumes, hereafter cited as PCR (Philadelphia: J. Severns and Company, 1838-1853), 3:425; Conrad Weiser to James Logan, 16 September 1736, as quoted in Paul A.W. Wallace, Conrad Weiser: Friend of Colonist and Mohawk (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), 46, 66-68; Carl Carmer, The Susquehanna (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1955), 313-314, 407-409.

flanks in the 1840s and 1850s.²

West of the Alleghenies is the Ohio Valley, a huge concourse of navigable streams and rivers which flows in the midst of fertile, relatively-low-lying agricultural lands. This seemingly endless expanse of land and crops is occasionally broken by the appearance of a few low hills. The fast-flowing Allegheny and sluggish Monongahela rivers both flow westward from the Alleghenies to combine at the present site of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania to form the main channel of the Ohio River. The Ohio then flows in a generally southwestward course past farms and abandoned factories until it dumps its heavy load of silt and debris into the Mississippi River at present-day Cairo, Illinois.³

The Ohio Valley was a relatively empty region in the early eighteenth century, the Iroquois having depopulated the region in their seventeenth-century imperial wars for

²Deed of the 1736 Land Purchase from the Iroquois, 11 October 1736, in Samuel Hazard, ed., Pennsylvania Archives, 9 Series, 138 vols., hereafter cited as PA (Philadelphia: J. Severns and Company, 1852-1949), 1st Series, 1:694-697; Conrad Weiser's Journal of Proceedings with the Indians on the Ohio, August-September 1748, in PCR, 5:348-358; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 36, 70, 266; Harry Ward, Colonial America, 1607-1763 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1991), 331. The Pennsylvania Railroad, formed in 1846, finally breached the rugged Juniata-Conemaugh Pass to complete its Philadelphia-Pittsburgh line in 1852. Ray Allen Billington and Martin Ridge, Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1949; reprint, New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1982), 340.

³A good overview of the eighteenth-century Ohio Valley can be obtained via Lewis Evans' 1755 map, which is reproduced in Charles A. Hanna, The Wilderness Trail, or the Ventures and Adventures of Pennsylvania Traders on the Allegheny Path, 2 vols. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1911), 2:127. Cairo, Illinois is the hometown of General and (later) President Ulysses S. Grant.

the control of northeastern fur trade. Yet the region was, in the words of an early German-American traveler-diplomat, full of promise:

The River of Ohio is a very fine river and from its rise it begins to be navigable for canoes and batteaus to its mouth where it runs into the Great River Mississippi. It must be by all accounts near a thousand miles long. It differs from all the rivers in North America for its smoothness considering its length. The lands on both sides are very good and a great deal of it extraordinarily rich. Between the said river and the Lake Erie the greatest part is good land. White oak, black oak, and Spanish Oak is the timber that grows on it. . . . I think the Indians themselves can not judge of the land itself, only of the low lands and plains of which [there] is so much that one thinks it a thousand pity [sic] that such a large and good country should be unsettled. . . . A middling good hunter among the Indians of Ohio kills for his share in one fall one-hundred fifty to two hundred deer.⁴

In 1701 both valleys and the mountainous region between them were covered with primeval first-growth forests. There were a few naturally-occurring open areas in this seemingly limitless expanse of timber. Such a place was the "Great Meadows" area in southwestern Pennsylvania, where some years later a young Virginia militia officer and his men would, by necessity, build a small circular fort and in so doing change things forever in both North America and Europe. The local Indian inhabitants of the Susquehanna-Ohio region also made clearings for their crops and habitations.⁵

⁴Conrad Weiser, Private Sentiments of [the] Ohio, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 270.

⁵George Washington, Expedition to the Ohio, in The Dairies of George Washington, ed. Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, 2 vols. (Charlottesville, VA.: University Press of

To these Indians, accustomed to traveling long distances on foot, the Alleghenies were a barrier, but not an impenetrable one. These half-forgotten but resourceful peoples, much better conditioned than modern Americans and inured to physical hardship, thought as little of traversing the Alleghenies on foot in the early 1700s as do motorists today while roaring absent-mindedly through fog-shrouded gaps on Interstate 80. Except when water routes were available, walking for long distances was simply the way one got around in the eighteenth-century woodlands. Horses purchased from Anglo-American colonists and other Native Americans later made things a bit easier, especially for the old or infirm. Small herds of buffalo and other large mammals had plowed natural trails through the primeval forests and mountain slopes, trails which were in turn augmented and repaired by the Indians who first reached the area over twelve thousand years ago.⁶

Who, then, were the Indian peoples of the Susquehanna and Ohio Valleys during the early eighteenth century? They

Virginia, 1976), 1:192, 195-196.

⁶The Examination of Andrew Montour and John Patten, Taken Before the Governor, 12 March 1754, in PCR, 5:762-763; Paul A.W. Wallace, Indian Paths of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1987), 1-9; Daniel K. Richter, "A Framework for Pennsylvania Indian History," in Pennsylvania History 57, no. 3 (1990): 237. These trails were usually twelve to eighteen inches wide, and were worn deeply into the ground, sometimes to a depth of nearly a foot. Indian runners, who were trained to navigate at night by the stars, could travel over one hundred miles in a twenty-four hour period on these trails. Lewis Henry Morgan, League of the Iroquois (Rochester, N.Y.: Sage and Brother, 1851; reprint. New York: Citadel Press, 1993), 429, 441.

included individuals from two distinct language-groups -- Algonquian-speakers, the Shawnee, Lenape, and Miami; and Iroquoian-speakers, the Susquehannock-Conestogas, Wyandots, and the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. The Shawnee, one of the most ancient of these nations, were originally from the south bank of the Ohio River in what now is Kentucky. It is highly probable that their direct ancestors were the people of the Fort Ancient Aspect archeological cultural complex, which were known to have thrived from A.D. 1400 to 1650. In the seventeenth century, bands of this nation had emigrated to eastern Pennsylvania and the protection of the Iroquois by way of western Maryland, later moving westward from the Delaware, Susquehanna, and Allegheny River regions in relatively rapid succession. Never a numerous people, they were nonetheless greatly respected by other Indian nations because of their fearlessness in battle. They also attempted to get along with everyone, whether they were French, British, or Indian. One of the greatest sachems of the Shawnee at this time was Kakowatcheky, who lived on the North Branch of the Susquehanna River until he moved to the Ohio Valley about 1744.⁷

⁷James H. Howard, Shawnee! The Ceremonialism of a Native American Tribe and Its Cultural Background (Athens, OH.: Ohio University Press, 1981), 1-2; Paul A.W. Wallace, Indians in Pennsylvania, 2nd ed. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1989), 118-119, 125-126. The Shawnee call themselves "Shaawanwa" (singular), or "Shaawanwaki" or "Shawanooki" (plural), meaning "southerners," or "he/they that dwell in warm climes." There are five tribal divisions -- Chalaakaatha, Meloche, Thawikila, Pekowi, and Kishpoko. Howard, Shawnee!, 25-35.

The Lenape, whom the British often called the "Delaware," were a loose confederation of Algonquin-speaking tribal bands⁸ who were indigenous to Eastern Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey. A generous and generally peaceful people, they were the first Native Americans to sell land to William Penn when he came to the New World to initiate his "Holy Experiment" in 1682. Having been overwhelmed by the Iroquois in the seventeenth century, the eighteenth-century Lenape lived under the political overlordship of the Iroquois with the non-warrior status of "women." Although slow to anger, they would eventually wage war against the British, but only when the cumulative effect of land frauds, assassinations, and unrelenting cruelties from a people who they always called their "brethren" proved too much for them.⁹

Another Algonquian-speaking group was the Miami (Maumies), also known as the Twightwees ("Twaatwaa"). Colonial diplomats interpreted the foregoing sound as an imitation of a crane's alarm call, possibly due to the consistent use of the sandhill crane ("Cacakwa") as the tribe's symbol. At the time of first contact, there were

⁸Some of this group's culturally similar segments were the Raritan, Wappinger, Hackensack, Wicomoco, Minqua and Nanticoke. Lenape means "Real People" in their language. Arrell Morgan Gibson, The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present (Lexington, MA.: D.C. Heath and Company, 1980), 198.

⁹Wallace, Indians in Pennsylvania, 18-19, 133; Francis Jennings, "Pennsylvania Indians and the Iroquois," in Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800, ed. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrill (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 75, 80.

about four thousand to five thousand people in Miami-speaking tribes. Their ancestral homeland was near the southern end of Lake Michigan, but Miami tribal bands had moved to an area along the upper Wabash and Maumee rivers early in the eighteenth century.¹⁰

Numbering about fifty-five hundred people at first contact, and about twelve to twenty-five thousand at its height, the Iroquois Confederacy or League was the major Native American military, economic, and diplomatic power in the Mid-Atlantic region of North America during the colonial era. Originating in the vicinity of Montreal in pre-contact times,¹¹ its people soon thereafter pushed into upper (western) New York State. There it fragmented into five nations or tribal groups: the three "Elder Nations," the

¹⁰C.C. Trowbridge, Meearmear Traditions, in Occasional Contributions From the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan, no. 7, ed. Vernon Kinietz (Ann Arbor, MI.: University of Michigan Press, 1938), 6-7; Handbook 15:681.

¹¹Current theory has it that the tribes and nations of Iroquoian linguistic stock were derived from Middle Woodlands era peoples indigenous to the Northeastern Woodlands. According to the Journals of the French explorer Jacques Cartier, a rather mysterious group called the Laurentian Iroquois inhabited the Montreal-Quebec-Gaspee' region. According to modern theorists, there are four possible reasons for the groups' subsequent disappearance - (1) All became part of the lower (New York) Iroquois; (2) The eastern Laurentians joined the lower Iroquois, whereas the western Laurentians joined the Hurons; (3) Both bands joined the Huron due to harassment by the lower Iroquois and nearby Algonquians; or (4) The Laurentians were a totally independent people, related neither to the Huron nor the Iroquois, and were absorbed by both groups. Due to the paucity of original sources, there is little that can be done to reconstruct Laurentian culture. Fagen, Ancient North America, 414; Frank Gouldsmith Speck, The Iroquois: A Study in Cultural Evolution (Bloomfield Hills, MI: Cranbrook Institute of Science, 1945), 17-18.

Canienga (or Mohawk), Onondaga, and Seneca, and the "Younger Nations," the Oneida and Cayuga. The junior members of the confederacy were allowed to speak, but not to vote, in the Great Council. After a period of internecine warfare, a general council of sachems created the Iroquois Confederacy on the north shore of Onondaga Lake.¹² The Iroquois League was a "kinship state," typical of Native Americans north of the Rio Grande, as opposed to the tradition of "conquest states" in Asia and Africa.¹³

The League began its wars of imperialistic expansion to corner the beaver trade in the late sixteenth century. The Iroquois obtained firearms and metal-edged weapons from the Dutch, and somewhat later the British, and formed economic alliances with both groups. The years from 1625 to 1700 were a period of almost uninterrupted warfare for the League, which fought a bitter war with New France from 1640 to 1700. Despite attacks by the French and their Indian allies which destroyed crops and villages, the League

¹²Morgan, League of the Iroquois, 5-7, 25; Speck, The Iroquois, 20. The ostensive purpose of the League was to defend its members from external enemies, and to maintain its internal unity. Its great underlying purpose, developed sometime after its inception, was the literal conversion of mankind to peace. Iroquois efforts to insure the implementation of this peace policy on neighboring tribes by force [war] if necessary resulted in a sort of "Pax Iroquoia." Anthony F.C. Wallace, The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 39-44.

¹³William N. Fenton, "The Concept of Locality and the Program of Iroquois Research," in Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture, ed. William N. Fenton (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951), 39-41. The Iroquois and other nations and tribes of the Northeast have more ethnological and historical material written on them than any other ethnographic group in the Americas. Ibid.

nonetheless remained intact and a militarily viable entity during the entire period. The Iroquois decimated and fragmented the Hurons and Eries in the 1650s, and in the 1680s Indian groups in New England, the south, and the Illinois country. The Iroquois were ferocious, offensively-minded warriors, sending at the height of their power huge war parties as far away as the western Great Lakes, the Ohio River basin, and the Carolinas.¹⁴

When at home, Iroquois men were kindly and affectionate, considerate to their women, tender to their children, and willing to do almost anything for their friends. They were reverential toward their unwritten constitution and its authors, Deganawidah and Hiawatha. Although adept at war, they often looked for ways to make or maintain peace.¹⁵ Ofttimes portrayed as merciless, drunken, bloodthirsty fiends by their French enemies (particularly the Jesuits), the Iroquois were in reality a great and noble people.¹⁶

¹⁴Morgan, League of the Iroquois, 7-25; Bruce G. Trigger, The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976), 2:629-632; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 19, 24.

¹⁵Gibson, The American Indian, 199; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 19-21, 24.

¹⁶Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 19-21; Speck, The Iroquois, 9-14. The Iroquois also had allies among the Jesuits. The Jesuit missionary Father Nau related his experiences and observations on the Iroquois when serving in the Caughnawaga mission: "The Iroquois and Hurons are more inclined to the practice of virtue than other nations; they are the only savages capable of refined feelings; all the others are to be set down as Cowardly, ungrateful, and voluptuous." Heavy drinking among the Iroquois was a major problem, as despite the severest penalties to their French suppliers, "Still our

About five-thousand Iroquoian-speaking Tuscaroras, distant cousins of the Iroquois, inhabited the Neuse River Valley of North Carolina prior to 1711. After intense provocation by Carolina slave traders, they attacked colonial settlements in the hope of driving off their tormenters. A combined force of South Carolina militia and their Indian allies quickly defeated the Tuscaroras and expelled many of them from their homeland. Given shelter by the Iroquois, most of the Tuscarora nation then migrated to and settled with their Oneida hosts in Iroquoia. After a short "apprenticeship," they were formally adopted into the Iroquois League about 1722, becoming the "Sixth Nation" of the Confederacy.¹⁷

The peoples of the Huron Confederacy were the northernmost of the Iroquoian-speaking peoples in the seventeenth century. The French term "Huron" meant "boar's Head" or "rustic," apparently referring to the "bristly hair styles"¹⁸ of the nation's warriors. Members of the Huron Confederacy called themselves "Wendat" meaning "islanders,"

savages find all the brandy they want, and as soon as they are drunk they are capable of any crime." Nau summarized by stating that, taking all into consideration, "Our Iroquois are much better Christians than the French." Father Nau to Father Bonin, 2 October 1735, in Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (New York: Pageant Book Company, 1959), 68:267.

¹⁷Speck, The Iroquois, 22.

¹⁸Handbook 15:398; Trigger, The Children of Aataentsic, 1:27.

or "dwellers on a peninsula." The Confederacy's four tribes¹⁹ lived on or near the Penetanguishene Peninsula at the southeast corner of Lake Huron's Georgian Bay in what is now Ontario Province, Canada. The Iroquois shattered and fragmented the trade-oriented Huron Confederacy at the beginning of the "Beaver Wars" in the mid-seventeenth century. At that time, the Huron population numbered somewhere between twenty-seven to fifty thousand people, located in eighteen to twenty-five major villages containing fifteen hundred to two thousand people each.²⁰

A splinter group of the Hurons known as the Wyandots later became an important part of the Susquehanna-Ohio Indian Alliance. Also known to the French as Tionontati or Tionontati Hurons and to the English as the "Tobacco Nation," the Wyandots were that remnant of the Huron Confederacy that had fled westward to the upper Great Lakes area after the defeat of their confederacy by the Iroquois in the mid-seventeenth century.²¹

The Susquehannocks occupied the Susquehanna River watershed prior to 1675. This Iroquoian-speaking nation was composed of two distinct groups, the Andaste (Susquehannock proper), who lived on the lower river, and the "Big Flats

¹⁹These are the Attignawantan, "The People of the Bear;" Arendarhonon, "Nation of the Rock;" Attigneenongnahac, "Cord," "Barking Dog," or "Deer;" and Tahontaenrat, "White Thorns," "White Canoe," or "One White Lodge. Trigger, Children of Aataentsic, 1:30.

²⁰Ibid., 31-32.

²¹Speck, The Iroquois, 18-19.

People" along the North Branch of the river in the Wyoming Valley. The total population of this nation probably never exceeded five-thousand. The Susquehannocks were defeated about 1675 by the combined attacks of Maryland and Virginia militias and the Iroquois.²² However, due to the largesse

²²Ibid., 20. The Swedes called the Susquehannocks and other Iroquoian-speaking peoples "Mingwas" (from the Lenape "Mengwe"), which was later transformed in English-language documents to "Mingoes." Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:15-16, 27. The Susquehannocks became important because of their strategic location during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries along the trade routes of the Susquehanna Valley. Acting as middlemen, the tribe dominated the European-Native American fur trade of this era, even rebuffing of the powerful Iroquois until 1675. Trade relations with the colonial Virginians in the early seventeenth century were amicable, but attempts by the Maryland colonial government to take over the Virginia trading posts in 1643 were halted by the Susquehannocks with much bloodshed. Susquehannock attempts to open trade relations with the Swedes in New Amsterdam in the early 1600s were initially halted by the Delaware, but apparently a shared trade relationship and military alliance was later developed between the latter tribe and the Susquehannocks. Iroquois attempts to wrest the lucrative middleman trade position from the Hurons during the initial stages of the Beaver Wars (1649-1656) spilled over into the Susquehannock trade network. Forging an uneasy alliance with Maryland in 1661, the Susquehannocks held their own against the Dutch and English-armed Iroquois for many years, even terrorizing the Iroquois by raiding successfully into the latter's heartland. Despite high war casualties, a far greater cause of the decline of Susquehannock power and population in the late seventeenth century were a series of devastating smallpox epidemics. On the invitation of Maryland, the Susquehannocks left the central Susquehanna valley about 1660 for a supposedly more secure location at the junction of the Potomac River and Piscataway Creek, just south of present-day Washington, D.C. Persecuted by the Virginia militia, the Susquehannocks escaped to the Roanoake River, where they unwittingly became one of the alleged precipitators (and scapegoats) of Bacon's Rebellion. New York's governor Edmund Andros offered sanctuary to the Susquehannocks along with New England tribes defeated by his Mohawk allies during King Phillip's War. In 1677, a general peace treaty was concluded at Albany, where the Susquehannocks were included under the protective aegis of the New York-Iroquois Covenant Chain. Many of the surviving Susquehannocks then journeyed to live with the Iroquois or their Delaware cousins, losing their tribal identity in the process. Handbook 15:364-366; Hanna, *ibid.*, 47.

of their Iroquois overlords, many Susquehannocks continued to live in and around the Indian town of Conestoga in relative freedom well into the eighteenth century.²³

Among the Iroquoian-speaking nations either absorbed or scattered by the Iroquois were the Neutral Confederacy (Attiwandaronk), who lived on the Niagara peninsula from Detroit to the Genesee River. The confederacy was composed of at least three tribes of about ten thousand to twelve thousand people, and were dispersed or incorporated into the Iroquois League by 1652. Prior to 1650, the Erie or "Cat Nation" inhabited the shore of Lake Erie from southwestern New York to present day Cleveland, Ohio. Population estimates range from four thousand to ten thousand people. The Iroquois also fragmented the Erie, and little is known of the latter nation due to the fact that there was no white contact with them until after their national dispersal.²⁴ The Wenro inhabited southwestern New York east of the Erie nation prior to 1640. An eastern member of the Neutral Confederacy, they abandoned their ancestral lands to the

²³Philadelphia Treaty Between William Penn and the Conestoga Indians, 23 April 1701, in PCR 2:14-17; Minutes of the Conestoga Conference with the Indians, 8 June 1710, in PCR 2:510-513; Conferences with the Indians at Conestoga and Philadelphia, July 1721, in PCR 3:122-134; Barry C. Kent, Susquehanna's Indians (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1993), 379-391.

²⁴New evidence has recently emerged which contradicts this interpretation. It is now known that one band of the supposedly-extinct Erie took part in the siege of the British garrison at Fort Detroit during "Pontiac's War" in 1763. Francis Jennings, Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1988), 444-447.

Senecas and migrated northward to join the Huron. The Nottoway, close linguistic cognates of the Tuscaroras, were inhabitants of southeastern Virginia, near the Nottoway River in the early seventeenth century, with a population of about twenty-two hundred. The Meherrin were apparently a Susquehannock expatriate group, many of whom were exterminated or sold as slaves during Bacon's Rebellion.²⁵

This dissertation focuses on the native peoples immigrating or indigenous to this region in the first half of the eighteenth century. Its purpose is to describe and analyze the development, consolidation, and decline of the Susquehanna-Ohio Indian Alliance, a hitherto unrecognized cultural alliance among the Eastern woodland Indians of the Susquehanna and upper Ohio Valleys. It includes the peoples of the Iroquois Confederacy, the Lenape (Delaware), Shawnee, Wyandot, Miami, Susquehannock, and other groups.

Under the direction of its greatest sachems during its first three decades, the Susquehanna-Ohio Indian Alliance was the single most important Native American intercultural entity in the Northeastern Woodlands during the 1701-1754 period. It was an elastic and durable structure that easily met the needs of its members for peaceful intercourse and the resolution of problems among themselves and with Euroamericans. The Alliance survived during the 1740s and early 1750s despite increasing factionalization and polarization among its members and the meddling of French

²⁵Speck, The Iroquois, 19, 21-22.

and British colonials. The Alliance's downfall in 1754 was due primarily to the invasion of the Ohio Valley by the armed forces of France and Britain, and secondarily to the inability of its leaders to modify their thinking to effectively resist such aggression.

The Alliance encompassed peoples from the headwaters of the North Branch of the Susquehanna, the homeland of the Iroquois, in the North; the upper Ohio Valley from Miami River eastward in the West; the North Branch of the Susquehanna and its tributaries in the East; and the lower reaches of the Susquehanna and upper Ohio River Valleys in the South. Trade centers such as Wyomink, Oswego, and Shamokin east of the Alleghenies, and Kittanning, Kushkushkies, Logstown, and Pickawillany west of the mountains became the focus of political development both for individual nations and for the Alliance itself.

The system of interlinking trails from the Susquehanna Valley over the Allegheny Plateau to the Ohio Valley made possible an extensive communications system between the peoples of these two great river valleys, linking kindred peoples on both sides of the mountains despite the seeming enormity of the geographic barriers. This pan-Indian communications network made possible the intercultural cohesiveness of the Susquehanna-Ohio Indian Alliance. Due to continued cross-Allegheny communications after the inception of large-scale Indian migrations to the Ohio Valley beginning in the 1720s, Indians living on either side of the Alleghenies were essentially unified in a cultural

sense despite the geographical separation. One of the major effects of enhanced cross-Allegheny communications was that Delaware bands began to coalesce into a nation as early as 1724 in settlements on both sides of the Alleghenies at such village-centers as Wyomink, Shamokin, Kuskuskies, and Kittanning.²⁶

The Alliance was created in times of peace, under the relatively benign oversight of the Iroquois and their "Great Tree of Peace." Yet after its destruction by the armed forces of France and Great Britain at Great Meadows in July 1754, its dying remnants also functioned to some extent in wartime. The intercultural ties forged during the heyday of the Alliance enabled kindred peoples residing in the upper Ohio Valley to return to previous places of residence east of the mountains and find shelter during the French and

²⁶Minutes of the August 1728 Philadelphia Conference with the Indians of the Susquehanna, in PCR, 3:326; Minutes of the 1742 Philadelphia Treaty Conference with the Iroquois, in ibid., 4:579-580; Conrad Weiser's Report of his Journey to Onondaga, June-August 1743, in ibid., 667; Conrad Weiser's Journal of the 1748 Logstown Conference, in ibid., 5:349-351; The Examination of James LeTort, Indian Trader, Taken Before the Governor, 29 October 1731, in PA, 1st Series, 1:301-302; Deed of Lands from the Delaware Indians to the Pennsylvania Government, 12 July 1732, in ibid., 344; Indian Letter Respecting Indian Traders at Allegheny, 1 May 1734, in ibid., 425; Neucheconner and other Shawnee Chiefs at Allegheny to the Governor of Pennsylvania, 7 June 1732, in ibid., 327-330; Site of the Town of Wyomink on the Survey map of the Manor of Sunbury, in ibid., 3rd Series, 4: no. 67; Nicholas Ludwig, Graf von Zinzendorf, Memorials of the Moravian Church, ed. William C. Reichel (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott and Company, 1870), 66-67, 94, 100-111; Kent, Susquehanna's Indians, 90-91, 100-101; Isaac Taylor's Map, 1727, as illustrated in Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:197; Drawing of the Plan of Kittanning, 1755, as illustrated in Michael N. McConnell, A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and its Peoples, 1724-1774 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 26.

Indian War. One of the keys to understanding the Alliance thus lies in the activities of those peoples who emigrated to the trans-Allegheny west prior to the French invasion in 1753 and their friends and relations who remained behind in the upper Susquehanna valley.

Europeans and Euroamericans determined to wrest the Ohio Valley and its lucrative fur trade from its rightful owners destroyed the Alliance and its era of peace. With no great leaders available at the time to check this European aggression, the Alliance, a construct of a relatively peaceful era, was unable to cope with this new set of circumstances and was doomed to a slow and lingering death. After the Alliance's disintegration, European-Indian military alignments coalesced, and the terrifying "Inchin Schar"²⁷ descended with a vengeance on the unprepared German-American farmers and other Euroamericans of rural colonial Pennsylvania.

The Susquehanna-Ohio Indians were culturally, economically, and politically sophisticated peoples. Although much localized self-governance occurred at villages or village complexes, the Susquehanna-Ohio Indians had several principal economic centers or "capitals" such as Pickawillany, Logstown, Kuskuskies, Kittanning, Shamokin, and Wyomink. The eastern nations also tended to centralize

²⁷The following inscription was found on the back of an old Pennsylvania-German stove plate from colonial days: "1756: Das ist das Jahr Darin witet der Inchin Schar." Joseph J. Kelley, Pennsylvania, the Colonial Years, 1681-1776 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1980), 356. The translation is: "1756: This is the year when the Indians swarmed upon us."

their trans-Allegheny diplomatic activities with the British at the Shawnee village of Logstown, whereas the Miami under the leadership of the pro-British sachem Memeskia directed their trade network from Pickawillany. These centers thus functioned much like the Greek city-states under Athenian leadership after the Persian Wars in the Fifth Century B.C., under the overall intercultural union of the Alliance.

Despite internal problems created by alcohol, disease, and political factionalization, the Iroquois Confederacy was the dominant military and political power in the Northeastern Woodlands during the early to mid-eighteenth century. However, the Iroquois generally chose not to use that power against tribes under their dominion during the 1701-1754 period²⁸, preferring instead diplomacy and mediation.²⁹ The Lenape were, at least at first, symbolic "women" (or "peacemakers") and honored "grandfathers," and not menial subjects of the Iroquois. Although they generally caused few difficulties while living under Iroquois suzerainty, the Lenape and Shawnee peoples became

²⁸With the exception of some recalcitrant Shawnee bands. Jonah Wright and S.A. Blunston to Governor Gordon, 1732, in PCR, 3:471-472.

²⁹The Iroquois seemed to be relatively powerless to many observers from the 1730s through the beginnings of the French and Indian War. But in actuality the League was relatively quiescent and dormant because of national introspection, a lack of consensus, the dominance of local politics, and the French attack on the New York colonial village of Saratoga in November 1745. This important raid initiated the beginning of the breakup of the Iroquois Confederacy, as it forced the relatively pro-British Mohawks into a war in which the Senecas, split between French and British factions, did not want to participate. Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 232.

very angry when their land was expropriated by colonials with the help of the Iroquois Great Council, major reasons for their exodus to the west and hostility toward Pennsylvanians during the French and Indian War.

The economically-based and single-issue oriented Ohio Indian Confederacy, formed by Ohio Valley sachems in 1747, was merely a dependent part of the larger Iroquois-dominated Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance until European militarism forced a re-alignment in 1753-1754. Led for the most part by expatriate Western Iroquois sachems, the Ohio Confederacy was, in a sense, a semi-fictional creation of the newly-emplaced Ohio Indian elites and the Pennsylvania provincial government and traders. The colonial records of the Pennsylvania Provincial government reflect this strongly pro-Ohio Valley fur trade viewpoint. The entrepreneurial-minded Ohio Indian political elites desired ready access to inexpensive, higher-quality British trade goods and non-interference from the French. The Pennsylvania traders and their governmental supporters essentially went along with this "political fiction" to gain access to this lucrative fur trade arena. Blown asunder during the French and Indian War (1754-1763), the Ohio Indian alliance only began to emerge as a separate political entity during Pontiac's War (1763-1764).

This dissertation, which offers a new socio-political construct to analyze the intercultural environment of eighteenth-century Northeastern Woodland Indians, fills a unique niche in the historical literature. As can be

ascertained in the bibliographic essay in the Appendix, although much has been written about Euroamerican traders, colonial diplomats, and individual Indians and Indian nations of the era, until the advent of this work no collective study of the allied peoples living along the Susquehanna and upper Ohio river valleys in the first half of the eighteenth century has been written. The solutions that these allied individuals and nations collectively constructed regarding the problem of how disparate peoples can live together in relative harmony is an invaluable lesson in a world in which ethnic hatred and genocide is still an all too-frequent occurrence.

The dissertation is also atypical in a methodological sense. It uses the standard colonial primary sources for the colonial era, plus some sources that researchers have recently uncovered. The work also uses ethnohistorical sources and disciplines such as archeology, ethnography, cultural anthropology, weapons' history, and material culture to illuminate peoples whose story lay forgotten or misunderstood in many secondary works. With its emphasis on both anthropology and a new interpretation of well-known primary sources, it makes the assumption that ethnographical material regarding the modern descendants of the peoples of the Alliance can be extrapolated backward to give at least a misty view of what those peoples were like in the early eighteenth century. In addition, it uses a new interpretive construct in which all native peoples residing in both the Susquehanna and Ohio Valleys during the 1701-1754 time

period are regarded as being culturally allied despite intertribal or international differences and the geographical separation of kindred peoples.

This introductory chapter has briefly examined the national histories of the Indians of the Northeastern Woodlands and their environment prior to and during the eighteenth century. Also included was a brief synopsis of the dissertation's purpose, thesis, unique aspects, and methodology. Chapter II is an ethnographical digression into the cultures of the Alliance. It analyses the life cycles, subsistence patterns, technologies, religion and ceremonies, social and political organizations, and external relations of the Susquehanna-Ohio peoples.

CHAPTER II.

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW OF THE SUSQUEHANNA-OHIO PEOPLES

During the first half of the eighteenth century, the Indian peoples along the Susquehanna and upper Ohio drainages lived lives of reasonable military security and comparative economic uncertainty. Although there is evidence of forces and personages implementing plans for the economic domination of these peoples from both Philadelphia¹ and Quebec,² the Susquehanna-Ohio Indians led lives generally free from external controls under the relatively benign suzerainty of the Five Nations. Despite the inroads of the fur trade, epidemic diseases, and tribal fragmentations due to warfare, these Indians and their cultures were quite able to remain viable amidst all but the most overwhelming of European military incursions beginning in 1753.³ It is thus important to understand the longevity and adaptability of the Susquehanna-Ohio cultures during

¹See Francis Jennings, "The Indian Trade of the Susquehanna Valley," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 110 (1966): 406-424, for an especially good treatment of the economic activities of colonial Pennsylvania's fur magnate James Logan.

²Both W.J. Eccles' The Canadian Frontier (1969) and Richard White's The Middle Ground (1991) are excellent sources for evidence of French economic machinations among the Indian peoples of the upper Ohio Valley.

³This military incursion, instigated by the French and the primary cause of the breakup of the Alliance, was something the British or French colonial war machines were physically incapable of mounting until midcentury. Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Origins of Iroquois Neutrality: The Grand Settlement of 1701," Pennsylvania History 24 (1957): 235.

this time period, especially regarding their cohesiveness in the face of white incursions and their ability to solve disagreements among themselves. Although no culture is ever in stasis, in light of the foregoing it is nevertheless important to provide an early eighteenth-century cultural "snapshot" of the Indian peoples of this area.⁴ This chapter is not meant to be ethnographically comprehensive or precisely accurate for the era, but is an attempt to give the reader an overview of the lives of the Susquehanna-Ohio peoples. It includes brief analyses and comparisons of the life cycles, subsistence patterns, material cultures, religious activities, social and political organizations, and external relations of the Susquehanna-Ohio peoples.

What, then, were the peoples of the Susquehanna-Ohio Indian Alliance like? What cultural traits did they possess, and how did they view their quickly-changing early eighteenth-century world? In terms of their physical characteristics, eighteenth-century Northeastern Woodlands Indians were described by Moravian Missionary David Zeisberger as being of "middle size, well built, straight, light-footed, well adapted for travel through the forest." Their skin colors, like that of most humans, were various

⁴Such a digression from the narrative is particularly rewarding if the proper primary sources and modern ethnographies are combined to produce the most accurate possible picture of how these peoples lived, and provide at least cloudy glimpses of what they were thinking. The Apostle Paul compared this to seeing "through a glass, darkly." 1 Corinthians 13:12.

shades of brown, not red.⁵

Many had jet-black hair in their youth, allowed to grow long by the women, and slathered in bear fat to make it shine. Iroquois, Shawnee, and Wyandot women typically tied their hair in one large braid that reached down to their waist, often bound in cloth and red ribbons; whereas Lenape women usually tied a simple cloth around it to keep it in place. To keep their skin clean for paint or tattoos, the men generally pulled their beards out by the roots, and kept their hair either short or shaved with a scalp-lock, the latter typically kept well-ornamented. Most men (and a few women) decorated their faces, arms, and legs "with all manner of figures, serpents, birds, or other animals," using soot and gunpowder as tattooing compounds. Ears and noses were also pierced, the ear-lobes often being stretched to large proportions.⁶

⁵Samuel de Champlain, Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, 1604-1618, ed. W.L. Grant (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 142. Quotation from David Zeisberger, A History of Northern American Indians, in Ohio Archeological and Historical Society Publications 19, nos. 1-2 (1910), 12. The European term "Redskin," first used in the colonial era, is offensive to Native Americans due to its imposed pejorative connotations. This misnomer was applied to Indians by early French explorers because the Indians often used red ocher, a ceremonial color, to paint their faces and bodies. The situation was further confused when a European printmaker, who, having never seen a native North American, confused this body decoration color with the color of the Indians' skin. Herbert C. Kraft, The Lenape: Archeology, History, and Ethnography (Newark, NJ: New Jersey Historical Society, 1986), xiii, 245.

⁶Champlain, Voyages, 73; Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1601-1791, 73 vols. (Cleveland, OH: The Burrows Bros. Co., 1896-1901), 62:185; Quotation from Zeisberger, History, 12, 15.

Both sexes found silver and brass clothing ornaments and ear and nose rings to be attractive. The men wore only breech-clouts in summer, and a shirt, leggings, fur coat, or a small blanket (the Euroamerican "Match-coat") in winter.⁷ Atypically, the Lenape favored turkey-feather cloaks. In the colonial era, Northeastern Woodlands Indians almost universally wore deer-skin moccasins. Most native groups acknowledged Iroquois women as being the most skilled makers

⁷A pair of wide-eyed tinhorn Dutch tourists, sailing to New York City in 1679, described some New Jersey Lenape who came aboard their ship before they docked:

They wear something in front, over the thighs, and a piece of duffels, like a blanket, around the body, and this is all the clothing they have. Their hair hangs down from their heads in strings, well smeared with fat, and sometimes with quantities of little beads twisted in it. Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, Journal of a Voyage to New York and a Tour in Several of the American Colonies in 1679-80, trans. Henry C. Murphy (New York: Long Island Historical Society, 1867), 99.

Sixty-three years later, the Moravian missionary Count Zinzendorf met an Iroquois man named Andrew Montour on the road when traveling in central Pennsylvania. His description of the Iroquois warrior-diplomat is a good example of how well-to-do Native Americans would often mix native and European garb:

Andrew's cast of countenance is decidedly European, and had not his face been encircled with a broad band of paint, applied with bear's fat, I would certainly taken him for one. He wore a brown broadcloth coat, a scarlet damasken lappel-waistcoat, breeches, over which his shirt hung, a black Cordovan neckerchief, decked with silver bugles, shoes and stockings, and a hat. His ears were hung with pendants of brass and other wires plaited together like the handle of a basket. He was very cordial, but on addressing him in French, he, to my surprise, replied in English. Nicolaus Ludwig, Graf von Zinzendorf, Memorials of the Moravian Church, ed. William C. Reichel (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott and Company, 1870), 95-96.

of this practical and extremely comfortable type of footwear, which were made of deerskin chewed by the women to make it soft. Moccasins typically had soles at least one half inch thick, enabling the wearer to walk almost anywhere in comfort. Women's summer dress was most often entirely composed of a skirt⁸ which stretched from the waist to just below the knees. Full-length buckskin overdresses with leggings, either brain-tanned or dyed black in the Iroquois fashion, were the typical female winter dress from pre-Contact times through the colonial era. Women of Christianized groups, such as the Lenape or Iroquois converted respectively by the Moravians and Jesuits, also wore the more modest though highly-decorated full-body-length overdresses over their skirts even during the summer heat.⁹

There were marked differences as well as similarities

⁸The Iroquois called the richly-ornamented examples of this type of ancient apparel a "Ga-ka-ah." Lewis Henry Morgan, League of the Iroquois (Rochester, NY: Sage and Brother, 1851; reprint. New York: Citadel Press, 1993), 384-385.

⁹Father Claude Chauchetiere's Narrative of the Iroquois Mission of Sault St. Francois Xavier Near Montreal, 1682, in Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1601-1791, 73 vols., hereafter cited as JR (Cleveland, OH: The Burrows Bros. Co., 1896-1901; reprint. New York: Pagent Book Company, 1959) 62:185-187; Zeisberger, History, 15; John Heckewelder, An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1876; reprint. New York: Arno Press, 1971), 205; Morgan, League of the Iroquois, 385-386; William C. Sturtevant, ed., Handbook of North American Indians, 15 vols., hereafter cited as Handbook (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978-1988), 15:218, 303.

in the life-cycles of the Susquehanna-Ohio peoples. Among the Shawnee, children were bound to the cradle board at about one month, and were constrained there during the day until the infant was old enough to crawl about on his or her own. Orphaned children were not neglected, but were traditionally raised by childless couples. Large families were the norm, with twelve children being regarded as ideal in early historical times, dropping to five children in the mid-to late twentieth century. The naming ceremony was held ten to twelve days after birth. Mothers instructed their daughters in household and agricultural duties. Fathers instructed their sons in their childhood and youth, in direct contrast to the Iroquoian system, in which the boy's uncles had this responsibility. Endurance and self-control were required for boys, who were sent on a vision-quest at puberty or soon thereafter. As was typical for these cultures, the parents of the prospective bride and groom arranged their marriage. Although they showed little affection in public, the Shawnees were very warm-hearted and loving in private. After a four day wake, the dead were buried in the supine position (always with their heads facing west) under four feet of earth.¹⁰

Among the Miami, parents, midwives, or friends of the

¹⁰C.C. Trowbridge, Shawnese Traditions: C.C. Trowbridge's Account, Vernon Kintietz and Erminie W. Voegelin, eds., in Occasional Contributions From the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan, no. 9 (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1939), 24-35; James H. Howard, Shawnee! The Ceremonialism of a Native American Tribe and Its Cultural Background (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1981), 129-149.

family named newborns, the name being proper to the child's clan, but often in accordance with a portent or dream. Vision quests were usual for both sexes at puberty. To be considered an adult, boys had to accompany a war party. Facial painting with vermillion indicated the adult status of both sexes. Family relationships were far less formal than among the Iroquoians, except between the prospective bride and groom during courtship. Courtship rituals varied widely, ranging from the couple's desire for marriage to negotiations between their families. The groom initiated the marriage by giving the bride's brother a valuable gift such as a horse or rifle. The bride's brother reciprocated with a present of meat which the bride then presented to the groom's mother. The groom's family then reciprocated with a gift of vegetables for the bride's family. As is the case in many cultures, everyone apparently ate well at Miami weddings. Patrilocal residence was typical after marriage. A great deal of respect was shown to the elderly. Death brought a brief wake for the benefit of the mourners. Earth, scaffold, or seated position burials were all common. Four selected non-relatives carried the corpse to the grave, where an elderly relative addressed it, and asked that it not take any living persons with it. Grave goods were limited to silver jewelry, food, and water. The mourners ate a meal at the grave before going home. For the next four nights, an elderly relative of the same sex watched the grave to insure that a sorcerer did not steal parts of the

body.¹¹

Iroquoians such as the Huron-Wyandots, Susquehannocks, and the Five Nations Iroquois had major similarities in their life cycles. In their matrilineal extended clan structure, the basic cultural unit was the extended family (usually five or six families) who lived together in a single longhouse. A typical family was composed of a father, mother, and about three children. To prove their courage, most women did not cry out in childbirth, just as the men proved their courage in battle or while being tortured. Confined in cradleboards during the day, infants slept between their parents at night. In a vast contrast to colonial American societies, no physical punishment was ever meted out to children. Adults informally trained young people of their respective gender. Boys usually had their vision-quest at about age fifteen. There was much societal emphasis on good behavior, modesty, and discretion.¹² Men and women were in general very restrained and formal in each other's presence; there is even some evidence that sexual intercourse between couples was conducted only outside the village in the forests or cornfields. There were, however,

¹¹C.C. Trowbridge, Meearmear Traditions, Vernon Kinietz, ed., in Occasional Contributions From the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan, no. 7 (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1938), 37-48, 57; Handbook, 15:682-684.

¹²Many European observers thought these behavioral traits to be a bit strange; the French described the Huron as being "cheerful and contented, but always a little taciturn." Bruce G. Trigger, The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660, 2 vols. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976), 1:48.

no constraints on sexual relations among the youth. Iroquoians were typically monogamous, with no intra-clan marriages ever being allowed. There was no compulsion for a couple to marry, but parents often worked as marriage brokers for their children. Traits unique to the Iroquois were the ritual exchange of marriage bread for venison between the families, and the practice of relying on the old women to arrange marriages. Divorces were typically easy until after the birth of a child, when it became rather infrequent. There was much intra-clan and intra-tribe sharing and gift giving, as it imported status to those most willing to share with their friends. There was almost always a typical Iroquoian inter-generational tension between young men and their elders, particularly regarding war. Upon a person's death, condolence ceremonies culminating in a Feast for the Dead were typically given. Burial traditions differed, ranging from scaffold burials and later re-interment in ossuaries among the Huron to simple supine ground burials among the Iroquois.¹³

Among the Lenape, children were typically born assisted by female midwives in a special hut away from main dwellings. Babies were kept on cradleboards until about one year of age. Younger children were given tasks appropriate for their gender which would prepare them for the adult divisions of labor -- boys, hunting and fishing, and girls, tasks in household and fields. The Lenape typically

¹³Ibid., 45-52; Morgan, League of the Iroquois, 320-323; Handbook, 15:317-319, 374-375.

separated their women from the group during menstruation, in contrast to the Iroquoians, who allowed their women to remain in the households. Friends, families, or the affected couple could arrange marriages. Unlike the Iroquoians, divorce was apparently quite common.¹⁴ Although generally very fond of their children, these unstable Lenape marriages and relationships (indicative of the degree of fragmentation of a society dispossessed of its home territories) sometimes led to the neglect of younger children. As could be expected, these broken marriages and unstable relationships produced very few children, usually only two to three. Usually the only stable marriages among the Lenape were between older people. Advancing years brought the expected effects of the rough-and-tumble life typical for woodland peoples, such as arthritis, deafness, blindness, lameness, pneumonia, and tuberculosis.¹⁵ In pre-contact times, corpses were buried in sitting position in pit-graves lined with tree bark a few days after death, although by the mid-eighteenth century corpses were buried in European-style wooden coffins in graves dug by the band's old women.¹⁶

¹⁴Zeisberger, History, 16, 77; Handbook 15:219.

¹⁵Zeisberger, History, 20-21, 24.

¹⁶Ibid., 88-89; Handbook, 15:219. Recent scholarship has uncovered one of the few extant life stories of an eighteenth century Lenape woman. The brief autobiography of Hannah Freeman (1731-1802), a rural Lenape female laborer who lived in Chester County, Pennsylvania, is one of the oldest Native American autobiographical stories presently known for the Northeastern Woodlands region. Moses Marshall, overseer of the poor for Chester County, recorded her testimony in the

form of an application for entry into the county poor house on 28 July 1797. Her story provides a clear description of adaptive strategies utilized by Native Americans on the fringes of and partially assimilated into colonial society. Apparently typical of those Indians who chose to accommodate to colonial society, it resembled to a remarkable degree the lives of Euroamerican rural women who chose not to marry, or had married men too poor to support them properly. Her life thus represents not only the acculturation of Native Americans in Pennsylvania, but also the story of the rural laboring poor during the second half of the eighteenth century.

Hannah Freeman was born in March 1731 (using the "Old Style," or Julian calendar system) in a cabin on the property of William Webb in Kennett Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania. Her parents, who had apparently detached themselves from the local "Brandywine" band of traditionalist Lenape, and other members of her extended family lived on Webb's farm during the winter but moved to other locations during the summer to plant corn and to forage. About 1735, the family was no longer permitted to plant corn by the local residents, and her father, whom she never saw again, left for the Indian town of Shamokin, apparently to rejoin the traditionalist group. After her father's departure, Hannah, her mother, younger brothers, grandmother, aunts, and one uncle relocated to Centre in Christiana Hundred (present-day New Castle County, Delaware) where they worked as day laborers. From 1763 to 1770, Hannah and four other family members were given refuge (most likely by Quakers) in New Jersey from hostile frontiersmen who, like the infamous Paxton Boys, were killing every Indian in sight. Following their return from New Jersey when things had quieted down in 1770, Hannah and her family continued their migrations between Centre and Kennett Township. As the years passed, Hannah's mother, grandmother, and married aunt died. She continued to eke out a living as a day worker -- sewing, making baskets, and doing other chores at the local farms. Hannah was readily employable, as she had a reputation for being a hard and conscientious worker. When she was young, she had received a daily wage of three shillings and sixpence for her work. This wage was typical for the best rural female farm laborers of the day, indicating that she had not been discriminated against in an economic sense for being an Indian. However, during her declining years she generally received only room and board. By the late 1790s, Hannah could no longer work, and with her Lenape kin gone or dead, she became dependent on private and public charity in her old age. There was apparently a large degree of compassionate concern for her within the local community, who cared for her at a succession of private homes until the Chester County Home could be completed in November 1800. After her death two years later, she was buried at the graveyard on the Poor House property where a bronze marker notes her last resting place. Marshall J. Becker, "Hannah Freeman: An Eighteenth-Century Lenape

All Northeastern Woodlands peoples practiced some kind of horticulture. From time immemorial, subsistence of Iroquoians revolved about what they called the "Three Sisters," corn or maize (the primary staple of the Northeastern Woodlands), beans, and squash. "Indian tobacco" was (and still is) grown for ceremonies and sometimes for social smoking. Among the Huron, agriculture was of greatest importance, fishing was of secondary importance, and hunting was a close third. In contrast, hunting was apparently more important than fishing and sometimes even agriculture to the Iroquois, who typically spent several weeks in the forests hunting big game right after the corn harvest. There was a marked division of labor between the sexes in Iroquoian societies. In large working groups, women tended the crops (mostly corn, plus beans, squash, and tobacco), gathered nuts and berries, cooked, dressed and skinned game, made clothes, and tended the children. Men cleared new fields, grew tobacco, hunted, fished (often with nets), erected multi-family long houses, constructed protective palisades around the village, manufactured tools, weapons, and birchbark canoes, traded, made war, and governed the society. In general, the women, who owned the fields, houses, and their furnishings, were the guardians of family life and traditions, while the men

Living and Working Among Colonial Farmers," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography 114 (April 1990): 249-268.

were responsible for safety and order.¹⁷

The Lenape cultivated corn, beans, squash, and native tobacco, and gathered nuts and berries. Like the Iroquoians, maple syrup ("sugaring") was taken in March. Cornfields were prepared with the proper ceremonies in April, and the corn itself planted in May, after which the men left for the summer deer hunt. The corn crop was harvested in September, with an annual ceremonial. As the major staple, corn was prepared in an amazing variety of ways.¹⁸ Low-temperature "cold burns," which improved forest habitat, game-carrying capacity, and soil fertility, were extensively employed in the woodlands around Lenape villages. In early contact times, the Lenape fished extensively for fish and shellfish along the coastal

¹⁷Handbook 15:298, 363-364; Trigger, Children of Aataentsic, 1:34-45, 99-100; Anthony F.C. Wallace, The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 23-25. The Indians continually maintained their canoe-building skills because a birch-bark canoe was usually only usable for about one year before it had to be replaced. Zeisberger, History, 23.

¹⁸A contradictory interpretation has recently surfaced regarding Lenape maize cultivation. From 1640 to 1660, Lenape bands, who had limited access to furs, were apparently cash cropping maize for sale to the semi-starving Swedes in present-day southeastern Pennsylvania in exchange for fur-trade goods they needed or desired. When the Swedes, about 1660, were able to grow sufficient grain to feed themselves this market disappeared and the Lenape stopped growing maize to sell. No evidence of the cultivation or storage of maize has been found at any Lenape camp site excavations in Southeastern Pennsylvania. In that the Lenape had no provision for storing the maize that they grew, they apparently grew it as either a cash crop or as a supplement to the foods that they gathered in the summer. Marshall J. Becker, "Lenape Population at the Time of European Contact: Estimating Native Numbers in the Lower Delaware Valley," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 133 (1989), 118.

regions, but this subsistence method dwindled in importance the farther the tribe traveled from the coast.¹⁹

Farther west in the central Ohio Valley the Miamis practiced a mixed farming-hunting economy. Their women cultivated extensive fields of maize, and gathered wild tubers and roots. They ate all forms of meat -- fish, fowl (except ravens or crows), and reptilian and mammalian quadrupeds. They were particularly fond of turtle meat. The fur trade economy provoked major changes in Miami subsistence patterns. Fishing replaced the summer hunt to insure that fur bearers would be harvested in the fall and winter, when their fur was in the best condition. The Miamis alternated between winter hunting camps and the more permanent summer villages.²⁰

By the late Woodland Era, Native American hunters had adapted the bow and arrow as a hunting weapon. This innovation enabled Indian hunters to kill game at much longer distances than was possible with the spear or atlatl. Animals typically hunted included deer, eastern elk, black bear, raccoons, geese, turkeys, turtles, rabbits, porcupines, skunks, beaver, and squirrels, and sometimes even the American Bison or Buffalo, which was found as far

¹⁹Handbook, 15:216-217, 226, 299.

²⁰Nicholas Perrot, The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes, as described by Nicholas Perrot, French Commandant in the Northwest, ed. Emma Helen Blair, 2 vols. (Cleveland, OH: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1911-1912), 1:321-322; Trowbridge, Meearmear Traditions, 64-65; Handbook 15:682.

east as the Hudson River Valley.²¹

New European technologies would soon supplant the weapons of the forest: the stone axe by the iron or brass tomahawk, the flint knife by one made of Sheffield steel, and the bow and arrow by the flintlock gun.²² Despite trade contacts between the Indians of eastern North America and Europeans as early as 1525, recent scholarship has established that Indians had acquired few European firearms until well into the seventeenth century. This was due primarily to the fact that European traders deliberately made them unavailable in the Indian trade. Yet was just as well that the Indians did not get them, as these firearms, especially those with the antiquated matchlock or wheellock ignition systems, were impractical, non-reliable, and often

²¹Dankers and Sluyter, Journal, 309; Charles F. Kier, "An Interesting Bone Fragment from New Jersey," Bulletin of the Archeological Society of New Jersey 8 (1954), 10-12; Kraft, The Lenape, 154. The atlatl was a spear-throwing stick invented during the Early Archaic period. Using the principle of the lever, the native hunter could propel his spear to a much higher velocity with the atlatl than he could with his arm alone, enabling him to more effectively bring down large or dangerous game. Brian M. Fagan, Ancient North America: The Archeology of a Continent (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 306-307, 316-317.

²²The flintlock ignition mechanism, which ignited the gunpowder in a firearm via sparks made by scraping a shaped piece of flint against a hardened steel frizzen, was the fruition of centuries of European firearms development. Invented about 1550, it had been essentially perfected by 1625, thus making a practical, powerful, reliable, and easily controllable shoulder-mounted muzzleloading blackpowder weapon available both to European colonists and their American Indian neighbors. Sometimes called "firelocks" in colonial records, flintlocks were very reliable except in a heavy rain, when the exposed gunpowder usually failed to ignite. E. Norman Flayderman, Flayderman's Guide to Antique American Firearms (Northbrook, IL: DBI Books, Inc., 1990), 580;

unmanageable in the woods. However, due to increasing European desires for greater numbers of furs from their trading partners -- and the availability of the technologically-advanced flintlock -- firearms had become an integral part of all Northeastern Woodlands Indian cultures by the mid to late 1600s. They had almost completely replaced bows and arrows as hunting tools by the early 1700s.²³ Firearms were also the weapons of choice for war, as it quickly became apparent that those Indian groups (such as the Iroquois) equipped with large numbers of guns usually won in battles with more poorly-armed groups (such as the Hurons).²⁴ Guns thus enabled political control of one's neighbors, the domination of the lucrative fur trade, and perhaps even sufficient strength to defeat one's European

²³Bows and arrows were apparently used by eighteenth century Northeastern Woodlands Indians only for hunting small game (pigeon, fox, and raccoon) in order to save gunpowder. Zeisberger, History, 29.

²⁴Memorial of the Eight Men at the Mannhattans to the States General, 3 November 1643, in Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, 15 vols., hereafter cited as NYCD (Albany, New York: Weed, Parsons, and Company, 1855), 1:140; Trowbridge, Meearmear Traditions, 76; Handbook, 15:298; Donald E. Worchester and Thomas F. Schilz, "The Spread of Firearms Among the Indians on the Anglo-French Frontiers," American Indian Quarterly 8, no. 2 (1984): 103; T.M. Hamilton, Early Indian Trade Guns, 1625-1775 (Lawton, OK: Museum of the Great Plains, 1968), 1-2; Barry C. Kent, Susquehanna's Indians (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1993), 253-254; Trigger, Children of Aataentsic, 2:629. Although Jesuit policy was generally both compassionate and altruistic toward the Hurons, the fact that Jesuit missionaries forbade French traders to sell firearms to all but Christianized Hurons seriously weakened them both politically and militarily at the worst possible time. It is thus among the primary factors leading to Huron political, cultural and military fragmentation at the hands of the Iroquois in the late 1640's. Trigger, Children of Aataentsic, 2:633.

enemies in battle.²⁵

The typical weapon of the early eighteenth-century northeastern Indian trade was a flintlock smoothbore fowler or fusil of English, Dutch, or French manufacture, with a barrel of four to five feet in length and a bore of somewhere between .58 to .68 caliber.²⁶ It was essentially a single-barrel flintlock shotgun, utilitarian and rather plain, which could be loaded with either a round lead bullet or with small lead pellets called "shot" for small game or waterfowl hunting. Better-made and more ornate weapons, such as the French-made fusils fins or fusils de chasse ("Hunting Guns"), were given as presents to important Indian leaders, and were also carried by well-to-do traders, be they Europeans or Indians. Sometimes military arms, such as the British "Brown Bess" military musket, were converted for the Indian trade, generally with a shorter barrel and without the barrel lug needed for a bayonet. The fullest development of the fusil, the British-designed Northwest

²⁵Francis Jennings, The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies from its Beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744 (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1984), 80-81. Guns provided more knock-down power for big game while hunting, but were not usually superior to quickly-fired metal-tipped arrows in a short-range firefight with other humans. But with its ear-splitting noise, semi-mysterious operation, and greater knock-down power, a gun did give its user a tremendous psychological advantage over his less well-equipped opponent. Guns and metal-tipped arrows also made obsolete the pre-Contact wooden shields and slat armor often carried and worn by northeastern warriors, which had been proof against stone-tipped arrows. Trigger, Children of Aataentsic, 1:70, 2:629

²⁶A "caliber" is 1/100th of an inch. Thus a ".50 caliber" firearm has a barrel bore size of .50 inch, and would take a bullet of a slightly lesser diameter.

Trade Gun, became available in the middle of the eighteenth century.²⁷

Because of the fusil's rather limited range,²⁸ many eighteenth-century Indians preferred to carry the relatively new American Longrifle,²⁹ first derived and developed by German gunsmiths from the first true rifle, the German Jäger, or "hunter." The Jäger was a short, easily-handled

²⁷M.L. Brown, Firearms in Colonial America: The Impact of History & Technology, 1492-1792 (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1980), 283-284; Charles E. Hanson, Jr., "The Guns," in The Book of Buckskinning (Texarkana, TX: Rebel Publishing Company, 1981), 1:84; Charles E. Hanson, Jr., "Smoothbores on the Frontier," in The Book of Buckskinning 4:110-118; T.M. Hamilton, Colonial Frontier Guns (Chadron, NE: Fur Trade Press, 1980), 29, 31, 102-103. The marksmanship of Indians armed with this relatively short, reliable, and fast-firing smoothbore weapon amazed many Euroamerican observers. A young Hudson's Bay Company clerk, a proven marksman in the British Rifle Corps and an experienced waterfowl hunter armed with an expensive double-barrel percussion shotgun, recounted how he was consistently beaten at duck hunting by a ten-year-old Salteaux Indian boy armed with a beaten-up old flintlock trade gun. This kind of shooting ability was typical of the Indians, reflecting as it did hours of determined and patient practice and large expenditures of ammunition in which the Native American marksmen honed their skills and determined exactly how their guns would perform in the field. Isaac Cowie, The Company of Adventurers (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), 197.

²⁸Even under the best of conditions, such smoothbore weapons typically were not accurate enough to repeatedly hit a human target beyond fifty to sixty yards.

²⁹This was generally known in colonial records simply as a "rifle," or sometimes a "common rifle." It was sometimes called the "Pennsylvania Rifle" due to its origins in that province in the 1720s. It was later often somewhat erroneously known as the "Kentucky Rifle," due to the ballad, "The Hunters of Kentucky, or the Battle of New Orleans," which extolled the prowess of the sharpshooting Tennessee and Kentucky rifleman who helped to defeat the British army during the January 1815 battle for that city. This ballad and tune, which remained popular for many years after its publication in the early 1820s, was the main impetus for the misnomer "Kentucky" Rifle. Flayderman, Flayderman's Guide to Antique American Firearms, 524.

arm, with a .60 to .70 caliber rifled bore which forced the spherical bullet or ball to spin, thus making it a very accurate, long-distance weapon in the hands of a good shot. But when German gunsmiths first brought this design to Pennsylvania's Lancaster, Lehigh, and Schuylkill River Valleys in the early 1700s, they found that it was not the ideal weapon for the Eastern Woodlands. The solution these Pennsylvania-German gunsmiths hit upon about 1720 to 1725 was to lengthen the rifle's barrel to about 40" to 44". This innovation provided a longer sighting plane, thus enhancing accuracy, and also insured that the inferior backwoods-variety gunpowder burned more efficiently. The German riflesmiths also decreased the bore size to about .43 to .50 caliber to conserve the expensive and often hard-to-procure lead, which the rifle's owner would cast into spherical bullets with a special mold provided by the riflesmith. Another innovation was the use of an undersized bullet which was pushed down the bore covered by a greased patch made of linen or pillow ticking, enabling the arm to be repeatedly and accurately fired despite the fouling or residue produced when blackpowder was burned. Thus the accurate, graceful and superbly-balanced American Longrifle was born, an arm precisely adapted to the environment of the North American woodlands, and the favorite of many woodsmen of both white and Indian cultures. A man armed with knife, tomahawk, and longrifle could thus count himself the equal

of any opponent or animal he encountered in the wilderness.³⁰

The longrifle did have some deficiencies; it could not be re-loaded as quickly as could a fusil, was hard to reload while the shooter was lying down because of its length, and did not mount a bayonet as did military muskets. It also needed to be cleaned more frequently than a fusil, usually after ten to twenty shots, due to the build-up of blackpowder fouling in its bore. Yet such a firearm, in hands of a good marksman, was more deadly in battle than any other man-weapon combination in existence at the time.³¹ The Indians greatly prized any weapon which could consistently and precisely kill a deer at two hundred yards and hit a man in the head at three hundred. They were quick to seize longrifles in battle or obtain them via unconventional trade, and often demanded facilities for their repair from their European trading partners, such as the Moravian-supplied forge at Shamokin or the French forges in the Ohio Valley. The Chickasaws apparently had European-made rifles as early as 1736, and other native groups quickly saw the utility of such an arm for both hunting and

³⁰Dave Ehrig, Dave Miller, and Chuck Dixon, The Art of Building the Pennsylvania Longrifle (Kempton, PA: Dixon Muzzleloading Shop, Inc., 1978), 1-3; George Shumway, Pennsylvania Longrifles of Note (York, PA: George Shumway, Publisher, 1968), 3-4; Joe D. Huddleston, Colonial Riflemen in the American Revolution (York, PA: George Shumway, Publisher, 1978), 12.

³¹The longrifle's effectiveness was not eclipsed until the development of the rifled-musket, a weapon which combined the best aspects of the musket/fusil and the longrifle, just before the American Civil War.

warfare, especially those in the Ohio Valley. British General Edward Braddock's men were shot to pieces at the Battle of the Monongahela in July 1755 by a combined French-Native American force armed with trade fusils and a large number of longrifles. Musket-equipped British Colonial troops in exposed positions on the parapets of besieged frontier forts during the French and Indian War continually complained to their officers about being outranged by a plethora of Indian sharpshooters armed with longrifles. By the 1760s or 70s, the Delawares used rifles exclusively due to their propensity for shooting at long range. They were very good shots, could make minor mechanical repairs to their rifles, and a few became skilled as rifle stock makers, or "stockers." Other nations living farther to the west in the Ohio Valley predominantly used muskets, although the Shawnees, apparently following the lead of their Delaware cousins, also preferred rifles.³²

³²The Examinations of Jonah Davenport and James LeTort, Indian Traders, Taken Before His Honor the Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, 29 October 1731, in Samuel Hazard, ed., Pennsylvania Archives, 9 series, 138 vols., hereafter cited as PA (Philadelphia, PA: J. Severns and Company, 1852-1949), 1st Series, 1:299-302; Colonel Burd's Journal at Fort Augusta, 1756-1757, in *ibid.*, 2nd Series, 2:810-820; Zeisberger, History, 85; Worchester and Schilz, "The Spread of Firearms Among the Indians on the Anglo-French Frontiers," 107; Joe Kindig, Jr., Thoughts on the Kentucky Rifle in its Golden Age (York, PA: George Shumway, Publisher, 1970), 3; Richard B. LaCrosse, Jr., The Frontier Riflemen (Union City, TN: Pioneer Press, 1989), 14; Brown, Firearms in Colonial America, 286, 288; William A. Hunter, Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1960), 211-213, 514, 524. Zeisberger referred to the Indians' longrifles as "rifled-barrelled guns." Zeisberger, History, 85. An original longrifle, used in the Revolutionary War and known to be very accurate, was tested recently and found to be capable of shooting five successive

In that they were not usually recorded as an item on trade manifests, guns and rifles were not openly or officially traded to the Indians. However, independent gunrunners managed to supply large numbers of firearms to their Indian customers, the source of many private fortunes in the New York area. Guns were also often given as gifts by the French Crown, British colonial governments, and individuals. The British are known to have given large numbers of guns to the representatives of the Iroquois Great Council at treaty conferences, such as the ten guns given at the 1732 Philadelphia Conference, the twenty-four guns given at the 1736 Philadelphia Conference, and the forty-five guns presented at 1742 Philadelphia Conference.³³

shots into a 1" circle at one hundred yards, an accuracy better than all but the very best of modern hunting rifles.

³³Minutes of the Philadelphia Conference with the Iroquois, August-September 1732, in Samuel Hazard, ed., Pennsylvania Colonial Records, 16 vols., hereafter cited as PCR (Philadelphia, PA: J. Severns and Company, 1838-1853), 3:450; Minutes of the 1736 Philadelphia Conference with the Iroquois, in *ibid.*, 4:79-95; Minutes of the 1742 Philadelphia Conference with the Iroquois, in *ibid.*, 566-567, 578; Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 131-132; Trigger, The Children of Aataentsic, 2:629-633; Hanna 2:316-317. A traditional (and possibly apocryphal) story illustrates how firearms sometimes moved into the hands of Indian leaders. One day while overlooking the Susquehanna River the Oneida sachem Shikellamy was admiring his friend Conrad Weiser's new Pennsylvania Rifle. Somewhat envious and determined to obtain it, he said to Weiser, "I have had a dream. I dreamed that Tarachiawagon [Weiser's formal Iroquois name] gave me a new rifle." Weiser, who understood Iroquois etiquette and dream traditions better than most Euroamericans, promptly gave his ecstatic friend the new rifle. But although somewhat stunned at first, Weiser was a hard man to best at this sort of game. After thinking a while, he rejoined, "I too have had a dream. I dreamed the Shikellamy gave me that island on the Susquehanna," indicating the mile-long Isle of Que at the mouth of Penn's Creek, part

Evidence of the numbers of firearms possessed by the Indians can be found in mortuary excavations, such as at the Conestoga Village site, which indicate that almost all eighteenth-century Indian males, well-off or not, owned some sort of firearm. All of the guns buried at the aforementioned site (all flintlocks) were completely functional, and many were of rather high quality. Most were smooth-bore trade guns, but one grave contained an engraved Jäger rifle with a fully-octagonal thirty-five inch rifled barrel, a .55 caliber bore, and a sliding wood patch-box cover. This weapon took some care and skill to make, and was certainly not a typical Indian-trade item, but the type of weapon given to an important man as a present. Susquehannocks of this period were rather lavish in furnishing the graves of their dead, thus explaining the presence of functional firearms and other high-quality trade goods at mortuary sites. In general, the surviving family and clan members tried to equip their dead for the afterlife with the best offerings circumstances would allow. However, a certain amount of practicality often becomes apparent, as many of the mortuary sites, especially during the less prosperous times of the mid-to-late eighteenth century, contain guns that are worn out or even occasionally non-

of present-day Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania, and a prime bit of colonial-era real estate. The old sachem, knowing he was bested, sighed quietly and replied, "It is yours." Shikellamy then looked his friend directly in the eye, and said softly, "But Conrad, we will dream no more together." Paul A. W. Wallace, Conrad Weiser: Friend of Colonist and Mohawk (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), 152.

functional.³⁴

Hunting big game in the northeastern woodlands in the early post-contact era was often a feat of endurance, especially for a man hunting alone. Tracking was easier with a light snow on the ground, but it still might take several days to track down one's prey. Even armed with a fusil, the hunter had to quietly stalk the animal, approaching from downwind to get within shooting distance. The Miami, hunting on the western edge of the thick forests of the Northeastern Woodlands, would collectively hunt buffalo by surrounding the herd and setting fire to the prairie, slaughtering the terrified beasts trapped in the fiery enclosure. Eastern whitetails were (and are today) notoriously skittish, and sometimes even the most careful Indian hunter had to start all over again when his prey somehow sensed his presence and bolted. Indian hunters have been known to run down a deer by keeping the animal moving and taking advantage of the deer's propensity to move in a circle, heading it off at an ambush point. Several large circuits like this would exhaust the animal, and make an easy short-range shot possible with a fusil, or even a bow and arrow. Wolves, whom the Indians usually did not shoot, often followed the sounds of shooting to feast on what the Indians could not consume (and deliberately left for the

³⁴Kent, Susquehanna's Indians, 247, 254-257.

forest animals) during far-ranging fur trade hunts.³⁵

After field-dressing the animal, the eastern woodlands hunter carried the carcass home on his back, sometimes for many exhausting miles. He would then leave it on the doorstep of his house, and go inside and silently sit down. His wife would then feed him, dry his clothes, and go out and butcher the deer, which was now considered to be hers. In return, she provided all of his equipment (except weapons) for the chase. This system changed somewhat during the fur-trade era, when Indian husbands began keeping the skins and exchanging them for fur-trade items for their families. In that the meat was now hers, the wife typically shared the meat with friends or members of her clan, a kindness that was reciprocated when another hunter brought in game for his family. This pattern also insured that all, even the elderly and the sick, would have at least something to eat, even during less prosperous times.³⁶

Like the Iroquois, the Lenape were some of the most proficient hunters in North America. In October the

³⁵Zeisberger, History, 14, 23, 64-65; Perrot, Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1:119-124; Kraft, The Lenape, 154-155. Pre-Contact Indians were not conservationists as the term is used in modern times. For example, paleo-Lenape bands in the Pleistocene era are thought to have been major contributors to the extinction of the slow-breeding Mastodon and Mammoth. Although there are some exceptions, the Indians generally killed what they needed to eat, but no more. Thus they contributed to the extinction of species (as had other predators, such as the wolf), yet they did not behave like the wasteful Anglo-American 'sport' hunters of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, who often killed merely for amusement. Perrot, Indian Tribes, 122; Kraft, The Lenape, xii; Handbook, 15:298.

³⁶Zeisberger, History, 16, 82; Kraft, The Lenape, 155.

Delawares would begin their annual group hunt. The elderly, sick, small children, and nursing mothers remained at a well-stocked base camp while able-bodied men, women, and older children headed into the woods, living off the land by hunting and gathering as they traveled. Animals were plentiful in late pre-contact times, as the Indians killed no more than they could eat, although this ethic would change dramatically with the inception of the European fur trade. In addition, game was not as shy and thus easier to obtain in the pre-contact era because there were no gunshots from firearms to spook them. Human populations were also very low, typically only about forty-five persons per one hundred square miles. The deer hunt continued to be the most important fall activity, with about fifty to one hundred fifty deer shot by each hunter every fall until the game was depleted. Small furbearers and bears were taken during the early winter hunt. Communal hunting techniques included encircling and entrapping game in "fire-surrounds" of one-half to two miles in diameter. Another method was the "hunting drive," which sometimes involved as many as one to two hundred people, where the deer were driven by beaters into a line of hidden waiting hunters.³⁷

By the early eighteenth century, the consumption of

³⁷Zeisberger, History, 13-14, 64-65, 91; Kraft, The Lenape, 155-156, 199; James Mooney, "The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico," Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections 80, no. 7 (1928), 4; Handbook, 15:217, 226. The technique of hunting drives is still practiced today by Pennsylvania deer hunters, whose ancestors apparently learned the practice from the very people they both despised and displaced.

alcohol was just as common in Northeastern Woodlands Indian cultures as it was in European or Euroamerican societies. Alcohol often functioned in many Indian cultures as a group recreational activity and as a quick and easy but not always satisfactory route to the formerly difficult and time-consuming vision quests of earlier practitioners. Among the Iroquois, it provided a release from the stoicism expected of individuals. It also provided a method of releasing rage, fear, and frustration without bearing responsibility, as the drink, not the individual, received the blame for anti-social acts such as theft or murder. One of the main forces fueling village dispersion was set in motion by heavy drinking. Many people elected to live outside the village center to avoid being annoyed or set upon by those who were drunk. In some societies, older Indian women sometimes acted as agents for rum peddlers, tempting hunters to sell all their furs and sometimes their weapons and even their clothes for a few "tots of rum." Such heavy drinking and its anti-social behaviors at times precluded normal village business, and even important diplomatic affairs sometimes had to be delayed by several days until the individuals involved had sobered up and recovered. Yet attempts by local leaders to control the acquisition and consumption of such an exciting although dangerous beverage were by and large futile throughout the entire eighteenth century.³⁸

³⁸Philadelphia Conference with the Conestoga Indians, May 1729, in PCR, 3:361-365; Peter Wraxall, An Abridgement of the Indian Affairs Transacted in the State of New York From the Year 1678 to the Year 1751 (1754; reprint. New York: Benjamin

Diseases such as rheumatism, venereal diseases, various fevers, and dysentery were common among eighteenth-century Eastern Woodlands peoples. Various remedies were available for less life-threatening ailments, but the Indians had no treatment for the more malevolent diseases of European origin, such as smallpox, which first entered the Northeastern Woodlands in the early seventeenth century. Northeastern Indians were so susceptible to the smallpox virus when it first came among them that most of those exposed died before the pustules appeared on their skins. Epidemics killed native populations in waves, such as the

Blom, 1968), 160-61, 183; Zeisberger, History, 90-91, 117-118; Michael N. McConnell, A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and its Peoples, 1724-1774 (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 18; James Axtell, The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 257-258; Trigger, Children of Aataentsic, 1:76-77, 81-84; A.F.C. Wallace, Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, 30-38. Liquor in the form of rum was the most pervasive and dangerous element of the British-Indian economic exchange system, making the survival of native groups even more precarious in the face of European diseases. Drunkenness, which affected adults of both sexes and sometimes even children, often led to the shedding of inhibitions which normally prescribed Indian behavior, such as the suppression of anger, and often led to inordinately immodest sexual conduct. Some Indians were permanently maimed when they fell into fires or from cliffs when intoxicated. Indians also tended to become indebted to their suppliers, a condition that sometimes led to slavery. Although those who consumed the alcohol were to some degree responsible for their actions, many Indians blamed the colonists, whom they claimed (with some justification) were ultimately responsible for the introduction and loose control of liquors among them. Thus ironically the very trade item that destabilized Indian cultures also created enough resentment among many Indians to eventually battle against colonial encroachments. Sir William Johnson, Review of the Trade and Affairs of the Indians in the Northern District of America, in NYCD, 7:960; Peter C. Mancall, "The Bewitching Tyranny of Custom": The Social Costs of Indian Drinking in Colonial America," American Indian Culture and Research Journal 17, no. 2 (1993): 18-21, 25, 31, 35.

1616-1619 bubonic plague epidemic among the New England tribes, the terrible smallpox epidemics among the Huron and Iroquois (1630s and 40s); Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca (1656-57); all Iroquois nations (1716 and 1733), the Cherokees (1738); and the Catawba (1759). The patterns of Iroquois warfare changed dramatically during the 1620 to 1675 period in large part due to the introduction of European diseases. Such "Virgin Field Epidemics" were so deadly because the populations of the Americas had had no previous contact with European diseases such as smallpox, measles, and yellow fever, and thus were almost defenseless in an immunological sense. In that almost everyone in the affected population got sick at the same time, there was also the problem of finding someone to nurse the sick, leading to deaths from the effects of exposure, dehydration, and even starvation. These epidemics caused tens of thousands of deaths in the Northeastern Woodlands, and were a pervasive contributor to the decline of intercultural solidarity among the Susquehanna-Ohio peoples.³⁹

³⁹Dankers and Sluyter, Journal, 277; Zeisberger, History, 24, 55-57, 149; Dean R. Snow and Kim M. Lanphear, "European Contact and Indian Depopulation in the Northeast: Timing the First Epidemics," Ethnohistory 35, no. 1 (1988): 20-28; Alfred W. Crosby, "Virgin Soil Epidemics as a Factor in the Aboriginal Depopulation of America," William and Mary Quarterly 33, no. 2 (1976): 289-292, 295-296; Daniel K Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience," William and Mary Quarterly, 40 (October 1983), 537; McConnell, 18-19; Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972), 44-46. The hypothesis that American Indians had some sort of innate genetic weakness to European diseases seems relatively improbable at present. Crosby, "Virgin Soil Epidemics," 291-292.

The material cultures of the Susquehanna-Ohio peoples in the early eighteenth century were a hodge-podge of modern European manufactures and Late Woodland Era objects. For hunting and war, the Indians used a system of "layered technology," in which old and new technological systems were used concurrently, replacing old weaponry when they could, but also relying on old systems when they did not have the newer items.⁴⁰ For example, bows and arrows provided a much higher rate of short range fire-power than could any longrifle, and also offered the advantage of stealth in war, whereas the report of a gun could sometimes be heard for miles.⁴¹ Among the Lenape, who may be regarded as typical for the Susquehanna-Ohio peoples in this era, many early seventeenth-century objects, such as wood or woven products, continued to be manufactured well into the modern era, although much of the other Delaware material culture declined or died out due to the increasing and eventually near-total reliance on Anglo-American manufactured goods. For example, splint baskets and silver jewelry-making replaced many traditional crafts. Some of the older survivals included clay cooking pots; bowls, dishes, and ladles made from wood or gourds; wooden and stone pestles; hemp cordage; baskets and mats made of cornhusks or rushes; paints made from mineral or plant coloring in an animal-

⁴⁰A modern analog can be seen by observing how newer computer systems partially replace and eventually supplant older ones in the typical modern office setting.

⁴¹Zeisberger, History, 28-29.

grease base; decorated clay, horn, stone and copper pipes; edged tools, such as axes, hoes, and knives; arrowheads made of flint, bone, horn, or fish or animal teeth; wooden war helmets and clubs; wood or moosehide shields; black and white wampum beads made from seashells; dugouts from white cedar trees; and canoes from elm or other types of bark.⁴²

Housing styles differed markedly from group to group in the eighteenth century. The typical Iroquoian abode was an anciently designed multi-family bark structure called a Longhouse, or "Ganosote." From 50 to 130 feet in length and about 16 feet wide, it was the perfect structure for an extroverted clan-based society of extended families like that of the Iroquois. Framed in wooden poles and with a rounded arched roof, the structure was shingled on the roof and sides with elm or ash bark stitched to the frame with splints and bark rope fastenings. There were partitions for "apartments" for individual families every ten to twelve feet. Each of these apartments was, in effect, a separate home, having a cooking fire in the center, and accommodating

⁴²Handbook, 15:217, 227-228. An early written source (1679) describing the New York Lenape relates that the Indians had no chairs in their homes, but lay on mats or sat on the ground. They tilled their fields with stone-tipped implements, and used guns exclusively for hunting. They fished from a sailess canoe, constructed entirely without nails, sometimes forty feet in length. They ate coarse-grained maize bread, rock-pounded into a block, which was mixed with water, and baked into a cake under hot ashes. They were apparently familiar with European Jew's-harps, which they played rather well after receiving them as gifts from their guests. This particular Lenape group, especially the leaders, were fluent in the Dutch language, and had adapted dogs, fowl, pigs, and peach trees from the Europeans for their own use. Dankers and Sluyter, Journal, 125-126.

two families, one on either side of the fire. Thus a 120 foot longhouse would contain ten fires and twenty families, and perhaps seventy to one hundred people. At the centerline of the roof at the proper intervals were holes for the smoke of the individual cookfires to escape. The only entrances were small doorways at both ends of the longhouse. Inside, wooden benches about six feet wide and two feet high and twelve feet long were placed end to end along both sides of the structure for its entire length, upon which individual families spread skins and blankets for use as seats by day and beds at night. About five feet above this, an upper bench, not quite as wide, was affixed to the inside wall of the house. This was used as the family's storage area, with other articles being slung on the walls on pegs or hung from cross poles from the roof. It was a noisy, public, sometimes stifling yet by all accounts relatively happy and pleasant home for all its inhabitants. Smaller structures were also built, both for smaller groups and single families.⁴³

Although in earlier times many of the Lenape lived in small single-family huts, they also dwelt in multiple family longhouses, about twenty feet wide by sixty to one hundred feet long, with high-pitched peaked roofs, hickory frames,

⁴³Morgan, League of the Iroquois, 315, 317-319; John Bartram, Observations Made by Mr. John Bartram, In his Journey from Pensilvania to Onondaga, &c [abridged], in Helen Gere Cruickshank, ed., John and William Bartram's America (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1957), 43; Zeisberger, History, 17-18; Handbook, 15:306; A.F.C. Wallace, Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, 22-23.

and covered with bark. Such longhouses, typical for the coastal New Jersey Lenape in the seventeenth century and somewhat dissimilar from the Iroquoian models, were about sixty feet long and about fifteen feet wide. They contained seven or eight families, and perhaps twenty to twenty-two people. Framed with tree-limb post beams, the floors were of earth, and the walls and roof were made of chestnut tree bark. Several fires were located along the floor's centerline, with one fire used by each family. The ridge of the roof was open about six inches for the entire length of the house to let the smoke from the cookfires escape. The doors at either end, which were flat bark or reeds, were so small and low that the inhabitants had to stoop down and squeeze through the openings. No metal, stone, or lime was used to build the structure. A purely ceremonial structure of this time period was called a "Big House." Eighteenth century Lenape family dwellings were peaked-roof bark houses lined with rushes in unstockaded villages. Log cabins came into vogue soon after the French and Indian War, first built by hired whites and later by the Indians themselves after they had learned the proper techniques.⁴⁴

More westerly groups, such as the Shawnee and Miami, preferred smaller, single family dwellings. Early Shawnee housing was much like that of the Kickapoo, with the primary dwellings being sapling-arched summer and winter houses. The Scandinavian-derived log cabin replaced the old-style

⁴⁴Dankers and Sluyter, Journal, 125-126; Zeisberger, History, 17-18, 30; Handbook, 15:218-219, 229-230.

winter house by the end of the eighteenth century. Log cabins were also used as ceremonial lodges, much like the Delaware "Big House." Shawnee settlements typically had the council house and ceremonial ground at its center, the lodges of its leader(s) and important functionaries close nearby, and the dwellings of the other tribal members radiating outward in all directions from this "hub." In pre-contact times the Miami built oval lodges framed with poles and covered with rush mats. Log structures had replaced them by the late eighteenth century. A large council house, used only for tribal activities, was a standard feature in any Miami village.⁴⁵

The religious ceremonialism and beliefs of the cultures of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance can provide a good idea of the main thought patterns and motivations behind these kindred peoples. The rituals and beliefs of the Iroquois were cathartic, preventing both mental illness and social disorder. Iroquois ceremonialism is composed of two main parts, the Calendar of Thanksgiving, and the Rituals of Fear and Mourning. The Iroquois Mid-Winter Ceremonial is particularly enlightening in this regard. Because eighteenth-century colonial records are notably deficient regarding Native American thoughts and beliefs, most of what is known about Iroquois religion and ceremonialism comes from the studies of nineteenth-and twentieth-century anthropologists. Thus, from modern sources, the central

⁴⁵Howard, Shawnee!, 75-82; Handbook, 15:682.

intent of Iroquois ceremonialism is to thank the natural and supernatural beings of the world. Its systematic expression is the Thanks-giving speech and address. The basic ceremonial framework of the Mid-Winter Ceremonial is as follows: the Thanks-giving speech, performance of rites, second thanks-giving speech, and the feast itself, with all rites conducted in Iroquoian languages. Ceremonies are learned informally, and only men are allowed to be speakers. The typical order of the modern Thanks-giving Speech is: the people, the Earth, the plants (especially strawberries), the water, the trees (especially the maple), the animals, the birds, the Three Sisters (corn, beans, squash), the wind, the thunderers, the sun, the moon, the stars, the four beings or messengers who appeared to the prophet Handsome Lake, Handsome Lake himself, and the Creator.⁴⁶

The dead are not mentioned in the Thanks-giving speech, but are honored in other ceremonies, such as the wake or funeral, the Ten-Day feast, and the first anniversary of a person's death. Those Midwinter ceremonies open to all are held in the Longhouse, whereas those open only to specific individuals are held in private homes. Men and women sit separately in the Longhouse, each having their own end and entrance. The dances, typically "round dances" with the

⁴⁶A.F.C. Wallace, Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, 49, 50, 76; Elizabeth Tooker, The Iroquois Ceremonial of Midwinter (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1970), 7-16. The prophet Handsome Lake was responsible for the moral and religious revitalization of Iroquois Indian society in the early nineteenth century, and is thus highly revered among the Iroquois people. Wallace, Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, 3.

dancers moving counterclockwise, begin around the stoves which are located at either end of the building. All of those who attend (including guests) are expected to participate in at least some of the dances. Some longhouses are "closed" to Christian Indians and whites, but most are not. "Faithkeepers" are responsible for planning, setting-up, and conducting ceremonials. They, and the chiefs, are selected on the basis of clan affiliation. Clans are exogamous and matrilineal. Children are given a stock "baby name" at a ceremonial soon after their birth, and receive their "adult" name when they reach their majority. Certain League or Sachem names are given to individuals when they assume high-level offices. This is all under the direction of the clan mothers, who also have the power of "de-horning," or the taking away of the official name and office of a male leader who will not do as they (and the clan) wish. Major rites of Iroquois ceremonies include songs, dances, and games, which are called "doings" and not religious "services" among the Iroquois. The contrast between Christian and Iroquois religious activities can best be summed up in the remark of an Iroquois woman, who said: "We do not pray; we dance."⁴⁷

All Iroquois singing instruments (with the exception of the rarely-used flute) are percussion instruments, primarily rattles and drums. The turtle, gourd and horn rattles are prominent, as is the water drum, in which the amount of

⁴⁷Tooker, Iroquois Ceremonial of Midwinter, 27. There are sacred as well as social dances. Ibid.

water within regulates the tone. Rites to cure the sick are chosen with respect to the patient's dreams. The previously prominent Sun and Moon ceremonies are now obsolescent, and the Thunder ceremony is only enacted in time of drought. The Maple Ceremony or Sap Dance ("Thanks to the Maple"), and the Strawberry Ceremony are still important. The ceremonial feast is not eaten at the Longhouse, but in the form of a soup, is taken home in a pail and is eaten there.⁴⁸

Dreams provided guidance in all important aspects of Iroquois life in the eighteenth century. These forest people developed a sophisticated psychotherapeutic system which provided a psychological escape valve for the dreamer and Iroquois society. Thus the Iroquois felt obliged to re-enact the dream at the earliest possible moment, in that they felt that the secret desire of the soul was frequently manifested by a dream. Symptomatic dreams were those that expressed a desire of the dreamer's soul, whereas in visitation dreams, powerful supernatural beings spoke directly to the dreamer.⁴⁹

Lenape religion centered on creation myths by an omnipotent God, or by a pregnant woman falling from the sky. Each individual acquired a personal guardian spirit (usually in the form of an animal) by about age fifteen. Souls of the dead were thought to head west or south, where they would find abundant game and lead easy lives. Lenape vision

⁴⁸Ibid., 16-38.

⁴⁹A.F.C. Wallace, Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, 61, 75.

recitals, held at corn-planting and the harvest, and family feasts were the most important ceremonies. The Corn Festival Sweat-House Ceremony, usually held in October, was also very important. The annual fall Big House vision recital ceremony, which entailed many aspects of the seventeenth-century harvest ceremony, had emerged by end of the nineteenth century. When storms approached, tobacco was burned to propitiate the Thunderers, winged human-like creatures who protected the earth from the primary Delaware enemy and Manitou, the Great Horned Serpent. Yet by the late seventeenth century Euro-Christian beliefs regarding the nature of God and of good and evil had influenced Lenape views on religion, the deity, and human origins.⁵⁰

A few genuine Lenape origin myths are available via the pens of early colonial chroniclers, such as the Moravian missionary David Zeisberger, who labored and lived among the Lenape from 1746 to 1808. The oldest source is a creation account given by an aged Lenape-Hackensack sachem who in 1679 was questioned about the origins of his people:

He took a piece of coal out of the fire where he sat, and began to write upon the floor. He first drew a circle, a little oval, to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail. "This," said he, "is a tortoise, lying in the water around it," and he moved his hand round the figure, continuing, "this was or is all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its back up high, and

⁵⁰Dankers and Sluyter, Journal, 264-272; Handbook, 15:220, 231-234. An excellent summary of Delaware Rites and Feasts can be found in Frank Gouldsmith Speck, Oklahoma Delaware Ceremonies, Feasts and Dances (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1937), foldout, 36 ff.

the water ran off of it, and thus the earth became dry." He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure, and proceeded, "the earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male. This man was then alone, and would have remained alone; but the tree bent over until its top touched the earth, and there shot therein another root, from which came forth another sprout, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced."⁵¹

Among the Shawnee, the Supreme Being (Muyetelemilakwau) is identified as a female, "Our Grandmother" (Kokomthena) or "Cloud Woman" (Papoothkwe). The conception of the Supreme Being moved atypically from Patriarchal to Matriarchal identification in Shawnee Theogony during the 1824 to 1930's time period. Two subordinate deities serve Papoothkwe, "the

⁵¹Dankers and Sluyter, Journal, 150-151. Some modern stories regarding the creation of the Lenape are somewhat problematic. The best known of these tales is the Walam Olum, which first surfaced in 1836 and purports to be a narrative (told in pictographs) of the experiences and migrations of the ancestors of the Lenape, and also includes a creation myth and a Judeo-Christian-like deluge myth. Although it is possible that some of the myths recorded in the Walam Olum are genuine, the story itself is historically unconvincing. The genuineness of its sources are, at best, questionable, and the source pictographs are not comparable in any way with Lenape petroglyphs found anywhere in the Lenapes' home area ("Lenapehoking"). In addition, the migration story does not fit the archeological record, which contains no evidence of a sudden migration of peoples into Lenapehoking in late pre-Contact times. Kraft, Lenape, 2-7; Daniel Garrison Brinton, The Lenape and Their Legends, with the Complete Text and Symbols of the Wallum Olum, a new translation and an inquiry into its authenticity (Philadelphia: D.G. Brinton, 1885), 165-166; Clinton A. Weslager, The Delaware Indians: A History (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1972), 77-94. The foregoing and other views of their origins are, however, taken as a matter of faith by many of the Lenape people. Thus their viewpoint must not be dismissed out-of-hand due to respect for their traditions and the paucity of historical and archeological evidence to the contrary.

Boy of Waupoathee" (Wapothi Skilaweth), the grandson of "Our Grandmother" who watches over and is responsible for the Indians, and the deity who has charge of the whites, a deity who has so little connection with the Indians that they do not know his name. Other minor Shawnee deities are the "Silly Boys," "Evil Spirit," "Cyclone Person," "Four Winds," "Corn Woman," "Pumpkin Woman," "Tree Men," "Thunderbirds," "Several Snake deities," "Sun, Moon, Stars, and Earth," and the "Truth Bearers," who carry the messages between Pakoothkwe and her Shawnee "grandchildren."⁵²

Although not much information is available regarding Miami religious beliefs in the colonial era, Miami sky and earth deities appear to be similar to those of Siouan peoples. Early religion was apparently based on the worship of a supreme deity called the Master of Life, who was vicariously identified with the sun god. Fasting during adolescent vision quests was thought to attract the pity of a spirit, usually in animal form, who provided the desired vision. "Midewiwin" was a very important five-day and night ritual enacted just before the departure of a war party, to ensure its safe return. Each family also held ritual feasts for the Master of Life three or four times a year, and more often during wartime. There were apparently no feasts associated with hunting or agriculture.⁵³

⁵²Trowbridge, Shawnese Traditions, 40-43; Howard, Shawnee!, 162-182.

⁵³Perrot, Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1:332; Trowbridge, Meearmear Traditions, 51-56; Handbook, 15:685-686.

Like the Miami, Susquehannock religion is not well known, although in all probability it at least loosely followed Iroquoian models. Their religion, however, was known to have been involved in the belief in two gods, one good, and one evil, with worship and sacrifices being given exclusively to the evil god because of fear.⁵⁴

To the Huron, everything that existed had a "soul" and was immortal. Human souls, both good and bad, which had the power to influence humans were called "Oki," many of whom resided in forests, lakes, and rivers. Shamans and curing societies worked unrelentingly to heal the sick. The Huron recognized three types of disease -- natural diseases, those diseases caused by witchcraft, and unfulfilled desires or tensions in a person's soul which might cause death if left untreated. Dream-therapy most often assuaged the latter, as dreams were regarded as the "language of the soul."⁵⁵ Because their non-fulfillment could lead to sickness or madness, whole villages often went to great lengths to fulfill them and thus ease the sufferings of the dreamer. Self-destructive or unreasonable dreams, however, were usually fulfilled symbolically. The Feast of the Dead, or "The Kettle," held every ten to fifteen years, was the most important Huron ceremony. Those of the dead whose remains still lay in the raised platforms in the village cemeteries were reburied in a common ossuary. This ceremony was

⁵⁴Handbook, 15:364.

⁵⁵Handbook, 15: 372-373; Trigger, Children of Aataentsic, 1:81.

apparently necessary upon the relocation of major villages, as the remains of the dead could not be properly cared for otherwise. Final burial was believed to release the souls of the dead, who could then travel westward on an arduous journey to the land where the pre-eminent Huron deities Iouskeha and Aataentsic lived.⁵⁶

In the Huron creation myth, Aataentsic was the mother of mankind, who fell to the earth from a hole in the sky. She gave birth to (or was the maternal grandmother of) the twin boys Tawiscaron and Iouskeha. Iouskeha made lakes, rivers, and corn, provided good weather, gave the secret of fire-making to mankind, and provided animals for man to hunt and eat. Aataentsic had an essentially evil nature, and thus was in charge of the souls of the dead, caused men to die, and created epidemics. Tawiscaron was the "bad twin," who, like his mother/grandmother, tried to undo Iouskeha's good works. Tawiscaron and Iouskeha fought a great battle in which Tawiscaron was injured and diminished, the drops of his blood which hit the ground being turned into flint ("Tawiscara"), ironically another boon for the Huron. Aataentsic and Iouskeha were also identified respectively as the moon goddess and the sun god.⁵⁷

Governmental and social systems also varied among the groups of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance. Among the Shawnee at first contact, hereditary sachems governed each of the

⁵⁶Trigger, Children of Aataentsic, 1:75-76, 79-90; Handbook, 15:372-373.

⁵⁷Trigger, *ibid.*, 77-78.

five tribal divisions. The tribe had the usual peace and war leaders, with extensive female participation. Old men often functioned as counselors to the chiefs. Kinship and social organization governed each of the five tribal divisions of "m'shoma," or "name groups." A newborn child, upon receiving his or her name, was thus placed in one of these name-dependant "clans." The Shawnee kinship system was of the standard Omaha type, although clan affiliation often overshadowed patrilineal descent and inheritance due to the ancient (and now non-existent) patri-clans that engendered this system of nomenclature.⁵⁸

The Miami had the customary division of responsibilities between village and war leaders, both of whose offices were patrilineally inherited. The village chiefs were solely concerned with administration or diplomatic negotiations. The Miami also had female headwomen, who supervised major feasts and prepared supplies for war parties. They also had the power to end a long war or blood feud, and save or condemn prisoners. The Miami kinship system, as described by Lewis Henry Morgan, was also of the standard Omaha type. It comprised ten patrilineal clans -- Wolf, Loon, Golden Eagle, Turkey Buzzard, Panther, Turkey, Raccoon, Snow, Sun, and Water. The fact that the

⁵⁸Howard, Shawnee!, 88-100, 111-112. The "Standard Omaha Type" kinship system is characterized by patrilineal descent and inheritance. This contrasts with the Iroquois kinship system, which is characterized by matrilineal descent and inheritance. In both systems patrilocal residence is the norm following marriage. Sol Tax, ed., Social Anthropology of North American Tribes (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 4-5, 445-446.

leader of a war party was not responsible for deaths of his own clan suggests that clans might have merely been units of collective responsibility.⁵⁹

In the social organization of the Delaware, there were three Lenape phratries or clans dating from about 1750, the Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf. Phratry membership and leadership eligibility passed matrilineally to the next generation. Each phratry was composed of twelve named matrilineal lineages. The phratries regulated marriage, and conducted ceremonial obligations such as family feasts and determining the inheritance of ritual property. Individuals had formalized relationships with their father's as well as their mother's phratry. Political organization was that of a nascent tribal structure, with no real high-level leadership and general fragmentation regarding external relations. There was, however, some co-operation regarding diplomacy, mutual defense, and hunting drives, with much intermarriage and mutual visiting. Hereditary leaders were apparently the first among equals of the village chiefs or elders, with little political power except that of persuasion. Important political decisions were made in general council attended by all adult males. The duties of a sachem were unchanged from earlier periods, but the law enforcement role of such leaders was somewhat diminished. The war leader of each clan was selected for his military prowess, and was often influential during peacetime. Lenape

⁵⁹Handbook, 15:684-686.

practices and rituals of international diplomacy were essentially equivalent to that of the Iroquois.⁶⁰

Innate in the upbringing of every Iroquois youth of either sex was the overriding importance of self-discipline and responsibility for one's family, clan, village, and nation. Yet individual self-determination was also greatly valued, as the Iroquois were (and are) a very democratic people. Leaders were expected to be valorous, dignified, eloquent, morally upright, sincere (especially regarding public service), incorruptible, and personable. They were also expected to be conversant with the Iroquois religion, and be able to preside over and lead both religious and civil ceremonies. Such an office was held for life with good behavior, but was not hereditary. The offices of the original forty-nine sachem-founders of the League, as established by its architect, Deganawidah, became hereditary in their respective nations, and therefore never changed as to number. These sachems of the Great Council of the Iroquois must also be members of the family, clan, and tribe of the particular founder they represent. Thus, there was a continual line of sachems carrying on the titles, prestige, and duties of the founders of their offices.⁶¹

Prior to 1687, the peoples of the Iroquois League dwelt

⁶⁰Zeisberger, History, 92-93, 98-102; Handbook, 15:213, 216, 225-226.

⁶¹Frank Gouldsmith Speck, The Iroquois: A Study in Cultural Evolution (Bloomfield Hills, MI: Cranbrook Press, 1945), 26-29; A.F.C. Wallace, Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, 30, 34; Handbook, 15:424-426.

in twelve or thirteen villages of about three hundred to six hundred persons per town. Three of these villages were Mohawk, one Oneida, two Onondaga, three Cayuga, and four Seneca. Two of the Seneca towns are known to have contained over one hundred houses, a good proportion of which were extended, multi-family bark longhouses. During the eighteenth century, settlements tended to become smaller and more dispersed, smaller log homes replacing the bark longhouses. Iroquois settlements were never permanent. Soil exhaustion, scarcity of firewood, and the depletion of local game made necessary the relocation of a village within tribal territory about every fifteen or twenty years. The comparisons of "old town" and "new town" is thus a recurring theme in Iroquois culture. Villagers also left their residences for seasonal hunting and fishing, specifically the fall hunt and the spring berrying, pigeon hunting, and fishing activities. During these hunting and gathering activities, a semblance of village political and social organization was maintained. Although the use of hunting territory, fishing sites, medicinal plant areas, fields, and berrying sites was a privilege of the local inhabitants, the ultimate ownership of the land and its resources belonged to the nation. Cemeteries were also considered the property of the local residents, although most often they contained the remains of a single clan.⁶²

⁶²William N. Fenton, "Locality as a Basic Factor in the Development of Iroquois Social Structure," in Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture, ed. William N. Fenton (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office,

Although each clan in ancient times apparently had its own leaders and resided together in adjacent households, the fact that different clans began to reside together helped evolve the system of village chiefs and councils of elders that marked Iroquois political structure at the League's height. The local assembly, composed of the public at large, included all local residents, and was the sounding board of local opinion. Local residents worked together in mutual aid societies pertaining to hunting, sports, drinking, and war parties. These societies were primarily local affairs, with only secondary intrusions from clan, moiety, and political ranks. The societies' origins can be traced to groups of males, co-residents in a composite household or of the village, who banded together to assist the women of the clan to whom they were married, or their sisters.⁶³

The oldest woman (or tribal matron) of the maternal family in which the title descended appointed an Iroquois tribal leader, his constituents being her descendants and those of her clan relations. This chief and matron tended to reside in the same settlement to enhance tribal confidence and keep open the aforementioned conduit of succession. The deliberations of village councils, composed of ranking clan leaders, were taken to the tribal council for further deliberation. Each tribe thus spoke a common

1951), 39-50.

⁶³Ibid., 50.

language, and was composed of two or more settlements. A council of village chiefs, who also represented the constituent clans, governed the tribe, and also governed a common territory adjacent to the towns. Clans were such an important cohesive element in Iroquois society that, according to William Fenton, they represented "the cement that binds the tribe."⁶⁴ Eventually all clans were represented in all villages. If a clan predominated in a settlement, its members had to seek mates outside the village, which helped to redistribute and equalize the clan membership. Theoretically the League was a kinship state, but it allowed for considerable local autonomy. The tribes were unequally represented in the League's Great Council; the Mohawks and Oneidas had nine sachems (three from each clan), the Onondagas had fourteen, the Cayugas ten, and the Senecas eight. But as unanimity was the rule, there was no attempt to restructure the representation. In practice the Onondaga sachems, who were in administrative control of the Great Council, were seated north of the council fire, while the Mohawks and Senecas sat to the east, and the Oneidas and Cayugas to the west of the fire. Despite the power that the individual villages and clans had given in the distant past to the Iroquois Great Council, the latent power of the League still lay in the hands of the local chiefs, who may

⁶⁴Ibid., 51.

or may not have been clan leaders.⁶⁵

Among the Wyandot-Hurons, the extended clan was, like that of other Iroquoians, the basic unit of societal organization. Political offices were inherited matrilineally. Each village clan segment had two headmen, a civil leader and a war leader, both elected from the appropriate matrilineal pool. Villages constituted a second important social and political unit of Huron society, with the village council being the supreme governmental unit. Tribal councils were made up of civil chiefs from each of the tribal villages.⁶⁶

Indian women had great influence in the societies and councils of the peoples of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance. Their lives, centering on agricultural, family, and clan activities, were not onerous⁶⁷ despite many contemporary

⁶⁵Ibid., 50-52. Two patterns of council procedure prevailed. The Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas used a moiety system in which the adjacent sachems were symbolic siblings who conferred over the fire with their "cousins" or "sons." The Oneidas and Mohawks, being uncomfortable with the moiety system in that they considered their sachems to be more or less equal "siblings," preferred a tripartite arrangement with a select committee of sachems sitting in administrative control. Ibid., 51.

⁶⁶Trigger, Children of Aataentsic, 1:45, 54-58.

⁶⁷Women typically performed about six weeks of hard work per season in the fields. Yet they themselves stated that their men had a much harder life in their woodland activities, which continued for the entire year except for a brief 'summer vacation' soon after they had brought their furs from the spring hunt back to their settlements. Anglo-American women captured by the Indians often refused repatriation back into white colonial society because they were so well treated by their adoptive families, and because their workload was so much less. Heckewelder, 146-147; David D. Smits, "The Squaw Drudge: A Prime Index of Savagism," Ethnohistory 29, no.4

accounts from Eurocentrist authors. Warriors usually refrained from embarking on campaigns when the women, predicting heavy losses, refused to condone them. The old women or clan matrons, revered for their wisdom as much as the old men, not only sat in councils, but often presided when matters of war and peace were discussed. Female sachems, such as Madam Montour, Conguegos, or Alliquippa sometimes presided over a village or tribal group. The Seneca nation in particular had a time-honored tradition of listening to these female sachems, and the warriors usually earnestly sought their counsel.⁶⁸

(1982): 295-297.

⁶⁸Meeting with Chiefs of the Oneida and Seneca Nations at Fort Johnson, 10 May 1756, in NYCD, 7:103; Conference with the Conestoga Indians at Philadelphia, 23-24 July 1712, in PCR, 2:553-556; Philadelphia Conference with the Conestoga Indians, 1 October 1714, in ibid., 574; Treaty Conference in Philadelphia Between the Five Nations and Pennsylvania, July 1727, in ibid., 3:271-276; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 18 April 1728, in ibid., 295-296; Thomas Chalkley, Journal, as quoted in Charles A. Hanna, The Wilderness Trail, or the Ventures and Adventures of Pennsylvania Traders on the Allegheny Path, 2 vols. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1911; reprint. Lewisburg, PA: Wennawoods Publishing, 1995), 1:78; Conrad Weiser, Narrative of a Journey From Tulpehocken, Pennsylvania, to Onondaga, in 1737, in Henry R. Schoolcraft, History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, 6 vols. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, and Company, 1851), 4:326-327; Dankers and Sluyter, Journal, 247-249; Goldsbrow Banyar to Sir William Johnson, 23 September 1755, in Sir William Johnson, The Papers of Sir William Johnson, 14 vols. (Albany, NY: University of the State of New York, 1921-1965), 2:80-82; Meeting of Sir William Johnson with the Tuscarora Sachems at Mount Johnson, 4 December 1755, in ibid., 384-386; Wilbur R. Jacobs, Wilderness Politics and Indian Gifts: The Northern Colonial Frontier, 1748-1763 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1950; reprint. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 46. Although not a true matriarchate, Iroquois clan matrons nonetheless controlled all agricultural production and the distribution of all foods, including what the men procured

A woman's status in her culture was dependent primarily on her membership in clan organizations and sometimes on her political office (the latter is characteristic of Shawnee, Huron, and Miami societies), and only secondarily on her husband's social position or the labor she performed. Women had the major role in choosing the fate of prisoners, and adopting prisoners (especially adult females) into their societies. Iroquois women were entitled to select chiefs, participate in tribal politics, and demand replacements for relatives killed in war. Shawnee society in the 1750s and 60s had developed the offices of female war and civil or peace leaders or matrons. Peace matrons stayed war parties, supervised the planting of crops, and prepared feasts of vegetables. War matrons prepared feasts of meats (including the cooking of sacrificed prisoners) and welcomed home returning war parties. If a war matron touched a newly-arrived male prisoner first, he became "good broth" and was tortured and eaten, but if a peace matron touched him first, he was spared. The Miami also had female peace and war matrons, but their offices were derived patrilineally.⁶⁹

during the hunt. This control of the economic system enabled them to make available or withhold food for war parties, religious festivals, councils, and their husbands. They were thus able to start or stop wars, influence council decisions, and "de-horn" or demote wayward sachems. Judith K. Brown, "Iroquois Women: An Ethnohistorical Note," in Toward an Anthropology of Women, ed. Rayna R. Reiter (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1975), 250-251.

⁶⁹Trowbridge, Shawnese Traditions, 53-54; Martha Champion Randle, "Iroquois Women, Then and Now," in Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture, 169; White, Middle Ground, 325-326; A.F.C. Wallace, Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, 28-30; Peggy R. Sanday, "Toward a Theory of the Status of Women,"

There are very few recorded instances of Huron women traveling outside their own country, as they tended to stay home throughout the year near their families and fields, becoming the "stewards" of village life. Although they did not participate in late winter hunts, Huron women sometimes accompanied their spouses on late winter hunting expeditions, where they helped butcher, skin, and transport the animal carcasses. This is in direct contrast to northern Algonquian women, such as the Lenape and Miami, who moved with their families on their extended annual cycle, and Iroquois women, who frequently hunted with their husbands and often accompanied their husbands on diplomatic visits to Quebec and other colonial capitals.⁷⁰

Current interpretations state that no Northeastern Woodlands Indian male in the colonial era ever raped a female due to cultural taboos, the strict continence practiced by warriors on the warpath, and aesthetic considerations, as Native American males of the era favored females with darker skin colors. However, reports of rapes and attempted rapes are legion among the Iroquois and other northeastern Indians, both of prisoners, slaves, and even fellow villagers. The overconsumption of alcohol might go a long way in explaining this atypical behavior. The most

American Anthropologist 75, no. 5 (October 1973): 1682, 1697-1698. The political and social status of northeastern Indian women of this era is thought to be essentially equivalent to that of white American women of the post-Vietnam War era. Smits, "The Squaw Drudge," 297.

⁷⁰Zeisberger, History, 13; Trigger, Children of Aataentsic, 1:39-40, 2:556; White, Middle Ground, 63-65.

probable explanation is that rapes of females by male Indians in the early eighteenth century were atypical and relatively infrequent, and were brought about by stresses related to the fur trade, alcoholism, and other destructive cultural effects induced by contacts with colonial societies.⁷¹

Indian attitudes toward the fur trade were quite different than those of their market-oriented Euroamerican trading partners. In trade for the skins of deer, beaver, otters, raccoons, foxes, and wildcats, the Indians could buy gunpowder, lead, guns (fusils and rifles), blankets, strouds, linens, shirts, cotton and calico cloth, knives, needles, thread, ribbons, wire, brass kettles, silver buckles, bracelets, thimbles, rings, combs, mirrors, axes, hatchets, and other tools. High fixed prices were generally the rule in the trade, especially when goods were packed in from long distances. The Indians were delighted when they could deceive the white traders and get a better price than they deserved (apparently a difficult thing to do), and were also ecstatic when they managed to steal something. Their views on credit were also viewed by colonial merchants as being rather unbusinesslike. When a hunter was given credit he was, of course, expected to bring his furs to his creditor to clear his accounts. But if the hunter

⁷¹Champlain, Voyages, 142; Relation of 1655-1656, in JR, 42:141; Relation of 1656-1657, in ibid., 43:293-295; Relation of 1656-1657, in ibid., 44:73; Journal of the Jesuit Fathers, in the Year 1664, in ibid., 48:227; Narrative of the Mission du Sault, 1678, in ibid., 63:201-203; Axtell, Invasion Within, 310-311, 319; Mancall, "The Bewitching Tyranny of Custom," 25.

encountered another trader upon his return, the furs were sold to him. The hunter was usually offended when reminded of his old debts, as to pay them seemed to be like giving away his goods for nothing. The upshot of this was that most savvy Euroamerican traders were extremely reluctant to give credit to the Indians, a course of action that ironically did not offend the Indians and that also tended to keep trader accounts in the black. The Indians were particularly susceptible to unscrupulous traders from their own or neighboring cultures, such as the old women rum traders, who sometimes obtained everything that an alcohol-dependent Indian owned with the exception of his breech-clout, including the weapons he needed to bring in food for himself and his family.⁷²

Colonial Euroamericans and the generations of historians who followed in general misunderstood Indian warfare patterns and practices. At the center of the institution, typical in its basic formulation for all of the peoples of the Susquehanna-Ohio Indian Alliance, were the tenants of the blood feud, in which those kinfolk killed by one's enemies were avenged, and "mourning war," in which the grieving clan matrons sent out their warriors to capture and replace the recently dead members of the clan. Although rational from their point of view, such a system of warfare

⁷²Zeisberger, History, 117-118. The Albany traders were also known to kidnap and enslave Mohawk children and hold them as security for their parents' debts. William Johnson, Letter to Governor George Clinton, 22 January 1749, in Papers of Sir William Johnson, 9:37.

was basically unfathomable to the seventeenth-and eighteenth-century European mind. For example, Iroquois external relations had many parallels with the wars of modern nation states, yet the internal motives that drove the Five Nations to make war had few if any parallels in the Euroamerican experience. This was especially true regarding the concept of "mourning-war," by which the Iroquois and other northeastern tribes dealt with death, restored lost population, and insured social continuity.⁷³

Among the Iroquois, warfare was the manifestation of the general process of the "blood feud," applied externally. A partial explanation for the ferociousness of Iroquois warriors while at war with external enemies is the culturally-mandated block on the internal blood feud for members of the League. For Iroquois young men, participation in a war party was a watershed point in their lives. Success in war increased the young man's stature in the clan and village social structure, especially regarding a potential wife and future aspirations for clan and political offices. Such stature given to successful warriors indicated not an interest in and glorification of warfare for its own sake, but for the valuable social function that it provided. One of the functions of war in Iroquois society was the maintenance of population at the desired level by replacing those who died with the proper type of successor. The spirituality of the clan was

⁷³Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience," 529.

diminished when a member died, and thus he or she should be replaced as quickly as possible. Relatives of the deceased could select prisoners for adoption, or captives could be the object of fury in torture or execution rituals. The decision on whether the prisoners were adopted or tortured rested with the matrons of the grieving families. With great religious solemnity, prisoners chosen to be tortured were symbolically "stroked and caressed" while being systematically burned from the feet up, and, after a sufficient period of torture, were dispatched and often eaten. Mourning-war also promoted social cohesion, as all village members were able to participate in the humiliation of all prisoners when the latter were forced to run the gauntlet, and the torture of those chosen to die. Boys also learned valuable lessons of the behavior expected of warriors and how to die bravely if they were ever captured. A war party was not successful if it did not bring home a certain number of prisoners, in direct contrast to the European view of successful warfare, where territorial expansion, plunder, and economic gain were more important than taking prisoners.⁷⁴

⁷⁴Zeisberger, History, 104-106; A.F.C. Wallace, Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, 44-48; Richter, "War and Culture: the Iroquois Experience," 530-535. There was also a strong cultural aversion to losing the lives of Iroquois warriors in battle, as battle deaths would subvert the purpose of warfare as a means of replenishing the population. While death in battle was an honorable way to die in the minds of European soldiers, to an Iroquois warrior it was a disaster, as all who died violent deaths were said to be excluded from the villages of their kindred dead, doomed to seek vengeance throughout eternity, and kept apart forever from their friends and families. Iroquois military tactics thus served to minimize

Huron-Wyandot warfare had similar manifestations, with a few differences from the Iroquois system. Blood revenge, prisoner sacrifice, and the enhancement of personal prestige due a successful warrior (which increased his chances for high offices later in life) were the main motives in Huron warfare. Boys were trained from an early age to be brave, self-reliant, and to prepare themselves for death. War chiefs organized war parties in response to requests from families who had lost members to the enemy. The typical five or six-man war party excelled at surprising and killing a few of their enemies and returning home safely. Captured women and children, especially the weaker ones, were usually tortured and killed where they were taken, their scalps and sometimes their heads being retained as trophies. The greatest achievement imaginable was to capture an enemy warrior in hand-to-hand combat. Major attacks on enemy villages, a somewhat atypical event even in the war-filled sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, usually ended after a few warriors had been killed or wounded fighting before the palisades. Total war as practiced by Europeans was unfamiliar to all pre-contact northeastern groups. Surviving prisoners were brought into the village where they ran the gauntlet and were then divided between the grieving families who had previously suffered losses. The women and

casualties via ambushes, a refusal to fight when outnumbered (which included costly last stands), and the avoidance of assaulting heavily fortified positions, all of which were regarded as being cowardly by European soldiers. Richter, "War and Culture: the Iroquois Experience," 535-536.

children who had made it this far were invariably adopted and integrated into their assigned families. Adult males were sometimes adopted permanently, but many were tortured to death (with the proper courtesies) to avenge those lost to the enemy. Torture might last one to several days, but always ended in the open at sunrise, as the prisoner was regarded as being a sacrifice to the sun as well as a blood sacrifice. After being tortured to death, the prisoner was usually cooked and eaten.⁷⁵

Other northeastern peoples had similar practices. Among the Lenape, who also practiced the tenants of mourning war and the blood-feud, fighting was usually on a small scale, usually ten to twenty men, with the ambush preferred and scalps typically taken as trophies. Some of the best warriors were over fifty years old, and often functioned as war leaders.⁷⁶ Among the Shawnee, the capture, distribution, and fate of prisoners were similar to that of the Iroquoians and the Lenape. However, unlike the Iroquoians, prisoners being tortured to death were normally dispatched about midday, a practice opposed to the Iroquoian method that insured the prisoner's death exactly at dawn.

⁷⁵Zeisberger, History, 106-107; Trigger, Children of Aataentsic, 1:68-75. Zeisberger is wrong about cannibalism not being practiced by northeastern Indians, as there is ample evidence of this practice among all cultures of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance. Zeisberger, History, 107-108; Trowbridge, Meearmear Traditions, 23-24, 75; Trowbridge, Shawnese Traditions, 53-54; Thomas S. Abler, "Iroquois Cannibalism: Fact Not Fiction," Ethnohistory 27, no. 4 (1980): 309-316.

⁷⁶Zeisberger, History, 103-110; Handbook, 15:220.

In addition, a priest or priestess-shaman always accompanied Shawnee war parties. The supernatural powers of such a person coupled with the powers innate in the objects in the sacred war bundle they always carried was considered to be almost as important in obtaining a victory as the valor of the expedition's warriors. Upon arrival at the battle site, the shaman would remove the sacred objects from his or her bundle and distribute them to the warriors, to be worn as protective charms. The shaman also functioned as the expedition's surgeon.⁷⁷ Among the Miami, hereditary war leaders headed every clan, and were responsible for the ritual aspects of war. Although usually an inherited office, the leader of a successful war party could also elevate a man to the same office. Only by a unanimous decision of a council of war leaders and the behind-the-scenes permission of the women could war be declared. Like the Shawnees, a Miami shaman almost always led the war parties, carrying the sacred bundles of each member of the expedition in his pack. Occasionally a woman dreamer who had lost a close relative was sanctioned and allowed to lead a war party and carry its pack. A successful war party announced its return by shouting as they returned to their village, whereas a defeated party or one that had suffered heavy casualties returned home silently and unceremoniously.⁷⁸

⁷⁷Trowbridge, Shawnese Traditions, 17-23; Howard, Shawnee!, 115-125.

⁷⁸Handbook, 15:685.

There is some evidence of long distance warfare, diplomatic missions, visiting, and alliances between the various Indian nations of this era. For example, about 1665 the Potawatomies captured a canoe with forty Iroquois raiders returning from a raid on the Carolina Shawnees near Fort Michilimackinac on the western side of Lake Michigan. The victorious Potawatomies released a Shawnee prisoner, taken by the Iroquois during their raid, and sent him home to his people laden with many gifts of French manufacture. The Shawnees were so pleased with this gesture of valor and kindness that sometime later forty Shawnee warriors came to visit and settle for a time near the Potawatomies, then living near the Bay of Puans (perhaps present-day Green Bay, Wisconsin). The Shawnees helped their new-found friends by ambushing an Iroquois war party set to attack the Potawatomi village, and greatly pleased the villagers by giving them their Iroquois captives. Thus diplomacy and war could be conducted at long distances (in this case over one thousand miles) by disparate groups that often had never seen each other before.⁷⁹

Such long-distance journeys were possible due to the extraordinary abilities of the Indians to travel in the forest. One eighteenth-century observer described them as follows:

⁷⁹Claude Charles Le Roy, Bacqueville de la Potherie, History of the Savage Peoples who are the Allies of New France, in The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley, ed. E.H. Blair (Paris: 1722; reprint. Cleveland, OH: 1911-1912), 1:348-349; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:121.

They can go on a journey of many days in the forest where there is neither path nor trail, without getting lost. It is if Nature had fixed the compass in their heads. No European is equal to them in this respect. If they would go anywhere and have determined on the journey, nothing prevents the carrying out of the purpose. Though creeks and rivers are often swollen and progress is difficult, they know what to do when white men would be at their wit's end. In company of Indians one may be sure not to be lost nor to suffer starvation.⁸⁰

While on the trail during times of peace, the Indians usually ate a leisurely breakfast for the first two or three hours after sunrise, then hiked all day until just before sundown, when they made camp. When it rained, they quickly made a bark-roofed hut supported on four posts, which kept

⁸⁰Zeisberger, History, 21. Nonetheless, some Indians were not perfect trailblazers. In his narrative of a late winter journey from Shamokin to Onondaga using the difficult West Branch of the Susquehanna River route, colonial diplomat Conrad Weiser related how on 28 February 1737 his Indian guides, the Oneida sachem Shikellamy and an Onondaga warrior named Tawagarat, had insisted they cross a rising, fast-running stream by wading across it or building a raft. Weiser, who had noted by observing the nearby mountains that they had been descending toward the main river for some time, opted to move downstream a bit and find some calm water where they could build a raft and cross in relative safety. After some abuse from the Indians (who claimed that they knew the trail while he was just an ignorant white man), Weiser, his servant, and later Shikellamy headed off downstream where they did find calm water, built a raft, and crossed safely. Sometime later Tawagarat caught up with them, winded and soaking wet, and related that: "he had tied several pieces of wood together, and pushed off into the water, but was so hurried away by the current (in spite of his efforts with a pole), that he reached a small island which was just above the place we crossed at, where the raft separated, and he was obliged to wade the remaining distance, with the water up to his arm-pits. I reproved him for his pride and obstinacy; he acknowledged that he had acted foolishly ... we proceeded on our journey, well pleased that we were all together again." Conrad Weiser, Journal (1737), in Schoolcraft, History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, 4:330-331.

them dry. Northern groups, such as the Iroquois or Wyandots, used snowshoes during the winter. Yet the Delaware, in a more southerly location where it did not snow as much, were unfamiliar with this form of winter travel. The basic trail food was crushed dry corn meal mixed with a little sugar or molasses, plus fresh meat killed near their campsites. Their stamina was awesome; sometimes a hunter would chase a deer for an entire day to tire it until he got within range of his firearm, having eaten no food since breakfast⁸¹

Despite a few minor cultural differences, the Susquehanna-Ohio peoples had many similar attitudes, perceptions, and practices during the peaceful first half of the eighteenth century. Much of this cultural commonality was probably due to long-term diffusion, although some shared traits, like the uses of European technology and common diplomatic practices, may have been due to direct intercultural contacts. In general, they showed great inventiveness and adaptability in the face of new European technological practices and incursions. Despite occasional European meddling in the internal affairs of the various Indian groups, these nations remained their own masters despite the exigencies and cultural divisiveness of the fur trade. Local and national leaders, genuinely interested in justice, preserving the peace, and bettering the lives of their peoples, were generally able to solve difficulties

⁸¹Zeisberger, History, 21-23.

between Native American groups. Great difficulties lay ahead, but during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the intercultural alliance of the Susquehanna-Ohio peoples seemed strong and resolute enough to withstand all but the most relentless of political, military, and economic shocks from the trans-oceanic powers and their native allies.

This chapter has analyzed the individual peoples of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance by comparing and contrasting the political, social, economic, religious, and material aspects of their cultures. Although these peoples had some obvious cultural differences, there was enough cultural compatibility to allow the intercultural construct of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance to exist. The historical proofs of the Alliances' existence will be laid out and examined in the following chapters. Chapter III begins this process by looking at the all-important Grand Settlement of 1701, the birthplace of the intercultural co-operation of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance and the era of peace it engendered. The chapter includes a brief description of colonial Pennsylvania and its policies, examines the League of the Iroquois and the structure of covenant chain diplomacy, and introduces some of the major leaders of the Alliance. It also provides a survey of the principal eighteenth-century Indian villages along the Susquehanna River via documentary evidence and the archeological record.

CHAPTER III.

BEGINNINGS:

THE SUSQUEHANNA VALLEY IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Iroquois Confederacy, exhausted by the half-century long conflicts with New France and her Indian allies, found it advantageous to enter into a two-way treaty system with both France and England known as the Grand Settlement of 1701. This diplomatic construct, which the Iroquois worked out separately with the English and the French, was advantageous to all parties. The Iroquois were able to force the French and their allies to accept a major part of their territorial claims. This stopped the population losses and deprivations due to French-led invasions of their lands, and forced acceptance of their position as "brokers" in the fur trade. The French secured their southern flank from Iroquois war parties¹, restarted the free flow of furs to their warehouses, ensured that the Iroquois would remain neutral and not ally themselves with the English, and re-established control of hunting territories west of Ft. Detroit. By re-establishing the flow of furs to Albany, the English ensured

¹"Armies" might be a better word. These military expeditions were without precedent among Native Americans north of Mexico in size and military organization. Over 1,000 Iroquois warriors simultaneously attacked the Huron nation in 1649, causing it to fragment into small tribal bands that either moved from the area or joined kindred nations. Paul A. W. Wallace, Indians in Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1989), 102-103.

that the Iroquois would not become allies of the French. Instead, the Iroquois would act as a buffer to stop the war parties of France and her Indian allies before they reached English settlements. Although England did not seem to fare as well as France in the Grand Settlement, the English Atlantic seaboard colonies were in better condition than was New France in terms of population, economic productivity and diversity, and the vast seaborne mercantile system which served them and their mother country. Thus all three sides could relax for a time, although France and England would resume their series of conflicts a year later in a dynastic argument over the ruling house of Spain.²

Due to the excellent planning and salesmanship of its proprietor, William Penn, Jr., colonial Pennsylvania³ became an important economic and social element relatively quickly in the North Atlantic community. Founded in 1681,

²Conference of Lt.-Governor Nanfan with the Iroquois, July 1701, in Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, hereafter cited as NYCD (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons, and Company, 1855), 4:896-911; Anthony F.C. Wallace, Origins of Iroquois Neutrality: The Grand Settlement of 1701, Pennsylvania History 24 (1957): 229, 233-235; Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 49; W. J. Eccles, The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760 (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1969), 134-135. The "War of the Spanish Succession," 1701-1713, was generally referred to as "Queen Anne's War" in the English colonies.

³"Pennsylvania" was a Latin construct for "Penn's Woods" which King Charles II of England pinned on the new province. Philip S. Klein and Ari Hoogenboom, A History of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1973), 21.

Penn's "Holy Experiment" was designed to provide a religious sanctuary for Penn and other Quakers by emplacing democratic institutions under a religious Frame of Government.

Pennsylvania was immediately successful due in large part to the Swedish, Finnish, and Dutch farmers who were already residents of the area. Anxious for a nearby market for their agricultural goods, they welcomed the Quaker artisans and shopkeepers that Penn's first emigrant fleet of twenty-three ships brought to the area in October 1682. The presence of these farmers insured that the province would have no significant "starving time" as did the early settlers of Virginia and Plymouth.⁴

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania's capital, was an orderly metropolis located on a peninsula just north of the junction

⁴Charter of the Province of Pennsylvania, 27 January 1682, in Samuel Hazard, ed., Pennsylvania Colonial Records, 16 vols., hereafter cited as PCR (Philadelphia, PA: J. Severns and Company, 1838-1853), 1:17-26; William Penn, Jr., To the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania, 8 April 1681, in The Papers of William Penn, ed. Mary Maples Dunn and Richard S. Dunn, 5 vols., hereafter cited as PWP (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), 2:84-85; Frame of Government of Pennsylvania, Passed by Governor Markham, 7 November 1696, in PCR, 1:48-55; William Penn, Jr., To the Free Society of Traders, 16 August 1683, in PWP, 2:454-455; Provision to be Made for the Sustenance of the People, 1 June 1683, in PCR, 1:78; Naturalization of Swedish Inhabitants, 11 January 1683, in PWP, 2:337-339; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 1 October 1693, in PCR, 1:392; William Penn, Jr. to Henry Savell, 30 May 1683, in Samuel Hazard, ed., Pennsylvania Archives, 9 Series, 138 vols., hereafter cited as PA (Philadelphia, PA: J. Severns and Company, 1852-1949), 1st Series, 1:68-69. During their first years in the area in the 1640's and 50's these European farmers had themselves been saved from starvation by the local Lenape Indians. Marshall J. Becker, Lenape Population at the Time of European Contact: Estimating Native Numbers in the Lower Delaware Valley, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 133, no. 2 (1989): 118.

of the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers. Containing two thousand houses and twelve churches, the city was the religious and cultural center of the region by the middle of the eighteenth century. Easily accessible by sea except when the Delaware River occasionally froze solid in January or February, large numbers of European emigrants -- Scots Irish, Palatine Germans, and English Anglicans -- soon began to arrive in the city. Consequently, by the early eighteenth century the city's citizenry was only one-third Quaker.⁵

In the eighteenth century, Pennsylvania received a much-deserved reputation as one of the most prosperous portions of the British Empire. It became a major regional source for agricultural and domestic products. By mid-century, it was thought to be able to feed over one hundred thousand people beyond those then living in the province. Pennsylvania became the terminus of many backcountry trade routes, particularly those west of the Susquehanna River which led southwestward into Virginia's Great Valley. These trails were more readily accessible to Euroamerican immigrants after the 1736 land purchase from the Iroquois. The Great Valley, 600 miles long and from 20 to 160 miles

⁵Minutes of the Provincial Council, 26 May 1684, in PCR 1:117; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 1 February 1685, in ibid., 126-127; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 8 February 1685, in ibid. 130; D.W. Meinig, The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective of 500 Years of History, 2 vols. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), 1:132; Lawrence Henry Gipson, The British Empire Before the American Revolution, 15 vols. (New York: Knopf, 1958-1970), 3:186-187; Ted Morgan, Wilderness at Dawn: The Settling of the North American Continent (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993), 286.

wide, ran in a north-south direction just west of the Blue Ridge Mountains from southern Pennsylvania to the Savannah River in present-day Georgia. The ruts of the "great wagon road," which ran right down the center of the valley, showed immigrants the way to a better life somewhere to the south. The vast majority of backcountry immigrants disembarked at the port of Philadelphia, and for this reason it quickly became one of the major ports of the colonies. As immigrants headed down the Great Valley, they needed horses, wagons, utensils, and firearms, all of which were available in Pennsylvania's capital. Philadelphia consequently became very rich as an outfitting point. It also became a big shipbuilding, brassmaking, and whiskey distilling center, and, just before the War for American Independence, the second-largest city in the British Empire. Unfortunately, much of the largess and wealth of the inhabitants of this province came at the expense of the Indians living along the Susquehanna River. Yet this expansion into Philadelphia's occupied hinterland was made, until 1755, without any serious conflict between the Euroamerican immigrants and the indigenous peoples of the area.⁶

The typical English (and European) view of North American land ownership relied on the principle that any

⁶Colonel Robert Morris to General Braddock, 12 March 1755, in PA, 4th Series, 2:372; Minutes of the 1736 Philadelphia Conference with the Iroquois, in PCR, 4:79-95; Ray Allen Billington and Martin Ridge, Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1949; reprint. New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1982.), 109; Meinig, Shaping of America, 1:131, 134; Gipson, British Empire, 3:183-186.

newly-discovered land was considered to have belonged to its European discoverer, irrespective of the rights and prior settlement of its native population(s). To the English, the idea of obtaining the consent of "heathen savages" to occupy lands belonging to the Crown via its right of discovery was preposterous. In marked contrast to general European practice, William Penn extended the Quaker principle of goodwill and friendship toward all people to the Indians. Penn recognized the Indians' prior rights as legal owners of their lands, and always negotiated fairly, honestly, and in good faith to extinguish title before being transferred to his colonists. The Proprietor promised the Indians fair treatment under his colony's legal system, opportunities to redress grievances, and peace. Penn did not intend to dispossess the Indians, nor force them from their ancestral homes. Tracts within the boundaries of his purchases were set aside for their use, and Indian villages were to remain undisturbed by colonial authorities and settlers. Penn's fundamental belief was that Indians and whites could live together in harmony in his province if the Indians were treated as equals. There were no lingering complaints from the Indians during William Penn's lifetime regarding his land transactions with them.⁷

Although colonial Pennsylvania was a relatively

⁷William Penn, Jr., Letter to the Kings of the Indians, 18 October 1681, in PWP, 2:128-129; William Penn, Jr. to Henry Savell, 30 May 1683, in PA, 1st Series, 1:69; Deed of Lands from the Delaware Indians, 15 July 1682, in PWP, 2:261-269; Clinton A. Weslager, The Delaware Indians: A History (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1972), 156-160.

tolerant place for those with atypical religious or political beliefs, for many on the social fringes it was somewhat comforting to know that the frontier⁸ began thirty miles north or west of the city. The frontier, although occupied in part by the Indians, was the perfect place of refuge for those who wanted freedom from English laws and institutions. It also offered a chance for those with little money or connections to begin farming and become prosperous.⁹ For those, like William Penn, who knew how to get along with the native peoples of the area, the Indian

⁸Although there is no good replacement as of yet, the English term "frontier," rife both in colonial records and modern monographs, is unfortunate in that it is loaded with connotations of the imminent conquest of the native peoples. As a geographic term delimiting a definable boundary between Euroamerican and Native American societies, it also often gives an erroneous impression. Such boundaries were often in flux, and varied from area to area as to the intensity of the levels of European-Indian hostility or co-operation. Nor was the wilderness beyond the frontier "empty," as it was occupied by Indians, albeit not as densely in terms of population or farmsteads as in European colonial societies. The frontier always seems to contain the idea of a movement from east to west, and is thus nearly synonymous with America's westward movement. Richard White has aptly summed up the "Old West" viewpoint by stating that "the frontier was where white people got scarce." Yet despite the attempts of some historians to mitigate its use, the term pervades the popular conceptions of American development and national character and is thus not easily dismissed or eradicated. Quotation from Patricia Nelson Limerick, "The Adventures of the Frontier in the Twentieth Century," in The Frontier in American Culture: Essays by Richard White and Patricia Nelson Limerick, ed. James R. Grossman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 73; *Ibid.*, 73-84; Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in The Frontier Thesis: Valid Interpretation of American History?, ed. Ray Allen Billington (Malabar, FL: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1977), 9-10; Francis Jennings, "The Indian Trade of the Susquehanna Valley," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 110 (December 1966): 406-407.

⁹Morgan, Wilderness at Dawn, 287.

trade also offered promising opportunities. The most powerful of the native groups who had diplomatic relations with colonial Pennsylvania was the New York-based Iroquois League.

The Iroquois called themselves "People of the Longhouse," or "Kanonsionni," which was to them a symbol of democratic rule within an enlightened confederation. Each nation of the Iroquois League was an independent political entity, possessing, like each Iroquoian family, its own council fire. It was these individual families and nations that delegated political power and authority to the Great Council, which presided over the "Tree of the Great Peace," symbolically based at Onondaga. The great white roots of this tree spread out so that any person or nation might trace the roots to the tree, and find themselves welcome to take shelter under it. By this means the Iroquois hoped that universal peace would eventually be established in the world. The Great Binding Law that enforced the peace came either by peaceful persuasion, by which the Tuscarora were induced to join the League, or by conquest, the fate of the Huron, Erie, and Susquehannock nations. Others, like the Shawnee and Lenape, were subdued and held in a mild form of diplomatic subjugation under the protective shade of the Great Tree of Peace.¹⁰

The "Covenant Chain" was a diplomatic creation involving a complex set of alliances among Indians and

¹⁰Wallace, Indians in Pennsylvania, 90; Gipson, British Empire, 5:69-70.

English colonists in which the New York colonial government, the Great Council at Onondaga, and later, colonial Pennsylvania, played dominant, although not always dictatorial roles. Covenant Chain diplomacy was often presented in the Euro-centric view of a centralized nation-state, a vast oversimplification that fitted the cultural views of Enlightenment Europe but had little to do with the real situation among Native Americans. The "Covenant Chain" (or "clasped hands," using the Indian metaphor) was in reality a series of chains or treaties of peace, each a separate entity and not linked to the English view of a cohesive network of treaties. The Indians also engaged in "trade agreements," which, like the English, they differentiated from their diplomatic accords.¹¹

Iroquois diplomatic oratory, which would include the oratory of other Native American nations related to the Iroquois either culturally or diplomatically, was dependent on leader/follower coalitions among individuals, clans and nations. It was a unique blend of etiquette, ritual, symbolism, theater, and political maneuvering, and was perhaps their greatest contribution to the world. In line with their cultural structures, the Indians tended to discuss things among themselves when presented with a problem. They then returned to the council fire with a

¹¹Richard L. Haan, "Covenant and Consensus: Iroquois and English, 1676-1760," in Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800, ed. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrill (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 41-42, 44-49, 53-54.

consensus, normally on the following day. Consensus could also be achieved if the dissenting parties agreed to accept the majority resolution, but not actively support it. If, however, a consensus failed to emerge, the discussion was tabled. The above explains behavior often regarded by Europeans as being strange or even treacherous, but actually derived from the Indians' absolute respect for the rights of individuals and their views.¹²

The objective of the conferences of the Five Nations was not rhetorical dominance, but to achieve the unanimity required for all binding decisions of the League. Calmness and serious deliberation characterized such gatherings, with no public contradictions or interruptions. Oratory and statecraft were inextricably linked; thus the shouting matches that were typical of English legislatures of the time were never allowed, because, to the Indians, such an outburst would have been tantamount to a declaration of war. The eloquent metaphors that were so repetitious to European ears were the summit of Iroquois diplomatic oratory and their unwritten literature. Sometime prior to European contact, the Indians had begun using belts of painted beads and seashells called wampum as memory aids. During treaty conferences, the speaker would "throw" or set down these belts to emphasize the issue under discussion at the appropriate moment. The belts were publicly displayed during the conference, and afterwards were carefully stored

¹²Mary A. Druke, "Linking Arms: The Structure of Iroquois Intertribal Diplomacy," in Beyond the Covenant Chain, 38.

in case they needed to be referred to again in the future.¹³

The first day of a treaty conference was devoted to formal orations by the host nation, which had usually called the meeting. It began with condolences for those leaders of the guest nation(s) who had died since the last meeting. The following day, the host nation regaled the conference with a metaphorical speech about the history of the alliance and the friendship of the conferring parties, and then introduced the problem or problems to be discussed. The "throwing" of a wampum belt punctuated each section of the speech, followed by the traditional affirmative cry of "Yo-hay!" of the sachems. All parties then conferred privately among themselves and with their opposites, forming coalitions and finally deciding what to do. This decision was announced on the last day of the conference. If, as usual, consensus had been reached, both sides celebrated and presents were exchanged.¹⁴

Presents, which often became metaphorical "words" in Native American diplomacy, often governed the relations

¹³David Zeisberger, History of Northern American Indians (Columbus, OH: Ohio Archeological and Historical Society Publications 19, nos. 1-2 (1910)), 94-96; James Thomas Flexner, Mohawk Baronet: A Biography of Sir William Johnson (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959; reprint, Boston, MA: Little, Brown, and Company, 1979), 60.

¹⁴Zeisberger, History, 97; Flexner, Mohawk Baronet, 60-61. The consumption of rum or brandy, introduced early in the era of European contact, was an addition to the traditional end-of-conference celebration. Peter C. Mancall, "The Bewitching Tyranny of Custom": The Social Costs of Indian Drinking in Colonial America," American Indian Culture and Research Journal 17, no. 2 (1993): 10, 28.

between bands, tribes, nations, and confederacies. They were used to gain or maintain peace, declare war, make a request, and to give thanks. Presents were also used as rewards, tributes (especially to the dead), marks of distinction, tokens of friendship, and bribes. The Iroquois in particular regarded presents as the main agent used in what they termed "rebrightening" the Covenant Chain with the English colonists. Each "brightening" or "polishing" of the chain strengthened a particular colony or tribal alliance, and was therefore a very sophisticated way of doing diplomatic business. Tribal sachems used these donations, often valued at thousands of pounds sterling, to gain favor with their young men and other individuals whose support they needed. Euroamericans not accustomed to the Indians and their ways of doing things often equated such presents with blatant bribery.¹⁵

Modern revisionist interpretations to the contrary,¹⁶ documentary evidence indicates that although they were not an imperial empire like Ancient Rome, the Iroquois were the major military power in the Northeastern Woodlands and the overlords of the indigenous Lenape, Shawnee, and other

¹⁵Wilbur R. Jacobs, Wilderness Politics and Indian Gifts: The Northern Colonial Frontier, 1748-1763 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1950; reprint, Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 13-14, 17-18, 28.

¹⁶This "New Indian History" school can best be seen via the following works: Francis Jennings' The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire (1984), Empire of Fortune (1988), and The Invasion of America (1993); James H. Merrell's The Indians' New World (1989); Daniel K. Richter's Ordeal of the Longhouse (1992); Daniel Richter's and James Merrell's Beyond the Covenant Chain (1987); and Michael McConnell's A Country Between (1992).

Indian peoples living along the Susquehanna drainage from the late seventeenth century until the great imperial war began in the Ohio Valley in 1754.¹⁷ The Susquehannocks had militarily subjugated the Delawares in the early seventeenth century. This took place many years before the Lenapes were in turn subjugated by the Iroquois, then involved in the process of conquering the Susquehannocks. The Delawares formally submitted to the Iroquois in March 1677, when the

¹⁷Minutes of the White Marsh Conference with the Delaware, 19 May 1712, in PCR, 2:546; Minutes of a Council Held by the Governor of Pennsylvania While Visiting the Province of New York, 13 August 1722, in PCR, 3:204-205; Minutes of the 1732 Philadelphia Conference with the Iroquois, 26 August 1732, in PCR, 3:441-442; Minutes of the 1742 Philadelphia Conference with the Iroquois, in PCR, 4:579; Minutes of the 1754 Aughwick Conference, 3 September 1754, in PCR, 6:155-156; Scaroyady to Governor Morris, 11 September 1755, in PCR, 6:615; Minutes of the 1756 Easton Conference, in PCR, 7:218; Neucheconner and other Shawnee Sachems to Governor Gordon, 7 June 1732, in PA, 1st Series, 1:327-330; Journal of Moses Tatamy and Issac Hill of their Journey to the Minisinks, 1758, in PA, 1st Series, 3:505; Reverend Hawley to Sir William Johnson, 27 December 1755, in NYCD, 7:48; Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade, 17 July 1756, in NYCD, 7:119; Conference with the Indians at Fort Johnson, 11 July 1756, in NYCD, 7:157; Nicolaus Ludwig, Graf von Zinzendorf, Memorials of the Moravian Church, ed. William C. Reichel (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott and Company, 1870), 67-68; Conrad Weiser to Reverend Peter Brunnholtz, Recollections of the Shawnee Sachem Kakowatcheky's Speech to Count Zinzendorf, 16 February 1747, as quoted in Paul A.W. Wallace, Conrad Weiser: Friend of Colonist and Mohawk (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), 144. Charles Hanna, a very reliable source, gives a devastating series of proofs on this matter. Moravian missionary David Zeisberger's variant of the story and the self-serving speeches of the Eastern Delaware sachem Teedyuskung were apparently the original sources for the erroneous "Delaware were never really under Iroquois control" interpretation in the historical literature, echoed forevermore by Lenape apologists such as John Heckewelder, George Henry Loskiel, Henry Schoolcraft, and Francis Jennings. Teedyuskung's Speech at the 1757 Easton Conference, 1 August 1757, in NYCD, 7:307; Zeisberger, History, 34-36, 159-160; Charles A. Hanna, The Wilderness Trail, or the Ventures and Adventures of Pennsylvania Traders on the Allegheny Path, 2 volumes (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1911), 1:103-114.

League took control of the Susquehanna Valley.¹⁸ Although Lenape cultural groups had existed since pre-contact times, in a political sense the Delawares did not become a formal national entity until about 1724-30 when they became residents of the Ohio Valley. The Iroquois emplaced subordinate Indian groups, such as the Lenape, in the Susquehanna Valley as placeholders against the land-hungry Euroamericans. The Lenape, Shawnee, and other guest peoples living on Iroquois lands east of the Alleghenies in the early 1700s were given great autonomy and personal latitude, but, in return, were also expected to give political homage to Onondaga, and to behave themselves under the branches of the Iroquois "Great Tree of Peace." In the figurative diplomatic language of the time, the Lenape bands, whom the Iroquois were well aware had occupied the Northeastern Woodlands for many centuries beforehand, were considered to be "grandfathers," dignified, ancient teachers and counselors, who functioned in the mediating tribal status of peacemakers or "women" to their Iroquois overseers. In a real sense, the Delaware's sole handicap during the early

¹⁸Dutch Register of Records Regarding the Swedes and Indians, 1656, in NYCD, 1:587-600; Thomas Young, Briefe Relation of the Voyage of Captayne Thomas Young, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 7 Series (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1792-1972), 4th Series, 9:119; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:106-108. The Iroquois were able to show a relatively valid title to the Susquehanna Valley via a largely continuous occupation of towns like Conestoga, and a few small settlements on both the north and west branches of the river such as Tioga and Otstonwakin. Barry C. Kent, Susquehanna's Indians (Harrisburg, PA: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1993), 104-105.

years of this arrangement was their inability to make war without Iroquois permission.¹⁹ In retrospect, the Iroquois, preoccupied with internal matters after their military zenith during the Beaver Wars, were not as united, militarily active, or powerful as they portrayed themselves to be in treaty conference rhetoric, especially after 1745. But although the Iroquois did not have the authority they had in the seventeenth century, they were still the dominant power in the Susquehanna Valley during the early to mid-eighteenth century.²⁰

Yet by the 1730's the Iroquois Great Council, bereft of its greatest sachems, who, in the past, had been far-sighted enough to avoid any counterproductive "entangling alliances" with colonial governments, had allied itself with the land-hungry Pennsylvania government.²¹ Intent on obtaining presents from oftentimes fraudulent land sales, the Iroquois leadership began abusing the Indian peoples they had once

¹⁹A rough modern analog would be the relationship between Japan with the United States after World War Two. The former was allowed to govern itself internally, but had limited offensive military capabilities under the latter superpower's conventional and nuclear "umbrella."

²⁰Kent, Susquehanna's Indians, 100; Peter C. Mancall, "The Revolutionary War and the Indians of the Upper Susquehanna Valley," in American Indian Culture and Research Journal 12, no. 1 (1988): 42-43. The Iroquois were certainly not an Imperial power in the European tradition, although they did maintain a relatively non-repressive "Pax Iroquoia" over the territories and peoples they oversaw. Matthew Dennis, Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth-Century America (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 257-258, 265.

²¹The colony's emphasis on fairness to the Indians went to the grave with William Penn at his passing in 1718. Weslager, Delaware Indians, 170-171.

protected.²² At the 1742 Philadelphia Conference, the

²²The basic Indian philosophy toward the land was quite different from that of Europeans. Land was and is viewed as a gift from the Creator, enabling humans to survive. The Earth is the mother of mankind in that she furnishes food in the guise of animals and plants, who allow themselves to be taken so that people can continue to exist. People must thus give thanks to the Creator for the fruits of the earth, and to the plants and animals (tobacco smoke is the normal ceremonial vehicle for carrying such thanks to the Creator). Because land was received directly from the Great Spirit, only He could take it away, thus contradicting the right of others using the "Conquest Theory" to do so. Thus the "gift" of land cannot be sold. Lands could be exchanged from one Indian group to another via the exchange of presents, but never sold in the context of the word's meaning in European cultures. The belief that the land belonged to past and future generations (who were obviously unable to express their wishes in council) as well as that of the present generation was also widely accepted. One of the most fundamental beliefs was that of communal ownership of the land, and the corollary that no one person or tribal fragment had the right to sell or alienate it from the others. George S. Snyderman, "Concepts of Land Ownership Among the Iroquois and their Neighbors" in William N. Fenton, ed., Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1951), 15-19.

Many of the hostile Indian actions of the 1754-1764 time period were the result of maneuverings of white men who knowingly dealt with unauthorized Native American individuals or groups for land cessions. Although land "scams" by individual Indians (if they could get away with it) were apparently winked at by their fellow tribal members, any land sales which were held to be legal and binding among the Indians had to be ratified by the council of elders and all affected tribal or national segments, which included all civil and military authorities and the clan matrons (among the Lenape, this would include almost all adults). The Iroquois made the mistake of bypassing the Delaware and Shawnee when selling their ancestral lands or the lands they occupied to the British colonials in the 1732-1754 time period. The Six Nations often emplaced refugee or conquered peoples on lands the Iroquois had conquered as "perpetual guests," a courtesy that involved Six Nations protection even to the extent of going to war for them, just as a parent would go to "war" to protect a child. Such 'protected peoples' did not, however, have the right to go to war without Iroquois permission, or sell the land on which they were living, just as parents also had the right to correct and direct the affairs of a child. Ibid., 19-24.

The above landlord-tenant system worked well for the Iroquois only as long as they could exert diplomatic or military control over their dependents. In the early 1750's,

Iroquois sachem Canasatego, one of the greatest orators in the League's history, attempted to put the Eastern Delaware, angry over the fraudulent acquisition of their ancestral homeland by the sons of William Penn, into their place:

We conquered you, we made Women of you, you know you are Women, and can no more sell Land than Women. Nor is it fit you should have the Power of Selling Lands since you would abuse it. This Land that you Claim is gone through your Guts. You have been furnished with Cloathes [sic] and Meat and Drink by the Goods paid you for it, and now You want it again like Children as you are.²³

This famous speech, although full of rhetorical flourishes, nonetheless showed the reality of Iroquois dominance of the Eastern Delaware. The Iroquois-Lenape man-woman relationship initially had an overall benign aspect, as a normal Iroquois male would never willfully hurt his marriage partner, or a woman of his own clan or tribe. Yet the relationship had further deteriorated when by the 1750s it had developed connotations of low-order adoption or

the League was unable to control the dissidents among the western tribes who occupied Iroquois lands along the Ohio River, who began to demand payments from white settlers on their own behalf, and not for their Iroquois "parents" or "uncles." One of the major reasons that these formerly dependent tribes broke with the Iroquois was that the latter was openly violating the time-honored Native American conception of people's relationship to the land by selling it to the whites for gifts and annuities. Ibid., 24-28.

²³Canasatego's Speech at the 1742 Philadelphia Conference, in PCR, 4:579. Canasatego was a bit out of line here, as the relationship did not then imply the subordination then normally practiced in Euroamerican man-wife relationships. As Paul A.W. Wallace notes, the term "woman," as a national designation, was not originally a term of abuse, though it was made to appear so in the later eighteenth century." Wallace, Indians in Pennsylvania, 59.

enslavement, in which a master or mistress could abuse a captive woman.²⁴

²⁴Homosexuality was also an element in Lenape-Iroquois relations. Homosexuals were referred to as "hermaphrodites" by the Pennsylvania traders, and as "Berdashes" by the French. The Jesuits stated that most Indians of the era, like their European counterparts, held homosexuals in the utmost contempt. However, it appears that the Jesuits may not be totally trustworthy in this matter, as in many cultures, such as the Miami, homosexuals found some acceptance. In that there is evidence of homosexuality in almost all Indian tribes of the Northeastern Woodlands, it is no surprise that there are also homosexual elements in the Iroquois-Delaware relationship. Marquette's First Voyage Among the Illinois Indians, in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., Jesuit Relations, 73 volumes (Cleveland, OH: The Burrows Bros. Co., 1896-1901; reprint, New York: Pagent Book Company, 1959), 59:125-129; 309-310, fn. 25, 26; C.C. Trowbridge, Meearmear Traditions, in Occasional Contributions From the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan, no. 7, ed. Vernon Kinietz (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1938), 68; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:112.

This relationship was brought out graphically in a message which the Iroquois Great Council sent to Teedyuskung and other straying Eastern Delaware chiefs at the July 1756 Easton Conference:

Cousins, the Delaware Indians: You will remember that you are our women; our forefathers made you so, and put a petticoat on you, and charged you to be true to us & lie with no other man. But of late you have Suffered the string that tied your petticoat to be cut loose by the French, and you lay with them, & so became a common Bawd, in which you did very wrong and deserved Chastisement, but notwithstanding this we will still Esteem you, and as you have thrown off the Cover of your modesty and become Stark naked, which is a shame for a woman, We now give you a little Prick and put it into your private Parts, and so let it grow there until you shall be a compleat man. We advise you not to act as a woman yet, But be first instructed by us, and do as we bid you and you will become a noted man. Minutes of the 1756 Easton Conference, in PCR, 7:218.

Smarting under this kind of abuse, it is no wonder that many of the Lenape and their Shawnee cousins left for the Ohio Valley as soon as they could, although various tribal remnants remained in the Susquehanna Valley through the 1780's. Peter C. Mancall, "The Revolutionary War and the Indians of the Upper Susquehanna Valley," in American Indian Culture and

Life along the Susquehanna River during the first two decades of the eighteenth century revolved about the generally peaceful agriculturally-based villages of the Iroquois and many refugee groups -- Lenapes, Shawnees, Conoys, Nanticokes, Tuscaroras, Tuteloos, Mahicans, Susquehannocks, and others. Indian Towns of the era varied greatly as to size, ethnic groupings, and regularity of layout. In general, the palisaded towns of the war-filled seventeenth century gave way to more settled communities which were more conducive to the open, peaceful, multi-ethnic society of the eighteenth century. Such towns were generally of an open and sometimes "ramshackle" nature, often snaking along both sides of creeks, or coagulating in widely-separated clumps of dwellings, as suited the needs and desires of their builders.²⁵ Clans tended to settle and build close to their fields, but apart from one another and the village centers. Large multi-ethnic trading centers such as Logstown and Shamokin contrasted with small, traditional single-group hamlets, such as Alliquippa's Town on the Monongahela and Chillisquaque on the Susquehanna.²⁶ In 1743, the colonial botanist John Bartram visited

Research Journal 12, no. 1 (1988): 43, 52-53.

²⁵"Village Complexes" might thus be a better term for wide-spread Indian settlements than the European terminology of "villages" or "towns."

²⁶Michael N. McConnell, A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and its Peoples, 1724-1774 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 24-25. A facsimile of Colonel John Armstrong's map of the Delaware town of Kittanning in this work is a good illustration of this village layout system. Ibid., 26.

Onondaga, the mighty capital of the Iroquois, whose pronouncements shook the unstable world of colonial North America and echoed through the marbled palaces of Europe. Bartram described it as a settlement "about 2 or 3 miles long, yet the scattered cabins ... are not above 40 in number ... but all stand single, and rarely above 4 or 5 near one another." The settlement included plenty of weeds and bushes, many scattered gardens, and at least one traditional Longhouse, used as a council house.²⁷ But according to David Zeisberger's journal of his 1752 visit, Onondaga was actually composed of "5 small towns." The settlement also included a few single-family dwellings or huts, which were then becoming a typical building style, and indicated the increasing "atomization" of Indian society.²⁸ Such villages were also relocated to more virgin areas whenever thought necessary due to soil and firewood depletion, or inordinate harm to crops due to insect infestations.²⁹

The Susquehanna Valley was dotted with about fifty Indian towns or villages in the early eighteenth century. The village of Conestoga, on the east bank of the lower

²⁷John Bartram, Observations Made by Mr. John Bartram, In his Journey from Pensilvania to Onondaga, &c [abridged], in John and William Bartram's America, ed. Helen Gere Cruickshank (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1957), 14, 40-42.

²⁸McConnell, A Country Between, 25.

²⁹William A. Starna, George R. Hamell, and William L. Butts, "Northern Iroquoian Horticulture and Insect Infestation: A Cause for Village Removal," Ethnohistory 31, no. 3 (1984): 197-205.

Susquehanna River at the confluence of Conestoga Creek, about seven miles west of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, was the southern-most of the important villages on the main or southern branch of the river. The Conestoga site area (present-day Washington Borough, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania) had been home to the people of the pre-contact era Shenks Ferry culture from A.D. 1300 to 1575. This trading culture had its primary area of development in the lower Susquehanna Valley, and later fanned out up both branches of the river to the north. Apparently under intense attack, their palisaded villages disappeared around 1550 to 1575 when they were either absorbed or replaced by the expansionist Susquehannocks. This latter culture flourished³⁰ until its destruction at the hands of the Maryland militia, the Iroquois, and a devastating smallpox epidemic about 1674-75. A mixed Susquehannock, Seneca, and Shawnee group known as the Conestogas resettled the site

³⁰The village was located inside the boundaries of present-day Washington borough, Pennsylvania. This was a large, palisaded single settlement containing perhaps as many as 1,700 people. These Indians were mentioned by Captain John Smith in his 1608 reconnaissance of the lower Susquehanna as living in the village of "Susquesahanough," an Algonquian term which meant "people at the falls." John Smith, The General Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles, 1624 in Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England, 1580-1631, ed. Edward Arber, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, Scotland: 1910; reprint. New York: Burt Franklin, 1967), 2:422-424; Kent, Susquehanna's Indians, 21; William C. Sturtevant, ed., Handbook of North American Indians, 15 vols., hereafter cited as Handbook (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978-1988), 15:363. For Smith's rather famous 1612 map, which also includes a superb line drawing of a Susquehannock warrior, see Smith, *ibid.*, 384 ff., and an enlargement of the relevant map section in Kent, *ibid.*, 27.

about 1697. The colony of Pennsylvania recognized this group as a separate political entity in a 1701 treaty with William Penn. The Conestogas and other scattered Indian groups resettled the Susquehanna Valley in the early eighteenth century under the overlordship of the Iroquois Confederacy, re-establishing many of the old Susquehannock trading networks. The importance of Conestoga as a trading center began to decline around 1720 when New France's recently-emplaced Fort Niagara began to draw off much of the village's trade with the New York-based Senecas. The 1717 survey map of the Conestoga Manor, although precisely drawn, only gives the general location of the Indian town within the manor's boundaries. A general melding of Seneca and Susquehannock populations and the near-universal usage of the Seneca language had occurred at Conestoga by the 1740s. The depletion of local fur-bearer animals and the more lucrative trade in the Ohio Valley caused most of the Pennsylvania traders to leave the region at about this time. By the time of the 1744 Lancaster Conference, the town's importance had declined to the point that although Conestoga leaders were at the conference, none were mentioned by name.³¹

³¹Philadelphia Conference with the Conestoga, Shawnee, and Iroquois Indians, 23 April 1701, in PCR, 2:14-17; Philadelphia Conference with the Conestoga and Shawnee Indians, 6 June 1706, in ibid., 244; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 19 September 1706, in ibid., 252-253; Philadelphia Conference with the Conestogas and Iroquois, July 1721, in ibid., 3:133; Deed of Lands in the Susquehanna Valley from the Susquehannock Sachems to William Penn, 13 September 1700, in PA, 1st series, 1:133; George P. Donehoo, Indian Villages and Place Names in Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, PA.: The Telegraph Press, 1928;

The most notable settlement north of Conestoga on the main branch of the river was the mixed Shawnee and Delaware trading center of Paxtang at the mouth of Paxtang Creek.³² Paxtang, which might have been a regional term referring to settlements on both sides of the river, was an important trading center in the early eighteenth century until its inhabitants moved elsewhere in the face of Euroamerican encroachments. A group of Shawnees from the lower Ohio Valley founded a town called Pequehan on the east bank of the Susquehanna just below Conestoga about 1695. At about the same time, another group of Shawnees founded a series of towns along the mid and upper Delaware River Valley which they called Pechoquealin.³³ By 1707 some expatriate

reprint. Baltimore, MD.: Gateway Press, 1995), 36; Kent, Susquehanna's Indians, 19, 21-23, 29, 59-62; Handbook, 15:366; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:80-81. During and after 1744 Conestoga's remaining inhabitants were apparently very poor and uninfluential and remained neutral throughout the French and Indian War. On 14 December 1763 six of the village's inhabitants were murdered by a group of Scots-Irish backwoodsmen called the "Paxton Boys," who were angered by recent attacks on their families and friends by Indians participating in the anti-British "Pontiac's War." The fourteen remaining Conestogas, removed to the workhouse in Lancaster for their protection, were massacred by the same white gang on 27 December 1763. Kent, *ibid.*, 66-67.

³²This was also called "Peixtan" or "Peshtang" in the colonial records. It was later called Paxton, and is now a part of the city of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania's capital, which is named for the Paxtang trader John Harris. The area has been heavily developed, and thus there are no significant archeological finds to confirm the village's exact location. Minutes of the Provincial Council, 14 September 1709, in PCR, 2:489; Kent, Susquehanna's Indians, 88-89.

³³Minutes of the 1701 Philadelphia Conference, 23 April 1701, in PCR 2:14-17; Message of the Indians at Conestoga to the Governor, 24 February 1707, in *ibid.*, 402; Minutes of the 1709 Philadelphia Conference with the Susquehanna Indians, 25-29 July 1709, in *ibid.*, 489; Minutes of the Philadelphia

Delawares had moved westward as far as Paxtang, and some lived at a small village called Tulpehocken along the creek of the same name (near present-day Myerstown, Pennsylvania), which apparently was still occupied as late as 1723. Isaac Taylor's Map, dated 1727 or 1728, shows the locations of several more minor settlements further upriver. Some of these have been linked through documentary sources to Nanticoke and Conoy Indians who inhabited some of the

Conference with the Indians, July 1728, in *ibid.*, 3:309, 330; Minutes of the 1733 Philadelphia Conference with the Conestoga Indians and Shikellamy, June-August 1733, in *ibid.*, 506; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:137-145. Pechoquealin was in the country of the Minisink Delawares, and the Shawnee settlements here, which lasted until at least 1728, marked the beginning of a long period of Shawnee-Delaware co-operation and interaction. The 1701 Philadelphia Treaty contains the first mention of the Shawnee group represented by Opessa (Wopaththa) who were then living below Conestoga at Pequehan. Host to Governor Evans during his 1707 visit, Opessa left this village about 1711 and settled in Maryland along the Potomac, which suggests some sort of fragmentation or community breakup at Pequehan. Opessa's absence from his people is a mystery, perhaps engineered by the Iroquois who were unhappy with his inability to control his young warriors, or by semi-apocryphal accounts of a romance with a young Lenape woman who would not leave her people. After a three-year absence, the Iroquois and their Conestoga confederates replaced him as the Shawnee supervisor at Pequehan with the Oneida war leader Carondowanna. There is also evidence of Shawnee settlements (perhaps in company with other groups) across the Susquehanna from Harrisburg ("Canadaqueany"), perhaps at Paxtang, and possibly on the riverbanks on either side and islands just above the mouth of the Juniata River. Governor John Evans' Journey Amongst the Indians of the Susquehanna River, June-July 1707, in PCR 2:386; Philadelphia Conference with the Conestoga Indians, 1 October 1714, in *ibid.*, 574, Philadelphia Conference with the Delaware and Shawnee Indians, 14 June 1715, in *ibid.*, 601; C. Hale Sipe, The Indian Chiefs of Pennsylvania (Butler, PA.: Ziegler Printing Company, 1927; reprint. Lewisburg, PA.: Wennawoods Publishing, 1994), 70-71; Francis Jennings, The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies from its Beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744 (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1984), 265; Kent, Susquehanna's Indians, 80-85, 88.

islands in the river near the mouth of the Juniata. However, there is no archeological confirmation for these sites due to their low elevations, which the Susquehanna, in its annual spring rampages, habitually inundates with scouring ice-floes and torrents of silt-saturated water.³⁴

At the conflux of the forks of the Susquehanna stood the large trading center of Shamokin.³⁵ The location of an extensive Susquehannock village at the time of first contact, Delaware and Shawnee expatriates from Paxtang and the Delaware Valley resettled the site about 1718.³⁶ Sassoonan (or Allumapees), the head sachem of the Delaware Turtle Clan, lived there from 1718 until his death in

³⁴Minutes of the Provincial Council, 14 September 1709, in PCR, 2:489; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:161; Kent, Susquehanna's Indians, 88-89, 99. Isaac Taylor's Map (1727-28) is illustrated in Hanna, *ibid.*, 196.

³⁵This is present-day Sunbury and Northumberland, Pennsylvania. The Lenape term "Shamokin" is a variant of "Shackamaxon," which refers to the residence of the foremost Lenape sachem on the Delaware River. The Iroquois called the rocky hill across the river "Otzinachon," or "The Demon's Den," where, according to the Moravians, the Indians said that evil spirits congregated and held their revels. Nicholas Ludwig, Graf von Zinzendorf, Memorials of the Moravian Church, ed. William C. Reichel (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott and Company, 1870), 94; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:193.

³⁶Donehoo, Indian Villages and Place Names, 187. Small villages naturally clustered about this center along all branches of the Susquehanna. Another Delaware town in the vicinity was Wapwallopen (Opelholhaupung), on the opposite (south) side of the North branch of the Susquehanna River from the nuclear power plant just south of Berwick, Pennsylvania. There is also evidence of Shawnee settlements near Shamokin, one on the east bank of the Susquehanna River just south of the conflux of its forks. Kent, Susquehanna's Indians, 89, 102.

1747.³⁷ Shamokin was the largest and most heavily-populated Indian village complex on the Susquehanna from 1727 to 1756, the most important town south of Tioga Point because it was located at the junction of the Great Warriors Path and the Great Shamokin Path. These trails actually crossed north of Shamokin at or near present-day Northumberland, Pennsylvania, and this may have been one of the reasons for the siting of the original upriver residence of Shikellamy, the Iroquois overseer, on the West Branch.³⁸ In 1745, Presbyterian Missionary David Brainerd noted that the town actually sprawled northwestward from what is now Sunbury onto present-day Packer's Island and the southern part of present-day Northumberland. It then contained over fifty homes and about three hundred inhabitants, of whom about half were Delaware, and the remainder Iroquois (mostly Senecas, with a few Tuscaroras), Mahicans, Conoys, and

³⁷Allumapees was a major figure in Lenape history, especially regarding land sales in the Schuylkill River Valley. The "first among equals" in 1718 Schuylkill-area Lenape society, by 1731 he had been elevated to "Chief of the Schuylkill Indians and Indian owner" of the lands to be transferred to the Pennsylvania Proprietors. His meteoric rise in influence was due to a loyal following of family and friends, his abilities in working with and satisfying the needs of his colonial neighbors, and the material and political support given him by the Pennsylvania government and individual colonists, which enabled him to materially reward his followers and thus enhanced his prestige. Quotations from McConnell, A Country Between, 13. It is possible that Allumapees was the son ("Wehequeckhon" or "Wikwikhon") of Taminy, head sachem of the Lenape turtle clan along the Delaware, c. 1683-1697, and namesake of New York City's Tammany Hall. Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:98-99.

³⁸Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:194; Paul A.W. Wallace, Indian Paths of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1987), 63.

Tutelos. A blacksmith shop was constructed there by the Moravians in 1747, and soon became the goal of Indians who often came great distances to get their guns repaired. Things deteriorated rapidly in the area after Allumapees' and Shikellamy's deaths in 1747 and 1748 respectively, and the inception of the French and Indian War in 1754. The smithy shut down in 1755, and the remaining Indian inhabitants burned and deserted the settlement in 1756.³⁹

In 1728, the Iroquois Great Council emplaced an Oneida sachem named Shikellamy⁴⁰ as overseer of the region's

³⁹Minutes of the August 1728 Philadelphia Conference with the Indians of the Susquehanna, in PCR, 3:326; David Brainerd's Journal, as quoted in Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:195-196; Zinzendorf, Memorials, 66-67; Donehoo, Indian Villages and Place Names, 187. The trader James Le Tort had located his store in the Shamokin area sometime previously, as illustrated on Isaac Taylor's Map in Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:197. Tutelos were found at Shamokin by Conrad Weiser in 1744, and David Brainerd in 1745. After 1748, at least some of this group moved to a new town, Skogari (Oskohary) on the North Branch of the Susquehanna at the present site of the town of Catawissa in Columbia Co., Pennsylvania. By 1753 most had moved to Tioga. By the inception of the Revolutionary War, most Tutelos had moved to the vicinity of the Cayuga towns in New York State. Kent, Susquehanna's Indians, 106.

⁴⁰Shikellamy's Oneida name was "Ungquaterughiathe," and he was also sometimes called "Swatane" ("Our Enlightener") by the Iroquois. He was called "Shekallamy" [James Logan's spelling] by the Delawares. Shikellamy was originally French, born in Montreal and taken captive by the Oneidas while in his youth. Reared by that nation, he later attained the offices of sachem and councillor. In addition to a daughter, Shikellamy had three sons: John (Taghneghdoarus or Tachnehtoris, later a sachem on the Iroquois Great Council); James Logan or "Logan" (Soyeghtowa or Sayughtowa), his "Lame Son;" and John Petty (Sogogeghyata). A fourth son, "Unhappy Jake," was killed in battle with the Catawbas. Both John Petty and his sister were murdered by Virginia backwoodsmen in western Pennsylvania in the Spring of 1774. John Bartram, Observations, 17; Names of the Indians Present at the 1742 Philadelphia Conference, in PCR 4:584; Names of the Indians at the Treaty of Lancaster, August 1762, in PA, 1st Series, 4:90-91; Report of the Massacre of Indians at Yellow Creek, 24 May

Indian inhabitants. He first resided just south of present-day Milton, Pennsylvania when he arrived in the Susquehanna Valley. Sometime between 1737 and 1745, he moved to Shamokin to live alongside his friend Allumapees. More of a mediator than an imperial dictator, Shikellamy had no war parties to call on enforce the words of the Iroquois Great Council, but only his own intelligence, statesmanship, and extraordinary abilities at persuasion. He refused to drink alcohol, and late in life converted to the Moravian variant of Christianity. A quiet, honorable, and generous man, his death at Shamokin in December 1748 left the Indians of the Susquehanna Valley without a far-seeing statesman to guide them when the European imperial darkness overtook them some six years later.⁴¹

Moving up the North Branch from Shamokin, the next

1774, in *ibid.*, 499; Captain William Crawford and Mr. John Neville, Relation on the Murders of a Group of Indians Near the Mouth of Yellow Creek, 3 May 1774, in *NYCD*, 8:464-465; Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 1:192-193, 381; Sipe, *Indian Chiefs*, 163.

⁴¹Minutes of a Conference Held with the Indians at Philadelphia, 4-5 June 1728, in *PCR*, 3:316; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 1 September 1728, in *ibid.*, 329-330; Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 274, 277. Shikellamy had extraordinary influence among the Indians he watched over, such as the time when he stilled a rather loud Indian celebration at Shamokin so that his guests, Count Zinzendorf and other Moravian missionaries, could have quiet in which to pray. It is perhaps due to the misunderstanding of such seemingly-continual drumming, to the present day a major component of Native American ceremonialism, that Zinzendorf's missionary companion Martin Mack called Shamokin "the very seat of the Prince of Darkness." Zinzendorf, *Memorials*, 67-68, 93; Mack's statement as quoted in Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 139.

important settlement was the village-complex of Wyomink.⁴² This trading center was located on the north bank of the river just below the present-day town of Plymouth, a western suburb of the present-day city of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. Kakowatcheky's band of Shawnee from the Pechoquelin towns on the Delaware River built the village in 1728, and were later joined by other Shawnee bands. Although the majority of its inhabitants were Shawnees, Wyomink also included Mahicans and Delawares, and had a Nanticoke village in its suburbs. The Shawnee sachem Packsinosa succeeded Kakowatcheky as village chief after the latter removed his band to Logstown in 1743 or 1744. The town remained occupied by the Shawnee and some Delaware expatriates for some time thereafter. After Shamokin's expiration in early 1756, for a short time Wyomink became the most important Indian town in the Susquehanna Valley. Packsinosa apparently managed to revitalize Wyomink about 1748, but by late 1756 he and his people had moved up the river to Otsiningo, and few if any Shawnee remained along the North Branch of the river after 1758.⁴³

⁴²Colonel John Stanwix to Governor Denny, 24 October 1757, in PA, 1st Series, 3:301. The Iroquoian term for Wyomink is Skehandowana, "Great Flats." Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:187; Donehoo, Indian Villages, 259.

⁴³Conrad Weiser's Report of his Journey to Onondaga, June-August 1743, in PCR, 4:667; Conrad Weiser to the Governor, 12 May 1754, in ibid., 6:35; Information Given to Conrad Weiser by John Shikellamy, 26 February 1756, in ibid., 7:52; Council With the Indians at Philadelphia, 26 April 1756, in ibid., 7:108; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 5 June 1758, in ibid., 8:126; Indian Deed for Land between the Delaware and Susquehanna, 1749, in PA, 1st Series, 2:33-37; Richard Peters

Kakowatcheky (Cachawatkecha, or Cohevwickick) was the head sachem at the Pechoquelin towns on both sides of the Delaware River above the Delaware Water Gap from sometime before 1709 to 1728. Under pressure from colonials and the Iroquois, he removed with his village to Wyomink in 1728. An astute observer of people, he was one of the wisest and most revered of the sachems of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance, and was more aware of the consequences of Euroamerican-Indian contact than almost anyone else at the time.⁴⁴ In 1743, he and his band removed to Logstown on the Ohio, where he was extremely influential in the counsels of the Ohio Indians.⁴⁵ Old and bed-ridden by 1752, he disappears from colonial records in 1755.⁴⁶

to John Hughes, 10 October 1757, in *ibid.*, 3:288; Journal of Sir William Johnson's Proceedings with the Indians, 14 April 1757, in *NYCD*, 7:246; Conference with the Indians at Easton, 6-7 August 1757, in *ibid.*, 316-320; Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 1:187; Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians*, 88-91. See "Martin Mack's Journey from Otstonwakin to Wyoming, October 1742," in Zinzendorf's *Memorials*, 100-111, for a good description of what the area was like in the 1740's.

The town of Wyomink is located on the Survey map of the Manor of Sunbury, in *PA*, 3rd Series, 4: no. 67. The town site has been partially excavated, and is located just south of Bead Street (whose name is derived from the large number of trade beads found at the site) in present-day Plymouth, Pennsylvania. Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians*, 91.

⁴⁴Conrad Weiser to Peter Brunnholtz, 16 February 1747, as quoted in Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 143-144.

⁴⁵Peters to the Proprietaries, 26 Oct 1749, as quoted in *ibid.*, 267.

⁴⁶Council with the Indians at Philadelphia, 14 April 1755, in *PCR*, 6:360; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 24 April 1756, in *ibid.*, 7:104; Council with the Indians at Philadelphia, 3 June 1756, in *ibid.*, 139; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 10 July 1756, in *ibid.*, 187; Council with the Indians at Philadelphia, 30 August 1757, in *ibid.*, 726; Indian Deed for Lands between the Delaware and Susquehanna,

There were a few other towns of note further up the North branch of the Susquehanna River. The town of Tioga⁴⁷ was a mixed settlement composed predominantly of Munsees (Minisinks), and also of Iroquois (especially Tuscaroras), Saponis, Tutelos, Nanticokes, Mahicans, and other Indian refugees. Tioga stood on the site of present-day Athens, Pennsylvania, on the right bank of the river at the confluence of the Chemung River and the Susquehanna. An anti-British pan-Indian center, it became prominent after the expulsion of the Forks Delaware band from their ancestral homelands in 1737, followed by an even larger batch of refugees after the signing of the 1744 Lancaster Treaty. Packsinosa and the Eastern Delaware sachem Teedyuskung among others relocated to the village or its environs soon after imperial-instigated hostilities had

1749, in PA, 1st Series, 2:33-37; Examination of the Moravians Christian Seidel and David Zeisberger, 2 November 1755, in ibid., 459; Examination of H. Fry & c -- Affairs at Wyoming, 15 November 1755, in ibid., 491-493; Edward Shippen to Governor Morris, 18 April 1756, in ibid., 634; General Moncton's Conference with the Indians near Pittsburgh, 12 August 1760, in ibid., 3:745; Peter Wraxall, Some Thoughts on the British Indian Interest in North America, 4 September 1755, in NYCD, 7:15-30; John Heckewelder, An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1876), as quoted in Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:154-155.

⁴⁷It was also known as Tiahogo, Tioga Point, Tyoga, Teagon, Diaogo, or Deahoga in the colonial records. Often misnamed "The Gate" because it stood as a stronghold at the southern "gateway" to the Iroquois homeland, the term "Tioga" is apparently a corruption of the common Iroquoian term for "where the river forks." Donehoo, Indian Villages, 226.

started in 1754-55.⁴⁸

The Indian town of Owego was located at the present-day site of Owego, New York, just north of the Pennsylvania line about two miles from the Susquehanna on Owego Creek.⁴⁹ It was a mixed settlement of Iroquois, Delaware, and Shawnee under the direction of the Cayugas Iroquois. During the frozen early spring of 1737, some brave women from this village in a canoe ferried Shikellamy and his party, traveling on an important diplomatic mission to Onondaga, across the dangerously flooding Owego Creek.⁵⁰ The botanist John Bartram also reported Cayuga kindness in his journal of a 1743 visit to the area.⁵¹

⁴⁸Report of Scaroyady and Andrew Montour to the Provincial Council, 27 March 1756, in PCR, 7:67-68; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 8 April 1756, in *ibid.*, 74; Governor Morris to Sir William Johnson, 24 April 1756, in *ibid.*, 98; Council with the Indians at Philadelphia, 3 June 1756, in *ibid.*, 137; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 20 July 1756, in *ibid.*, 199; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 6 September 1756, in *ibid.*, 242; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 5 June 1758, in *ibid.*, 8:126; Francis Jennings, ed., The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1985), 227; Donehoo, Indian Villages, 227.

⁴⁹"Owego" is probably a corruption of "Ahwaga" or "Aowegha," Iroquoian terms for "where the valley widens." Donehoo, Indian Villages, 143.

⁵⁰Conrad Weiser, Narrative of a Journey From Tulpehocken, Pennsylvania, to Onondaga, in 1737, in Henry R. Schoolcraft, History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, trans. Heister H. Muhlenberg, 6 vols. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, and Company, 1851), 4:333-334.

⁵¹John Bartram, Observations, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 168. A Tioga Indian woman gave Bartram and his party, which included Shikellamy and one of his sons, Pennsylvania's Indian interpreter Conrad Weiser, and mapmaker Lewis Evans a sumptuous dinner consisting of a bowl of huckleberries, a large kettle of hominy grits boiled in venison broth, and a large piece of venison. She had apparently been preparing

Further upriver, at the confluence of Chenango River and the Susquehanna (near present-day Binghamton, New York), stood the village of Otsiningo.⁵² Less than five days' travel from the Iroquois capital of Onondaga, this village was home to a mixed group of Onondagas, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Conoys, Mahicans, Shawnees, and Nanticokes. The Iroquois and their subject peoples had occupied the site for many years before the arrival of Nanticoke and Conoy immigrants about 1753-55. By 1758, it was the chief village of the Nanticokes, and it also became an important diplomatic conference center from 1756-1758.⁵³

this feast for her children and herself before the hungry travellers had unexpectedly arrived. Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 154-156.

⁵²It was also known in colonial records as Chenango, Shenango, Otseningo, Atsaningo, Otsineke, Otsineange, and Otsininky. Otsiningo is a corruption of Ochenango, "large bull thistles." Jennings, History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy, 222; Donehoo, Indian Villages, 200.

⁵³Report of Scaroyady and Andrew Montour to the Provincial Council, 27 March 1756, in PCR, 7:66; Governor Morris to Sir William Johnson, 24 April 1756, in *ibid.*, 100; Conference with the Indians at Philadelphia, 26 April 1756, in *ibid.*, 107; Conference with the Indians at Philadelphia, 3 June 1756, in *ibid.*, 139; Minutes of the 1756 Easton Conference with the Indians, in *ibid.*, 223; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 29 December 1756, in *ibid.*, 382; Sir William Johnson to George Croghan, 16 February 1757, in *ibid.*, 435; Speech of the Indian Chiefs at Lancaster to George Croghan, 26 April 1757, in *ibid.*, 486; Minutes of the 1757 Lancaster Conference, in *ibid.*, 538; Sir William Johnson to Edward Atkin, 21 June 1757, in *ibid.*, 628; Iroquois Chiefs of Otsiningo to the Governor, 5 October 1757, in *ibid.*, 763; Sir William Johnson's Speech to the Ohio Delawares, 21 July 1758, in *ibid.*, 8:154; Council with the Indians at Philadelphia, 11 July 1760, in *ibid.*, 484; Council with the Nanticokes at Philadelphia, 17 September 1763, in *ibid.*, 9:46; Minutes of a Conference with the Indians at Fort Augusta, 19 August 1769, in *ibid.*, 611; Report of Charles Thomson and Christian Frederick Post on their Journey in 1758, in PA, 1st Series, 3:421; Jennings, *ibid.*; Donehoo, Indian Villages, 200.

The West Branch of the Susquehanna River⁵⁴ was also heavily populated with Indian villages during the early eighteenth century, but as the inhabitants of the area were continually in motion, only a few village centers were inhabited long enough to become prominent in the colonial records. Paddling upriver from Shamokin, the canoe-borne traveler would soon find himself in the environs of the Shawnee village of Chillisquaue.⁵⁵ Erected sometime prior to 1728, this small village was located on the north bank of Chillisquaue Creek, itself just north of present-day Northumberland, Pennsylvania. It was an idyllic setting, with good fishing on the Susquehanna and a fine meadow of grass some distance away from the riverbank. The village, surrounded by peach trees, plums, and grape arbors, was located in a rich cornfield with excellent soil. The Shawnee chief Neucheconneh and three sachems were in charge there until he and most of his people removed to the Ohio country in the summer of 1728.⁵⁶ Shawnee immigrants from

⁵⁴The West branch and its surrounding country (sometimes including the town of Shamokin) were commonly called Otzinachson by the local Indians. Conrad Weiser to the Governor, 12 May 1754, in PCR, 6:35.

⁵⁵This was also known as Shallyschohking, Otzenachse, and Chenastry, the root word being "Chillicothe," a Shawnee place name with no specific meaning. Conrad Weiser wrote it as "Zilly Squachne" on his first visit in 1737. It was sometimes called "Shawnee Creek" by Euroamerican travelers. Conrad Weiser, Journal (1737), in Schoolcraft, History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes, 4:325; Augustus Spangenberg, Journal (1745), as quoted in Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:197.

⁵⁶John Bartram, Observations (1743), as quoted in Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:197. The other Shawnee sachems were Pawquawsie, Uppockeaty, and Queequeptoo. These leaders and

Wyomink later re-occupied the site just prior to the French and Indian War.⁵⁷ There were apparently also West Branch Shawnee settlements at Conaserage, present-day Muncy, Pennsylvania, when Weiser visited it in 1755.⁵⁸

The location of Shikellamy's Town, the original residence of the Oneida sachem and his family on the Susquehanna, was known to be just a few miles upriver from Chillisquaque. Its most probable location was on the east side of the river just south of present-day Milton,

their people built Neucheconneh's Town, or "Chartier's Old Town," about 1735 just south of the Delaware town of Kittanning on the Allegheny River near present-day Tarentum, Pennsylvania. Conrad Weiser's Journal of the 1748 Logstown Conference, in PCR, 5:349; Neucheconneh and Other Shawnee Chiefs at Allegheny to the Governor of Pennsylvania, 7 June 1732, in PA, 1st Series, 1:327-330; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:189-190, 352; Donehoo, Indian Villages, 23. Apparently the village site wasn't completely abandoned in 1728, as one old Shawnee Indian named Jenoniswani was still there to ferry Shikellamy, Weiser, and the rest of their party across the creek in the spring of 1737. Conrad Weiser, Journal (1737), in Schoolcraft, History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes, 4:325.

⁵⁷Conrad Weiser's Negotiations with the Six Nations, April 1737, in Alden T. Vaughan, ed., Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789, 11 vols., hereafter cited as EAIDTL (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, Inc., 1984), 1:445-461; Conrad Weiser, Journal (1737), in Schoolcraft, History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes, 4:324-341; Bartram, Observations, 30-49; Augustus Spangenberg, Journal, as quoted in Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:191. Although artifacts from the village are still found in the area, the site, located on the north side of Chillisquaque Creek, was literally torn to pieces by builders of the Pennsylvania Canal in the early nineteenth century. Malcolm B. Brown, "Field Notes," 6 October 1995; Kent, Susquehanna's Indians, 89-90; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 187, 189-191, 197-198.

⁵⁸Kent, Susquehanna's Indians, 89-90.

Pennsylvania.⁵⁹ Some scholars disagree with this, placing Shikellamy's residence just across the river from Milton, three-quarters of a mile south of the present-day village of West Milton.⁶⁰ However, Taylor's 1727 map of the area places Indian towns on both sides of the Susquehanna at this point. It is very plausible that the Iroquois sachem would have had resting places on both sides of the river so that travelers could approach such important diplomatic sites and not be delayed if the river were flooding or full of ice.⁶¹

Otstonwakin⁶² was a small Iroquois and Delaware settlement located on the north bank of Loyalsock Creek, which drains into the west branch of the Susquehanna River just southwest of present-day Montoursville, Pennsylvania. Various pre-contact peoples periodically occupied the village site beginning about B.C. 1500. In the post-contact era, it was occupied by the Shenk's Ferry People from A.D. 1300 to 1575, Susquehannocks from 1575 to 1675, and the

⁵⁹Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:196; Charles Fisher Snyder, The Great Shamokin Path (Sunbury, PA: Northumberland County Historical Society, 1995), 22-23.

⁶⁰J.F. Meginnis, Otzinachson: A History of the West Branch Valley of the Susquehanna (Williamsport, PA: Gazette and Bulletin Publishing House, 1889), 89; Wallace, Indian Paths of Pennsylvania, 63.

⁶¹Taylor's Map is in Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:196 ff.; Snyder, Great Shamokin Path, 23.

⁶²Also known as Otstuago, Ostonwakin, or Otstuacky in the colonial records, the term was derived from the Iroquoian "Ostenra," "a rock." According to Conrad Weiser, the site was called Otstonwakin because of the high rocky cliff that lies on the opposite side of the river. Conrad Weiser, Journal (1737), in Schoolcraft, History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes, 4:326; Donehoo, Indian Villages, 140.

Iroquois and other peoples of the Alliance from about 1728 to 1756.⁶³ The Iroquois interpreter/diplomat Madam Montour and her husband, the Oneida war leader and diplomat Carondowanna, guided the village in the early eighteenth century. Like Shikellamy, they apparently had been sent to the west branch valley sometime prior to 1728 to watch over Iroquois affairs in the area.⁶⁴ Their son Andrew Montour, later a famous trader, diplomat, and war leader in his own right, apparently grew up at or near Otstonwakin.

⁶³Kent, Susquehanna's Indians, 18-19, 309; Donehoo, Indian Villages, 140; Harry Baker Belig, "Madame Montour's Indian Village," Now and Then: The Quarterly Magazine of the Muncy Historical Society 17, no. 9 (October 1973): 393-394; James P. Bressler, Prehistoric Man on Canfield Island (Williamsport, PA: The Lycoming County Historical Society, 1989), viii. The archeologist in charge of the Otstonwakin excavation, Dr. Jim Bressler, was kind enough to give the author a tour of the site on 4 October 1995. Concentrating on the Shenk's Ferry culture, which flourished at about 1500 A.D., Dr. Bressler and his assistants from the Lycoming Country Historical Society have also uncovered at least one hearth or firepit which they carbon-dated to 1500 B.C. The McFate Culture people, who were probably proto-Susquehannocks, overran and displaced the Shenk's Ferry People about 1575. The village at that juncture was stockaded with a well-designed moat surrounding it, but was nonetheless burned to the ground by its conquerors, as could be seen by the burnt charcoal remnants of the palisade footings. A sister village of about the same size was located about a mile away to the east, but further excavations of that site have unfortunately become impossible due to its current location under the roadway of the "Williamsport Beltway," Interstate 180. Madam Montour's village, constructed during the time of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance, was not stockaded, but snaked along both sides of bull-run creek just north of the much larger Loyalsock Creek. Much of her village was displaced by the builders of the Pennsylvania Canal in the Antebellum Era, although Dr. Bressler remarked that enough of the site remained to still make an accurate stratigraphic and chronological site survey feasible. Malcolm B. Brown, "Field Notes," 4 October 1995.

⁶⁴The village was sometimes called "French Town" by the Pennsylvania Traders, an obvious reference to the French-speaking Madam Montour. Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:200.

Zeisberger and Mack found the village deserted in 1748, apparently the beginning of a "starving time" which, coupled with a smallpox epidemic, made life miserable for the Indians living in the area. The British defeat at Great Meadows in 1754 coupled with a heavy frost in May 1755 which killed the Indians' corn forced another abandonment of the often-reoccupied village. Some of the expatriate Iroquois and Shawnee from the Ohio Valley returned to Otstonwakin as a place of refuge in 1755, but again abandoned the site in 1756 when the British built Fort Augusta at Shamokin.⁶⁵

Isabelle Montour ("Madam Montour") was an Iroquois female sachem, village headwoman, interpreter, and pro-British diplomat. Born into the pro-British Franco-Indian Montour family sometime in the 1680s, the Seneca captured her about age ten, and adopted and raised her. After she became of age, she married Carondowanna, or Robert Hunter, an Oneida war leader, and apparently spent some time with him among the Miamis in the Ohio Valley. Her influence over the councils of the Five Nations became very great due to her diplomatic efforts against the French on behalf of the pro-New York Iroquois faction. Fluent in French, English, Iroquoian, and Algonkian languages, she interpreted for New York and the Iroquois Great Council at the 1711 Albany Conference. While attending the 1712 Onondaga Conference, she was instrumental in helping the New York authorities

⁶⁵Conrad Weiser to Governor Morris, 12 June 1755, in PCR, 6:443; Colonel Burd's Journal at Fort Augusta, 1756-1757, in PA, 2nd Series, 2:742-820; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:198, 223, 377; Donehoo, Indian Villages, 97, 139-140.

dissuade the Great Council from declaring war against the colony of North Carolina, then at war with the Tuscaroras. The French sent her sister to her in 1719 to try to lure her away from the British, but the New York authorities paid her "a man's pay" to remain in their service. Isabelle, her husband, and children settled sometime prior to 1728 at Otstonwakin. They had several children, at least two daughters, Mary, and "French Margaret," and at least two sons, Louis ("Tan-Weson") and Andrew (Henry, or "Sattelihu"). Isabelle was the primary interpreter at the June 1727 Philadelphia Treaty Conference between the Five Nations and Pennsylvania.⁶⁶ Whenever she visited Philadelphia she stayed at the homes of the local gentry,

⁶⁶Conference Between Governor Hunter and the Indians, 9 October 1711, in NYCD, 5:278-279; Report of Trader James LeTort to the Provincial Council, 18 April 1728, in PCR 3:295; Presents Delivered to the Indians Following the 1728 Philadelphia Conference, 11 October 1728, in ibid., 337; Philadelphia Treaty Conference with the Iroquois, 1727, in ibid., 271-276; Sipe, Indian Chiefs, 311, Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:194, 198-206. Isabelle Montour's husband Carondowanna was also present as a minor delegate. Such a diplomatic overshadowment of an important leader was to be expected when members of the high-ranking Iroquois Great Council were present as negotiators. The records also indicate that Madam Montour clearly outranked her husband in a diplomatic sense because her "presents" from the provincial government were of a substantially greater value than his. Carondowanna, however, was a good man to have nearby as a resource for information during such a conference, as he was no stranger to diplomatic affairs on the Susquehanna, having replaced the Shawnee village chief Opassa as the Iroquois overseer of Shawnee affairs at Pequehan in 1714. There is no record of Carondawanna's wife and family being present in the Susquehanna Valley until 1728, although it is certainly possible that they followed him there soon after his appointment. Philadelphia Conference with the Conestoga Indians, 1 October 1714, in PCR, 2:574; Minutes of the 1727 Philadelphia Conference with the Iroquois, in ibid., 3:274; Jennings, Ambiguous Iroquois Empire, 265.

making a sensation when she attended their posh parties dressed in the ceremonial clothing of an important Iroquois clan matron.⁶⁷ In 1729 her husband was killed in battle while attacking the Catawbas. Isabelle continued alone for many years thereafter as the leader of her village. She remained active in her old age, traveling extensively and continuing to be very influential with the New York, Pennsylvania, and Iroquois governments, in addition to her duties as the sachem of her village.⁶⁸ Count Zinzendorf visited Madam Montour in 1742, and "displeased" her when he refused to baptize two small children of her village.⁶⁹ She must not have remained upset for long, however, as she allowed her village to become a rendezvous-point and base of operations for Moravian missionaries in the northern Susquehanna Valley. With two of her daughters, she attended

⁶⁷Witham Marshe, Journal (1744), as quoted in Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:200-202. Marshe stated that Isabelle Montour was feted by the Philadelphia ladies because having been born in the French settlements and being fluent in that cultured language, she was thought of as a "white woman." This is rather ironic in that Isabelle's father was half French and half Sokakis ("Sokoquis," or Western Abenaki) Indian, and her mother a full-blooded Indian from the same nation. Hanna, *ibid.*, 199-200; Handbook, 15:159.

⁶⁸This included risking her life to feed the semi-starving Conrad Weiser and his servant when he arrived at her village in 1737. Conrad Weiser, Journal (1737), in Schoolcraft, History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes, 4:326-327.

⁶⁹The Moravians did not believe in baptizing new members until they were adults, in direct contrast to the practices of the Jesuits, of which Madam Montour was apparently familiar. It is possible that the children were members of Madam Montour's family or clan, as her actions were characteristic of what an Iroquois clan matron would do for such young kinsmen. Zinzendorf, Memorials, 95-98; Martin Mack, Journal (1742), in Zinzendorf's Memorials, 100.

the 1744 Lancaster Conference. While traveling from the Ohio Valley to Philadelphia in 1745, she was met on the island at Shamokin by the Moravian missionaries David Zeisberger, Martin Mack, and Augustus Spangenberg. She became blind sometime between 1745 and 1752, but was still vigorous enough to ride a horse from Logstown to Venango in 1752 in two days, a distance of about sixty miles. Isabelle Montour died in late 1752 or early 1753, one of the most influential and accomplished of the Iroquois female sachems.⁷⁰

There were few Indian settlements upriver from Otstonwakin, the most notable being at the Big Island⁷¹ just downriver from present-day Lock Haven, Pennsylvania. This three hundred acre island was a favored gathering place for the Indians long indigenous to the area. It was a principal resting place and temporary settlement area for the westward-moving Shawnee and Lenape from the 1720's on. It also served as a staging area for eastern-bound war parties during the French and Indian War, but was deserted when Christian Post came through in 1758.⁷² There were no

⁷⁰The Examination of Andrew Montour and John Patten, Taken Before the Governor, 12 March 1754, in PCR, 5:762; Conference between the Indians and Sir William Johnson, 4 March 1768, in ibid., 9:499-500; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:198-202; Donehoo, Indian Villages, 139-140; Sipe, Indian Chiefs, 311.

⁷¹This is called "Mechekmenatey," or the Iroquoian "Cawichnowane," meaning "Great Island." Donehoo, Indian Villages, 12.

⁷²Christian Frederick Post, Journal (1758), in Early Western Travels, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, OH: Clark, 1904), 1:189; Speech of the Shawnee Chiefs to the Pennsylvania Provincial Council, 28 July 1739, in PCR, 4:342;

permanent settlements beyond the Big Island along the Susquehanna's drainage area, but only the vast monoliths of the Alleghenies whose imposing forests, an impenetrable barrier to the colonial mind, would in actuality eventually draw many Indians westward.

In the spring of 1701, William Penn moved quickly to cement a relationship with the "Indians Inhabiting upon and about the River Susquehannah," the Conestoga Susquehannocks, Potomac and Conestoga Shawnee, and the Iroquois. Their initial meeting was at a conference held at Philadelphia in April.⁷³ Hoping for gifts as well as a treaty (Penn did not disappoint them), the sachems traveled all the way to Philadelphia to deliberate with the unusually honest Euro-colonial, William Penn. In this, his first treaty with the Susquehanna peoples, Penn promised peace, friendship, good advice and counsel, and traders licensed by his government. In return, he asked for a virtual monopoly on the fur trade of the southern Susquehanna Valley, to be headquartered at the Susquehannock-Seneca village of Conestoga. Those attending included the Susquehannock sachem Connodaghtoh, headman at Conestoga, the Shawnee sachems Opessa and Weewhinjough, and the recently-arrived Iroquois, including the Onondaga sachem Ahoakassongh, who had ties to the Great Council. They were primarily interested in forming economic

Minutes of the Provincial Council, 7 May 1754, in *ibid.*, 6:37; Kent, Susquehanna's Indians, 89-90; Donehoo, Indian Villages, 12-13.

⁷³Philadelphia Treaty between William Penn and the Conestoga Indians, 23 April 1701, in PCR, 2:14-17.

alliances outside of the tight controls of New York's economic orbit.⁷⁴ There was a great deal of diplomatic activity centering at Conestoga during the next few years involving the Pennsylvania government, the Conestogas, and expatriate groups moving northward into the valley and under Iroquois protection. These groups included the Nanticokes, Tuscaroras, and Potomac Shawnees ("Ganawese"). Conestoga thus served as a diplomatic focal point and "Middle Ground" for the powerful Iroquois, who could act through intermediaries while they were apparently attempting to decide if the Pennsylvania government could be trusted.⁷⁵

⁷⁴Ibid.; Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Origins of Iroquois Neutrality: The Grand Settlement of 1701," Pennsylvania History 24 (1957): 223-225. In a good-humored Iroquoian-English pun, the Iroquois called William Penn "Brother Onas," meaning a "quill, feather, or pen." Canasatego's Speech at the 1742 Philadelphia Conference, 7 July 1742, in PCR, 4:570; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 41.

⁷⁵Philadelphia Conference with the Conestogas and Shawnee, 6 June 1706, in PCR, 2:244-248; Account of Governor John Evans' Journey to the Susquehanna River and Conferences with the Indians there in June and July 1707, 22 July 1707, in ibid., 386-390; A Message from the Susquehannock Matron Conguegos to Governor Evans Concerning French Traders on the Susquehanna River, 24-25 February 1707, in ibid., 403-405; Philadelphia Conference with the Chiefs of the Indians Living on the Susquehanna, 25-29 July 1709, in ibid., 469-475; Report of the Conference with the Tuscarora Indians at Conestoga, 8 June 1710, in ibid., 510-513; Report of Governor Gookin's Journey to Conestoga and the Conference with the Indians there, 18 June 1711, in ibid., 532-535; White, Middle Ground, x. Seneca sachems were resident at Conestoga as early as July 1707, apparently to keep an eye on diplomatic activities and the arrival of peoples from the south. Account of Governor John Evans' Journey to the Susquehanna River and Conferences with the Indians there in June and July 1707, 22 July 1707, in PCR, 2:386-387.

Major problems with colonial traders⁷⁶ in the lower Susquehanna Valley surfaced at a conference held in Philadelphia on 23 and 24 July 1712. A delegation of Conestoga sachems complained vehemently to Pennsylvania's Provincial Council about the unfair practices of many colonial traders. The Conestoga delegation included Tagodraney or "Civility," the village's up-and-coming Susquehannock "war captain," the "old speaker" Tanyahtickahungh, two brothers named Knawonhunt and Soachkoat, and some other delegates who were not named. As was characteristic for European scribes of the time, one of those unrecorded "others" was the important Susquehannock female sachem Conguegos. She was not listed in the initial list of Indian delegates by the Pennsylvania government scribes because of her gender, but her testimony was

⁷⁶Many of these traders were former French *voyagers* or *coureurs du bois* who had come to Pennsylvania and settled among the Conestogas when French trade regulations had become intolerable. In that France and England were at war (the War of the Spanish Succession, or "Queen Anne's War") at this time, they and their activities were particularly worrisome to the Pennsylvania government. Some of the more honest traders, such as Martin Chartier, were tolerated by the Indians, but others, usually unlicensed by the Pennsylvania government, were the subjects of a stream of continual complaints from the Indians. On a diplomatic journey to Conestoga and the Shawnee towns of the Lower Susquehanna Valley, Pennsylvania's Lieutenant-Governor John Evans, with a small group of retainers (including Martin Chartier) and a few local Indians, captured a renegade French trader named Nicole Godin on 30 June 1707 in a chase through the woods near the Shawnee village of Paxtang. Account of Governor John Evans' Journey to the Susquehanna River and Conferences with the Indians There in June and July 1707, in PCR, 2:389-390; A Message from the Susquehannock Matron Conguegos to Governor Evans Concerning French Traders on the Susquehanna River, 24-25 February 1707, in *ibid.*, 403-404; Jennings, "The Indian Trade of the Susquehanna Valley," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 110 (1966): 409-411.

recorded anyway because of the importance of her complaints. After some diplomatic niceties, such as the ceremonial gift of furs to the Provincial Council, the sachems began the meeting with the usual complaints about the exorbitant prices the traders had been charging for goods.⁷⁷

Civility then began to explain the real reason the Indians had come to Philadelphia. Traders and their families had been causing immense economic damage by allowing their horses, cattle, and pigs to graze in the Indians' cornfields. In particular, Madam Anne Le Tort, the mother of the French trader James Le Tort, had been causing all sorts of trouble to the Indians who had allowed her son to build a house for her on their land. Expecting to be treated respectfully, Civility and other Conestogas had attempted "a friendly visit to the old French woman M. L. Torts' house," when "without any provocation she turned them out of doors." The Indians, unaccustomed to what to them was an unbelievable affront, asked her rather heatedly why she had done this. Her imperious reply was that the house and land were her own, purchased from the proprietor, William Penn. This was false considering that the Iroquois did not allow the land around the village to be alienated until 1736. The village itself was allowed to remain as the

⁷⁷Conference with the Conestoga Sachems and Congueoes at Philadelphia, 23-24 July 1712, in PCR, 2:553-554. According to the journal of a Quaker who had visited Conestoga five years before, Conguegos was held in such high esteem by the Conestogas that "they had not done anything for many years without the counsel of an ancient, grave, woman, who, I observed spoke much in their council." Thomas Chalkley, Journal (1706), as quoted in Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:78.

protected "Conestoga Manor" until the murderous "Paxton Boys" killed all its inhabitants in 1763.⁷⁸

Conguegos then continued the complaint by accusing Madam Le Tort of deliberately and habitually turning her hogs loose in Conguegos' corn, twice while the latter was watching. Such a deliberate affront to an important Susquehannock clan matron, the owner of her own fields and in virtual charge of the cornfields for the village, was a very serious matter, as Iroquoians such as the Conestogas relied heavily on a adequate corn harvest to carry them through the winter. The Provincial Council immediately ordered the traders and their dependents who had caused all the trouble to leave the environs of the village and to make restitution for all crop damage done by their animals before they left. The Pennsylvania Provincial Council did not often follow up on complaints entered by the Indians, but the circumstances were such that Madam Le Tort was turned out of her house, one of the few times in the colonial era that the words of an Indian woman produced major results in governmental circles.⁷⁹

⁷⁸Conference with the Conestoga Sachems and Conguegos at Philadelphia, 23-24 July 1712, in PCR 2:554; Minutes of the 1736 Philadelphia Conference with the Iroquois, in ibid., 4:79-95; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:166-167; Kent, Susquehanna's Indians, 381, 386.

⁷⁹Conference with the Conestoga Sachems and Conguegos at Philadelphia, 23-24 July 1712, in PCR, 2:554-555; Anthony F.C. Wallace, The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970; reprint. New York: Vintage Books, 1972), 23-24; Handbook, 15:300. Conguegos died in 1714, and in 1718 the land about the village was incorporated in a protected area for the Indians called "Conestoga Manor" by Pennsylvania's government. In 1719, with the Conestogas no longer being in

In the midst of the furor surrounding the traders at Conestoga, Allumapees and twelve other Delaware sachems made a rather mysterious request to meet with Pennsylvania's new Lieutenant Governor Charles Gookin and his council. They met in May 1712 at a farmer's house at Whitemarsh, a location roughly equidistant from the Delaware towns on the lower Susquehanna and Philadelphia. The Lenape sachems said that "many years ago being made tributaries to the Mingoes of the 5 Nations," they were in the process of traveling to Onondaga to give tribute to the Iroquois in the form of a calumet pipe and thirty-two wampum belts.⁸⁰ Two of these thirty-two belts had been given to them, apparently without explanation, by William Penn and Governor Evans some years

a position to effectively complain, Provincial Secretary James Logan ordered a tract of land surveyed north of Conestoga Manor on the Susquehanna for the apparently landless Madam Anne Le Tort. Philadelphia Conference with the Conestoga Indians, 1 October 1714, in PCR, 2:574; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:167; Wallace, Indians in Pennsylvania, 134.

⁸⁰Quotation from the White Marsh Conference with the Delaware Indians, 19 May 1712, in PCR, 2:546. Although not terribly important to colonial Euroamericans (who tended to prefer precious metals), wampum belts were a real treasure to the Indians. They were thought to hold certain mystical qualities and also required an enormous expenditure of time and labor for the women who constructed them, and were thus a common medium of exchange. Treaty belts were usually six feet long, and contained over seven thousand beads in intricately-arranged patterns which would portray an event or message of great diplomatic import. The thirty-two belts carried by the Lenape sachems to Onondaga, twenty-four of which were sent by their women, thus gave a strong indication of how subservient they considered themselves to be to the Iroquois. The ceremonial pipe, also of high workmanship and great value (which was later smoked by all who were present), came "...with a stone head, a wooden or cane shaft & feathers fixt [sic] to it like wings, with other ornaments." White Marsh Conference with the Delaware Indians, 19 May 1712, in PCR 2:546-548; Jacobs, Wilderness Politics and Indian Gifts, 19-21, 67-68.

before. In that the Lenape sachems were going to present them to the Iroquois Great Council as a token of the friendship they had with William Penn and his representatives, they wanted to know "what was intended by them."⁸¹ Allumapees and his colleagues were thus quite magnanimously offering to ask the Iroquois, on Pennsylvania's behalf, if the latter could also become part of the Covenant Chain, and rest with them under the Iroquois Great Tree of Peace. There was a catch, however; ceremonial generosity required that Pennsylvania provide a much more expensive gift than the Delawares then had (or were willing to give) for presentation to the Great Council. Gookin wasted little time in accepting this offer, so uncharacteristic of eighteenth-century European governments, and quickly arranged to provide the Delaware sachems with "a fine Laced Stroudwater matchcoat and a fine white shirt" for each member of the Great Council. In October 1712, the Delaware sachems, lately returned from their successful expedition to Onondaga, met with the governor in Philadelphia. They presented him with substantial presents from each of the Five Nations and an offer for a "free and open trade with us ... [as] they have been hitherto very much abused by those [traders] of Albany."⁸² Thus due to the kindness of the Susquehanna Delawares, Pennsylvania was well on the way to enhanced Susquehanna trade, and becoming

⁸¹White Marsh Conference with the Delaware Indians, 19 May 1712, in PCR, 2:548.

⁸²Ibid., 558.

a member of the Iroquois-dominated Covenant Chain.⁸³

Although the Euro-colonial influx into the Susquehanna Valley is much better documented, Native American immigrants were also moving into the area during the early eighteenth century. They included Algonquian-speaking Nanticokes and their Conoy (Piscataway) relatives, formerly of Maryland's eastern shore, Mahigans and Mohegans from New England, Siouan-speaking Tutelos and their relatives, the Saponi, from south-central Virginia, possibly some Miami war parties, fragmented Lenape and Shawnee bands, and even some Iroquois expatriates.⁸⁴

The most important and largest of these groups were the Iroquoian-speaking Tuscaroras, who began arriving in the lower Susquehanna Valley about 1713. Indigenous residents of the western part of North Carolina's coastal plain, Tuscarora contacts with Europeans did not begin until the 1650s. Although archeological evidence indicates a pre-Contact population of approximately twenty-five thousand, by the time of the Grand Settlement in 1701, European diseases, slave raids, and disruptions due to the fur trade had decimated the population to the point that the Tuscarora people numbered only about five thousand individuals living in fifteen major villages. Like the Lenape, the Tuscaroras

⁸³Ibid., 546-549, 556-559.

⁸⁴Wallace, Indians in Pennsylvania, 108-117; Kent, Susquehanna's Indians, 104. Over fifty Indian towns are known to have existed during the eighteenth century in the Susquehanna Valley, but only about a dozen of these have been excavated. Kent, Susquehanna's Indians, 104-105.

were labeled for convenience sake as being one unified group by European traders, but local political matters and egalitarianism predominated in Tuscarora councils. Thus there was no real national consciousness, political cohesion, or "Tuscarora Confederacy" at the time. Although the Tuscaroras spoke an Iroquoian dialect, there was no real cultural cohesion or alliance with the New York Iroquois; linguistic evidence indicates that the two groups had been developing separately for over two thousand years. Heavily involved in the Euroamerican fur trade by the 1670s, the Tuscaroras nonetheless became embroiled in the wars the Iroquois (predominantly Senecas) and their tributaries the Susquehannocks had with other "Southern Indians," such as the Tutelos, Nottoways, and Catawbas.⁸⁵

Indiscriminate Iroquois raids, many of which originated at or were funneled through Conestoga, apparently took their toll. Tuscarora representatives appeared at the 1710 Conestoga Conference where they sued for peace with the Susquehannocks and the Iroquois and also elicited a friendship pact with Pennsylvania. Present at the conference, held in June 1710, were the Tuscarora sachems Iwaagenst, Terrutawanaren, and Teonnottein, the Susquehannock sachem Civility, Opessa of the Shawnee, at least four unnamed Seneca sachems, and the Pennsylvania colonial representatives John French and Henry Worley. The

⁸⁵Douglas W. Boyce, "As the Wind Scatters the Smoke," in Beyond the Covenant Chain, 151-153; Handbook 15:334-335; Douglas W. Boyce, "Did a Tuscarora Confederacy Exist?" Indian Historian 6, no. 3 (1973): 38-39.

Tuscaroras presented eight wampum belts, representing petitions for peace from the clan matrons, children, young men, old men, the entire nation, sachems, an entreaty to cease the murderous attacks and slaving, and a declaration of subservience and entreaty for peace. From this point on, the war between elements of the Iroquois Confederacy and the Tuscaroras began to decrease, although the Conestogas were still technically at war with their southern opponents the following year.⁸⁶

Meanwhile, the situation with the expansionist North Carolinians was getting out of control. The southern Tuscarora villagers, who realized few of the benefits the inhabitants of the northern villages did from the Virginia trade, bore the brunt of the Carolinian slave raids and the impositions, slanders, exploitation, mistreatment, and murders from Scots-Irish and other white backcountry homesteaders. The kidnapping and enslavement of their children especially infuriated the Tuscaroras, and their patience quickly came to an end. On 22 September 1711, warriors from the lower Tuscarora villages, in company with men from the Coree, Pamlico, Mattamuskeet, Bear River, and Machapunga nations, launched a series of coordinated attacks on white settlements in the North Carolina backcountry. A split now appeared in the nascent Tuscarora polity, as the

⁸⁶Report of the Conference with the Indians at Conestoga, 8 June 1710, in PCR, 2:511-513; Report of Governor Gookin's Journey to and Conference with the Indians at Conestoga, 18 June 1711, in *ibid.*, 533; Boyce, "As the Wind Scatters the Smoke," 153; Nono Miner, "How the Sixth Nation Moved to the North," American History Illustrated 3, no. 4 (1968): 35-36.

northern villages not only refused to support the war, but agreed to help the colonial governments subdue the southern group and its allies. Colonial militias and their Indian allies, however, failed to distinguish between the two factions. Raids led by South Carolinian John Barnwell in 1712 and James Moore in 1713 indiscriminately killed or enslaved over one thousand Tuscaroras of both factions.⁸⁷

Early in 1713 the Iroquois, cognizant of the need to replace or augment their own slowly dwindling population and continually in need of reliable warriors, invited the Tuscaroras to come north and find rest and shelter under the Iroquois Great Tree of Peace. An estimated fifteen hundred to two thousand Tuscaroras, mostly from the southern villages, availed themselves of this opportunity. They traveled northward up the Shenendoah valley to the vicinity of Fort Frederick (now Frederick, Maryland), across the Potomac River at Cherry Run, and northeastward into

⁸⁷Governor Hunter to the Lords of Trade, 23 June 1712, in NYCD, 5:343; Lords of Trade to the Earl of Dartmouth, 27 August 1712, in ibid., 346; Governor Hunter to Secretary Popple, 10 September 1713, in ibid., 371; William Byrd, The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712, ed. Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling (Richmond, VA: The Dietz Press, 1941), 25, 417-418, 422-425, 450-452, 488-489, 498-499, 501-502, 517-520, 571-572; Alexander Spotswood, The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1710-1722 (Richmond, VA: The Virginia Historical Society, 1882-1885; reprint. New York: AMS Press, 1973), 1:121-122; Boyce, "As the Wind Scatters the Smoke," 153-154; Handbook, 15:518; Miner, "How the Sixth Nation Moved to the North," 34, 37-38. Byrd notes that on 24 April 1712 some spirited Tuscarora prisoners, incarcerated a few days beforehand at the Williamsburg jail, were not content to sit around and mope but "had endeavored to burn the door of the prison and had nearly performed it." Byrd, Secret Diary, 518, 520.

Pennsylvania on what quickly became known as the "Tuscarora Path." From there they traveled through the gap of what soon became known as "Tuscarora Mountain" at Concord Narrows, across the Juniata River, and up the Susquehanna Valley to Shamokin at the conflux of the forks of the Susquehanna, where the weary travelers were offered shelter. Those continuing to Onondaga then traveled on the flats along the North Branch of the Susquehanna River to Tioga and thence to Iroquoia, where they settled initially in a single village between the Oneidas and Onondagas. The formal adoption and political integration of the Tuscarora people into the Iroquois League as the "Sixth Nation," with all the rights and responsibilities of a "younger brother," or a second-rank nation still regarded as an apprentice and thus not yet able to vote in council, took place in 1722 or 1723. Most of the northern villagers who remained in the Tuscarora homeland eventually also emigrated to Iroquoia in New York. However, a small village and reservation on the north side of the Roanoke River was kept open as a base of operations for Six Nations raids against the Catawba through the end of the eighteenth century. According to tradition, the last of the North Carolina Tuscaroras arrived in New York in 1803.⁸⁸

⁸⁸Conference with the Five Nations at Onondaga, 21 September 1713, in *NYCD*, 5:376; Conference with the Iroquois Sachems at Albany, 25 September 1714, in *ibid.*, 387; Conference with the Iroquois Sachems at Albany, 6 September 1722, in *ibid.*, 672; Conference with the Iroquois Sachems at Albany, 12 September 1722, in *ibid.*, 675; Governor Burnet to the Lords of Trade, 25 June 1723, in *ibid.*, 684; Plans to Ward off Indian Attacks, Council Minutes, 27 January 1713, in Henry

The Tuscaroras often established temporary villages along their migration route, staying briefly or sometimes for decades before arriving in Iroquoia. Sites along the Juniata and Susquehanna Rivers, the Tuscarora Valley, and near present-day Tamaqua, Pennsylvania have been mentioned as possible village sites. Well known villages such as Oquaga (present-day Colesville, New York), Tioga, and Shamokin were known to have substantial Tuscarora populations. Although many place names are attributable to this people, they settled permanently in only a few places, notably at sites called Ingaren and Tuscarora Town along the North Branch of the Susquehanna river in Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, villages which General Sullivan's men destroyed in 1779. There is at least a possibility that there were other Tuscarora towns in the Tuscarora Valley, such as Aughwick in Huntington County, Pennsylvania.⁸⁹ Emerging evidence indicates that some small Tuscarora bands decided to stay and sharecrop among the local white population at various points along the migration route long after all members of the nation were thought to have arrived

R. McIlwaine, ed., Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 5 vols., hereafter cited as EJCCV (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1925-1945), 3:363-365; Information on the Resettlement of the Tuscarora and Other Indians, 25 April 1715, in *ibid.*, 3:397-398; Militia to Keep the Tuscarora and Other Indians from Nottaway Town, 4 November 1735, in *ibid.*, 4:365; Wallace, Indian Paths of Pennsylvania, 72-74, 168-169; Miner, "How the Sixth Nation Moved to the North," 39.

⁸⁹Lancaster Conference with the Tuscarora Sachems, 8 July 1762, in PCR, 8:722; Boyce, "As the Wind Scatters the Smoke," 156; Kent, Susquehanna's Indians, 106; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:85-87.

in Iroquoia.⁹⁰

Pennsylvania did not formally enter the covenant chain with the Conestogas and their Iroquois overseers until the July 1721 Conestoga and Philadelphia Conferences.⁹¹ William Penn did not live to see it, as he had died in England in 1718, deep in debt and far away from his beloved colony and its peoples. Allumapees had moved with his band of Lenape from Paxtang upriver to Shamokin three years before the 1721 treaties, and by 1721 the Tuscarora were well on the way toward becoming the Sixth Nation of the Iroquois. Although a time of peace, it was also a time of severe mental turmoil for the subject peoples of the Iroquois in the Susquehanna Valley, who longed for security as well as freedom. Despite Allumapees' ties with the provincial government and the Iroquois, many of the Delaware in 1721 were already in the habit of traveling west to the

⁹⁰One group in particular reportedly lived just off the Tuscarora Path among the Pennsylvania-German farmers in rural Snyder County, Pennsylvania. They formed an enclave at Big White Top Mountain just northwest of present-day Freeburg, Pennsylvania, disappearing into the woods much like the ancestors of the Eastern Band of Cherokees did upon the forced removal of the Cherokee Nation in 1838. Apparently some of these Tuscaroras had the opportunity to marry into the dominant Euroamerican culture starting in the mid-nineteenth century, although it took several generations for their descendants to "disappear" into the white population and thus become fully acculturated and accepted. Documents in the possession of Barbara Brown McCusker, Bergenfield, New Jersey.

⁹¹Minutes of the Conference Held with the Indians at Conestoga, 6-8 July 1721, in PCR, 3:122-130; Minutes of the Philadelphia Conference Held with the Deputies of the 5 Nations from Conestoga, 20 July 1721, in ibid., 2:130-134.

Ohio in the fall to fish, returning the following spring.⁹² No-one could foresee it at the time, but it was these westward paths that would eventually lure the Delawares and their Shawnee cousins out of the Iroquois orbit and into an economically-instigated European imperial conflict in the Ohio Valley that would spell disaster for most of the peoples of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance.

The foregoing chapter has recounted the emplacement of the Grand Settlement of 1701, described early colonial Pennsylvania and its entrance into Susquehanna River Indian diplomacy, analyzed the Iroquois League and covenant chain diplomacy, introduced important Indian leaders, and gave the reader a brief tour of the Indian settlements along the Susquehanna River in the early eighteenth century. It then provided a brief narrative of the history of the region from 1701 to 1721, emphasizing early evidence of the Alliance's existence. Chapter IV describes the Indians' situation from the mid-1720s through the mid-1740s, including the Iroquois-Catawba Wars, the fur trade, and the difficulties created by colonial immigrants onto Indian lands. It also introduces colonial-Indian diplomat Conrad Weiser, discusses the important conferences and great land frauds of the era, and the causes and extent of the Indian westward movement into the upper Ohio Valley. Finally, it introduces the Moravians, chroniclers of the Indian peoples of the

⁹²Governor Keith to Colonel Spotswood, Governor of Virginia, 3 June 1721, in PCR, 3:116; Donehoo, Indian Villages, 187.

Alliance, and the commencement of a major schism in the Iroquois League in 1745.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE SUSQUEHANNA-OHIO INDIAN ALLIANCE

The era from the admission of Pennsylvania into the Iroquois Covenant Chain in 1721 to the inception of King George's War in 1744, although a relatively quiet time in the middle British colonies, was very important period in the development of the Susquehanna-Ohio Indian Alliance. The most important aspect of this era was the fact that many Lenapes and Shawnees, impatient with the Iroquois, dissatisfied with colonial traders, and disturbed by the incursions of white settlers, began to look westward for respite and greater collective and personal autonomy. Although it was a generally peaceful time for many of the guest peoples along the Susquehanna, there were some difficulties between the various groups of the Alliance (often involving the Shawnees), ranging from verbal disputes to murder. This social flux was not lost on the Iroquois, who had posted several diplomat-overseers to watch over the Shawnees and other groups along the Susquehanna.¹ Yet none

¹Minutes of the Provincial Council, 10 and 15 May 1728, in Samuel Hazard, ed., Pennsylvania Colonial Records, 16 vols., hereafter cited as PCR (Philadelphia, PA: J. Severns and Company, 1838-1853), 3:302-305; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 20 May 1728, in *ibid.*, 309. The Oneida war leader Carondowanna was placed at Pequehan in 1714. His wife Isabelle Montour joined him sometime between 1714 and 1728 further upriver at Otstonwakin. Finally, Shikellamy, who was sent by the Great Council to oversee all the tribes in the central Susquehanna valley, took up residence a few miles north of Shamokin about 1727. The Shawnee village of Chillisquaque was largely abandoned by Nucheconner's band in 1728 soon after Shikellamy's arrival, perhaps an indication

of these disputes was anywhere near as virulent, protracted, or bloody as the Iroquois-Catawba War.

The Catawba Indians, an eastern offshoot of Siouan-speaking tribal groups, originated somewhere near the forks of the Ohio in pre-contact times. A mixed-polyglot group that had absorbed members of many other groups by the early eighteenth century, they were for the most part descendants of the Piedmont "hill tribes" called the Uwharrie. These peoples had been local innovators in that they had managed to integrate Iroquoian-style agricultural practices with their traditional hunting and foraging subsistence patterns sometime in the pre-colonial era. Traditional accounts have the proto-Catawbas driven east of the Alleghenies into what became the Virginia and Carolina backcountry by the Iroquois and Cherokees in the late pre-contact period. In the early eighteenth century, the Catawbas were apparently not as developed socially, economically, or politically as their Cherokee or Creek neighbors, especially in the areas of diplomacy and political organization and control. They

that the Shawnee did not appreciate such close supervision. Philadelphia Conference with the Conestoga Indians, 1 October 1714, in PCR, 2:574; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 6 May 1728, in ibid., 3:302; Edmund Cartlidge to Governor Gordon, 14 May 1732, in Samuel Hazard, ed., Pennsylvania Archives, 9 series, 138 vols., hereafter cited as PA (Philadelphia, PA: J. Severns and Company, 1852-1949), 1st Series, 1:327-328; Neucheconner and Other Shawnee Chiefs at Allegheny to the Governor Of Pennsylvania, 7 Jun 1732, in ibid., 329-330; John Bartram, Observations, as quoted in Charles A. Hanna, The Wilderness Trail, or the Ventures and Adventures of Pennsylvania Traders on the Allegheny Path, 2 vols. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1911), 1:197; Paul A.W. Wallace, Conrad Weiser: Friend of Colonist and Mohawk (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), 39-40; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:189-190.

were, however, effective and fearsome warriors and slavers. By the early 1700s they had become the dominant military power in the region, and also the undisputed middlemen in the area's trade network between the interior tribes and the Virginia traders.²

The origins of the Iroquois-Catawba War can be traced to the 1670s, when the Southern Susquehannocks, traditional enemies of the Catawbas, began allying themselves with the Iroquois and taking Five Nations warriors with them on their raids into the territory of their Catawba enemies. After the Grand Settlement of 1701, the Iroquois were free to range southward into Catawba territory to fuel their mourning-war complex and provide their warriors with a way of earning martial honors. The Catawbas angered the Five Nations when they supported the colonies of North and South Carolina against the Tuscaroras in the Tuscarora War of 1711-1713. War with the Catawbas was advantageous for the Iroquois, as it channeled Iroquois warriors southward and thus away from the northern and western nations that had brought disaster to the Iroquois economy and war parties. It also placated both pro-French factions and Canadian

²Frank G. Speck, Catawba Texts (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), x-xii; Jane Douglas Summers Brown, The Catawba Indians: the People of the River (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1966), 15-20; Charles M. Hudson, The Catawba Nation (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1970), 35-41. The word "Catawba," which means "separated" or "divided" in the Choctaw language, was first used in early eighteenth-century. A contrary view of their origins, in which the Catawba and similar piedmont societies are postulated to have been indigenous to the area for several centuries prior to first contact, has recently been inferred from archeological evidence. Hudson, Catawba Nation, 28-33.

authorities, and posed few risks for Iroquois-British relations despite the fervent but sporadic efforts of British colonial governors to halt the conflict. The southern raids also enhanced Iroquois self-confidence by providing sufficient captives for revitalized mourning and condolence rituals, thus resolidifying the bonds that held Iroquois families and clans together.³

Yet the Catawbas, the most persistent and resilient foes of the Iroquois, often won in battles with their enemies despite the preponderance of Iroquois military power. Because the Catawbas were a small, brave, determined group of fighters, they were the ideal enemy, well able to enhance the reputation of Iroquois warriors, and far enough away from the Six Nations to make major retaliatory raids unlikely. The Catawbas also operated within the mourning-war tradition, and thus fought not as gallant but forlorn foes soon to be destroyed by the invincible Iroquois, but as warriors seeking individual glory and revenge. Expatriates from other southern Indian groups who had fled to the Catawba for protection also enhanced the reputation of the tribe as protectors and avengers. In addition, the fear of the Iroquoian raiders of the north provided a common

³Council Held with the Indians at Conestoga, 19 July 1717, in PCR, 3:21; Daniel K. Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience," William and Mary Quarterly 40 (October 1983), 557-558; James H. Merrell, "'Their Very Bones Shall Fight': The Catawba-Iroquois Wars," in Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800, ed. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 117-119; Brown, Catawba Indians, 160-164, 180.

unifying point for these disparate groups. The Catawbas became so successful at resisting Iroquois aggression during the early years of the war that they had no intention of leaving such heady benefits for the mundane and often dubious bounties of the peace table. The exigencies of the time and place enhanced Catawba martial ardor and abilities to the point that many (both British colonials and Native Americans living near the Atlantic seaboard) regarded them as the bravest and most able fighting men on the continent. They were particularly adept at the difficult and dangerous task of pursuing and capturing retreating Iroquois war parties, especially those who were slowed down with Catawba prisoners. Colonial authorities often aided the Catawbas by supplying them with firearms and information on enemy movements, and by offering them sanctuary in their towns when a large Iroquois war party was spotted. The Catawbas, a formative society in which the chain of command apparently often broke down between the warriors and the peace leaders, were also noted for their treacherous behavior regarding Iroquois diplomats and surrendering war parties, behavior which infuriated the diplomatically-proper Iroquois.⁴

⁴Council Minutes, 25 October 1729, in Henry R. McIlwaine, ed., Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 5 vols., hereafter cited as EJCCV (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1925-1945), 4:209; Peter Wraxall, An Abridgement of the Indian Affairs Transacted in the State of New York From the Year 1678 to the Year 1751 (New York: 1754; reprint. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968), 177-179; Merrell, "Their Very Bones Shall Fight," 120-124; Brown, Catawba Indians, 160, 162; James H. Merrell, The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact Through the Era of Removal (New York: Norton and Company, 1989), 119-122. The deaths in 1729 of Madam Montour's husband, the Oneida war leader

By 1737 the incessant Iroquois attacks were having a devastating effect on the Catawba Nation and backcountry English settlers. Despite the best efforts of the colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and South Carolina to arrange cease-fires, the war continued unabated through the French and Indian War era, aptly illustrating the relative lack of influence of colonial governments on these Indian societies. By the 1750s, the Catawbas had been targeted by every warrior in the area who wanted to enhance his reputation, and thus found themselves fighting for their national life against eleven different Indian nations at the same time. Many colonists were initially unconcerned about the war and the plight of the Catawbas. However, these views changed dramatically when the war began to spill over into colonial rural farms and settlements and white as well as Indian captives began heading north with Iroquois warparties. Native American diplomatic niceties hampered colonial attempts to get the warring parties to the

Carondowanna, and at least half of his one hundred man war party was ascribable to Catawba treachery. Carondowanna and his men attacked and captured a lightly defended Catawba village whose warriors were all out hunting. Slowed down by their prisoners, they were pursued and surrounded by a Catawba war party twice their size. The Catawbas proposed a truce, and unexpectedly fell on the Iroquois when negotiations were in progress. Carondowanna and over fifty of his warriors either died in the attack or were taken prisoner, a set of events which infuriated the Iroquois and prolonged the war for decades. A Journal of the Proceedings of Conrad Weiser in his Journal to Onondago, with a Message from the Honourable THOMAS LEE, Esquire, President of Virginia, to the Indians there, September-October 1750, in PCR, 5:473; Correspondence between Governor Gordon, Shikellamy, and Captain Civility of the Susquehannocks, 1729, in PA, 1st Series, 1:238-242; Conrad Weiser to Secretary Peters, 10 February 1745, in ibid., 671-672.

negotiating table. It was not until 1751 when the Catawba sachem "King" Hagler (whose Catawba name was "Nopkehe") was induced to travel to Albany, New York by Governor James Glen of South Carolina for a conference with the Iroquois sachems. The peace made at the conference quickly fell apart amid difficulties in exchanging prisoners, many of whom had been tortured to death or adopted by the respective Indian nations before the conference even started. The enmity between the Catawbas and Iroquois was so great that raiding parties still left both nations as late as the early nineteenth century.⁵

The Euro-Indian fur trade also induced great stresses on the peoples of the Susquehanna-Ohio Indian Alliance. These economic pressures led to unprecedented inter-tribal warfare for furs and the quest for trade-network monopolies that would ensure tribal security and a reasonable supply of needed goods for its members. The mourning-war tradition, deaths from disease, dependence on firearms, and the fur

⁵Message from the Assembly to the Governor, 4 March 1744, in PCR, 4:755; Governor William Gooch, Memorandum to the Provincial Council, 17 August 1748, in ibid., 5:346; Brown, Catawba Indians, 163; Merrell, "Their Very Bones Shall Fight," 125-130. Shikellamy and Conrad Weiser made a difficult winter trek to Onondaga in early 1737 on an ultimately unsuccessful mission to try to stop this conflict on behalf of the Virginia and Pennsylvania governments. Conrad Weiser's Negotiations with the Six Nations, April 1737, in Alden T. Vaughan, ed., Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789, hereafter cited as "EAIDTL" (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, Inc., 1984), 1:445-461; Conrad Weiser, Narrative of a Journey From Tulpehocken, Pennsylvania, to Onondaga, in 1737, in Henry R. Schoolcraft, History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, 6 vols. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, and Company, 1851), 4:324-341.

trade combined to produce a dangerous, escalating spiral. Battle-deaths and epidemics led to deadlier mourning-wars fought with firearms, leading to the quest for more furs to buy more guns, which provoked more wars with other nations, leading to deaths in these new conflicts, which began the mourning-war cycle all over again. Because of the ever-escalating need for more warrior-hunters who could earn more trade goods for their families and clans, many of the defeated Huron were persuaded to relocate and be assimilated into the villages of the Iroquois Confederacy. The Iroquois also absorbed large numbers of the Neutral, Khionontateronon, Erie, and Susquehannock nations. By 1657, so many captives had joined the Iroquois that the Jesuits estimated that somewhere between half and two-thirds of the total population were adoptees.⁶

During the mid-1670s, the end of hostilities with the

⁶Relation of 1656-1657, in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1601-1791, 73 vols., hereafter cited as JR (Cleveland, OH: The Burrows Bros. Co., 1896-1901), 43:187-207, 265; Father Paul Rageneau to the Reverend Father Jacques Renault, 9 August 1657, in *ibid.*, 44:69-77; Father Paul Rageneau to the Reverend Father Jacques Renault, 21 August 1658, in *ibid.*, 165-167; Relation of 1657-1658, in *ibid.*, 187-191; Relation of 1659-1660, in *ibid.*, 45:203-207; Nicholas Perrot, The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes, as described by Nicholas Perrot, French Commandant in the Northwest, ed. Emma Helen Blair, 2 vols. (Cleveland, OH: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1911-1912), 148-193; Cadawallader Colden, The History of the Five Indian Nations Depending on the Province of New York in America, 1727-1747 (New York: William Bradford, 1727; reprint. Ithaca, NY: Great Seal Books, 1958), 8; Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience," 538-541; Bruce G. Trigger, The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660, 2 vols. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976), 2:826-831.

Mahican and the Susquehannocks refocused Iroquois military and economic efforts into the relatively untapped fur-bearing areas of the midwest inhabited by the Illinois, Miamis, Wyandots, and Ottawas. Franco-English efforts to dominate the fur trade made life miserable for the Iroquois. The English attempted to dominate the league from the colony of New York. The French, concerned that Iroquois raids against their midwestern trading partners would stop the flow of furs to Montreal, launched a series of devastating military expeditions into Iroquois lands in the 1680s and 90s which caused great disruption despite the low numbers of Iroquois battle deaths. By 1700, all Iroquois tribes except the Cayuga had seen their crops and villages destroyed by invading armies, and Five Nations war parties operating in the midwest were taking enormous losses. Iroquois society was similarly damaged; with many of the wisest and most knowledgeable sachems and clan matrons dead, their badly-needed arbitrational and diplomatic abilities were sorely missed. The dependence on liquor and the separation into pro-French/pro-British, and pro-Catholic/traditionalist factions cut across kinship lines that had hitherto governed political behavior.⁷

⁷Relation of 1671-1672, in *JR*, 56:43-45; Mission Among the Iroquois Called Sonnontouens, 1675, in *ibid.*, 59:251; Extract from a Letter of Father Pierson at Missimilimakinac, 25 April 1676, in *ibid.*, 60:211; Letter of Father Jean de Lamberville, Respecting the Iroquois Mission at Onnontague, 25 August 1682, in *ibid.*, 62:71; Letter of Father Claude Chauchetiere, Respecting the Iroquois Mission of Sault St. Francis Xavier, Near Montreal, 14 October 1682, in *ibid.*, 185-187; Reverand Father Becheter to M. Cabart de Villermont, 19 September 1687, in *ibid.*, 63:269-281; Reverand Father Becheter

The "Grand Settlement" of 1701 in effect insured that Iroquois economic survival was now based on peaceful trade, and was no longer dependent on self-destructive economic warfare. During the first half of the eighteenth century, the Iroquois sachems "pursued a policy of neutrality between the empires with a dexterity that the English almost never, and the French only seldom, comprehended."⁸ At the same time, the Iroquois also developed good relations with other Indian nations, often using French-Canadian arbitration to settle intertribal disputes. The Iroquois lost some sovereignty by allowing the French and British to build fur trading posts at Niagara in 1719 and at Oswego in 1724 respectively. Yet the League also managed to dampen sectional tensions and maintain a diplomatic and economic

to M. Cabart de Villermont, 22 October 1687, in *ibid.*, 287-289; Father Jean de Lamberville to a Missionary Father of China, 23 January 1695, in *ibid.*, 64:239-259; Canadian Affairs in 1696, in *ibid.*, 65:25-29; Memorial by Father Lafitau: on the Sale of Liquor to the Savages, 18 November 1668, in *ibid.*, 67:39-41; Comparative Population of Albany and of the Indians in 1689 and 1698, in Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, hereafter cited as NYCD (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons, and Company, 1855), 4:337; Earl of Bellmont to the Lords of Trade, 24 October 1700, in *ibid.*, 768; Memoir of M. de Denonville on the State of Canada, 12 November 1685, in *ibid.*, 9:281-282; Expedition of M. de Denonville Against the Senecas, October 1687, in *ibid.*, 358-369; M. de Champigny to M. de Pontchartrain, 12 August 1691, in *ibid.*, 503-504; Narrative of the Military Operations in Canada, 1692-1693, in *ibid.*, 550-555; Count de Frontenac to Louis XIV, 25 October 1696, in *ibid.*, 639-640; Projects Against New England, 1701, in *ibid.*, 725; Father Lafitau's Remonstrance Against the Sale of Brandy to the Indians, 1 June 1718, in *ibid.*, 882-884; Wraxall, Abridgement of Indian Affairs, 16-17, 20-21, 27-28; Richter, "War and Culture: the Iroquois Experience," 544-552.

⁸Richter, "War and Culture: the Iroquois Experience," 554.

balance between the two European powers. Iroquois tribal populations soon began to stabilize with the absence of continual warfare and were given a great boost with the addition of the Tuscaroras as the "6th Nation" of the Iroquois in 1722.⁹

Among the English colonists, the New York fur merchants were the first to begin trading with the peoples of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance. The Dutch had established in 1623 a trading post named Fort Orange at the fall line of the Hudson River. The English renamed the place Albany after the capture of New Amsterdam in 1664, and began the development of a sophisticated trade system with the Iroquois. There, on the Mohawk nation's eastern flank, the Mohawk River flowed into the Hudson providing a free-running conduit for the furs of the middle west to the trade houses of New York and England. This system, although it had its economic and intercultural high and low points, had by the 1720s developed into a lucrative basis for colonial wealth that inevitably attracted men of great business ability.¹⁰

⁹Father Germain to the Reverend Father, 5 November 1711, in JR, 66:203-207; Conference of Lieutenant Governor Nanfan with the Iroquois, July 1701, in NYCD, 4:896-911; Journal of Messrs. Schuyler and Livingston's Visit to the Senecas, 22 May 1720, in ibid., 5:545; Abstract of Messrs. de Vaudreril and Begon's Report on Niagara, 2 September 1720, in ibid., 9:897-898; Wraxall, Abridgement of Indian Affairs, 38-40; Richter, "War and Culture: the Iroquois Experience," 553-557.

¹⁰Conference of Lieutenant Governor Nanfan with the Iroquois, July 1701, in NYCD, 4:900, 904-908; Conference with the River Indians at Albany, 17 July 1702, in ibid., 986-987; Arrell Morgan Gibson, The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1980), 146, 158; D.W. Meinig, The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale

The most notable of these early "barons of trade" was William Johnson. A poor Irishman, Johnson had the good fortune to have as his uncle Captain Peter Warren, who in 1745 commanded the British fleet that helped capture the French fortress of Louisbourg in June 1745. Johnson arrived in Boston late in 1737 at the age of twenty-two as Warren's agent, with instructions to set up a plantation for his uncle in New York's Mohawk River Valley. Despite opposition from the local established elite, Johnson did so well at this task that by June 1739 he was able to purchase his own estate on the fertile north shore of the Mohawk. He also began his involvement in the illicit fur trade activities that would make him one of the richest men in the British colonies. He soon expanded his endeavors into the diplomatic councils of the Iroquois. A keen student of people, Johnson quickly learned the Mohawk language and often defended the Iroquois against the Albany traders who were continually cheating and abusing them. Thus he was readily adopted as a member of that nation and was given the Iroquois name "Waraghiyagey," or "The Man Who Undertakes Great Things." By 1746, when he came to the Albany Conference with the Six Nations dressed as an Iroquois warrior, he controlled, from his home on "Mount Johnson," what was in effect a feudal empire composed of German Palatines, English traders and hangers-on, and his ever-

University Press, 1986), 1:119, 127.

present Mohawk kinsmen.¹¹

Although it entered the fur trade much later than did its New York colonial rival, Pennsylvania also had its great fur trade magnate. Provincial Secretary James Logan was one of the great minds of colonial America, a man of many scholarly and scientific interests whose political astuteness earned him Count Zinzendorf's label of "The Quaker Prince." Born in Ireland in 1674, Logan was an English-educated Quaker of Scotch descent who was brought to Pennsylvania by William Penn in 1699 to look after the family interests. He published English translations of Cato and Cicero, and contributed a number of papers to England's Royal Society on Botany, Astronomy, and Electricity. Logan collected books so extensively that his library, under the direction of Benjamin Franklin, became the basis of Philadelphia's first public library. The deputy governors sent over from England by the Penn family had such a high regard for Logan's judgment on Indian affairs that these men seldom acted without his advice, and rarely deviated from

¹¹Memorandum of Col. Daniel Claus, 1774, in Sir William Johnson, The Papers of Sir William Johnson, ed. James Sullivan, 14 vols. (Albany, NY: University of the State of New York, 1921-1965), 13:723-725; Francis Jennings, Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America (New York: Norton, 1988), 75-79; James Thomas Flexner, Mohawk Baronet: A Biography of Sir William Johnson (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959; reprint. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1979), 11-13, 22, 40, 59. Johnson's escapades with Mohawk women were legendary, although he was probably not, as his enemies said, the literal "father" of the Mohawk nation. Nonetheless, with between seventy and one hundred Indian children, he aided the Mohawks greatly in their longed-for population increase. Flexner, Mohawk Baronet, 25-27, 86-87; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 247; Jennings, Empire of Fortune, 76-77.

his suggestions. With his long tenure in office, Logan became an expert in almost all areas of colonial administration. He used this knowledge and contacts with the Iroquois to make a fortune in the Indian trade and land speculation. The John Jacob Astor of his era, in a real sense he was the Pennsylvania fur trade during the first third of the eighteenth century. Although he had made many political enemies, Logan survived protracted impeachment proceedings from 1707 to 1712, and a thorough extended audit of his affairs by the proprietors from 1732 to 1737. Old, sick, and worn out, he was finally forced to resign his position as Provincial Secretary in 1747.¹²

Colonial immigrants, hot on the heels of the

¹²Articles of Impeachment Against James Logan, 19 February 1706, in PA, 8th Series, 1:715-719; Remonstrance of the General Assembly Against James Logan, 10 June 1707, in PA, 8th Series, 1:770; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 40, 68; Harry M. Ward, Colonial America, 1607-1763 (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1991), 81, 291; Francis Jennings, The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies from its Beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744 (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1984), 248; Francis Jennings, "The Indian Trade of the Susquehanna Valley," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 110 (1966): 410. Francis Jennings has made a stunning case against Logan, who neglected to burn many of his journals, ledgers, and account books before he died in 1752. An astute and ruthless businessman as well as a cultivated enlightenment scholar, he apparently charged usurious interest, used insider knowledge to pre-empt valuable Indian lands, juggled the provincial books, embezzled Proprietary property, and repeatedly cheated his own traders by foreclosing on their property when they died, often leaving their families destitute. One of the principal architects of the infamous 1737 "Walking Purchase," Logan unrepentently cheated his Indian neighbors and trading partners at every opportunity out of their lands, furs, and way of life. Jennings, "Indian Trade of the Susquehanna Valley," 412-422, Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 96-99, Jennings, Ambiguous Iroquois Empire, 313, 332-342, 388-397.

Pennsylvania traders, began to surge into the lower Susquehanna Valley starting in the first decade of the eighteenth century. The valley's Indian residents, already excited by warriors returning from the Catawba country with their captives (some of whom were tortured and executed at Conestoga), news of disasters from the Tuscarora war, and a continual stream of refugees from the Carolinas were understandably incensed when English squatters began appearing on Lenape lands east of the Susquehanna. Yet these penniless white immigrants, often greatly pitied by the Indians, were not part of the major waves of immigration that would eventually force the local Indians to move. The first wave of legal immigrants approved by Pennsylvania's colonial government included a group of Swiss Mennonites, who in 1710 bought a ten thousand acre tract of land in what is now western Chester County, Pennsylvania. The second wave included a group of expatriate German Palatines in 1717, and a group of Scots-Irish farmers in 1718. The third and most disastrous wave had its origins at the September 1722 Albany Conference. This meeting, which involved the governors of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, was ostensibly called to reforge the covenant chain between all parties and calm the Iroquois after a colonial trader had killed a Seneca warrior during a drunken brawl near Conestoga. But while there Pennsylvania's governor Sir William Keith also arranged for members of a group of Palatines, originally settled in New York by the British government and somewhat abused there, to come to

Pennsylvania and homestead the Lenape lands surrounding Tulpehocken Creek. Sixteen families came almost immediately, and well-ordered German farms suddenly began springing up in front of the eyes of the astonished Delawares, who peacefully tried everything in their power to persuade the squatters to leave. At the June 1728 Philadelphia Conference, Allumapees, acting as voice for the assembled Lenape sachems, complained vehemently about these incursions, saying "he could not himself believe the Christians had settled on them, till he came & with his own Eyes saw the Houses and Fields they had made there." The matter was not settled until 1732, when Thomas Penn, with Iroquois sanction and approval, arranged payment for the lands in installments.¹³

The Palatine German refugees came from towns along the

¹³Deed of Lands from the Delaware Indians to the Pennsylvania Government, 12 July 1732, in PA, 1st Series, 1:344-345; James Mitchell to Secretary Logan, 13 May 1723, in ibid., 2nd Series, 7:77-78; James Logan to Thomas Penn, 16 August 1733, in ibid., 145; James Logan to Thomas Penn, 7 July 1734, in ibid., 168-169; Conference with the Delaware and other Indians at Philadelphia, 4-5 June 1728, in PCR, 3:316-326; Meinig, Shaping of America, 1:135, 137-140; Jennings, "The Indian Trade of the Susquehanna Valley," 421-423; George P. Donehoo, Indian Villages and Place Names in Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, PA: The Telegraph Press, 1928; reprint. Baltimore, MD: Gateway Press, Inc. 1995), 92-94; Jennings, Ambiguous Iroquois Empire, 289-294, 312-314; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 49. Allumapees' quotation is from Conference with the Delaware and other Indians at Philadelphia, 4-5 June 1728, in PCR, 3:322. He later complained, with little effect, that the trade goods Logan had provided his people as payment for their lands were of inferior quality. Tulpehocken Creek is located just north of the present-day city of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. The important frontier town of Lancaster, first settled in 1728, was the birthplace of the Pennsylvania Rifle, the Conestoga Wagon, and the site of the all-important 1744 Treaty Conference with the Iroquois. Jennings, Ambiguous Iroquois Empire, 313-314; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 188.

Rhine River which had been the scene of French army deprivations during the War of the Spanish Succession. They had found refuge in England in 1708 and 1709 at the invitation of Queen Anne, who asked her government to provide for them. Their numbers increased to the point that the Lords of Trade were hard-pressed to know what to do with them. In 1710, Governor Robert Hunter of the colony of New York conceived of an enterprise in which poor Palatines would be transported to his colony to manufacture tar and other naval stores. Transportation was arranged to the Hudson River Valley for a group of three thousand Palatines under the leadership of Johann Conrad Weiser. Among the group was Weiser's son, thirteen-year-old Conrad, who arrived with his family in New York harbor aboard the English ship Lyon on 13 June 1710.¹⁴

¹⁴Order of Council for Naturalizing and Sending Certain Palatines to New York, 10 May 1708, in E.B. O'Callaghan and Berthold Fernow, eds., A Documentary History of the State of New York, 15 vols., hereafter cited as DHSNY (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons, and Company, 1856-1887), 3:327-328; New York Council Minutes, Second Immigration of Palatines, 13 June 1710, in DHSNY, 3:333-334; Richard Hofstadter, America at 1750: A Social Portrait (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), 19-20; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 3. Conrad Weiser's full name was Johann Conrad Weiser (Junior), but he was never known to use his first name during his adult life. The Atlantic crossing, which has been described by Richard Hofstadter as "one of the terrors of the age," was not a pleasant experience for young Conrad and his family. Before embarking on the actual ocean voyage, they had been on board the Lyon for almost four months, the convoy being engaged in seemingly mindless movements between Plymouth and London picking up more passengers, supplies, and waiting for its late-arriving escort, the frigate H.M.S. Feversham. The voyage, although uncomfortable to all passengers and deadly to a few, was a relatively fast one, taking only about eight weeks instead of the usual fourteen to fifteen. Governor Hunter, however, remarked that the passengers were upon arrival generally "in a deplorable sickly condition." Hofstadter's quotation is in

Conrad Weiser, who later in life would be Pennsylvania's trusted interpreter and chief diplomat to the Indians, was born on 2 November 1696 to a middle-class family in the town of Astät in the Duchy of Württemberg, Germany. His mother, Anna Magdalena (Übelen) Weiser, died in early 1709. His father, a baker who saw no future in Germany, left with eight of his nine children for England in June 1709. About two years later, the Weisers and three thousand other Palatines were indentured to the Crown, loaded into ten ships, and sent via a wartime convoy to New York. After an excruciatingly uncomfortable voyage in company with 393 other Palatines, they landed in New York and were soon settled at Loewenstein's (Robert Livingston's) Manor on the Hudson River, near present-day Catskill, New York.¹⁵

Governor Hunter's enterprise, however, soon became a dismal failure due to bad food, poor clothing, inadequate

America at 1750, 37; Hunter's quotation is in Governor Hunter to Secretary Popple, 16 June 1710, in NYCD, 5:165; New York Council Minutes, Second Immigration of Palatines, 13 June 1710, in DHSNY, 3:333-334; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 3; Hofstadter, America at 1750, 37-42.

¹⁵List of Palatines Remaining in New York, 1710, in DHSNY, 3:339-340; Governor Hunter to the Lords of Trade, 3 October 1710, in NYCD, 5:170-172; Conrad Weiser, The Autobiography of John Conrad Weiser as contained in Johan Frederick Weisers Buch, Frederick S. Weiser, editor (Hanover, PA: The John Conrad Weiser Family Association, 1976), 3-9. Weiser wrote his Autobiography (in German) sometime during his adult life, and is a biographical sketch of his youth and a register of his children's births and deaths. It was combined with other Weiser family manuscripts by his grandson, Johan Frederick Weiser, around 1800, and has been published several times by the John Conrad Weiser Family Association. The whereabouts of the original handwritten manuscript of the Autobiography is unknown. Weiser, Autobiography, 3-4.

shelter, English mismanagement, and German stubbornness. The naval stores were never produced, and the governor and Johann Conrad Weiser were at odds concerning who was responsible for the mess, in which Hunter lost his entire fortune. By early 1712, the Palatines were released from their contract, and scattered throughout the province.

Living temporarily near Schenectady, New York in the autumn of 1712, Conrad Weiser's father was forced to apprentice several of his children, and seized an opportunity to stretch his family's meager food supplies by securing an apprenticeship for young Conrad. He did it by convincing a Mohawk sachem named Quaynant to take young Conrad with him to his home and teach him his language. Conrad traveled with Quaynant to a small village just south of the lower "Castle" (or palisaded town) of Dyiondarogon, where, with the proper ceremonies, he was adopted into the Mohawk nation. Here Conrad spent a cold, hungry winter among a people who were uniformly kind to him except on those occasions when some of them got drunk, and he had to hide himself for fear that they would kill him.¹⁶

The following July, Conrad returned to his father's new farm, located near the recently established Palatine town of Weiserdorf at Schoharie Creek. After working for his father for a few years, Conrad eventually bought his own farm and, in November 1722, married Ann Eve Feck, four years his

¹⁶List of Palatines Remaining in New York, 1710, in DHSNY, 3:340; Weiser, Autobiography, 15, 17, 29; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 10-15, 17-18. The site of Dyiondarogon is near present-day Schenectady, New York.

junior and the daughter of fellow Schoharie Palatines. Problems with Albany land speculators who used the law to cheat both the Indians and the Palatines out of their lands, and his inability to secure adequate acreage to provide for his growing family became nagging concerns for Conrad Weiser. In 1729, he and several other Palatine families decided that they had had enough of New York, and Weiser moved with his wife, four children, and neighbors to Pennsylvania. After a scenic but tumultuous journey rafting the Susquehanna River and riding on wilderness trails, the Weiser family settled on the disputed Lenape lands near Tulpehocken Creek, near the present-day town of Wolmersdorf, Pennsylvania.¹⁷

Weiser built a solid one-room limestone farmhouse in the unbroken forest near a wilderness road, a road that would eventually link an important Indian trail with the main road to Philadelphia. He and his sons farmed the rich soil of what would become Pennsylvania's Lebanon Valley. Ann Eve kept the happy household running on schedule, joyfully delivering her babies with Germanic regularity while her husband was kept busy with community

¹⁷Weiser, Autobiography, 23-52; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 24-35. Little is known of Weiser's wife Ann Eve. Weiser never wrote to her, as she could not read. Yet he apparently loved her greatly, as he always refers to her as "my Ann Eve." She must have been a remarkable woman to bear him fourteen children and put up with the hoards of visitors and overnight guests her husband was always dragging home with him over the years. Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 33.

responsibilities and farm work.¹⁸ Conrad Weiser entered provincial service as Pennsylvania's Indian interpreter in 1731, and later became one of the most effective Indian diplomats of the colonial era. The Indians had great respect for him due to his honesty and refusal to cheat them in any way. The Iroquois, who had adopted him, considered him to be "half theirs" and thus completely trustworthy in any diplomatic negotiations with colonials.¹⁹ The Pennsylvania and New York colonial elites eventually brought him down because of his non-English origins, his refusal to cheat or mislead the Indians, his fabled temper, and the

¹⁸Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 36, 40-41. Weiser's two-room house still stands, maintained by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. It was toured by the author while visiting the Conrad Weiser Homestead in May 1991. The wilderness road was the famous Tulpehocken or Shamokin Trail, which started at Weiser's front door and led to the Indian village of Shamokin. The trail's approximate course can be traveled in the twentieth century via a confusing sequence of country roads and state highways. For a description of the route and its pitfalls, see Paul A. W. Wallace, Indian Paths of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1987), 162-163.

¹⁹Report from Shikellamy, Minutes of the Provincial Council, 10 December 1731, in PCR, 3:425; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 46. Weiser's original Iroquois name, given to him soon after he was adopted as a youth by the Mohawks, was Siguras, "The Killer." It was bestowed because he had once won a foot-race by knocking his principal Indian opponent down and nearly killing him. Weiser was later given the name "Tarachiawagon" by the Iroquois Great Council at the 1744 Lancaster treaty. The new name meant "The Holder of the Heavens," the "master of life," in effect the national god of the Iroquois. To so name Weiser after such a god-man protector of the Iroquois people was perhaps the supreme honor the Iroquois could give to any man, and shows better than anything else the esteem in which Weiser was held by his adopted nation. Horatio Hale, The Iroquois Book of Rites (Philadelphia: D.G. Brinton, 1883; reprint. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), 74; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 32, 134, 194-195.

jealousies aroused by his success in Indian affairs. Like William Penn, Jr., Conrad Weiser was a true friend of the Indians of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance, and one of the truly great men of colonial America.²⁰

In 1731, Pennsylvania's colonial Indian policy was about to undergo major changes. William Penn's tradition of fair play and friendly dealings with the Indians was the dominant strategy prior to 1732. James Logan's ideas dominated the period after 1732, which shifted the emphasis from the local Indian nations to the Iroquois League. Like his fellow Quakers, Logan believed it better to outmaneuver opponents than to meet them in battle, but, unlike them, he also believed that all governments rest ultimately on force. Well aware of the covetous eyes of France on the interior of the continent and on the flourishing English colonies, he began seeking ways to protect his colony from the French and their Indian allies that would satisfy the non-militaristic Quaker-dominated assembly, which did not agree with his views on military preparedness.²¹

²⁰This interpretation is in direct conflict with that of Francis Jennings, who believes Weiser to be a greedy and self-serving confederate of the malevolent Penn family and the drunken Iroquois Great Council in their attempts to cheat and dispossess the Lenape and Shawnee peoples of their ancestral lands. Jennings, Ambiguous Iroquois Empire, 313, 322-324; Empire of Fortune, 34, 103. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Weiser was derisively chided for his honesty by members of the English colonial elite, and Jennings has made some serious methodological errors in his attempt to discredit him. This matter will be thoroughly discussed in Chapter 7.

²¹Abstract of Messrs. de Beauharnois and d'Aigrement's Despatches, and Orders Thereupon, 1 October 1728, in NYCD, 9:1010-1014; Philip S. Klein and Ari Hoogenboom, A History of Pennsylvania (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), 57; Wallace,

In the late fall of 1731, Shikellamy, returning with instructions from the Great Council at Onondaga, stopped by the Weiser homestead in the Tulpehocken Valley on his way to a conference with the colonial government in Philadelphia. The two men had met some years before while hunting in the New York woods. Weiser had impressed the Oneida sachem, as he was one of the few white men who spoke Iroquois. With this fluency in languages in mind, Shikellamy convinced his host to leave his family for a while and come along as his interpreter for the important discussions he was to have with the provincial government. Arriving at Philadelphia, Weiser met Provincial Secretary James Logan, and in December 1731 entered Pennsylvania's diplomatic service as the official Provincial Interpreter for the Pennsylvania and the Six Nations. The Iroquois Great Council was pleased with Shikellamy's accomplishment in acquiring Weiser, their adopted Mohawk son, as a reliable and trustworthy interpreter.²²

After the death of William Penn in 1718, his three sons, Thomas, John, and Richard, became joint proprietors of the province. Their father's policy of compassion and fairness toward the Indians changed to one of self-interest sustained by a desperate need for cash. The financial needs

Conrad Weiser, 40-41, 43-44.

²²Message from the Provincial Government to the Six Nations, via Shikellamy, 18 August 1731, in PA, 1st Series, 1:288; Report from Shikellamy, Minutes of the Provincial Council, 10 December 1731, in PCR, 3:425; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 39-40, 45-46.

of the "Penn boys," the problem of determining exactly who had the power to sell Indian tribal lands, and the presence of Scots-Irish settlers and angry, aggressive young Indian warriors at some places on the frontier necessitated the construction of Pennsylvania's New Indian Policy. James Logan's solution to this dilemma was developed in consultation with Shikellamy and Conrad Weiser, and it became the official Indian policy of the colony. It consisted of Pennsylvania's explicit recognition of Iroquois suzerainty over all other Indians within or near the province. This included the Lenape, Shawnee, Conestogas/Susquehannocks, Nanticokes, Conoys, and Tutelos. These Native Americans, along with Pennsylvania, took shelter in this new policy under the Iroquois Tree of Peace. The policy was founded on the realities of Indian and European power politics, taking into account that the Iroquois were, in 1731-1732, the dominant power among the Eastern Woodland Indians, and that France was Pennsylvania's greatest potential enemy. Pennsylvania's new policy strengthened the power and prestige of the Six Nations and established another legal method for the proprietorial government to purchase lands from Native Americans. It saved Pennsylvania from any serious Indian disturbances for over twenty years, a crucial time in the development of the colony. Unfortunately, it also provided a legal defense for some of the most blatant land-fraud schemes in the history

of Colonial America.²³

In fairness to Weiser, although a firm friend of the Iroquois, he was not aware of the Penn brothers' and James Logan's future plans for the unjust redistribution of Indian tribal lands when he began work for the colony of Pennsylvania in 1731. He interpreted at the August-September 1732 Philadelphia conference with the Iroquois, where Pennsylvania's help was elicited to bring some Shawnee bands back from the Ohio Valley, and the groundwork laid for the New Indian Policy between Pennsylvania and the Six Nations. Weiser also interpreted at an extended series of conferences between Pennsylvania, the Conestogas, and the Iroquois (represented by Shikellamy) at Philadelphia between June and August 1733, wherein false rumors of imminent attacks from the Virginia militia against the Indians of the lower Susquehanna Valley were put to rest.²⁴

Learning from the Seneca sachem Hetaquantagechty, who had been the Six Nations' speaker at the 1732 Philadelphia Conference, that a few sachems of the Great Council were

²³Report from Shikellamy, Minutes of the Provincial Council, 10 December 1731, in PCR, 3:425; Paul A.W. Wallace, Indians in Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1961), 143-145.

²⁴Minutes of the Conference at Philadelphia with the Iroquois, August-September 1732, in PCR, 3:435-452; Conference at Philadelphia between Shikellamy, the Conestoga Indians, and the Provincial Government, June-August 1733, in ibid., 500-508. Weiser's estate, local responsibilities, and family were also growing rapidly during these years. He also began flirting with the religious mysticism of his neighbor and fellow Palatine emigrant Conrad Beissel, whose religious community and developing cult at Ephrata, Pennsylvania made its own indelible mark in the German-American variant of the Great Awakening. Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 50-53, 57-59.

coming to Philadelphia to discuss and settle matters with the colony, Weiser was waiting at Shamokin on 12 September 1736 for the four or five expected Iroquois sachems and their entourage. He was astonished to see appear on the North Branch of the Susquehanna River eighteen large war canoes containing fourteen of the forty-nine members of the Iroquois Great Council, their spouses and children, and important clan matrons.²⁵ There were a total of 110

²⁵Although they were not mentioned in Weiser's account or the treaty minutes, there are some indications that important clan matrons were part of the group. First and foremost, the Iroquois Great Council would probably not make such an important journey or treaty without at least some participation from the women. Among other things, Iroquois women had the power to appoint or remove tribal sachems, of starting or stopping wars and war-parties, complete control over all agricultural production and food distribution, and the right to participate in tribal politics and international diplomacy. Their wisdom and counsel, particularly among the Seneca matrons, was also highly sought. Iroquois women, such as Madam Montour, were also known to have accompanied their husbands to and themselves participate in diplomatic conferences with the French. Secondly, the women would have wanted to harvest the corn crop before they left their villages. Maize is typically harvested in late August or early September in western New York state, allowing a proper span of time for the party to travel and arrive at Shamokin on 12 September. Finally, there was an inordinant number of dependents in the entourage, ninety-two "family members" to attend fourteen Great Council sachems listed as being in the party. The two Tuscarora delegates had no vote in the Great Council at the time, and thus were there in the role of observers; Shikellamy and the Seneca speaker Hetaquantagechty were both low-ranking chiefs. Goldsbrow Banyar to Sir William Johnson, 23 September 1755, in Sir William Johnson, Papers, 2:80-82; Minutes of General Johnson's Council with the Tuscarora Sachems at Albany, 4 December 1755, in *ibid.*, 384-386; Conference with the Conestoga Sachems at Philadelphia, 23-24 July 1712, in PCR, 2:553-556; Philadelphia Treaty Conference with the Five Nations, July 1727, in *ibid.*, 3:271, 274; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 18 April 1728, in *ibid.*, 295-296; Minutes of the Philadelphia Conference with the Iroquois, September-October 1736, in *ibid.*, 4:80; Conrad Weiser's Journal of the 1748 Logstown Conference, in *ibid.*, 5:349; Conrad Weiser to James Logan, 16 September 1736, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 67; William N. Fenton,

people, representing every nation in the confederacy except the Mohawks, who had no claim to the lands on the lower Susquehanna River. Weiser, usually a man of energy and confidence, nearly lost his nerve in the presence of some of the greatest men and women in North America at the time. Nonetheless, in the midst of the curious crowd of Indians who had come from the town to greet the visitors, he pulled himself together and shook the hands of the sachems one by one as they lighted from their canoes. Weiser's instincts had preserved him here; according to the principles of Iroquois protocol, this was precisely the right thing to do in such a situation. That evening, in Allumapees' home, Weiser was formally introduced to the Great Council, most of whom had no idea who he was until they were informed that Pennsylvania's interpreter was their adopted son Shiguras. Weiser sent a frantic message to James Logan requesting more money for provisions and wagons to transport the delegation to Philadelphia. He noted that Shikellamy was a very minor dignitary among the sachems of the Great Council. Nonetheless, the dignified Iroquois delegates treated everyone they encountered, including Shamokin's Delaware and Tutelo inhabitants, with great warmth, consideration, and kindness. Some of the Great Council members were very

"Locality as a Basic Factor in the Development of Iroquois Social Structure," in Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture, ed. William N. Fenton (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1951): 50-52; Trigger, Children of Aataentsic, 39; Judith K. Brown, "Iroquois Women: An Ethnohistorical Note," in Toward an Anthropology of Women, ed. Rayna R. Reiter (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975): 250-251.

elderly, such as the Onondaga sachems Kahiskerowane, Taginchuntee, Kuchdachary, Saweegateo, and Kaxhaayu, who were considered "the wisest of their nation and the only chiefs." Weiser, who accompanied them the entire distance, made a strenuous effort to insure that they were comfortable on their journey to Philadelphia. The Great Council had also "requested" that at least one chief from every Indian village along the Susquehanna come to the conference, as land sales, the low-ranking Weiser learned surreptitiously, was the main reason the council was journeying to Philadelphia. Both Weiser and Logan entertained the sachems and their entourage at their respective homes during the Indians' journey to Philadelphia.²⁶ The fact that no

²⁶Conrad Weiser to James Logan, 16 September 1736, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 66-68; Minutes of the Philadelphia Conference with the Iroquois, September-October 1736, in PCR, 4:79-82; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 65-71, 144. The attending Great Council sachems listed in the minutes of the 1736 Treaty Conference (PCR, 4:80) can be compared with a list of the forty-nine hereditary sachems of the Confederacy prepared by Elizabeth Tooker in Handbook, 15:424-426. Weiser thought Allumapees to be "Sick Bisquit" upon the arrival of the Iroquois sachems, although the old sachem did manage to pull himself together sufficiently to properly welcome his guests. Allumapees was apparently still despondent over the death of his two nephews and heirs. James Logan aptly summed up the situation: "... we kept the old King with his next heirs, and some others of their People, not only near us, but closely in our interest ... But now it has most unhappily so faln [sic] out, that Opekasset the eldest and next heir died last Spring of the Small pox, and Shachatawlin the truest, honestest young fellow I ever knew amongst the Indians, and whom I had brought to love my family as his nearest Relations, was lately kill'd [sic] by a sudden Stab from the old King Sassoonan's own hand in his liquor, So that none of that family but the unhappy old man who sorrows almost to death of the Accident, is now left for us to treat with, except such as we doubt are disaffected." Conrad Weiser to James Logan, 16 September 1736, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 67; James Logan to John Penn, 2 August 1731, as quoted in *ibid.*, 43-44.

escort of warriors accompanied the Great Council is indicative of the potential power and prestige of the Iroquois, and the good will and tolerance then existing among the diverse peoples of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance.

Although the preliminary welcoming speeches were made at James Logan's home at Stenton in the Philadelphia suburbs in late September, the 1736 Philadelphia Conference between the Iroquois and Pennsylvania actually began at Philadelphia's Great Meeting House on 2 October 1736. After welcoming speeches by Thomas Penn and James Logan, the conference was turned over to the Iroquois, who had called it. The Great Council had finally made up its mind about Pennsylvania, and had decided to forge its strongest and brightest chain with the heirs of William Penn. In return for the recognition and justification of the Six Nations' right to all lands along the Susquehanna Valley, they had come to give part of them to Brother Onas. In return for a few guns, blankets, and other trade items, Pennsylvania received a huge tract of land straddling both sides of the lower Susquehanna River. The Great Council also ratified the sale of lands the Lenape councils had made to individual colonials, forestalling the continuing resales of these lands by tribal individuals, some of whom were busily reselling the same lands again and again to the Moravian settlers at Nazareth and Bethlehem. Although the Indians (including the Iroquois) usually winked at such behavior, the proprietorial government had had enough, and enlisted the help of the Great Council in putting a stop to it.

There was also the fear of Indian reprisals, as some of the Lenape, incensed at the loss of their ancestral lands, were in a very bad mood. Thus the Iroquois were called in as, in effect, binding arbitrators. The Great Council did not deny the Lenape the right to own their land; what they did deny was the right of the Lenape to hold title to lands they had already sold.²⁷

From the early 1720s, the remnants of the Eastern Lenape were rather restless due to the decrease of game and increasing pressure from white settlers. They had settled in three principal villages or enclaves west of the Delaware River: the Tulpehocken Valley (the present-day Lebanon Valley, which stretches east from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to its terminus east of the city of Reading), the Brandywine River Valley (west of Philadelphia, the site of the famous Revolutionary War battle), and a site called "The Forks," at the conflux of the Lehigh and Delaware rivers (present-day Easton, Pennsylvania). Under Pennsylvania's New Indian Policy, the Tulpehocken Valley band was induced to give up all rights to their land in 1732 to make way for German

²⁷Minutes of the 1736 Philadelphia Conference, September-October 1736, in PCR, 4:79-95; Deed of the 1736 Land Purchase from the Iroquois, in PA, 1st Series, 1:694-697; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 68-73. Paul Wallace notes that Canasatego had overextended his authority when he denigrated the Lenape at the 1742 Philadelphia Conference. Canasatego's rhetorical chastisement of the Lenape went way beyond what the Great Council had wanted him to say. Sent to reprove a few recalcitrant members of the Forks Delaware, Canasatego "turned a judgment on a legal matter involving a few Indians at the Forks into an indictment of the whole Delaware nation." Minutes of the 1742 Philadelphia Conference with the Iroquois, in PCR, 4:578-580; Quotation in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 130-131.

(Palatinate) settlers; the Iroquois formally deeded these lands to Pennsylvania in 1732. Colonial settlers illegally pushed the Brandywine Delawares off their lands, and then homesteaded the land and killed off most of the fish and game. James Logan gave these Indians no solace or relief, claiming that he could not find the colony's copy of the deed that William Penn had given the band guaranteeing their property rights (the band's copy of the deed had unfortunately been destroyed in a cabin fire). Being peaceful folk, the band elected to relocate among the Shawnees and other expatriate peoples along the still-pristine North Branch of the Susquehanna River. Finally, the Forks Delawares, led by their sachem Nutimus, were displaced by one of the most infamous land scams in American history, the James Logan-Thomas Penn engineered "Walking Purchase."²⁸

Determined to obtain Indian lands which the Lenape and Shawnees refused to alienate, Thomas Penn produced an old Lenape deed in 1732 which conveyed to his father a tract of land near the Delaware River. Despite Nutimus' vehement protests, James Logan pressured the Forks Lenape into accepting the deed as valid by James Logan, who had business interests in the area under dispute. The boundary extended

²⁸Minutes of the Provincial Council, 6 July 1694, in PCR, 1:447; Conference with the Lenape Sachems and Shikellamy at Philadelphia, June 1728, in PCR, 3:316-326; Deed of Lands from the Delaware Indians to the Pennsylvania Government, 12 July 1732, in PA, 1st Series, 1:344-345; C.A. Weslager, The Delaware Indians: A History (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1972), 174-179, 184-189; Jennings, Ambiguous Iroquois Empire, 313-314.

from a certain point on the river back into the woods as far as a man could walk in a day and a half, and back again to the river. If paced off the way the Lenape (and William Penn) had anticipated, it would have encompassed a strip of land some thirty miles long and a few miles deep. Thomas Penn "improved" on the anticipated acreage by sending surveyors and axe crews ahead of the walkers to find the best route and clear any obstacles. He then sent in the three best runners he could find, who on 19 and 20 September 1737 "walked" a distance of about sixty miles instead of the expected thirty in the allotted day and a half. Furious, Nutimus and other Lenape leaders, Lappawinzo, Manawkyhickon, and Tisheekunk, appealed to their Iroquois "uncles" for redress, but it did them little good. For some trade goods and plenty of rum the Iroquois Great Council (less the Mohawks, who were apparently not in on the deal) backed up Logan and the Penn boys, officially condoning the effects of the Walking Purchase at the 1742 treaty conference, held not so appropriately in the "City of Brotherly Love." The Forks Delaware were reluctantly persuaded to settle in the Wyoming Valley along the North Branch of the Susquehanna River where the Brandywine Delawares had settled, or with Allumapees at Shamokin.²⁹

²⁹Minutes of the Provincial Council, 20-21 August 1736, in PCR, 4:53-56; Conference with the Cayuga Sachems at Philadelphia, 14 October 1741, in ibid., 501; 1742 Treaty Conference with the Iroquois, in ibid., 559-568; Conference between Lieutenant-Governor Clarke and the Iroquois, 24 June 1737, in NYCD, 6:99; Jennings, Ambiguous Iroquois Empire, 332-342; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 97-99; Weslager, Delaware Indians, 187-194. The doctored "Walking Purchase" deed can be

Honest Conrad Weiser, safely out of the way on a second mission to Onondaga to stop the Iroquois-Catawba War, was not involved in any way with the Walking Purchase. Yet after the deed was done, he was reluctantly induced to make a secretive journey to the Wyoming Valley in 1738 to see if he could pacify those of the Shawnees who also had their hunting lands taken from them in the Walking Purchase. Weiser did this for an important reason; Kakowatcheky's Shawnees were not the type of people who could be trifled with, and he feared for the safety of backcountry colonials if these Indians were not pacified. It is thus easy to understand why after returning from this trip Weiser became so disgusted with the Pennsylvania proprietors and their cronies that he resigned as Pennsylvania's Indian interpreter and retired to the Ephrata Cloisters for a life of meditation and prayer.³⁰

found in PA, 1st Series, 1:539-543. A damning indictment of the methods used to defraud the Lenape in 1737 can be found in Appendix "B" of Jennings' Ambiguous Iroquois Empire, 388-397.

³⁰Minutes of the Provincial Council, 27 September 1737, in PCR, 4:245; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 95-100. Weiser's second and somewhat mysterious journey to Onondaga occurred sometime between 6 August and 28 September 1737. Renouncing the world and moving to Ephrata in 1739, he emerged from the cloister and back into provincial service in 1741 only when Beissel's strange behavior, the warmth of Ann Eve's bed, and the pleas of Pennsylvania's new Lieutenant Governor George Thomas called him back to the physical world. Weiser's life as the celibate "Brother Enoch" was evidently a bit much for a man of action. He apparently "escaped" from his monastic cell from time to time, as his wife conceived and gave birth to two of his children during the period when he was associated with the Ephrata religious community (1735-1741). Both of these infant sons, born in 1736 and 1740 respectively, died within a month of being born. Weiser, Autobiography, 53; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 33, 95, 106-108, 111, 584.

Thus forced from their homes, the Eastern Lenape and Shawnee expatriates were forced to find a place where they could live in peace and support themselves and their families. Such a place was the Ohio Valley, which Conrad Weiser later viewed as a land of promise for Anglo-American settlers. The Ohio country had also not gone unnoticed by the Iroquois, who began settling some of their dependent peoples there in the early 1700s. The upper Ohio Valley can be broadly defined as the region north of the Ohio River, south of the Great Lakes, east of the Miami River, and west of the Alleghenies. During the Beaver Wars, the Iroquois had driven out most of the area's inhabitants to create a nearby hunting ground, and had little initial interest in resettling it. The new residents of the region, the "Ohio Indians," were composed of a conglomeration of Lenape, Shawnee, Iroquois, Miami, and Wyandot expatriates who, in the early eighteenth century, immigrated to this relatively uninhabited land that once served as open hunting territory for all the Indian nations along its periphery. These groups entered the area from all directions. A handful of Cherokees came in from the south, some Kickapoos from the west, and large elements of the Miami Confederacy moved south from Michigan to the Wabash Valley. The Wyandots split off from the Huron-Petuns along the Great Lakes and moved south to Sandusky. Native American settlers of the Ohio Valley from the east were composed primarily of the Western Iroquois (especially the Senecas), Lenapes (especially the Munsees and their Mahican relatives), and

the Shawnees, some bands of which entered the valley from the south. Two important features distinguished the re-entry into the Ohio Country from the east; it was made under the relatively loose supervision of the Iroquois, and involved groups interested in settling, as well as hunting, in the region. The establishment of a French fort at Niagara in 1720, a British fortified fur-trade post at Oswego in 1722, and the availability of English trade goods from Pennsylvania traders on the Ohio at about the same time drew many Senecas and Indian groups dependent on them from the trading village of Conestoga to the Ohio Valley. These Susquehanna-Ohio peoples came for a variety of reasons, the abundance of game being the primary motivator. Yet poverty, social disruption, the ravages of the rum trade, and the desire for autonomy and liberty in a new homeland were also major reasons for the Delaware and Shawnee migrations.³¹

It should be noted, however, that the Indian emigrants of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance were not poor souls wandering about aimlessly, hoping to find sanctuaries wherever and whenever they might appear. Much like colonial immigrants to the British colonies, Indian migrations to the

³¹Article of Agreement between William Penn and the Susquehanna Indians, 2 August 1701, in PA, 1st Series, 1:144; William C. Sturtevant, ed., Handbook of North American Indians, 15 vols., hereafter cited as Handbook (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978-1988), 15:590-591; Wallace, Indians in Pennsylvania, 145-146, Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 187; Jennings, Ambiguous Iroquois Empire, 74. The Seneca word "Ohio" and the Lenape word "Allegheny" both mean the "Great" or "Beautiful" River. Donehoo, Indian Villages, 2-3, 132; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:293-294.

west and northward through the Susquehanna Valley were planned, carried out by peoples who were members of viable and cohesive societies. These peoples were easily able to maintain and even strengthen their clan and band identities despite being under severe stress from internal factionalism and external European meddling. For example, the Lenape were cultural leaders during the migration era in that they maintained a way of life that was transitional between colonial Americans and less acculturated tribes they came in contact with, within an overall trend of increasing adaptation to white culture. Although clan, band, and tribal identities remained intact during these relocations, the ethnic boundaries between tribes and bands were rather fluid, thus explaining why many large trading centers like Shamokin and Logstown were multi-ethnic conglomerations of diverse peoples. Local interests prevailed in the Ohio Valley despite tribal affiliations, reflecting the overriding importance of local as opposed to "national" political views. Most issues that transcended the local area were oriented around specific concerns like the fur trade, and were the only available avenue for Indian headmen or "kings" to build the multi-village coalitions they needed to bargain effectively with aggressive outsiders. Yet due to the essentially egalitarian nature of Indian societies, with its conflicting emphases on individual autonomy and the good of the group, sometimes these chiefs were denied the consensus they needed by marked divisions between the action-oriented younger warriors and their somewhat more

circumspect and diplomatically-oriented elders. In such societies, leaders such as Shikellamy were forced to govern through reason, persuasion, and arbitration rather than through stern arguments and military-style orders. Intra and inter-village alliances were based on kinship networks, and, although rather unstable at first, eventually led to coalitions led by "kings," such as Allumapees or Nucheconner, who were skilled at diplomacy and handling outsiders.³²

After they had relocated to the upper Ohio Valley, these individuals, families, and village fragments formed the first of what the French derisively called "republics," multi-ethnic villages outside the French alliance and beyond the control of the British and even the Iroquois. There were two major groups of these villages or village complexes. The more northerly "White River Indians," who lived at various locations between Lake Erie and the upper Muskingum River, were composed of Iroquois expatriates (particularly the Senecas and Onondagas), small numbers of Delawares and Mohicans, and northern French-allied groups such as the Ottawas, St. Francis Abenaki, and Chippawas. The "Ohio River Indians," who lived along the upper Ohio drainage, were also a mixture of Iroquois expatriates (usually called "Mingoes" in the colonial records), Delawares, Shawnees, Munsees, and a few French-allied

³²Minutes of the Provincial Council, 12 July 1720, in PCR, 3:97; Handbook, 15:224; Michael N. McConnell, A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and its Peoples, 1724-1774 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 29-31.

groups.³³

The Wyandots, a polyglot group of expatriate Huron-Petuns and various other tribal fragments numbering about five hundred people, moved, after a short stay at the environs of Fort Michilimackinac, to what is now called Rock

³³M. de Sabrevois, *Memoir on the Savages of Canada as Far as the Mississippi River, Describing their Customs and Trade*, in Lyman C. Draper and Reuben G. Thwaites, eds., Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 21 vols., hereafter known as WHC (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1855-1911), 16:363-376; French Governmental Memorandum, *The Huron of Detroit [Wyandots] Desire to Migrate, 1738-1741*, in *ibid.*, 17:279-298; De Raymond to the French Minister, *Memoir on English Encroachments*, 2 November 1747, in *ibid.*, 474-477; Minutes of the Provincial Council, *Trader James LeTort's Report on the Indians*, 18 April 1728, in PCR, 3:295-298; Minutes of the 1747 Philadelphia Treaty Conference with the Ohio Indians, 13-16 November 1747, in *ibid.*, 5:145-152; Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 28 November 1747, in *ibid.*, 166-167; Minutes of the Lancaster Conference, 19-23 July 1748, in *ibid.*, 307-319; Minutes of the 1748 Logstown Conference, in *ibid.*, 348-358; *The Examination of James LeTort, Indian Trader, Taken Before the Governor*, 29 October 1731, in PA, 1st Series, 1:299-302; Edmund Cartlidge to Governor Gordon, 14 May 1732, in *ibid.*, 327-328; *Indian Chiefs at Alleghania to Governor Gordon*, 24 April 1733, in *ibid.*, 394-395; *Indian Letter to the Governor Respecting Indian Traders*, 1 May 1734, in *ibid.*, 425; George Croghan to Thomas Lawrence, 18 September 1747, in *ibid.*, 770-771; Messrs. de Beauharnois and Hocquart, *Despatch Regarding the Western Indians Living along the White River*, October 1743, in NYCD, 9:1099-1100; *Ministry of French Canada, Occurrences in Canada During the Year 1747-1748*, in *ibid.*, 10:137-181; White, Middle Ground, 188. New York's Governor William Burnet related a story of an unexpected meeting on the southern shores of Lake Ontario between some French soldiers and a group of Ohio Indians [probably Western Iroquois]. Upon learning that the Indians were on their way to Albany to trade, the French leader, a Monsieur Tonti, the commandant of Fort Detroit, tried to force the Indians to go to Canada to do their trading. After consulting among themselves, one of the sachems stood up and, in no uncertain terms, said "that the country they lived in belonged to them & that they were masters of what they had hunted in the woods, and would go with it where they pleased and were resolved to keep the path open or fight their way through." Even though he had a force of seventy soldiers with him, Monsieur Tonti elected to leave immediately for Canada. Governor Burnet to the Lords of Trade, 9 August 1724, in NYCD, 5:709-710.

Island at the entrance of Green Bay, Wisconsin in the early 1650s. They then moved, under pressure from the Iroquois, through the Mississippi basin into Ottawa territory, settling in the mid-1660s at Chequamegon, on the southern shores of Lake Superior. Threatened by the Sioux nation to the west and covered by a general peace with the Iroquois, the Wyandots moved back to Fort Michilimackinac in 1671, where they resumed their fur-trade activities with the French. By skillfully maneuvering between all factions and nations involved in the fur trade and continuously attended by the Jesuits, the Wyandots somehow managed to maintain their independence until the Grand Settlement of 1701 between the French and the Iroquois. This overarching peace made it possible for the Wyandots to move southward to Fort Detroit by 1704. A few years later they began trading with British traders. A band of Wyandots led by Orontony, or "Chief Nicholas," left the area and settled near Sandusky Bay in 1738 after a quarrel with the Ottawas. Allying himself with English traders who had built a blockhouse at Sandusky in 1745, Nicholas had planned to surprise and take Fort Detroit, but the discovery of his plans by the French in August 1747 and the reinforcement of the fort in September greatly eroded Nicholas' influence. He withdrew to the White River and the British trade-orbit with 120 warriors and their families in early 1748, burning the village and the blockhouse at Sandusky. The Wyandots rapidly declined in relative power and influence, and the Western Iroquois moved into to fill the leadership vacuum in

the Ohio Valley. The majority of Orontony's people settled at Conchake (present-day Coshocton, Ohio), while a splinter band from the main group settled with the Iroquois at Kuskuskies on the Beaver River.³⁴

In early French accounts, the Atchatchakangouen, Kilatika, Mengakonkia, Pepikokia, Piankashaw, and Wea tribal groups were all referred to as being "Miami." There apparently was some early central political organization among Miami groups, as there are many references in early accounts to the "great Chief" of the Miamis. The first contact of the Miamis with French traders occurred about 1654. By the early eighteenth century, tribal groups had coalesced into three main tribes, the Miami, Wea, and Piankashaw, and a fourth group, the Pepikokia, which was rapidly losing its individual tribal identity. Although most Miamis were basically loyal to the French cause throughout the colonial era due to the Iroquois threat, they were also amenable to the wares offered by English traders. They had strong cultural affinities with the Illinois and other Algonquian cultures, and were often associated with the Mascoutens and Kickapoos during their recorded history. They continually warred with the Iroquois, Sioux, and Chickasaws, activities often encouraged by the French. The Miami people were located at three major areas of settlement

³⁴Report of M. Boisherbert on Indian Affairs, November 1747, in NYCD, 10:83-84; Journal of Occurrences in Canada, 1746-1747, in ibid., 114-115; Ministry of French Canada, Occurrences in Canada During the Year 1747-1748, in ibid., 138-139; McConnell, A Country Between, 66, 68; White, Middle Ground, 192-196; Handbook, 15:398-400.

in 1721: on the Maumee River, at the southern shore of Lake Michigan, and on the upper Wabash River. By 1749, they had coalesced into three major bands: those of Le Pied Froid, Memeskia, and the Tepicon band. Le Pied Froid's band, under the influence of French Commandant Charles de Raymond, lived at the "Miamis Post" on the upper Wabash River (present-day Lafayette, Indiana). Memeskia's pro-British group was located at the Great Miami River at the trading town of Pickawillany (north of present-day Piqua, Ohio). This was the same band that the French had complained had "pillaged the French at the Miamis fort" at Ouiatanon. The third "Tepicon" band lived at Tippacanoe (near present-day Cincinnati, Ohio), the principal chief was known as Le Gris, who, in Raymond's opinion, was a figurehead leader being manipulated by others behind the scenes. According to Raymond's intelligence, Le Gris purportedly accepted a wampum belt from Memeskia to strike the French.³⁵ The "Miamis Post" group, known as the Wea (or Ouiatanon), had settled their town (present-day Lafayette, Ohio) about 1718.

³⁵The quotes are from De Raymond's Report on the Miami, October 1749, in Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War, 1747-1755, ed. Theodore Calvin Pease and Ernestine Jenison, hereafter cited as IESYW (Springfield, IL: Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, 1940), 29:122-123; Handbook, 15:681-682, 686-687; Lawrence Henry Gipson, The British Empire Before the American Revolution, 15 vols. (New York: Knopf, 1958-1970), 4:221-224; R. David Edmunds, "Old Briton," in American Indian Leaders, ed. R. David Edmunds (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 2-6. The French called Memeskia La Demoiselle, and the British traders called him "Old Briton." The author had the opportunity to visit the unexcavated and undeveloped Pickawillany village site, which is presently under consideration for purchase by the Ohio Historical Society. Malcolm B. Brown, "Field Notes," 3 October 1994.

Warriors from this group, apparently ignoring Raymond's orders, joined Orontony in 1747 and helped him burn the French trading post at Ouiatanon. The pro-British band led by Memeskia had detached itself from the French orbit about 1747. French traders, militia, and their Sac and Fox Indian allies broke up the band in 1752.³⁶

The Ohio or Western Iroquois were referred to as "Mingos" as early as 1731, and somewhat later as "Senecas," reflecting the predominant tribal origin. They arrived in relatively small numbers at first, as only four families of western Iroquois were known to be in the Ohio Valley by 1731; but those who did come initially acted under Iroquois direction. Iroquois residents on the Ohio primarily settled in family-size settlements scattered among the other Indian groups.³⁷ There were several reasons why the Seneca and other Iroquois left their ancestral homeland for the west. The French fort at Niagara and the British post at Oswego were tangible examples of European incursions and expansion at the expense of the Indians, adding to the Iroquois' paranoia and their feeling of being hemmed in. These posts introduced European manufactured goods, rum and brandy, and

³⁶Occurrences in Canada During the Year 1747-1748, in NYCD, 10:140; Minutes of the Lancaster Conference, 19-23 July 1748, in PCR, 5:316-318; Trader Thomas Burney's Account of the Destruction of Pickawillany, with a Message to the Provincial Government from the Surviving Miamis, 16 October 1752, in ibid., 599-600; Bigot to Maurepas, 19 October 1748, in IESYW, 75.

³⁷The Examination of James LeTort, Indian Trader, Taken Before the Governor, 29 October 1731, in PA, 1st Series, 1:299-301; Handbook, 15:543.

European diseases, such as smallpox, directly into the Seneca homeland. The 1716 smallpox epidemic might have been introduced from Iroquois warriors returning from raids in the southeast, but the much more virulent 1733 epidemic was spread via white and Indian traders, distributing its deadly effects westward through the Great Lakes region. Food shortages were another factor, especially in 1741, when drought and famine induced British officials to distribute a large amount of corn to Seneca villages.³⁸

The main Iroquois village complex in the upper Ohio Valley was the pro-British trading center called Kuskuskies. Located near present-day New Castle, Pennsylvania, it consisted of three or four contiguous towns on the Beaver River at or above the junction of its east and west branches, the Mahoning and Shenango rivers. Settled sometime in the early 1730s, the principal leader was the Seneca sachem Canajachrera. It was also the home of the Ohio Valley petitioners of the 1747 Philadelphia Conference, led by the Iroquois sachem Canachquasy, who was the son of the Iroquois clan matron and village headwoman Alliquippa. After George Washington's defeat at Great Meadows in 1754, most of the Iroquois at Kuskuskies abandoned their homes and retired to George Croghan's estate at Aughwick, or went back to their kinsmen in New York. Pro-French Delawares and

³⁸M. de Beauharnois to the French Minister, 1 May 1733, in WHC, 17:172-173; Conditions Among the Indians in the Upper Country, 1740-1741, in ibid., 337; Meeting with Hetaquantagechty and Shikellamy at Philadelphia, 16 August 1733, in PCR, 3:512; Wraxall, Abridgment of Indian Affairs, 120, 187, 221, 224; McConnell, A Country Between, 18-19.

Shawnees, many of whom were refugees from the Susquehanna Valley, later re-occupied the main village site.³⁹

³⁹Minutes of the Treaty Conference at Philadelphia with the Indians of Ohio, 13-16 November 1747, in PCR, 5:146; Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 28 November 1747, in *ibid.*, 166; Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 28 March 1748, in *ibid.*, 212; Minutes of the Provincial Council, Conference with Shikellamy and Conrad Weiser, 11 April 1748, in *ibid.*, 222; Minutes of the 1748 Logstown Conference, in *ibid.*, 348-358; Proceedings of George Croghan and Andrew Montour at Logstown, 18-30 May 1751, in *ibid.*, 530-539; Conference at Philadelphia with Scaroyady and Other Iroquois Veterans of Braddock's Defeat, August 1755, in *ibid.*, 6:524; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 22 August 1755, in *ibid.*, 588; Council with the Indians at Carlisle, 17 January 1756, in *ibid.*, 7:6; Conference with the Indians at Philadelphia, 26 April 1756, in *ibid.*, 108; Minutes of the 1757 Lancaster Conference, in *ibid.*, 515; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:79-80, 340-351. The Mohawk sachem Canajachrera was also known among his people as "Canajachreesera" or "Oniadagarehra," "Broken Kettle" by the Pennsylvania traders, or "Big Kettle" by the Virginia traders. He supported the British cause through the French and Indian War, fighting bravely alongside the doomed Braddock at the Battle of the Monongahela. The pro-British center known as "Alliquippa's Town," was located at several places on the Monongahela River below its junction with the Allegheny at the Forks of the Ohio (present-day Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania); near the mouth of Chartier's Creek (present-day McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania) (1731-1749), just below the Forks of the Ohio (1750-1752), and at the mouth of the Youghiogheny (present-day McKeesport, Pennsylvania). Sometimes referred to as "Lequeepees' Town," it was run with a firm hand by its headwoman, Alliquippa. When very young, she had met William Penn in 1701 near Philadelphia. She was the widow of either a Conestoga sachem or a Seneca who had settled among the Conestogas. Following the principles of Iroquoian matrilineal descent, she was undoubtedly a Mohawk despite Weiser's description of her as a "Seneca woman," as her son became a Mohawk sachem on the Iroquois Great Council. Notables such as Conrad Weiser, France's Captain Celeron de Bienville, and Major George Washington all stated in their journals that although courteous, Alliquippa had firm control of her people, and was not a person to be trifled with. Journal of the Proceedings at the 1748 Logstown Conference, in EAIDTL, 2:193; Celeron de Bienville, Expedition Down the Ohio, 1749, in WHC, 18:41-42; George Washington, Expedition to the Ohio, in The Dairies of George Washington, ed. Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1976), 156; The Examination of James LeTort, Indian Trader, Taken Before the Governor, 29 October 1731, in PA, 1st Series, 1:301-302; George Croghan to Richard Peters, 23 December 1754, in *ibid.*, 2:218; Journal of Proceedings at the 1748 Logstown

Disturbed by white settlers and recalcitrant traders in the Susquehanna Valley, about 1723 or 1724 some Shamokin-area Lenape decided to move to the quieter and more promising Ohio Valley, where many had spent the winter fishing since 1721. Beginning at Shamokin, the Great Shamokin Path forded the north Branch of the Susquehanna, ran along the West Branch of the river through the Indian towns of Chillisquaque and Otstonwakin, continued with the river to the Great Island, and led over the Alleghenies to the site of town of Kittanning.⁴⁰ This town was the most important Indian center west of the Allegheny Mountains from 1723 to 1740, and the largest Indian settlement in Pennsylvania west of Shamokin from 1730 to 1756. According to Pennsylvania traders in the region in 1731, over three hundred Lenapes were living in the Ohio Valley, some at Alliquippa's town, but most at Kittanning, for a total of fifty families or about 150 people. Kittanning was an important trans-Allegheny place of resort for the Lenape

Conference, in PCR, 5:349; Conference at Philadelphia with Scaroyady and Other Iroquois Veterans of Braddock's Defeat, August 1755, in ibid., 6:524; Conference with the Indians at Philadelphia, 3 June 1756, in ibid., 7:139; C. Hale Sipe, The Indian Chiefs of Pennsylvania (Butler, PA: Ziegler Printing Company, 1927; reprint. Lewisburg, PA: Wennawoods Publishing, 1994), 255-259; Donehoo, Indian Villages, 1-2.

⁴⁰Minutes of the Provincial Council, 3 June 1721, in PCR, 3:116, Wallace, Indian Paths of Pennsylvania, 66-70. "Kittanning" is a Lenape word for "Great River Town" or "Town at the Great River." The Iroquois called it Adegoo or Atiga. It was the first trans-Allegheny Lenape settlement, founded at the site of present-day Kittanning, Pennsylvania in 1724. After resting at Kittanning for a while, some of the Lenape emigrants also traveled to and settled at Alliquippa's town or Kuskuskies. Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:182.

people, and by 1750 most of the Southern Delawares had relocated to the Ohio Valley due to the hospitality of its inhabitants. There the Delawares formally consolidated as a tribe, possibly as early as 1725, and became a significant military and political power. Kittanning was a center for the anti-British Lenape resistance movement during the French and Indian War, and a much-used rendezvous and resupply point for the war parties that ravaged the Pennsylvania backcountry in 1755-1756. With three hundred Pennsylvania militiamen, Colonel John Armstrong attacked the village and burned it to the ground in September 1756, although a determined Lenape counterattack forced him to retire from the field.⁴¹

Armstrong made a map of Kittanning just before he attacked, indicating a typical setup for Indian towns of the era. Maize fields occupied the flood-prone lowlands near the Allegheny river. The dwellings, grouped according to clans, were set in an arc on benches overlooking the fields

⁴¹1727 Philadelphia Treaty Conference with the Five Nations, in PCR, 3:274; 1742 Philadelphia Treaty Conference with the Iroquois, in ibid., 4:579-580; Colonel Armstrong's Report on the Destruction of Kittanning on 8 September 1756, in ibid., 7:257-263; The Examination of James LeTort, Indian Trader, Taken Before the Governor, 29 October 1731, in PA, 1st Series, 299-302; Handbook, 15:222; Barry C. Kent, Susquehanna's Indians (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1993), 98-99; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:183. According to a 1731 examination of Pennsylvania traders recently returned from the Ohio River by Pennsylvania colonial officials, there were 300 Delawares, 260 Shawnees, 100 Asswekalaes [a southern Shawnee band], and a few Western Iroquois then living in the Ohio Valley. The reference to "Chief Achequeloma" on page 302 refers to Alliquippa. The Examination of James LeTort, Indian Trader, Taken Before the Governor, 29 October 1731, in PA, 1st Series, 1:301-302.

and river. Small riverward-flowing streams near the dwellings were the sources of drinking water. Near the center of the town stood a longhouse, used for ceremonies and councils. In 1756, the settlement was then under the leadership of the war leader Captain Jacobs, and the sachems Shingas, Pisquetomen, and Tamaqua. The last named chief was Allumapees' nephew, whose presence at Kittanning suggests a strong continuity of leadership and attachment with Lenape groups living east of the mountains. At the time of its demise, Kittanning contained about three hundred to four hundred people, and measured about a fifth of a mile from end to end.⁴²

Due to pressures from the fur trade and colonial immigrants, many Shawnees followed the lead of their Lenape cousins and headed west toward the Ohio Valley beginning in 1728. The inhabitants of the village of Chillisquaque on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, led by the Shawnee chief Nucheconner, left for the Ohio Valley in 1728. After spending some time living with other groups (perhaps with their Lenape cousins at Kittanning), they relocated at "Neucheconneh's Town," or "Chartier's Old Town," about 1735

⁴²The Examination of James LeTort, Indian Trader, Taken Before the Governor, 29 October 1731, in PA, 1st Series, 1:301-302; Deed of Lands from the Delaware Indians to the Pennsylvania Government, 12 July 1732, in ibid., 344; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 20 June 1734, in PCR, 3:544; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 6 August 1740, in ibid., 4:443; Brigadier General Stanwix to Governor Delancy, 9 June 1758, in ibid., 8:147; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 3 October 1758, in ibid., 174; McConnell, A Country Between, 24-26; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:110; Donehoo, Indian Chiefs, 82-84. A facsimile of Armstrong's "Drawing of the Plan of Kittanning" can be found in McConnell, A Country Between, 26.

just south of the Delaware town of Kittanning on the Allegheny River. A second group, led by Kakowatcheky, left the Pechoquelin towns along the northern Delaware River and built the town of Wyomink along the North branch of the Susquehanna in 1728. In 1743, Kakowatcheky's band again relocated to the Ohio Valley, where they were the principal builders of the village of Logstown. Nucheconner became the principal representative for the western Shawnees in their dealings with the British colonial governments, much as Kakowatcheky was the chief spokesman for the eastern group at Wyomink. Yet Nucheconner showed great respect to Kakowatcheky, and is known to have deferred to him in council at least once.⁴³

Chartier's Old Town was the principal town of the Shawnees west of the Alleghenies from 1735 to 1745. It was established a few miles below Kittanning on the Allegheny River at the mouth of Bull Creek, near present-day Tarentum, Pennsylvania. Combined with Kittanning and the villages in

⁴³Minutes of the Provincial Council, 20 May 1728, in PCR, 3:309; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 3 June 1728, in ibid., 315; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 1 September 1728, in ibid., 330; Minutes of the 1732 Philadelphia Conference with the Iroquois, in ibid., 441-442; John Wright and Samuel Blunston to the Governor, 30 December 1732, in ibid., 471-472; Minutes of the Lancaster Conference, 19-23 July 1748, in ibid., 5:311-315; The Examination of James LeTort, Indian Trader, Taken Before the Governor, 29 October 1731, in PA, 1st Series, 1:302; Neucheconner and other Shawnee Chiefs at Allegheny to the Governor of Pennsylvania, 7 June 1732, in ibid., 329-330; Shawnee Indians at Alleghenia to Governor Gordon, 24 April 1733, in ibid., 395; Letter from the Ohio Indians Respecting Indian Traders, 1 May 1734, in ibid., 425; Abstract of Messrs. de Beauharnois and d'Aigrement's Despatches, and Orders Thereupon, 1 October 1728, in NYCD, 9:1013ff; McConnell, A Country Between, 28-29.

between, this Shawnee-Delaware economic and population center was collectively known to the Pennsylvania traders as "Alleghenia" or "Allegheny on the Main Road," at the terminus of the Frankstown Path. The village of Logstown supplanted this center as the principal Shawnee center on the Ohio.⁴⁴

Logstown was built, with the help of the Western Iroquois, by Kakowatcheky's band of Shawnees about 1743 or 1744 on the right bank of the Ohio River approximately eighteen miles downstream from its forks, at present-day Economy, Beaver County, Pennsylvania. It became the most important center of the Pennsylvania fur trade, and was the site of many important diplomatic conferences from 1747 through 1753. Here a confederation of Susquehanna-Ohio sachems, the Shawnee sachem Kakowatcheky, the Seneca sachem Tanaghrisson, and the Oneida war leader Scaroyady, dominated the political leadership. Most political and economic decisions were made at other important village centers such as Kittanning, Kuskuskies, and Pickawillany. But Logstown became the de-facto diplomatic capital of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance in the Ohio Valley because of its convenient location on the Ohio River at the end of the Venango Path.⁴⁵

⁴⁴This town was also called "Maughwawame" by the Shawnee, "Chiningue" by the French, or "Shenango" by the British traders. Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:356.

⁴⁵Celeron de Bienville, Expedition Down the Ohio, 1749, in WHC, 18:42; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 27 July 1739, in PCR, 4:337; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:290-291, 355-356; Wallace, Indians in Pennsylvania, 176, 181-182; Wallace,

While these developments were occurring in the Ohio Valley, the Pennsylvania proprietors kept themselves busy "rebrightening the chain of friendship" with the Six Nations. In July 1742 an abnormally large Iroquois delegation, 188 strong, came to Philadelphia both to deal summary justice to certain Eastern Lenape sachems, such as Nutimus, Menakihikon, and Moses Tatamy, who continued to protest the loss of their lands from the Walking Purchase, and also to escape the terrible famine then sweeping the Iroquois homeland and the upper regions of the Susquehanna Valley. After being treated to a series of sumptuous feasts at the homes of Conrad Weiser, James Logan, and Thomas Penn (the feasting in Penn's backyard included lime punch and fine wines), the Iroquois, Lenape, and Conestoga delegates, now totalling 220 individuals, began deliberations at the 1742 Philadelphia Conference. At the first public session in the Philadelphia Meetinghouse, the Iroquois, looking much healthier after several days of rest and feasting, graciously accepted the last installment of the payment for lands along the southern Susquehanna on 7 July. Yet, through their speaker Canasatego, they also demanded that white squatters who had settled along the Juniata River be removed immediately, as they were doing "great Damage to our Cousins the Delawares." Penn offered an additional present to aid the Iroquois delegation and the beleaguered Indians along the Susquehanna, many of whom were poverty-stricken.

Indian Paths of Pennsylvania, 93-94.

The proprietors, through Weiser, presented the Iroquois with a formal complaint against those of the Lenapes who would not recognize the Walking Purchase. Canasatego's inappropriate reply, as noted before, was a rhetorical outpouring that indicted not only the troublesome members of the Forks Delaware, but the entire Delaware nation. The Iroquois were complacent about the whole affair, believing that Canasatego's speech would not be misinterpreted, and erroneously thinking that they had actually protected their Lenape cousins from white incursions by ordering white squatters off Lenape-occupied lands further up the Susquehanna. The direct implementation of their New Indian Policy had greatly enriched the Penn family, which experienced a nine-fold increase over previous provincial revenues when the 1701-1732 time period is compared to that of 1732-1762. Although the chain of friendship between Philadelphia and Onondaga had been rebrightened and lubricated with the twenty gallons of rum that James Logan had ordered for the Iroquois and their friends as they left the city, Lenape anger had not been extinguished. Patience for the white interlopers would last for another decade, but the smoldering memories of the ancestral lands lost forever at the 1742 Treaty Conference would eventually ignite in the collective mind of the newly-created Delaware nation and engulf the entire Pennsylvania backcountry in a righteous

but misdirected firestorm of fury and terror.⁴⁶

Colonial America's Great Awakening met the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance head-on when the Moravian missionaries first came into the Susquehanna Valley in the summer of 1742. They included the honeymooning Martin Mack and his bride Jeanette, Peter Böhler, Heinrich Leimbach, Anna Nitschmann, and her future husband, Nicolaus Ludwig, Graf von Zinzendorf. The old Moravian Church, the "Unitas Fratrum" or United Brethren, had broken with the Catholic Church in 1467, and its members were forced into hiding in Moravia. In 1722, the religiously open-minded Count Zinzendorf had given these "Moravians" shelter at his estate at Herrnhut, Saxony. The majority of this group of "Herrnhutters," under the leadership of Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg, first moved to Georgia in 1734-1735 to escape further persecution in Europe. In 1740, with war imminent between Britain and Spain, the Moravians moved to the security of Pennsylvania. In general highly educated, undogmatic, and non-fanatical, the Moravians preached peace and unity among the sects then blindly bumping against each other in the German variant of

⁴⁶1742 Philadelphia Conference with the Iroquois, in PCR, 4:559-586; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 125-132, Jennings, Ambiguous Iroquois Empire, 342-347. Quotation from "Minutes of the 1742 Philadelphia Conference with the Iroquois," in PCR, 4:570. The Seneca were in such bad shape from the famine, which had started in 1741, that they sent no delegates to the conference. The situation was so serious that normally tight-fisted British officials in New York were forced to distribute a large amount of corn to Seneca villages to mitigate the famine. Conditions Among the Indians in the Upper Country, 1740-1741, in WHC, 17:337; Meeting with Hetaquantagechty and Shikellamy at Philadelphia, 16 August 1733, in PCR, 3:512; Wraxall, Abridgement of Indian Affairs, 221, 224; McConnell, A Country Between, 18-19.

the Great Awakening.⁴⁷

Zinzendorf came to America in December 1741 to help build up the Moravian Church in Pennsylvania, and to act on Spangenberg's suggestion for a mission to the Indians. In many ways, the count was the perfect man for the job, as he was a well-educated, thoughtful, sincere, decent man who had a great vision of his mission. He was generous to a fault (and thus greatly loved by children), willing to endure great privations, a commanding personality in every room he entered, and thus a very effective speaker. There was nothing mean or fanatical about him. But in other ways, he fell short. He was proud, stubborn, authoritative, demanding, and had little tact or patience for diplomacy. In summary, he was a very intense man, impatient with those who disagreed with him. None of these traits endeared him to his usually patient Indian hosts and traveling companions. Acting from Moravian headquarters at the town of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in early August 1742 Zinzendorf felt a mysterious urge to go to Conrad Weiser's house, where he found the sachems of the Six Nations resting after attending the July conference in Philadelphia. His warm reception by the Indian leaders -- Canasatego, the Onondaga sachem Coxhayion, and Shikellamy -- was the beginning of many years of friendly relations between the Moravians and the Iroquois. Weiser, with some misgivings, agreed to guide the Count and his party on their missionary journey to the

⁴⁷Ward, Colonial America, 223-224; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 116-117.

Susquehanna Indians. In early September 1742 they journeyed to Shamokin, where Shikellamy, their host, made them feel welcome. They then journeyed to Otstonwakin, where Madam Montour and her son Andrew also hosted the count and his fellow travelers.⁴⁸

In early October, the count's party, with the addition of Andrew Montour,⁴⁹ who was fluent in the Shawnee language, traveled from Otstonwakin to Wyomink to work among the Shawnees. Weiser, who had business to take care of back home, left the party for a few days with a promise to meet them at Wyomink. Zinzendorf, who had wanted quiet to be

⁴⁸Nicholaus Ludwig, Graf von Zinzendorf, Memorials of the Moravian Church, ed. William C. Reichel (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott and Company, 1870), 62-99; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 118-119, 133-140.

⁴⁹One of the rising leaders of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance was a young Iroquois named Andrew Montour, also known as Henry Montour, "Oughsara," "Eghisara," or "Sattelihu." Born sometime prior to his father's death in 1729, he was the oldest son of Madam Montour and Carondowanna, and later became a prominent diplomat, warrior, trader, and land speculator. He was a very useful person in Indian diplomacy, attending his first diplomatic conference in 1743. Montour was fluent in many languages and highly esteemed by the Indians as an Iroquois sachem and by the English as a very good trader and businessman. A superb statesman when sober, he was, however, a difficult man to get on with when drunk, as his friend Conrad Weiser learned the hard way at the 1754 Aughwick Conference. With Croghan and other traders, he fought under Washington (who had the highest esteem for him) at Fort Necessity in 1754, and under General Braddock at the disastrous Battle of the Monongahela in 1755. Continually loyal to the British cause and his Iroquois kinsmen, Montour's later exploits in the French and Indian War and Pontiac's War as a war leader and spy made him a legend in both colonial and Indian circles. Conrad Weiser, Report of a Journey to Onondaga, 1743, in PCR, 4:640; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:223-246; Nancy L. Hagedorn, "Faithful, Knowing, and Prudent: Andrew Montour as Interpreter and Cultural Broker, 1740-1772," chap. in Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker, Margaret Connell Szasz, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 44-60.

able to read his books, had blundered badly and angered members of Kakowatcheky's band when he pitched his tent about a mile away from their homes near an old silver mine and on top of an Indian burial ground.⁵⁰ Arriving a few days later, Weiser was at wit's end trying to control a man who was both obstreperous and extremely generous. Zinzendorf, unable to get the Indians to even listen to him, had given the Indians all of his buttons and shoe buckles in an effort to please them. Kakowatcheky had been very kind, patient, and considerate to Zinzendorf during the latter's stay at Wyomink. The Shawnee sachem had used all his diplomatic skill and authority to keep the count and his party safe. The Indians generally thought that Zinzendorf was conjuring spirits in his tent to show him where the silver mine was, and thus many wanted to kill this "sorcerer." Kakowatcheky, then at least seventy years old, came to the Count's tent to explain to him, in a lecture translated from Shawnee to Mohawk by Andrew Montour and Mohawk to German by Conrad Weiser, why the Shawnees would not listen to him. This important speech from what very well might be the Shawnee people's greatest sachem is paraphrased in an account that Conrad Weiser wrote to a friend about five years later:

This I do remember, that the old chief said:
He believed in God, who created the Indians as
well as the Europeans, only there was this
Difference, that the former were created Brown the

⁵⁰J. Martin Mack's Recollections, in Zinzendorf, Memorials, 102-104, 106-108.

latter White, the latter prayed with Words, the former in their Hearts, which God saw and was very kind to the Indians. He himself was an Indian of God's creation and he was satisfied with his condition and had no wish to be a European, above all he was a subject of the Iroquois, it did not behoove him to take up new Things without their Advice or Example. If the Iroquois chose to become Europeans, and learned to pray like them: he would have nothing to say against it, but as a *matter of fact* there was not much behind the Prayers of Europeans. They were mostly bad People. He liked the Indian Way of Life. God had been very kind to him even in his old Age and would continue to look well after him. God was better pleased with the Indians, than with the Europeans. It was wonderful how much he helped them. He thanked the Count for his good intentions, but firmly declined his proposals though in the most courteous manner.⁵¹

The Count, his mission among the Shawnees a failure, was furious, but he could do little about it but misidentify Kakowatcheky in his later writings as "the Dragon," or Satan himself.⁵²

As the aged James Logan continued to decline and retire into the background, the proprietors had given Conrad Weiser more authority in Indian affairs, both as an advisor and as a diplomatic troubleshooter who could be trusted in the field. Shikellamy, like Logan, was also past his prime, but was Weiser's trusted friend, confidant, and advisor who had also risen greatly in the confidence of the Iroquois Great Council. As a team, they accomplished much for Pennsylvania and the Six Nations. At conferences held at Shamokin in February and April 1743, Shikellamy and Weiser managed to

⁵¹Conrad Weiser to Peter Brunnholtz, 16 February 1747, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 140-141, 143-144.

⁵²Zinzendorf, Memorials, 108.

avert a war between Virginia and the Iroquois, whose young men had clashed on the Catawba War Trail in Virginia's backcountry. In July, accompanied by botanist John Bartram, mapmaker Lewis Evans, and Shikellamy's sons, Weiser and Shikellamy traveled to Onondaga to pacify the Great Council, still angry over the battle in Virginia. Weiser and Shikellamy also made the preliminary arrangements (including a large present) for a treaty of friendship on behalf of Virginia with the Iroquois.⁵³

The 1744 Lancaster Treaty Conference, enacted between the Iroquois League and the colonies of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania from 22 June through 4 July, marked a sharp turning point in American colonial history. It extended Pennsylvania's Indian policy to Maryland and Virginia, and gave those colonies an Indian ally who could protect their borders. Although the Six Nations did cede some land to Virginia, it was the Iroquois alliance that gave the treaty its importance. Constructed during the first year of the War of the Austrian Succession between France and Britain, the treaty was also the first great diplomatic setback to

⁵³Report of his Journey to Onondago on the Affairs of Virginia, June 1743, in PCR, 4:640-669; John Bartram, Observations Made by Mr. John Bartram, In his Journey from Pensilvania to Onondaga, &c. [abridged], in Helen Gere Cruickshank, ed., John and William Bartram's America (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1957), 30-49; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 145-168; Sipe, Indian Chiefs, 148-150. Weiser's Journal of this journey to Onondaga coupled with Bartram's Observations gives exceptional eyewitness accounts of both the natural setting of Onondaga and the procedures and rituals of the Iroquois Great Council in the eighteenth century. Conrad Weiser, Report of his Journey to Onondago on the Affairs of Virginia, June 1743, in PCR, 4:660-669; Bartram, Observations, 30-49.

France in the Ohio country. The Iroquois-British alliance threatened to splinter and separate the cordon of nations allied with France, such as the Ojibwa and Ottawas, that hovered on the western borders of the English colonies.⁵⁴

The Six Nations also regarded the Lancaster Treaty as a triumph. The Onondaga sachem Canasatego, a great practical joker who was admittedly the most gifted and subtle league orator of his day, led their 252 man delegation. Another delegate was Jonnhaty, a quiet and thoughtful Onondaga war leader, to whom the conference was just a brief stopover on his way south with a war party to raid the Catawbas. The Onondaga sachem Tocanutie, nicknamed the "Black Prince" because of the intricate designs tattooed into his chest with gunpowder, also attended. He was a legend among the Iroquois, said by many to be the greatest warrior that the Six Nations had ever produced. Shikellamy and Madam Montour also attended. What these Iroquois delegates gained at the conference was the right of free passage for their warriors through Virginia to the Catawba country, new allies (Maryland and Virginia), and heightened prestige among their Native-American tributaries. The Lancaster Treaty also enhanced the League's prestige with the English, who had been forced to acknowledge their dependence on the Iroquois, and with the French, who greatly feared the Onondaga-

⁵⁴Minutes of the 1744 Lancaster Conference, in PCR, 4:728; Conrad Weiser to James Logan, 29 September 1744, in PA, 1st Series, 1:661-663; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 185-186; Jennings, Ambiguous Iroquois Empire, 356.

Williamsburg axis.⁵⁵ The treaty enabled the Iroquois to maintain for a few more years the fragile balance of power between France and England in North America which ensured the national existence of the Six Nations.⁵⁶

The Iroquois were very pleased with the conference's interpreter, Conrad Weiser, who, as a diplomat who was "half theirs," had helped engineer a treaty that had not only strengthened their hand against the French and their Indian allies, but also against their Catawba enemies and their Lenape and Shawnee dependents. They paid him the unusual compliment of asking him to sign the treaty on behalf of the Mohawk nation, which had sent no deputies. As a guardian of the Indians, Weiser was to use the new name the Iroquois Great Council had recently given him, Tarachiwagon.⁵⁷

⁵⁵Minutes of the 1744 Lancaster Conference, in PCR, 4:698-737; List of the Indians Present at the 1744 Lancaster Treaty Conference, in PA, 1st Series, 1:656-657; Witham Marshe, Journal (28 June 1744), as quoted in Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:200-201; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 186; Jennings, Ambiguous Iroquois Empire, 356-363. The Iroquois, to insure that no demonstrations would occur by disaffected individuals to disrupt the conference, had specifically ordered the Lenapes to stay away. However, other Susquehanna Valley groups, the Conestogas, Shawnees, Nanticokes, and Saponis, were courteously invited to attend, but only as observers. List of the Indians Present at the 1744 Lancaster Treaty Conference, in PA, 1st Series, 656-657.

⁵⁶The sachems of the Great Council were well aware of their strong position as the balance point between the English and French colonial empires in North America when Weiser interviewed them in 1745. Message from the Governor to the Assembly, 17 September 1745, in PCR, 4:772.

⁵⁷Minutes of the 1744 Lancaster Conference, in PCR, 4:698, 733; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 194-195. Although there is little evidence that Weiser gained much self-importance from this signal honor, some years later William Johnson asked his Iroquois brethren to stop calling Weiser Tarachiwagon, as

Yet a host of future problems lay in the path of the conference participants as they toasted each other's good health and unsteadily began their journeys home. Virginia had obtained a great bargain at Lancaster. What the Six Nations' delegates had thought was a cession of the Shenandoah Valley turned out to be a deed to what is now the entire midwestern United States. The treaty had, in effect, opened a floodgate into the trans-Appalachian West for English colonization, and thus almost guaranteed a violent French response. The war between Britain and France had also created consequences unforeseen by the European gentlemen who had declared it. The brutal attack on the British colonial village of Saratoga, New York by four hundred French soldiers and two hundred of their Abenaki allies on 16 November 1745 is a case in point. Conrad Weiser saw very clearly the effects that this assault would have on the Six Nations. It literally split the Iroquois Confederacy in two, as it forced the pro-British Mohawks into a war which the French-leaning Senecas were determined the League must avoid. From this time on the Six Nations were united in name only, which in turn attenuated their authority in the Ohio Valley at the worst possible time. This state of affairs and the Lenape-Shawnee schism with the Iroquois which the Great Council had allowed Pennsylvania to engineer were to have grave consequences for both the

Johnson said that "it was too high a name." Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 15 October 1758, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 552.

British and the peoples of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance in the following decades.⁵⁸

The foregoing chapter evaluated the Iroquois Catawba Wars, the fur trade, colonial immigration into the Susquehanna Valley, and the colonial quest for Indian lands. It also showed the importance of the Ohio Valley within the context of the Indian westward movement, and the schism created in the Iroquois League by the French-Abenaki attack on the New York village of Saratoga. Chapter V shows the coalescence of the economically-based Ohio Indian Confederacy, and describes the inability of the eastern portions of the Alliance, especially the Iroquois, to regain control over their western cousins. Also included are descriptions of the French attempt to regain their fur-trade

⁵⁸Messrs. de Beauharnois and Hocquart, Despatch Regarding the Western Indians Living along the White River, October 1743, in NYCD, 9:1099-1100; Minutes of the 1744 Lancaster Conference, 9 July 1744, in PCR, 4:736; Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 28 November 1747, in *ibid.*, 5:166-167; George Croghan to Thomas Lawrence, 18 September 1747, in PA, 1st Series, 1:770-771; Conrad Weiser to Count Zinzendorf, 1 December 1745, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 232-233; Jennings, Ambiguous Iroquois Empire, 361-362, 365; Ward, Colonial America, 355. A good example of Weiser's sometimes brutal honesty can be found in his interviews with Iroquois sachems at Oswego and Onondaga in June 1745. His deposition, hidden away by colonial Pennsylvania officials due to its sensitive political nature (it was the closest thing in Colonial America to a "classified document"), is a stirring indictment of New York officials and traders who routinely cheated, misused, and sometimes enslaved the Iroquois. Well aware that their nation was at war with France, these merchants also betrayed their country, as the deposition also includes information on illegal shipments of gunpowder from Albany merchants to French Canada in the fall of 1744. According to Weiser's Iroquois informants, this gunpowder was used by the French-Abenaki force that attacked and destroyed Saratoga, New York about one year later. Conrad Weiser, Journal (15 July 1745), as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 223-224, 226-228.

empire, blatant attempts by the British to steal the Alliance's lands in the Ohio Valley, and the inability of the Indians to hinder or reverse these trends. Finally, it records the destruction of the pro-British Miami trading village of Pickawillany at the hands of the French and their Indian allies in 1752, an event which would have grave consequences for the future peace and prosperity of the Susquehanna-Ohio peoples.

CHAPTER V.

THE ALLIANCE AT CROSS-PURPOSES

Things were quiet in Philadelphia in the spring of 1746. Yet the peoples of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance, although not engaged in an all-out war, were not in general living peaceful lives. There was a great deal of agitation regarding the war then going on between France and Britain, which sometimes spilled over from the battlefields and sea lanes of Europe into North American Indian communities. The French fortress of Louisbourg on present-day Cape Breton Island had fallen to an eclectic combination of New England farm boys and a collection of provincial merchant cruisers and Caribbean-based British fleet units in June 1745, virtually stopping the flow of trade goods to French Canadian posts. The Ohio Valley Indians, not terribly concerned with the laws of supply and demand, were incensed with the high prices the French merchants charged for trade goods and the low prices offered for their furs. The French colonial administration made things worse by cutting back on the money spent for presents for the leading sachems. The commandant at Detroit, the Chevalier de Longueuil, informed his superior that British traders also destabilized the situation by claiming that the British fleet would soon take Canada, and consequently the Indians would no longer be able to receive goods from the French. Anger was so great that warriors in the upper Ohio Valley began to kill and plunder

French traders and soldiers. Wyandot warriors under the pro-British war leader Orontony killed five French traders near Sandusky, and Miami and Wyandot warriors, also under Orontony's influence, collaborated in burning down the French trading post at Ouiatanon on the Maumee River. The French were hard-pressed to know how to contain what Charles de Raymond, commandant at the "Miamis Post" on the upper Wabash River, termed a "general revolt."¹

There was only a bit less turmoil among the Indians living along the Susquehanna. In January 1746 Conrad Weiser journeyed to Shamokin to find out what was transpiring among the Indians there. He found a great deal of excitement at the settlement, and Shikellamy informed him that the source

¹Longueuil to Beauharnois, 28 July 1745, in Lyman C. Draper and Reuben G. Thwaites, eds., Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 21 vols., hereafter cited as WHC (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1855-1911), 17:446-447; Beauharnois to the French Minister, 28 October 1745, in ibid., 447-449; Vaudreuil to Maurepas, 19 September 1747, in Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War, 1747-1755, ed. Theodore Calvin Pease and Ernestine Jenison, hereafter cited as IESYW (Springfield, IL: Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, 1940), 31-35; Raymond to the French Minister, 2 November 1747, in WHC, 17:474-476; Journal of Occurrences in Canada During the Year 1747-1748, in Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, hereafter cited as NYCD (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons, and Company, 1855), 10:138; La Galissoniere to Maurepas, 22 October 1747, in IESYW, 38-39; Maurepas to Vaudreuil, 23 February 1748, in ibid., 48-50; Raymond on the Miami, October 1749, in ibid., 122-123; Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815 (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 198-202. A discussion of the nature and intricacies of gift-giving in the cultures of the Alliance is given in Chapter 2. For a good description of the reduction and capture of Louisbourg in 1745, see Edward P. Hamilton, The French and Indian Wars (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1962), 105-124.

of agitation was a rumor that the French were about to attack and destroy the Six Nations and afterwards attack the settlements along the Susquehanna. Although this rumor was later to prove unfounded, Weiser left a small supply of powder and lead for Shikellamy and Allumapees to distribute to the warriors they planned to send out as scouts. In the summer of the same year, Weiser was again at Albany, to report on the Canadian-bound intercolonial-Iroquois military expedition, and to see what was on the minds of the Iroquois. He reported to provincial secretary Richard Peters that pro-British Mohawk raiders had run into many difficulties when attacking the French, and that "so many accident [sic] happened which are looked upon by the Indians as bad omens." One of these "accidents" was a series of epidemics of smallpox and other fever-producing maladies which killed over two hundred Albany residents and a great many Mohawks, as those Indians who came into town to trade carried the diseases back home with them.² The expedition

²Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 27 September 1746, as quoted in Paul A.W. Wallace, Conrad Weiser: Friend of Colonist and Mohawk (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), 238-239. Following Logan's resignation in the spring of 1747, the Reverend Richard Peters was appointed as his replacement on 6 June 1747. Peters, although an able bureaucrat, was really no friend to the Indians, labeling the peoples of the Ohio Valley "a mixed dirty sort of people." Minutes of the Provincial Council, 6 June 1747, in Samuel Hazard, ed., Pennsylvania Colonial Records, hereafter cited as PCR (Philadelphia, PA: J. Severns and Company, 1838-1853), 5:68; Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, 24 October 1748, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 269-270. Weiser was also instrumental in obtaining the releases of the Moravian missionaries Christian Frederick Post and David Zeisberger from prison in New York City. These two men, guilty only of preaching Christianity to the Mohawks but thought to be French spies, had been convicted and imprisoned for six weeks by the

to invade Canada eventually broke up due to intercolonial squabbling, causing the stunned Cayugas to later remark to the British:

How is it possible that you could be beat before you fought? You hitherto sat still & did nothing but use all the Arts possible to bring us into the War, and then, no doubt, you'd be easy enough; but we once more must return your Hatchet to You, & desire you to fight like Men. You are very numerous, and if in Case we should see that the French would be too many for You, we will assist You; but never before You fight like Men.³

Beset by such charges of English cowardice and ineptitude, William Johnson had nonetheless been instrumental in inducing the Mohawks to carry the war to the French. In April 1747, Johnson reported the details of a successful raid by thirteen Mohawk warriors against the French fortress at Crown Point. Making good use of the terrain and the element of surprise, the Mohawks routed a force of twenty-seven French soldiers and three Indian allies without losing a single man, a feat which Johnson termed "the galantest [sic] Action performed by the Indians since the commencement of the present War."⁴ One month

secular-minded and rather nervous New York authorities for failing to take an oath of allegiance to the British Crown. Minutes of the Meeting of the Governor's Council at the City of New York, 20 March 1746, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 235; David Zeisberger, History of Northern American Indians, in Ohio Archeological and Historical Society Publications 19, nos. 1-2 (1910), 2-3.

³Memorandum from Conrad Weiser to the Provincial Council, 18 June 1748, in PCR, 5:285.

⁴Extract of a Letter from Colonel Johnson to Governor Clinton, 24 April 1747, in NYCD, 6:343-344. This action proves that many Iroquois warriors were still the great fighting men they had been in the seventeenth century.

later, he reported that two major Iroquois war parties, predominantly composed of Mohawks and totalling 119 men, were sent out to attack the French. Yet he also lamented that (in his view) many of the Mohawks were continually drunk, and asked the governor to issue an order forbidding the sale of liquor to the Indians in light of the fact that successful warriors upon their return immediately spent their bounty money on liquor.⁵ Johnson's influence and success with the Mohawks had not gone unnoticed by New York's governor George Clinton. Thus he was appointed "Chief Manager of the Indian War and Colonel over all the Indians" by the governor in July 1747.⁶

Back at Shamokin, Allumapees was alive but not able to rise from his bed when Weiser conferred with Shikellamy at Paxtang in June 1747. By October the old Lenape sachem was dead, buried facing west according to Lenape custom so that

⁵William Johnson to Governor Clinton, 7 May 1747, in *ibid.*, 361-362.

⁶Governor Clinton to the Duke of Newcastle, 23 July 1747, in *ibid.*, 358. George Clinton was born the son of an English Earl about 1686. He rose rapidly in the ranks of the Royal Navy due to his family ties with the Duke of Newcastle, then the British Prime Minister. Promoted to the rank of Admiral in 1736, he secured a political appointment as Captain General and Governor-in-Chief of the colony of New York in 1741, assuming his duties two years later. Inexperienced in political matters and wrongly expecting the instant obedience due a Royal Navy officer from free-thinking colonials, he was an unwise choice as governor. Clinton was continually outmaneuvered by the New York political elite led by Chief Justice and Governor's Council member James DeLancey. Incompetent and unable to govern effectively, he was replaced as governor in 1753, retiring to a safe seat in Parliament secured for him by his political patrons. John W. Raimo, Biographical Directory of American Colonial and Revolutionary Governors, 1607-1789 (Westport, CT: Meckler Books, 1980), 263.

his spirit could follow the setting sun. At one time the Lenape people's greatest sachem and advocate, he died a drunken pauper with infrequent periods of mental lucidity whose personal habits had become so offensive that Shikellamy would not let him into the council house at Shamokin. The Pennsylvania government and the Iroquois tried to induce the Lenapes to choose a successor, but they would have none of it. Allumapees had been the all-important connection between the eastern and western divisions of the Delaware nation, but now both groups temporarily went their separate ways. In effect, the western sachems now led the Delaware nation, and the seat of the foremost eastern sachem at the Lenape council fire would go unfilled until Teedyuskung claimed it in 1756. Although still somewhat deferential to the Iroquois, these western Lenape sachems had begun in the 1720s to make their own national policy from their trans-Allegheny capital at Kittanning.⁷ The Iroquois' sale of Lenape ancestral lands

⁷Conrad Weiser, Memorandum of the Message Delivered to the Indians of Shamokin at the House of Joseph Chambers, in Paxton, by the Subscriber, 16-17 June 1747, in PCR, 5:83-88; Minutes of the Conference with the Indians Held at Easton, 28-31 July 1756, in ibid., 7:207-220; Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 20 July 1747," in Samuel Hazard, ed., Pennsylvania Archives, hereafter cited as PA (Philadelphia, PA: J. Severns and Company, 1852-1949), 1st Series, 1:762; Francis Jennings, Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America (New York: Norton, 1988), 262-264. Allumapees' successors in the west were his three nephews, Shingas ("Bog Meadow"), Tamaque ("Beaver"), and Pisquetomen. Although they were nominal peace leaders until 1755, these three brothers all fought against the British alongside the Lenape war leader "Captain" Jacobs during the French and Indian War. Christian Frederick Post, Journal (1758) in Early Western Travels, ed. Reuben G. Thwaites, 32 vols. (Cleveland, OH: Clark, 1904), 1:190, 193-199; Minutes of the Easton

had strained but not broken the ties between the Eastern and Western parts of the Alliance. With Allumapees' passing the Pennsylvania government would never again have a friendly Delaware sachem who was willing to cool the tempers of his kinsmen.

Although Shikellamy and Conrad Weiser were still the pre-eminent diplomats along the Susquehanna River, other important participants in the diplomatic affairs of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance began to emerge in the late 1740s. One of the most important was the Pennsylvania trader George Croghan. An emigrant from Ireland, he worked his way up in the fur trade business to become a respected and licensed trader in his own right by 1744. By 1748, he was Pennsylvania's most prosperous and effective trader in the Ohio country. Although feared by the French, he was well liked by the Indians there. By force of personality and the ability to tap large economic resources, he rose to undisputed leadership of the Ohio traders. The extent of his influence along the Ohio was not lost on Pennsylvania's provincial authorities, who began to employ him as a junior member of their diplomatic service beginning in November 1747. Andrew Montour, who later became Croghan's business partner, also continued his rise in the eyes of the Alliance's sachems and colonial officials. Two of the sons

Conference, October 1758, in PCR, 8:174; Paul A.W. Wallace, Indians in Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1961; reprint. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1989), 173, 176, 181.

of Shikellamy, Tachnechdorus and Tahgahjute, were also employed as diplomats from time to time, with excellent results.⁸

From the beginning, the Ohio Valley was a world in which the village was the most important social and political institution. The French were well aware of this fact, and constructed a hierarchical structure to both exploit its political divisiveness and hold it together under French economic leadership. The old French-Indian Alliance from the Ohio Valley westward through the Great Lakes region (which the French called the pays d'en haut) was constructed primarily for political purposes. Such a construct kept the British out of the region, protected Canada, made a serious attempt at keeping peace among the various Indian groups, and kept trade goods and presents flowing to the Indians. But this alliance was also rather vulnerable to changes in the world-wide imperial rivalry of France and Britain, which in turn led to sometimes bitter Indian inter-village political factionalization. The upshot of all this was the rise of the Ohio Indian "republics" in the 1740s and 50s, a term the French bureaucrats and soldiers always used in a pejorative sense. To the eighteenth-century French imperial mind, republics destroyed

⁸Andrew Montour is first mentioned in the colonial records in Conrad Weiser's Report of his Journey to Shamokin, January-February 1743, in PCR, 4:641; For the sons of Shikellamy, see Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 2 May 1754, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 354-355; For Croghan, see Indian Traders, 1743-1748, in PA, 2nd Series, 2:619, and Nicholas B. Wainwright, "George Croghan and the Indian Uprising of 1747," Pennsylvania History 21 (1954): 21-31.

order and French authority and supplanted the old French alliance. Such Indian "republicans" tended to live together in large multi-cultural trading centers due to the belief that no war party would attack a village in which some of their relatives might be present. The French and the British both mistrusted the Citizens of such republics, who were thus often held in very low esteem.⁹ Thus the Ohio Indian Confederacy, constructed by upstart Ohio Valley sachems to enhance their own economic opportunities, was quite different from the system of intercultural generosity typical of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance.

The western leaders had determined to forge their own paths despite past alliances or their kinsmen east of the Alleghenies. There is strong evidence that the Indians of the Ohio Valley, far away from the centers of colonial power and Iroquois oversight, had been conducting their own diplomatic affairs for some time prior to the appearance of

⁹Maurepas to Vaudreuil, 23 Feb 1748, in IESWY, 48-50; Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, 24 Oct 1748, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 269-270; White, Middle Ground, 16, 186-189. The assumption made by many Indian leaders that war parties would not attack villages in which any of the relatives or clan members were thought to be present proved to be essentially correct. For example, the pro-British trading center of Pickawillany was attacked in 1752 by Objibwa and Ottawa warriors, not by relatives of its Miami inhabitants. Longueuil to Rouille, 18 August 1752, in IESYW, 652-653; Duquesne to the French Minister, 25 October 1752, in WHC, 18:128-131; Robert Cellender to the Governor, Trader Thomas Burney's account of the destruction of Pickawillany, with a message to the Provincial Government from the Surviving Miamis, 30 August 1752, in PCR, 5:599-601; Lawrence Henry Gipson, The British Empire Before the American Revolution, 15 vols. (New York: Knopf, 1936-1970), 4:221-224.

the "republics."¹⁰ The lure of enhanced trade from Euroamericans also had its advocates among the Ohio Indians. The Miamis under Memeskia at the new trading center of Pickawillany¹¹ were well aware of the benefits which British trading partners and their trade goods could accrue for them. They were also aware of the special relationship the Iroquois had developed with Pennsylvania, and asked the Western Iroquois to help them develop a good diplomatic and trade relationship with Brother Onas. The Ohio Valley leadership, centered at Logstown, was happy to develop this diplomatic relationship for the Miamis, as it was always open to ways of increasing the flow of British goods into the Ohio Valley and increasing the number of its allies. A letter these sachems sent to the Provincial Council in May 1747 on behalf of Memeskia's band of Miamis extended an offer for an economic alliance with Pennsylvania, something the Logstown sachems apparently decided would be good for

¹⁰George Croghan described an important all-Indian conference at a Shawnee village at the mouth of Scioto Creek in early 1751. There the Cherokees asked the Shawnees, Delawares, Iroquois, and Wyandots at the conference to help them mend a rift existing at that time between the Cherokees and Wyandot nations. George Croghan, *Deposition, 1777*, in William R. Palmer, ed., Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts, 1652-1869, 11 vols. (Richmond, VA: Virginia Historical Society, 1875), 1:276-277; Charles A. Hanna, The Wilderness Trail, or the Ventures and Adventures of Pennsylvania Traders on the Allegheny Path, 2 vols. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1911; reprint. Lewisburg, PA: Wennawoods Publishing, 1995), 1:17.

¹¹Often called "Pick" or "Pict" town by the Pennsylvania traders, Pickawillany was originally built on the Big Miami River by the Shawnees and the Pennsylvania traders for their Miami friends and allies in the summer of 1747. Raymond on the Miami, October 1729, in IESYW, 122; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:146-147; 2:261.

them also. Thus the alliance between the sachems of the upper Ohio Valley and Pennsylvania was forged, although details concerning the origin of the pan-Indian covenant chain are rather sketchy, as no colonial observers were present at its formation.¹²

George Croghan had noted in letters to the Pennsylvania Provincial Council and to other correspondents that the pro-British Indians around Lake Erie were attacking isolated French posts, but were impatiently waiting for gunpowder and lead from their English allies. Croghan also stated that the Indians were in so angry a mood that if they did not get their present of ammunition soon, he felt that they would abandon the English for the French. A western Seneca sachem named Canajachera and other Iroquois leaders from Kuskuskies sent Governor Thomas a scalp purportedly taken from one of the five Frenchmen killed outside Fort Detroit by the Wyandots, and in return requested gunpowder and lead. The Pennsylvania Provincial Council reacted quickly by authorizing two hundred pounds sterling to be spent for a

¹²Indian Letter to President and Council, 1 May 1747, in PA, 1st Series, 1:737-738, 741-742; Michael N. McConnell, A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and its Peoples, 1724-1774 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 67-68, 81. The Wyandots were also interested, and would later petition Pennsylvania to forge their own covenant chain. The signatories of this letter were a virtual who's-who of the important western sachems of the Alliance. They included the Shawnee sachems Kakowatcheky and Nucheconner, and the Western Iroquois sachems Tanaghrisson, Canajachrera, and Kachshwuchdanionty, all Senecas, and Scaroyady, an Oneida war leader. The latter two became the leaders of the western alliance as the aged Kakowatcheky became blind and senile. Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 2:261; McConnell, A Country Between, 75-76.

suitable present.¹³

Nor did Pennsylvania have long to wait for the inception of formal diplomatic relations. In November 1747 a delegation of ten principal sachems of the Ohio Indians and their entourage arrived unexpectedly in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Against the will of the Iroquois Great Council, they had come to the English to request arms and ammunition to fight the French. Luckily, Weiser, now a judge, happened to be in Lancaster when the delegation arrived. The Ohio sachems, led by the Iroquois sachems

¹³George Croghan, Letter to the Provincial Council, 25 September 1747, in PCR, 5:145-147; George Croghan to Thomas Lawrence, 18 September 1747, in PA, 1st Series, 1:770-771; Conajachrera and other Chiefs to Governor Thomas, 16 May 1747, in ibid., 741-742; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 259. Although Croghan officially thanked the Indian for the scalp, despite the Indians' request, the scalp was never presented to Pennsylvania's urbane governor, who would not have known what to do with this "trophy" of the northeastern woodlands. At Conrad Weiser's suggestion, it was kept at the house of trader Thomas McKee at the fall line of the Susquehanna about twenty miles south of Shamokin. The pro-British Seneca sachem Canajachrera was called "Canante Chiarirou" or "Grand-Chaudiere" by the French, and "Broken Kettle" or "Big Kettle" by the English. Along with Tanaghrisson, Scaroyady, and the Seneca leader Kachshwuchdanionty (Kagshwaghtaniunt or Tohaswuchdoninuty, also known as the "Belt of Wampum" or "Old Belt"), Canajachrera was listed by the Great Council as one of the four Iroquois sachems who had control of public affairs in the Ohio Valley. George Croghan, Narrative of his Proceedings at Ohio Prior to the Logstown Conference, 28 April 1748, in PCR, 5:287-288; Conrad Weiser to Anthony Palmer, 15 October 1747, in ibid., 138; George Washington, Expedition to the Ohio, in The Dairies of George Washington, ed. Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1976), 199; List of the Names of the Chiefs Now Entrusted with the Conduct of Public Affairs Among the Six Nations, from Conrad Weiser, 1 November 1753, in PCR, 5:685-686; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:344-345, 2:345, 400; Francis Jennings, The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and their League (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1983), 240.

Scaroyady and Canachquasy, were conducted ceremoniously to the capital where they conferred with the Provincial Council from 13 to 16 November at the 1747 Philadelphia Conference. After some discussion, the council decided to provide the Indians with a present and aid them in their designs. By agreeing to help these western leaders, pacifistic, Quaker-led Pennsylvania found itself caught in the peculiar position of being asked to supply firearms to its Indian allies.¹⁴

Pennsylvania's Provincial Council also had to decide whether to deal separately with the Ohio Indians, or deal with them only through the Great Council at Onondaga. James Logan and other conservatives on the council believed at first that the latter course should be adopted, and that the covenant chain should remain bright and intact. Yet after conferring privately with the Ohio Indians, Weiser gave the council contrary advice. He stated that the Ohio Indians were already a powerful group of nations, with over five hundred warriors dedicated to the English cause. Because

¹⁴Minutes of the 1747 Philadelphia Conference, in PCR, 5:145-147; Benjamin Franklin, The Indians from Ohio, in The Pennsylvania Gazette, 19 November 1747, 2; Provincial Council: Treaty with the Indians of Ohio, November 1747, in Alden T. Vaughan, ed., Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789, hereafter known as EAIDTL (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, Inc., 1984), 2:167; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 260. Canachquasy (Kanuksusy, Cashuwayon), the son of Queen Alliquippa, was a staunchly pro-British Mohawk warrior who would later become a sachem on the Iroquois Great Council. Lieutenant Colonel George Washington gave Canachquasy the English-language title of "New Castle" at a formal ceremony attended by his beaming mother. George Washington to Governor Dinwiddie from Great Meadows, 10 June 1754, as quoted in Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:79; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 22 August 1755, in PCR, 6:589.

the young men, who customarily had management of tribal affairs during wartime, were strongly pro-British, Weiser suggested that the Provincial Council should encourage their war leaders and their services against the French be acknowledged. To this end, he suggested that an even larger present than originally planned was in order, and volunteered to convey it himself to the Ohio country to determine exactly what was going on in that region. The Provincial Council, after some debate and hand-wringing, finally adopted Weiser's suggestions.¹⁵

Weiser conducted the departing Ohio delegation to his house on the Tulpehocken, where he had Canachquasy and one of the women nursed back to health after they "took sick." He then conducted the delegation to John Harris' store at Paxtang, where they picked up their present. Weiser pleased the sachems by adding two barrels of gunpowder to the four they were originally promised. While they were there, Scaroyady and Weiser had a private interview about the situation in the Ohio Valley. Scaroyady said that had the delegation not cemented an alliance with the British in Philadelphia, the "French party" among the Ohio Indians

¹⁵Conrad Weiser, Advice to the Provincial Council, 16 November 1747, in PCR, 5:148-149; Provincial Council: Treaty with the Indians of Ohio, November 1747 in EAIDTL, 2:164-165; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 260. Although he was supporting his Iroquois kinsmen in the Ohio Valley, Weiser was in effect betraying the Iroquois Great Council by advocating this policy. This dichotomy facing a favored adoptive son vividly illustrates the split that had occurred within the Iroquois League just two years before, and the rampant factionalization which would eventually tear it asunder during the American War for Independence.

would have been able to re-establish the French ascendancy in the region's trade and break the ties made with the British traders. He was also very concerned about the liquor trade, even advocating death for renegade traders who brought rum over the mountains.¹⁶

The Ohio Indians, intent on expanding the diplomatic relationships tentatively made at Philadelphia in 1747, did not wait for the planned conference on the Ohio. In July 1748 a delegation from the Ohio country composed of Western Iroquois, Lenapes, Shawnees, Nanticokes, and Twightwees appeared suddenly and met with Weiser, Andrew Montour, and other Pennsylvania officials at the "Twightwee Conference" at Lancaster, Pennsylvania.¹⁷ Scaroyady, who led the delegation, had suffered an unfortunate fall prior to the entourage's arrival in Philadelphia and was thus unavailable for the entire conference. Andrew Montour was delegated to

¹⁶Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 28 November 1747, in PCR, 5:166-167. Shikellamy was also waiting at Weiser's house, apparently not too pleased with the proceedings which had just taken place in Philadelphia. George Croghan, whose entire net worth was tied up in the Ohio Valley trade, was apparently one of the major guiding forces behind the arrival of the Ohio delegation. He just "happened" to be at Harris' store when the delegation returned from Philadelphia, and offered to carry their presents over the mountains for them on his pack train. The Indians also arranged for Croghan to be Weiser's guide on the latter's planned trip to the Ohio Valley the following year. *Ibid.*

¹⁷There were eighteen Indians from the Ohio, plus a few Conestogas and some "troublesome" Nanticokes at the conference, bringing the entire Indian delegation to fifty-five. The Indians insisted the conference be held in Lancaster because of reports of a disease epidemic in Philadelphia. Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 4 August 1748, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 263-264; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 16 July 1748, in PCR, 5:298.

speaking for the Ohio sachems in Scaroyady's place. Montour, who apparently spoke Miami as well as Lenape, Shawnee, English, and Iroquois, was a superb choice as a speaker. Discussions centered on the admission of the Twightwees into a treaty of friendship with the English, and the problems engendered by Nucheconner's renegade band of Shawnees. Representatives of this band came as penitents, imploring the British to forgive them for their previous misbehavior¹⁸ and for accepting French gifts and diplomatic overtures and take them back as friends. After considering the matter, the Pennsylvania delegation gladly admitted the Twightwees into their Chain of Friendship. Kakowatcheky's band of Shawnees, who had refused to help the renegades led by Peter Chartier, was also welcomed with open arms. But Nucheconner's Shawnees were not so easily reconciled; they were told that they would have to wait to renew the Chain of

¹⁸The trader Peter Chartier, the son of a Shawnee mother and a French father, had lived with his parents at Pequea in the early part of the century, but had moved west to Nucheconner's town (sometimes called "Chartier's Old Town") just south of Kittanning about 1735. In 1744 he threw off his obligations to his British trading partners and accepted a Captain's commission from the French. On 18 April 1745, Chartier persuaded Nucheconner and about four hundred Shawnee warriors to help him raid his former British partners, from whom they plundered trade goods worth sixteen hundred Pounds Sterling. The Indians abandoned their town and fled to Logstown, where Kakowatcheky refused to join them. Chartier's band then proceeded southward down the Catawba trail to a series of settlements in present-day Kentucky. Nucheconner and Chartier apparently had a falling out, leading to the petition for a reconciliation with Pennsylvania at the 1748 Lancaster Conference. Minutes of the 1744 Lancaster Conference, in PCR, 4:757-758; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 25 April 1745, and Petition of James Dunning and Peter Tostee, Indian Traders, 23 July 1745, as quoted in Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:311; Minutes of the 1748 Lancaster Conference, in PCR, 5:311, 316; White, Middle Ground, 189-192.

Friendship until such time as the Western Iroquois certified that they would no longer misbehave.¹⁹

The much-anticipated conference between the British and the Ohio Indians was held at Logstown on the Ohio River in the late summer of 1748.²⁰ Accompanied by Andrew Montour and Benjamin Franklin's nineteen-year-old son William, Conrad Weiser left his home and headed west on the Allegheny Trail for the Ohio country in August 1748. Crossing the Susquehanna at Paxtang, they rode westward through the forbidding, heavily forested mountain gaps of the Juniata and Allegheny River watersheds. On the 15th about fifty miles west of George Croghan's plantation at Aughwick (present-day Shirleysburg, Pennsylvania), they met Scaroyady and some of the other Indians who had attended the Lancaster Conference, apparently eagerly awaiting Weiser's arrival on the trail. In the best traditions of the Susquehanna-Ohio

¹⁹Minutes of the 1748 Lancaster Conference, in PCR, 5:307-318; Report on the Conference with the Twightwees, in The Pennsylvania Gazette, 17 July 1748. The list of the presents given to the Indians at the end of this conference, totalling over 850 Pounds Sterling, is given in PCR, 5:197. Significantly, the Lenapes, who had missed the 1747 conference, attended the 1748 Lancaster Conference despite their continued hostility toward Pennsylvania's government. In company with the Western Iroquois, the Lenapes sent representatives to Lancaster as intercessors on behalf of Nucheconner's Shawnees. Their motive, very much in keeping with their character, appears to be basically altruistic. Their petition was eventually accepted a few months later at the Logstown conference. Minutes of the 1748 Lancaster Conference, in PCR, 5:311; Minutes of the 1748 Logstown Conference, in ibid., 357-358.

²⁰Shikellamy was greatly agitated over this conference, and tried every argument he could think of to talk Weiser out of traveling to Logstown. Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 10 July 1748, in PA, 1st Series, 2:8.

Alliance, they implored Weiser not to order the sheriffs to throw some white squatters who had settled on Indian lands out of their newly-constructed homes until after the conference was over. After Weiser promised them he would not "turn out" the settlers at that time, the Indians hurried on to Logstown to prepare for the British party's arrival.²¹ On the morning of the 27th, Weiser's party dined with Alliquippa at her village and arrived that evening at Logstown, answering a salute fired from over one hundred trade guns and rifles. George Croghan had been sent on ahead with twenty pack horses carrying seven hundred pounds of trade goods from Pennsylvania and Virginia, which he apparently cached at Franks' Town on the Little Juniata River.²²

While Montour and Franklin headed off to see the sights at Kuskuskies, Weiser, representing Virginia as well as Pennsylvania, began the real work of the conference. On 30 August he went to the Lenape town of Beaver Creek, about eight miles distant from Logstown, to have some wampum made for the upcoming conference by the expert Lenape matrons. Montour and Franklin returned to Logstown that same night

²¹Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 15 August 1748, in PA, 1st Series, 2:15.

²²Conrad Weiser, Journal of the 1748 Logstown Conference, in PCR, 5:348-349. Weiser's journal is, unfortunately, the only written report of the conference in existence, but it is honestly written and rich in insight and detail. Both Weiser and Croghan had been supplied with explicit instructions by Provincial Secretary Richard Peters. Instructions to Conrad Weiser, Esq., Interpreter for the Province of Pennsylvania, 23 June 1748, in PCR, 5:290-293; Richard Peters to George Croghan, 31 March 1748, in *ibid.*, 5:214.

with a message from the Iroquois sachems at Kuskuskies asking that the conference be moved to their town. On the 31st Weiser sent Montour back to the Kuskuskies sachems with a message to the effect that it was they who had requested that the conference be held at Logstown during the 1747 Philadelphia Conference, a message which was accepted with good grace. On 3 September Weiser had a Union Jack run up a long pole and watched the Indian delegates from outlying villages appear amid a barrage of salutes and counter-salutes from their trade guns (the Lenapes and Shawnees, of course, fired their rifles). He met with the Wyandots from the 6th through the 8th to confirm that a large number of them had left their village on Sandusky Bay due to the high price of trade goods. Weiser was told that the French "would always get their [Wyandot] men to go to war against their enemies, and would use them as their own people, that is, like slaves," and that they also greatly desired an alliance like the Miamis had just made with Pennsylvania. On the same day Weiser also began conducting a rough census of the Ohio Indians. He had an important meeting with the Ohio Senecas on the 9th and 12th to complain that one of their raiding parties had taken two English prisoners in the Carolinas while raiding the Catawbas. While one of these prisoners had been killed, the other was returned to Weiser with profuse apologies. The Seneca sachems added sheepishly that they had been afraid that such things might happen if the English continued to trade with their bitter enemies,

the Catawbas.²³

On the 10th of September Weiser visited his old friend Kakowatcheky and gave him a new set of clothes and some chewing tobacco, for which the old sachem was most grateful. The Iroquois sachems present thanked Weiser and the proprietors on behalf of a man who, although still greatly revered, had grown "childish" in his old age. Weiser addressed the liquor problem about which Scaroyady and the other Ohio sachems had been so concerned at the Lancaster Conference. To emphasize Pennsylvania's determination to control the trade, he and George Croghan staved in an eight gallon keg of rum belonging to a drunken trader named Henry Noland. Weiser then read a stern proclamation from the Pennsylvania government prohibiting traders from bringing rum to Indian conferences. As Noland was known to have at least twenty-two more gallons of rum concealed somewhere in the woods, Weiser thought it appropriate to remind the

²³Conrad Weiser, Journal of the 1748 Logstown Conference, in PCR, 5:349-351. The Wyandot quotation is given on 350. Virginia sent two hundred pounds sterling for Weiser to buy the Indians presents to help pave the way for its traders and possible land sales in the Ohio Valley. Thomas Lee to Conrad Weiser, 13 February 1748, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 261. Weiser arranged his census by sending out runners to villages in the area who returned with a stick for each warrior in each village he was sent to, which were then tied up into bundles and returned to him. His census tallied 163 Senecas, 74 Mohawks, 35 Onondagas, 20 Cayugas, 15 Oneidas, 162 Shawnees, 40 Southern Shawnees, 100 Wyandots, 15 Mohicans, and 165 Lenapes, a total of 789 warriors. The addition of their families would bring the total to over two thousand people in the Iroquois-dominated Logstown area. No Miamis were included because their villages were too far to the west for the runners to return with the markers before the conference ended. Conrad Weiser, Journal of the 1748 Logstown Conference, in PCR, 5:351.

Indians that they must share some of the blame for the liquor trade. It was they who had invited the traders into their camps and villages to trade skins for liquor, and the Pennsylvania government could do little to stop the trade without their co-operation.²⁴

After preliminary discussions with the Western Iroquois in which the admission of the Wyandots into the new covenant chain was approved, the conference began in earnest when all parties met in full council on the evening of 13 September 1748. The delegates included Kakowatcheky of the Shawnees; Shawanaasson and Achananatainu of the western Lenapes; Scaroyady, Tanaghrisson, Oniadagarehra and Asserhartur of the Ohio Iroquois; and Totornihyades, Taganayesy, Tonachqua, Wanduny, and Taruchiorus of the Wyandots. After the preliminary welcoming speech by Asserhartur, Weiser reported everything that had happened at the Lancaster "Twightwee" conference. The Lenape sachems condoled Pennsylvania over the death of their "Chief Man," Allumapees, as "the Death of their [Pennsylvania's] good Friend and Brother must have affected them as well as us." The presents from Franks' Town finally arrived after some apprehension that French-allied Indians from Fort Niagara had intercepted them. Weiser took the opportunity just before delivering the presents on the 17th to remind the Indians that although the war with France was effectively over, they should still be watchful, as the French could never be trusted. He informed

²⁴Ibid., 351-353.

them that the present was given to them to strengthen the chain of friendship that had been forged between them and the colonies of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and asked that the sachems restrain certain of their young men who had been robbing the English traders. The presents, arranged in separate piles corresponding to the power and size of the individual nations who were receiving them, were then handed out, followed by the usual festivities.²⁵

Weiser supplied funds to the Iroquois leaders Scaroyady and Tanaghrisson to help start the new "government" in the region. After insuring that all the Indians in the area had heard his speech in their own language, Weiser headed home, which he reached safely on 2 October. The conference at Logstown was the high-point of his distinguished diplomatic career. He had readily accomplished his mission of cementing an alliance between his government and the Ohio Indians. He had obtained a good understanding of the relative strength and probable allegiance of the tribes in the area. Weiser made notes about the fertile, timbered lands that would make prosperous farms and homesteads for the land-hungry English. In a sense, the trans-Allegheny movement began with Weiser, as his notes, letters and journal, when read in Philadelphia, Williamsburg, and London helped to open a floodgate of unimpedable immigration into

²⁵Ibid., 353-358. Quote from 354. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which ended War of the Austrian Succession, was signed on 19 April 1748, but the official news did not reach Philadelphia until 29 October 1748. Minutes of the Provincial Council, 29 October 1748," in *ibid.*, 359.

the trans-Allegheny west.²⁶

The 1748 Logstown Conference was a watershed in North American history, as it elevated the Ohio Indians to the same diplomatic level as the Iroquois League who had spawned them. Although it provided freedom and political autonomy for the peoples of the upper Ohio Valley, it also provided an easily accessible target to the French imperialists and British expansionists who greedily eyed the lands and peltries of the native peoples who had spurned the protection of the Six Nations. Pennsylvania's new policy toward the Ohio Indians, although it enhanced trade opportunities and weakened French influence in the Ohio Valley, did not reflect political realities within Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance. Weiser later admitted that he had made a huge error when he did not follow Shikellamy's advice and continue to regard the Ohio Indians as wards of the Iroquois League. As individual and group autonomy was valued above all else, power in the Ohio Valley was held locally, not nationally, and Indian elites and British traders ran what national government existed.²⁷ Internal factionalism and the French and British colonial military

²⁶Ibid., 358; Conrad Weiser, Private Sentiments of the Ohio, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 270-271. Tanaghrisson emerged as an important leader at the 1748 Logstown Conference. Weiser greatly strengthened Tanaghrisson's position by the valuable supplies and other gifts he left in his care. Ibid.

²⁷Journal of the Proceedings of Conrad Weiser in his Journey to Onondago, with a Message from the Honorable Thomas LEE, Esquire, President of Virginia, to the Indians There, in PCR, 5:478; White, Middle Ground, 16-17.

organizations eventually caused the breakup of the ill-fated Ohio Confederacy. The downfall of this western political-economic construct, coupled with intra-group factionalism, disease, and drunkenness set up the collapse of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance at the hands of the French and British colonial military establishments in the summer of 1754.

The year 1748 ended on a somber note for the peoples of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance. Old, sick, nearly destitute and still mourning over the recent loss of his wife, son, daughter-in-law, and grandchildren, Shikellamy died at his home in Shamokin on 6 December. Visiting Bethlehem earlier that year, the Moravians had converted him to Christianity. David Zeisberger was escorting Shikellamy home when the old sachem became ill near Tulpehocken Creek. Shikellamy managed to make it to his house in Shamokin, where he stretched himself out on his mat, too ill to move. The next day Shikellamy's daughter came to Zeisberger, saying that he should come quickly, as her father was "going home." When Zeisberger came to his bedside, Shikellamy could no longer speak, but smiled at him, and then, in the presence of his daughter, grandchildren, and Zeisberger, quietly died. His sons, all out hunting, were sent for, and Zeisberger and gunsmith Henry Fry made him a coffin. Shikellamy's body was painted, his coffin ornamented, and his weapons and other things he might need in the afterlife (musket, tomahawk, knife, arrows, wampum, clothing, blankets, bread, pipe and tobacco, flint and tinder, fishing line and hooks, needle,

and some English coins) were placed in the coffin with him, according to Iroquois custom. With the entire village attending, Christian burial services were conducted three days after his death, and Shikellamy was buried in the Indian burial ground at Shamokin. He was the last of the Iroquoian continental visionaries in the tradition of Deganaweda and Hiawatha, and was a critical element in the development of English North America. If he and Conrad Weiser had not brought the Iroquois into a strong friendship with the British by means of the 1732, 1736, 1742, and 1744 treaties with Pennsylvania's government, it is quite probable that the pro-French Seneca-led faction among the Iroquois would have overcome the less-powerful pro-British Mohawk faction and induced the League to join the French against the British in King George's War. Swatane, the enlightener of the Indians, was no longer with them on the Susquehanna. A lamp had gone out at Shamokin, leaving them in darkness. With his passing, the guidance and counsel he had given Conrad Weiser, James Logan, the Great Council at Onondaga, and the Indians he watched over along the Susquehanna River were gone forever.²⁸

²⁸Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 22 April 1749, in PA, 1st Series, 2:23; Edmund Alexander De Schweinitz, The Life and Times of David Zeisberger, The Western Pioneer and Apostle of the Indians (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott and Company, 1870; reprint. New York: Johnson Reprint Co., 1971), 149; Nicolaus Ludwig, Graf von Zinzendorf, Memorials of the Moravian Church, William C. Reichel, ed. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott and Company, 1870), 94; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 274-276; Sipe, Indian Chiefs, 159, 162. In view of the fact that Shikellamy was the only member of his family to convert to Christianity, it is extremely likely that traditional Iroquois condolence ceremonies were quietly performed for him at Shamokin, hidden

Instead of instituting policies to repair their Ohio Valley alliances²⁹ following the end of the War of the Austrian Succession, new and less far-sighted French officials accelerated the deterioration of their own system

from the watchful eyes of the Moravians. Logan, Shikellamy's middle son, asked Zeisberger to write Conrad Weiser and tell him that his old friend and trail companion was gone. Due to the lateness of the season, Weiser was unable to condole with Shikellamy's family or inform the Great Council of Onondaga of the sachem's death until the spring of 1749. Shikellamy's grave was exhumed by amateur archaeologists in 1860 and a monument was erected near the site by the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1915. The rocky hill across the Susquehanna River was called "the demon's den" by the Indians of Shikellamy's day, yet ironically the formation, which resembles a man's face in profile, is presently called "Shikellamy's Profile" by the unknowing local inhabitants. Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 22 April 1749, in PA, 1st Series, 2:23; Horatio Hale, ed., The Iroquois Book of Rites (Philadelphia: D.G. Brinton, 1883; reprint. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), 153; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 274, 596-597.

²⁹Samuel de Champlain founded Quebec in July 1608 by as a base in the St. Lawrence River Valley for a proposed French fur trading empire. Despite a difficult beginning and many mistakes by its leaders, by the early eighteenth century New France had become a bastion of culture that even the Indians could admire. This was largely due to the efforts of long-suffering (and at times, insufferable) Recollect and Jesuit missionaries who labored unceasingly amongst the native tribes for souls while also supporting their King and his ministers in their desires for riches and imperial hegemony. The Jesuits in particular eventually had good results against Indian shamans and native traditions because of their devotion, sincerity, medical skills, expertise in predicting eclipses, and ability to read and write (which the Indians considered the "Black Robe's" greatest magical power). Yet, although the French had an aptitude for forest diplomacy, missionary work, trade, and guerilla warfare, at no time in its history did New France have the ability to survive without the military aid of its Indian allies. Samuel de Champlain, Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, 1604-1618, ed. W.L. Grant (New York: Charles Schribner's Sons, 1907), 131; W.J. Eccles, The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969), 23-24; Axtell, The Invasion Within, 100-103; James Axtell, "The Power of Print in the Eastern Woodlands," William and Mary Quarterly 44, no. 2 (1987): 300-309.

of covenant chain alliances. They humiliated friendly sachems, threatened death to recalcitrant Ohio warriors, and seemed determined to treat many of the Ohio Indians as low-ranking French subjects or even slaves. The most important of these new officials was Roland-Michel Barrin, the Marquis de la Galissoniere, who became the acting Governor-General of New France in the early autumn of 1747. Naval officer, scientist, and Enlightenment scholar, he was one of the most able men of the time. La Galissioniere was a temporary replacement for the unfortunate Governor-General of French Canada, Pierre-Jacques de Taffanel, the Marquis de la Jonquiere. The British Admiral Lord Anson had captured the hapless Jonquiere and his entire fleet at the Battle of Cape Finisterre on 14 May 1747. La Galissoniere's direct superior was the Comte de Maurepas, the Minister of Marine. Maurepas worked for France's Foreign Minister, the Duke de Choiseul, who in turn was directly responsible to King Louis XV. La Galissoniere had ascertained what had to be done regarding the Ohio region soon after his arrival in Quebec in September 1747. In a letter to Maurepas about a year after he arrived at his post, La Galissoniere began thinking about the strategies necessary to defeat the expanding English colonies. Noting gloomily that the "Illinois country" (the French generic term for the Ohio Valley) was then and probably always would be an economic drain on the French treasury, he wrote that it was far too great a prize to be squandered or negotiated away because of its military and political value against the British and their Indian

allies. He consequently began thinking about introducing small numbers of colonial troops and French settlers to the area to build forts, an inexpensive method of occupation that would also have the advantage of providing a way to harass English traders in the area.³⁰

La Galissoniere's major military move in the Ohio Valley came in the form of a scouting expedition led by Captain Celoron de Bienville. The intent was to overawe the Ohio Indians with an example of French military might and wean them away from the English traders then active in the region. Marching from Montreal in June 1749, Celoron's 213-man expedition covered over three thousand miles in six months. The French, as they canoed down the Ohio river, were somewhat unnerved by the unexpected power of the Ohio Indians. Celoron's men marked their claims along the river by burying a series of lead plates, but only at places where they thought they were not being observed. They also wasted no opportunity to harangue any Indians who would listen to them along the way, a tactic that often backfired when the local war leaders grew impatient. Listening to Celoron's imperialistic speeches at Logstown on 11 August 1749 was apparently too much for Kakowatcheky. On information from

³⁰Conference between M. de la Galissoniere and the Iroquois, Quebec, 2 November 1748, in NYCD, 10:186-188; Occurrences in Canada During the Year 1747-48, in ibid., 149; Marquis de la Galissoniere to the Count de Maurepas, 1 September 1748, in ibid., 134-136; White, Middle Ground 202; Warren Tute, The True Glory: The Story of the Royal Navy Over a Thousand Years (New York: Harper and Row, 1983), 78; Theodore Calvin Pease, ed., Anglo-French Boundary Disputes in the West, 1749-1763 (Springfield, IL: Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, 1936), xxvi.

George Croghan, who was present at the council, Richard Peters related the following:

Old Cackewatcheka was so exasperated at the Pride & Insolence of the French pretending to say that the Indian's land belonged to them that while he [Celeron] was in the midst of his Speech, the old King being blind and unable to stand without somebody to support him said in a low voice to those next to him, Why don't you shoot this French Fellow -- Shoot him -- shoot him.³¹

Celeron, hearing the old sachem's remarks, broke off immediately and the entire French force left hastily in their canoes. Kakowatcheky's influence was so great that Shawnee warriors fired upon the French on 21 August some miles downriver from Logstown near the Shawnee village of Sinhioto. The intercession of a single courageous Western Iroquois warrior saved the French emissaries previously sent ashore from torture and death.³²

Celoron's force, bereft of its Indian allies, was too small to intimidate the powerful Ohio Indians. To the consternation of its officers, the expedition ended up

³¹Richard Peters to the Proprietaries, 26 October 1749, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 267.

³²Celeron de Bienville's Speech to the Ohio Indians at Logstown, and the Indians' Contemptuous Reply, 1749, in NYCD, 6:533; Father Jean de Bonnecamps, Account of the Voyage on the Beautiful River made in 1749, under the Direction of Monsieur de Celeron, hereafter cited as Relation, in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1601-1791, 73 vols., hereafter cited as JR (Cleveland, OH: The Burrows Bros. Co., 1896-1901), 69:177-181; Celeron de Bienville, Journal of the Expedition Down the Ohio (1749), in WHC, 18:44-45. Apparently not willing to do battle to the death with Celeron's soldiers, the Shawnee warriors deliberately fired high and pierced the French colors in several places. Bonnecamps, Relation, 179.

amusing or angering the Indians instead. Celeron's expedition re-emphasized in the Ohio Indians' minds the issue of Indian land ownership and sovereignty, and that the French (and perhaps the British) had designs on what the Indians now regarded as their lands. The Indians' beloved Ohio Valley, formerly a haven for migrating peoples, was being transformed into a center of conflict that placed them in the midst of the very turmoil they had sought to escape.³³

In August 1749 the Marquis de la Jonquiere finally made his way to New France and assumed his duties as Governor-General. Prior to embarking for France, La Galissoniere was able to brief his successor on the broad lines of the colonial policy he had urged repeatedly on the French government. The gist of this briefing and other thoughts

³³La Galissoniere to Rouille, 26 June 1749," in IESYW, 96-99; Celeron de Bienville, Journal of the Expedition Down the Ohio, in WHC, 18:36-58; Proclamation made by Celeron de Bienville Upon Taking Possession of the Ohio River and its Tributaries, 1749, in NYCD, 10:189; Captain Celeron de Bienville to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, 6 August 1749, in ibid., 6:532; Captain Celeron de Bienville's Certification that he had Expelled English Traders from the Ohio, 10 August 1749, in ibid.; Celeron de Bienville's Speech to the Ohio Indians at Logstown, and the Indians' Contemptuous Reply, 1749," in ibid., 533; Governor Clinton of New York to the Lords of Trade, 17 October 1749, in ibid., 529-530; Bonnecamps, Relation, 151-199; Jennings, Empire of Fortune, 16, 36; McConnell, A Country Between, 88, 93. Father Jean de Bonnecamps' account or Relation of his journey with Celeron down the Ohio includes many scientific observations, and notes on the local flora and fauna, such as the "Illinois cattle," or American Buffalo. It also gives information on all waterways and Indian villages along the route (including Kittanning, Logstown, and Pickawillany), notes the numbers and influence of the English traders, and the exact location of where each lead plate was buried. Bonnecamps, Relation, 151-199.

later solidified into a memorial which La Galissoniere presented to his king in 1750. This penetrating summary on the inter-colonial situation in North America, highly regarded by French diplomats, became the essential position paper on the matter until 1754. Realizing that the French navy, even combined with Spain's, was no match for Britain's, La Galissoniere reasoned that for France to win in the struggle for North America a way had to be found to disperse England's naval strength and prevent it from blockading French ports. The Illinois country was indeed a drain on the French treasury. Yet honor, religion, future profit, and the necessity of blocking the westward expansion of the British demanded that it be reinforced and protected. La Galissoniere stated that the forts along that region's rivers should be maintained as a barrier to English expansion and to enable France to dominate the Indian nations of the lower Mississippi River basin. He reasoned that the English regarded their American colonies so highly that, if threatened, the British Crown would be forced to divert a sizable part of its army and navy to protect them. This would reduce the availability of British forces in other theaters. The natural boundary between the English colonies and New France was the Allegheny highlands; discovery, exploration, and possession of the river valleys to the west established France's claim to this region. If the British were stopped at the Alleghenies, New France could be preserved. But if the British were allowed to seize the Illinois country, it would signal the destruction

of French settlements in North America. New France would be cut in two both militarily and economically, and Louisiana and the interior trade would wither under the slow, inexorable strangulation of the Royal Navy's blockade.³⁴

While the French government digested La Galissoniere's Memorial, La Jonquiere muddled along in New France. Rather hapless and easily outmaneuvered, he was not the strong, far-sighted governor his predecessor had been. He allowed the situation in New France to deteriorate steadily both economically and diplomatically. La Jonquiere did order French commanders in the Ohio region, such as Celeron de Bienville, now commanding the fortress at Detroit, to attack the pro-British Twightwee (or Miami) trading center at

³⁴Memoir of Silhouette on Inexpediency of Abandoning Canada, February 1759, in IESYW, 249; Marquis de la Galissoniere, Memoir on the French Colonies in North America, December 1750, in NYCD, 10:220-232; Max Savelle, The Diplomatic History of the Canadian Boundary, 1749-1763 (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1940), 18; George F.G. Stanley, New France: the Last Phase, 1744-1760 (Toronto: McClelland Stewart Limited, 1968), 40. In 1750, the French and British governments established the Anglo-French Commission on Colonial Boundaries in an honest attempt to broker territorial disputes left smoldering by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The senior members were the Marquis de la Galissoniere for France and William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, for Great Britain. The first meeting took place on 31 August 1750 at La Galissoniere's home in Paris. The negotiators found themselves far apart due to the ambiguous, vague and sometimes impossible instructions issued to them by their respective governments, both of whom apparently had little confidence that the negotiations would bear fruit. In retrospect, the commission was an exercise in futility. Nothing was ever accomplished, and by 1752 the British began to insist that the negotiations regarding North America be taken out of the commission's hands and negotiated through regular diplomatic channels. The French initially opposed this, but by 1754 both governments had begun direct negotiations while using the commission merely as a sounding board for the exchange of diplomatic views. Savelle, Diplomatic History of the Canadian Boundary, 32-41.

Pickawillany in 1751. However, Jonquiere failed to provide Celeron and other garrison commanders with sufficient troops and funds to persuade their Indian allies to join the attack, which then failed to materialize. La Jonquiere also tried to woo the Ohio Indians away from the English traders with presents instead of force, but he died in March 1752 without seeing this policy produce any positive results.³⁵

The situation in the Ohio Valley was problematic after Celeron's expedition had passed through, although it had not yet reached the point of implosion. War was not inevitable if the British could raise the authority of the Onondaga Council to the point that the Iroquois again felt that the prestige of their league was a keystone of English diplomatic policy. The Six Nations might thus be persuaded to return to the benevolent neutrality that had in the past been the mainstay of England's colonies. Far from being a failure, Celoron de Bienville's expedition had not only destabilized the Ohio region, but had also de-stabilized the diplomatic status-quo among the Ohio Indians, the Iroquois, and the British. Weiser saw a critical need for a new policy, a variant of Pennsylvania's Indian policy of 1732. In an entry in his New York Journal dated 17 September 1750, he stated that the Ohio Indians must be dealt with from that time on as subservient dependents of Onondaga, as the real

³⁵Marquis de la Jonquiere to Governor Clinton, Regarding French Rights on the Ohio, 10 August 1751, in NYCD, 6:731-734; The King to M. de la Jonquiere, 28 February 1750, in ibid., 10:199; Rouille to La Jonquiere, 4 May 1749, in IESYW, 84-90; De Raymond to La Jonquiere, 4 and 5 September 1749, in ibid., 105-110; Stanley, New France: the Last Phase, 44.

power of the Iroquois lay dormant but watchful at Onondaga, not at Logstown.³⁶ Such a policy change reflected the real relationships within the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance, as the Six Nations and the Ohio Indians could conceivably have organized a united front against French aggression.

Yet others, like George Croghan, thought that the Ohio Indians were more powerful than they had hitherto been given credit for. He stated that their council fire, albeit still inferior to Onondaga's, should continue to be recognized as an independent entity. Moreover, he argued, the Ohio Indians were increasing in strength while the Six Nations in New York seemed to be in decline. The result of this disagreement was that Pennsylvania's Provincial Council received confusing and contradictory advice from Weiser and Croghan, its two most experienced and trusted advisors, at a time when unanimity of counsel was critically needed. Faced with this contradictory advice, Pennsylvania's bewildered government made an unwise and self-defeating decision -- it decided to placate both parties by giving presents to Onondaga and the Ohio Indians. It seemed to the confused Provincial Council that the most honorable thing to do was to uphold the treaty Weiser had made in 1748 with the Ohio Indians. To reinforce this, Weiser himself was to give these Indians another present at a conference planned for mid-May 1751 at Logstown as well as delivering a present at

³⁶Journal of the Proceedings of Conrad Weiser in his Journey to Onondago, with a Message from the Honorable Thomas LEE, Esquire, President of Virginia, to the Indians There, in PCR, 5:478; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 317.

Onondaga later in the year. Yet by trying to placate both parties the proprietary government had insured that neither would be satisfied. The Great Council's prestige remained at the level Weiser had lowered it to at the 1748 Logstown Conference. Thus there was no hope of stabilization in the Ohio country by a powerful and assertive Iroquois League if the French should decide to occupy the region with a strong military force.³⁷

The Iroquois confused the Pennsylvania government in 1749 by coming to Philadelphia in two separate delegations. They came to negotiate another land sale to the province and to determine what the province was going to do about the squatters on the west bank of the Susquehanna River. The Seneca delegation arrived in June 1749, claimed that no-one else was coming, negotiated a treaty, and quickly departed with their presents. The unexpected main delegation, led by Canasatego, came to Weiser's farm in August, after the province had already spent a fortune entertaining the Senecas. Weiser was very angry, but somehow managed to house, feed and transport Canasatego's 279-person delegation to Philadelphia for the conference. The hungry Indians, however, had descended on Weiser's fruit orchards and kitchen before, during, and after the conference, keeping a

³⁷Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, 24 October 1748, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 269-270; Proceedings of George Croghan and Andrew Montour at Logstown, 18-30 May 1751, in PCR, 5:530-539; Conrad Weiser's Proceedings with the Six Nations, June-July 1751, in ibid., 551-553; Nicholas B. Wainwright, George Croghan: Wilderness Diplomat (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), 40-41; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 321-322.

nearly frantic Ann Eve and her children busy baking and serving their guests.³⁸

Both the Seneca delegates and Canasatego's delegation approved Pennsylvania's land purchase of 1749. According to the deed, it included the land west of the Susquehanna and the Delaware River north of the Blue Mountain. However, its southern boundary line came dangerously close to crossing the North Branch of the Susquehanna River (whose course dips south at the point in question) into the hitherto inviolate Iroquois lands of the Wyoming Valley. Richard Peters, Pennsylvania's Provincial Secretary, was apparently one of those behind this chicanery. Weiser managed to head the conspirators off before the treaty was signed. He knew that the Iroquois had reserved this valley for their cousins the

³⁸Philadelphia Conference with the Iroquois [Senecas], 1-4 July 1749, in PCR, 5:388-397; Philadelphia Conference with the Iroquois [Canasatego's Group], 16-21 August 1749, in ibid., 398-410; Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 12 August 1749, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 282-283. The appearance of two separate delegations, each claiming to be the legitimate negotiator for the Six Nations, is a significant example of how deep the intra-League split which first appeared in 1745 had affected the Iroquois. Apparently the angry Weiser did not realize this when he gave Canasatego and his second delegation a diplomatic "scolding" for failing to come with the first delegation, and for bringing what seemed to be half the Indian population of the Susquehanna Valley with them. Canasatego was so incensed that he threatened to break off all diplomatic relations between the Six Nations and Pennsylvania at a hastily called conference in Weiser's orchard. The Iroquois sachems then allowed Weiser to pacify them by claiming that he had acted hastily and without orders from Philadelphia, thus redirecting all hostility that might have gone to the province to himself. Although Weiser had managed to stabilize the situation, the affront was certainly not forgotten and probably did much to lessen Weiser's influence with the Six Nations. Conrad Weiser, Memorandum of a Discourse with the Indian Counsel at my Own House, 7 August 1749, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 281-282.

Lenape and probably would be angry enough to go to war over the valley if any English settlers appeared in it.³⁹

The Provincial Government moved quickly to act on their promise to evict the British squatters who had settled on Indian lands on the west bank of the Susquehanna River. The issue of the backcountry squatters was a political nightmare for Pennsylvania's government. As the Provincial Assembly was inclined to take the side of the settlers, to dispossess the squatters would cause problems not only in the backcountry, but in the capital. Yet to do nothing and tacitly approve this blatant encroachment on Indian territory would almost surely incur the wrath of the Six Nations. The solution to this knotty problem was to insure the sachems viewed the settlements along the river while traveling to Philadelphia for the 1749 conference(s) and allow them to make the complaint. This turned the public opinion of Pennsylvania's more settled regions to the justice of the Indians' claim, and the necessity of evicting the squatters. When the settlers were evicted in May 1750 under the direction of Provincial Secretary Richard Peters, Conrad Weiser and George Croghan were two of the magistrates who oversaw the government's order. Ironically, it was the Indians themselves who finally asked that the evictions and

³⁹Deed: The Six Nations to Thomas and Richard Penn, 22 August 1749, in EAIDTL, 2:213; Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, 11 September 1749, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 284-285. The Wyoming Valley, named for the Shawnee town of Wyomink, runs along the North Branch of the Susquehanna River near the location of the present-day cities of Wilkes-Barre and Scranton, Pennsylvania.

cabin burnings be stopped. The sympathies of these warm-hearted and tolerant people were quickly aroused at the sight of anyone in distress, no matter what their culture or nation.⁴⁰

Although they had no real love for the French, the Iroquois had good reasons for leaning toward that nation. New York's Governor Clinton was openly contemptuous of the Six Nations. In addition, the Albany merchants had so cheated and dehumanized the Indians, even kidnapping their children to hold as security for debts, that the Iroquois had become suspicious of anyone coming to them from any of the English colonies. The people of the Six Nations had also observed that even those good men, such as Conrad Weiser, who came to them over the Ambassador's Road spoke not as ambassadors of a united English people but as representatives of religious sects, political parties, or private trading companies. But the main reason that the Great Council was tilting toward the French was to maintain the balance of power between the French and English. The Great Council sachems realized that neither of these European powers could be allowed to become regionally predominant if the Iroquois were to retain their freedom and autonomy. When the Ohio Indians and William Johnson's Mohawks tilted toward the British, the Onondaga Council compensated by moving toward the French. However, this kind

⁴⁰Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 15 August 1748, in PA, 1st Series, 2:15; Thomas McKee to Richard Peters, 22 April 1749, in ibid., 24; Meeting of the Provincial Council, 25 May 1750, in PCR, 5:431; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 277-278, 294.

of diplomatic maneuvering by the Six Nations was unacceptable to the British Crown, which still insisted that the Iroquois were their subjects in negotiations with the French. In reality, the Iroquois were an unyielding pivot point, a proud and free Native American people holding two of the world's great powers at arm's length despite fearsome protests from London and Paris.⁴¹

The never-ending Catawba War was still in the minds of Indian and colonial diplomats. In a concerted move, the governments of Virginia and Pennsylvania dispatched Weiser to Onondaga in the summer of 1750 to see if he could be of help in mediating it. There he informally consoled the Iroquois over the death of the pro-British sachem Canasatego, who had died under mysterious circumstances. Although courteously treated and entertained by his pro-French hosts, he could do little to move the Great Council to call back its warriors.⁴²

⁴¹William Johnson to Governor George Clinton, 22 January 1749, in Sir William Johnson, The Papers of Sir William Johnson, ed. James Sullivan et al., 14 vols., hereafter cited as PWJ (Albany, NY: University of the State of New York, 1921-1965), 9:37; Journal of the Proceedings of Conrad Weiser in his Journey to Onondago, with a Message from the Honorable Thomas LEE, Esquire, President of Virginia, to the Indians there, in PCR, 5:471-480; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 317, 341-342; Jennings, Empire of Fortune, 34-35. Weiser's increasing age and poor health became a large factor in the decline of his influence with the Iroquois, as the Onondaga trail eventually became insurmountable to him, even during the summer. He thus became dependent on the mercurial hospitality of New York politicians and that colony's new Superintendent of Indian Affairs, William Johnson.

⁴²Journal of the Proceedings of Conrad Weiser in his Journey to Onondago, with a Message from the Honorable Thomas LEE, Esquire, President of Virginia, to the Indians there, in PCR, 5:471-480. The Great Council, which met in mid-September

The intercolonial conference at Albany the following year was somewhat more promising. The South Carolina delegation had brought the Catawba sachem Nopkehe or "King Hagler" with them, and the combined efforts of the New York, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina delegations produced a reluctant but genuine truce between the two nations. Unfortunately, the truce lasted little more than a year before Iroquois war parties from Iroquoia and the Ohio Valley once more began heading south to attack the Catawbas.⁴³

1750 to consider the inter-colonial request for a conference at Fredericksburg, Virginia, politely declined to travel to Virginia, stating that they feared "the evil spirits that dwell among the white people" in Virginia which they claimed would kill them if they traveled to Fredericksburg. This meant in essence that they were suspicious that the Virginia governmental authorities would force a reconciliation between them and the Catawbas if they sent a delegation. It quickly became apparent to Weiser that the rumors that most of the Iroquois sachems were leaning toward the French were essentially correct. He inferred this because of their intransigence regarding Virginia's attempt to mediate the Catawba war, and the rather disturbing news that in 1748 the Iroquois had allowed the French to build a new post on the upper St. Lawrence River just north of Fort Frontenac. This mission-fort, La Presentation (Oswegatchie, present-day Ogdensburg, New York), provided a convenient site where the Jesuits, while feeding and clothing their Native American charges, could instruct them in Roman Catholicism and hatred for the British. Weiser's considerate host and Canasatego's pro-French successor was the Onondaga sachem Tohashwuchdioony, or "The Belt of Wampum." Ibid.

⁴³Proceedings of Conrad Weiser with the Six Nations at Onondago, 27 June-10 July 1751, in PCR, 5:551-553; Journal of the Proceedings of Conrad Weiser in his Journey to Albany with a Message from the Governor of Pennsylvania to the Six Nations of Indians. annod: 1751, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 323-334; Jane Douglas Summers Brown, The Catawba Indians: The People of the River (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1966), 177-179. Conrad Weiser was effectively prevented from negotiating with the Iroquois by New York's Governor Clinton and William Johnson when Weiser tried to travel to Onondaga via the New York City-Albany route in 1753.

Virginia's interest in the Ohio Valley was traceable to an overriding desire for land and riches on the part of land-speculation company stockholders. The Ohio Company was the most famous of the English land speculation companies and the only one to have a Royal Patent on the lands it intended to settle. In March 1749, Governor William Gooch of Virginia issued the company's land grant on the order of Britain's King George II. The grant's provisions included the settlement of one hundred families in the Ohio Valley within a period of seven years, where the company was ordered to build a fort for their protection. The initial grant gave the company two hundred thousand acres of fertile woodlands, with an additional three hundred thousand acres to be awarded upon the completion of the settlement and the fort. Frontiersman Christopher Gist was given the job of surveying the new lands, a formidable and sometimes dangerous task in that some of the Ohio Indians were very suspicious of his activities.⁴⁴

Journal of Conrad Weiser to Mohawks' Country, 24 July-30 August 1753, in PCR, 5:642-647.

⁴⁴Initial Grant to the Ohio Company, in Henry R. McIlwaine, ed., Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 5 vols., hereafter cited as EJCCV (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1925-1945), 5:295-296, 302-303, 306; Instructions to and Journals of Christopher Gist, 11 September 1750 to 4 January 1754, in Christopher Gist, Christopher Gist's Journals, With Historical, Geographical, and Ethnological Notes and Biographies of His Contemporaries [1750-1753], ed. William M. Darlington (Pittsburgh: J.R. Weldin, 1893), 31-89; Gipson, British Empire Before the American Revolution, 4:226-228. A backwoodsman of considerable skill and experience, Gist's official position was that of Virginia's Provincial Agent to the Ohio Indians. His real function was that of surveyor, agent, and spy for the Ohio Company. When the Indians at Logstown became suspicious

There exists today a large number of records from colonial sources regarding the statements and reactions of important sachems during this period of enormous societal stress and change. There is unfortunately, little record of the thoughts and responses of the rank-and-file of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance. It would be fair to say, however, that these voiceless peoples were just as agitated as their leaders at the malevolent forces moving toward them from French Canada and the British colonies. Great Indian leaders of the past, aged and infirm, were also relatively voiceless, but their activities can sometimes be glimpsed in the background. Madam Montour, for example, old and semi-retired, was last encountered in the colonial records at the 1744 Lancaster Conference. Andrew Montour, who had moved to the Sherman Creek area (present-day Landisburg, Pennsylvania) about a day's ride to the east from George Croghan's plantation at Aughwick sometime after the aforementioned conference, apparently took his aging mother with him in order to look after her. During a conference with the governor regarding the road conditions and distances between trans-Allegheny Indian settlements in 1754, he remarked off-handedly that his mother was still

of his survey activities along the Ohio River on 25 November 1750, he talked his way out of it by saying he was a late-arriving emissary from Virginia seeking George Croghan and Andrew Montour, both of whom were very well thought of at the time. Finally meeting those two men at the Wyandot trading center of Conchake or Muskingum about three weeks later, Gist got along with them so well that he formed a partnership with them soon afterwards. Gist, Journals, 34-35, 37; Jennings, Empire of Fortune, 17-19, 37-40.

vigorous enough to ride a horse from Logstown to Venango in 1752 in just two days time. Andrew lead her horse on foot all the way during this journey, a distance of about sixty miles. Although brief, this record provides an interesting glimpse of the twilight days of this remarkable woman and her son.⁴⁵

Weiser was able to excuse himself from the planned conference in Logstown in 1751 on the grounds that if he went he would be unable to return in time for the all-important planned meeting with the Six Nations at Albany. He recommended that George Croghan and Andrew Montour go in his place to deliver Pennsylvania's present to the Ohio Indians. Pennsylvania's new governor James Hamilton agreed to this only after Weiser provided strict instructions to his replacements on how they should conduct the conference. Weiser's instructions also included a directive from Virginia's Governor (and Ohio Company director) Robert Dinwiddie⁴⁶ to induce the Ohio leadership to come to

⁴⁵Conversation of Witham Marshe with Madam Montour, 28 June 1744, as quoted in Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:200-201; The Examination of Andrew Montour and John Patten, Allegheny Traders, 12 March 1754, in PCR, 5:762. Another of Madam Montour's sons, Tanweson or "Louis," had moved to the Ohio Valley some years before. List of the Participants at the Carlisle Conference, October 1753, in PCR, 5:685; Provincial Council: Indian Messages and the Governor's Reply, in EAIDTL, 2:304. The location of Andrew Montour's plantation on the New Allegheny Path is given in PCR, 6:151, and in Wallace, Indian Paths of Pennsylvania, 115.

⁴⁶The British Board of trade appointed Dinwiddie, then a successful merchant, Surveyor General for the Southern District of America in 1738. He did such a good job collecting revenues that he was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Virginia in July 1751. Raimo, Biographical Directory of American Colonial and Revolutionary Governors, 494.

Winchester, Virginia for a conference on Ohio Valley land sales. Croghan and Montour had much to do at the 1751 Logstown Conference. They first had to contend with a French emissary, Lieutenant Philippe-Thomas Chabert de Joncaire, who demanded that the Ohio Indians immediately expel the British traders. The Six Nations sachems immediately rejected this demand, and backed their rebuff by uncharacteristically returning the wampum belt by which Joncaire had made his request. Meanwhile, Croghan and Montour consulted with the Iroquois leadership, and paid a respectful visit to Kakowatcheky, by then so old that he was unable to attend the conference taking place in his own village. With Montour's help, Croghan delivered the prepared speeches on behalf of Pennsylvania to the Lenape, Shawnee, Wyandots, Miamis, and the Western Iroquois, whom "Brother Onas" asked to protect his traders from the French.⁴⁷ Tanaghrisson, the designated speaker for the Six Nations on the Ohio, rose and proceeded to accede to this request in a powerful statement for the liberty of the peoples of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance and their right to trade with whomever they pleased:

How comes it that you have broke the General Peace? Is it not three years since, as well as

⁴⁷Proceedings of George Croghan and Andrew Montour at Logstown, 18-30 May 1751, in EAIDTL, 2:248-253; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 322-323. Joncaire had been one of the emissaries who had escaped being tortured to death by the angry Shawnee inhabitants of Sinhioto during Celoron's expedition. Celoron de Bienville, Journal of the Expedition Down the Ohio, in WHC, 18:44-45; Bonnecamps, Relation, 179, 293.

our Brothers the English told Us that there was a Peace between the English and French, and how comes it that you have taken our Brothers as your Prisoners in our Lands? **Is it not our Land?** (Stamping on the Ground and putting his Finger to Johncoeur's [sic] Nose) What Right has Onontio [the governor of French Canada] to our Lands? I desire you may go home directly off our Lands, and tell Onontio to send us word immediately, what was his Reason for using our Brothers so, or what he means by such Proceedings, that we may know what to do, for I can assure Onontio, that We the Six Nations will not take such Usage. You hear what I say, and that is the Sentiments of all our Nations, tell it to Onontio, that that is what the Six Nations said to you.⁴⁸

This speech and Tanaghrisson's further demand that business with the colony of Virginia be conducted at Logstown, and not Winchester as Governor Dinwiddie had directed, is a strong proof of the strength of the Alliance at that time. The influence of Pennsylvania in the west was greatly attenuated at this conference, as the Quaker assembly would not fund the building of a fort the Indians requested near Logstown to defend them from the French.⁴⁹

Virginia, however, had no such qualms, and began making plans to move in and fill the vacuum left by Pennsylvania, which dovetailed nicely with its plans for expansion into the Ohio Valley. The Old Dominion had had no first-rate Indian diplomat since the death of Thomas Lee in November 1750. Consequently, Governor Dinwiddie asked Weiser to go

⁴⁸Tanghrisson's Speech at the 1751 Logstown Conference, in EAIDTL, 2:253.

⁴⁹Proceedings of George Croghan and Andrew Montour at Logstown, 18-30 May 1751, in EAIDTL, 2:255-256; Governor Hamilton to Governor Clinton, 6 June 1751, in NYCD, 6:710-711; McConnell, A Country Between, 93-94.

to Logstown in May 1752 and present gifts from Virginia to the Ohio sachems. Weiser was agreeable, and Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania initially gave Weiser permission to negotiate for Virginia. Hamilton, however, had a problem; he had received a request from the Ohio Shawnees asking for arms to protect themselves, as the Shawnees claimed that the French had killed thirty of the Miamis. If Hamilton refused to aid the Shawnees, they would be offended. If he helped them, it would infuriate the Quaker-dominated Pennsylvania Assembly. His solution was to inform the Ohio Indians that Virginia would supply them with the arms they desired at the upcoming conference at Logstown.⁵⁰

In that it was a much cheaper solution than risking its own men and equipment to do the same thing, Virginia was all too happy at the time to supply arms to Indians willing to fight the French. Yet on reflection, both Hamilton and Weiser realized that if the latter went to Logstown as Virginia's representative, the Indians there and at Onondaga

⁵⁰George Croghan to Governor James Hamilton, 8 February 1752, in PCR, 5:569, 571. Pennsylvania and Virginia had overlapping claims in the Ohio country, but Hamilton was willing to lend Weiser to Virginia for three main reasons. First, Weiser's reports would keep Hamilton well apprised of what exactly the Virginians were up to in the Ohio country. Second, the Ohio Indians could not fail to be impressed when a second present was delivered by a sister colony so soon after Pennsylvania's gift at Logstown in 1751. Third, if the Virginians were indeed thinking about building a fort along the Ohio, Weiser would be in an excellent position to encourage them to do so. Such a post, under the direction of a friendly and grateful Virginia government, would provide a convenient base of operations and place of refuge for Pennsylvania traders in the region. Governor James Hamilton, Letter to the Proprietors, 11 March 1752, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 334.

would still think of him as Pennsylvania's representative. Croghan's misguided advice to continue recognizing the Ohio Indians as a council fire separate from the Six Nations had at last borne its evil fruit. If Pennsylvania supported the Ohio Indians in a war against the French, it would anger the Great Council at Onondaga, who continued to claim the sole right to determine the issues of war and peace in the Ohio Valley. If Pennsylvania refused to support the Ohio Indians in a war against New France, she risked losing them to the enemy, as they would flock under any wing that offered them protection. The result of this was Weiser's resignation as Virginia's representative at the 1752 Logstown conference, with Pennsylvania's Andrew Montour and Virginia's Christopher Gist as his last-minute replacements.⁵¹

The disastrous 1752 Logstown Conference was one of the most blatant examples of conspiratorial treaty-making in American History. The Ohio Company intended to seize and settle the territory; Virginia's commissioners worked more diligently to enrich themselves than for the Old Dominion; and Croghan, Montour, and Gist were lobbying for their own lands from both the Indians and the Ohio Company. The Western Iroquois, whom most of the Euroamerican delegates regarded as being diplomatically unsophisticated, outfoxed everyone by "selling" the Ohio lands to the English. The western sachems knew that Onondaga would nullify anything

⁵¹Conference at Logstown to Proceed with Different Interpreters, 22 April 1752, in EAIDTL, 5:126; Instructions to Gist by the Ohio Company for the Logstown Treaty, 28 April 1752, in ibid., 127-128; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 334-335.

they signed if the Ohio Company actually had the temerity to attempt to occupy the lands they thought they had "purchased." But the conference was also the major political mechanism that proved the undoing of Tanaghrisson and his political allies, and the beginning of the end of the Ohio Indian Confederacy. The British diplomats stated falsely that in the 1744 Lancaster Treaty the Iroquois had sold the Ohio Valley to the British (i.e., the Ohio Company). Tanaghrisson finally caved in and supposedly promised a fort for the security of the Indians. But by so doing Tanaghrisson's position with the Ohio Indians, who knew that they had been sold out, deteriorated rapidly, and he owed most of his remaining influence to his colonial allies.⁵²

While the Logstown conference was still in session, an Indian messenger brought the stunning news that Pickawillany, the most stalwart of the pro-British trading centers in the Ohio Valley, had been destroyed on 21 June 1752. A French trader named Charles Langlade, leading a band of about 240 Objibwa and Ottawa warriors, had captured the village and burned it to the ground. Langlade was a French-metis trader who had intermarried into the local

⁵²Governor Robert Dinwiddie, Commission and Instructions to Joshua Fry, Lunsford Lomax, and James Patton for the Logstown Treaty, April 1752, in EAIDTL, 5:129-133; Treaty of Logstown, 28 May-13 June 1752, in ibid., 133-146; Jennings, Empire of Fortune, 37-43; McConnell, A Country Between, 95-96. There was such a stream of cross-purposes and intrigue at this conference that Francis Jennings quipped that there were "more conspiracies present than people." Jennings, Empire of Fortune, 37.

Indian hierarchy around present-day Green Bay, Wisconsin, and had decided to act upon La Jonquiere's orders to destroy the town when none of the professional soldiers at any of the French posts along the Great Lakes would heed them. Most of Pickawillany's men were out hunting, but old Memeskia, the pro-British village chief and bane of the French, was at home. Memeskia and fourteen of his warriors fought to the death under the British flag flying over the English traders' blockhouse. The attacking Indians then boiled and ate his body to symbolically gain his strength. Two of the eight English traders at the post got away, one (a wounded man) was killed, and the other five were stripped and taken to Quebec.⁵³

The raid was successful beyond French expectations. The British did nothing to avenge it, consequently the Miamis and other western nations soon returned to the French fold, and English traders were no longer able to penetrate to the western Ohio Valley. Langlade had achieved in a single morning what Celeron de Bienville had failed to accomplish in a grueling six-month expedition. The Ohio Valley was once more moving, glacially but purposefully,

⁵³Longueuil to Rouille, 18 August 1752, in IESYW, 652-653; Duquesne to the French Minister, 25 October 1752, in WHC, 18:128-131; William Trent, Journal of a Journey from Logstown to Pickawillany, 21 June-4 August 1752, as quoted in Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 2:291-298; Trader Thomas Burney's Account of the Destruction of Pickawillany, with a Message to the Provincial Government from the Surviving Miamis, 30 August 1752, in PCR, 5:599-601; Francis Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1884; reprint. Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1983), 78-79; Jennings, Empire of Fortune, 49.

back into the French sphere of influence. The French raid on Pickawillany, the British greed for land that was unmasked at the 1752 Logstown Conference, and Iroquois factionalism and indecision had destabilized and weakened the intercultural linkages of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance. The imperial agents of Britain and France waited patiently for an opportunity to pounce on the weakened Alliance and bring it crashing to the ground.

This chapter described the unstable political and economic situation in the Ohio Valley at the end of the War for the Austrian Succession, and the establishment of the Ohio Indian Confederacy as a "separate campfire" by Pennsylvania which culminated at the 1748 Logstown Conference. It also illustrated the French dilemma regarding the Ohio Valley which culminated in Celeron's disastrous expedition down the Ohio, and the British diplomatic problems with the crumbling Iroquois Confederacy, which climaxed in the two-stage Philadelphia conference with the Iroquois. British colonial land-speculation schemes in the Ohio Valley were also uncovered and analyzed. Finally, the unraveling of the Alliance due to the destruction of the pro-British Miami trading center of Pickawillany at the hands of the French and their Indian allies was discussed. Chapter VI relates the French invasion of the upper Ohio Valley and the British military countermoves. The narrative culminates at the showdown at Fort Necessity in July 1754 which signalled the end of the fur-trade based Ohio Confederacy and the beginning of the end of the Susquehanna-

Ohio Alliance. The chapter also briefly summarizes the beginning of the French and Indian War and its consequences for the peoples of the Alliance.

CHAPTER VI.

WAR AND DISSOLUTION

In the spring of 1752, after ruminating a bit on La Galissoniere's 1750 Memoir, and with the approval of the King, the French Foreign Ministry formulated a definitive and coherent colonial policy regarding the Ohio Valley. The old policy of restraint toward the Six Nations, the Ohio Indians, and the English traders in the Ohio Valley was discredited and condemned. The new policy, despite the expected objections of the Indians, consisted of the emplacement of a line of forts along the Allegheny River to establish French authority. English traders would be kept east of the Allegheny Mountains by the force of French arms. The show of French military force would (supposedly) be so impressive that the Ohio Indians would eventually come back into the French trading network. The Iroquois claim to the Ohio Valley in particular was to be disparaged, as the French posited that LaSalle's discovery displaced any Native American right to prior ownership. The French perceived the British "as a united and diabolical force bent on seducing their old allies" when in actuality the Ohio Indians were dealing with the colonial representatives of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, the privately-owned Ohio Company, independent Anglo-American traders, and the Iroquois Confederacy. The Ohio Confederates were allied with the British and the Iroquois for reasons of commercial

gain, enhanced power, and for protection from the French, not for reasons of a coherent strategy. Yet by attempting to re-instate the status-quo ante-bellum based on their previously good fur-trade relations with the Indians, the French ironically subverted the very relationships they were fighting to preserve by invading the Ohio Valley and showing little respect to their Native American trading partners.¹

La Jonquiere's replacement as Governor-General of New France was Ange de Menneville, the Marquis de Duquesne, who arrived in Quebec in July 1752. He was a hard-driving soldier who was precisely the man to carry out his Foreign Ministry's new policies. On the advice of La Galissoniere and with the encouragement of the French government, Duquesne and New France's corrupt but able Intendant Francois Bigot began planning a military expedition to be carried out in 1753 to secure the Ohio country. A force of over twenty-two hundred Troops de Marine and Canadian militia were to build a string of forts that would be

¹Quotation from Marquis de la Galissoniere, "Memoir on the French Colonies in North America, December 1750," in Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, 15 vols., hereafter cited as NYCD (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons, and Company, 1855), 10:224; Ibid., 220-232; Minute of Instructions given to M. Duquesne, April 1752, in ibid., 242-245; Theodore C. Pease and Ernestine Jenison, eds., Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War, 1747-1755, hereafter cited as IESYW (Springfield, IL: Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, 29 (1940)), xix; Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 224. Charles Hanna offers an excellent legalistic discussion of LaSalle's purported claims to the Ohio Valley. Charles A. Hanna, The Wilderness Trail, or the Ventures and Adventures of Pennsylvania Traders on the Allegheny Path, 2 vols. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1911), 2:87-91.

sufficient to keep English traders and influence out of the region forever. The principal French fortress was to be located at the Forks of the Ohio, on the most exposed portion of the jugular vein of English desires for a landed empire in the west. This expedition was dispatched from the French fortress at Niagara (near present-day Niagara, New York) in the spring of 1753 under the command of the veteran soldier Captain Pierre-Paul de la Malgue, Sieur de Marin, with orders to capture and occupy the critical entrance points to the Ohio Valley. As a military force it was unprecedented for the Eastern Woodlands, and apparently awed the local Iroquois residents around the fort into a stunned silence.²

Marin first built and provisioned a fort at Presque Isle (near present-day Erie, Pennsylvania). He then marched his men south over the fifteen mile Presque Isle Portage

²Duquesne to the French Minister, 20 August 1753, in Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania, ed. Sylvester K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent, hereafter cited as WCNP (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1941), 49-53; Bigot to Minister Rouille, 26 October 1752, in ibid., 39-43; Captain Stoddart of the Oswego Garrison to Colonel William Johnson, 15 May 1753, in ibid., 72-73; Francis Jennings, Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America (New York: Norton, 1988), 50-52; W.J. Eccles, The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760 (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1969), 160; Ronald D. Martin, "Confrontation at the Monongahela: Climax of the French Drive into the Upper Ohio Region," Pennsylvania History 37, no. 2 (April 1970): 135. France's invasion of the Ohio may have been unnecessary. The French underestimated the strength of their own Indian alliance, and overrated the strength of the Ohio "republicans" and the influence of the British traders. In effect, by abandoning its old trade alliance and diplomatic system, France threw reason out the window and unnecessarily bet Canada itself on a direct imperial confrontation with the British. White, Middle Ground, 227.

carrying the expedition's supplies on their backs to another fort which he called Fort LeBoeuf (present-day Waterford, Pennsylvania). From that point his men could supposedly travel by canoe down French Creek, to the Allegheny River and thence to the forks of the Ohio (present-day Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania). However, this particular route, outlined to Marin by Duquesne himself, turned out to be impractical. Even a light rain turned the portage into a quagmire, whereas French Creek became navigable to canoes only following a heavy rain. Yet Marin drove his men relentlessly, forcing them to haul supplies on their backs through disease-ridden swamps and forests. These mistreated, exhausted men ate bad food and labored endlessly hauling enormous loads from the head to the end of the portage and back again. By the time the first elements of the expedition had reached French Creek, over four hundred of the two thousand men of the expedition were dead, with another four hundred unfit to walk. The ailing Marin had driven himself as hard as his overworked soldiers. He chose to die like a soldier at Fort LeBoeuf rather than return in disgrace to Canada in the fall with the majority of his remaining men. After capturing or scattering the British traders in the area, the French established a small post at what once was the British traders' blockhouse at the Indian town of Venango, where French Creek flowed into the Allegheny River. The French soldiers settled in for the winter of 1753-1754 at their three posts, their objectives

only half accomplished.³

The Ohio Indians had given three notices to Marin, then near Venango, to take his forces back to Canada. The third notice was given at the highest Native American diplomatic level by Tanaghrisson himself, by virtue of his office as the Iroquois Vice-Regent of the Ohio Valley. Marin's blistering, contemptuous reply brought nightmares of oppression and slavery to the Indians and of encircling French campfires to the English colonists.⁴ Tanaghrisson gave Washington a full account of the last of the warnings, which he personally gave to Marin, the final, definitive statement regarding the liberty and autonomy of the Ohio Indians:

NOW FATHERS it is you that is the Disturber
of this Land, by coming & building your Towns, and
taking it away unknown to us & by Force. FATHERS

³Duquesne to Rouille, 31 October 1753, 2 November 1753, 29 November 1753, and 7 October 1754, in WCNP, 55-63; Duquesne to Sieur Marin, 27 August 1753, in *ibid.*, 54; George Croghan, William Trent, John Fraser, and Other Traders on the Ohio to the Provincial Council, 25 May 1753, in Samuel Hazard, ed., Pennsylvania Colonial Records, 16 vols., hereafter cited as PCR (Philadelphia, PA: J. Severns and Company, 1838-1853), 5:614-616; John Fraser to Mr. Young, 27 August 1753, in *ibid.*, 5:659-660; Martin, "Confrontation at the Monongahela," 137-138; Eccles, The Canadian Frontier, 160, 162.

⁴Account of the Three Notices given to the Commander of the Invading French Army, Related by the Iroquois Warrior Scaroyady, as Contained in the Report of the Treaty Held with the Ohio Indians at Carlisle, in October, 1753, in Alden T. Vaughan, ed., Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789, 11 vols., hereafter cited as EAIDTL (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, Inc., 1984), 2:283-285. Three notices were symbolically given to the French so that they would not be able to say that they had not been warned. This was a traditional Iroquois practice enacted prior to a formal declaration of war. EAIDTL, *ibid*; Jennings, Empire of Fortune, 54.

We kindled a Fire a long Time ago at a Place call'd Montreal, where we desir'd you to stay, & not to come & intrude upon our Land. I now desire you may dispatch to that Place; for be it known to you Fathers, **this is our Land, & not yours.** FATHERS, I desire you may hear me in Civilness; if not, We must handle that rod which was laid down for the Use of the obstreperous. If you had come in a peaceable Manner like our Brothers the English, We shou'd not have been against your trading with us as they do, but to come Fathers, & build great Houses upon our Land, & to take it by Force, is what we cannot submit to.

FATHERS Both you & the English are White. We live in a Country between, therefore the Land does not belong either to one or the other; but the GREAT BEING above allow'd it to be a Place of residence for us; so Fathers, I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our Brothers the English, for I will keep you at Arm's length. I lay this [wampum] down as a tryal [sic] for both, to see which will have the greatest regard to it, & that Side we will stand by, & make equal Sharers with us: Our Brothers the English have heard this, & I come now to tell it to you, for I am not afraid to discharge you off this Land.⁵

Marin's stinging rebuke loses little of its vehemence when translated from French to Seneca to English:

NOW MY CHILD I have heard your Speech. You spoke first, but it is my turn to speak now. Where is my Wampum that you took away, with the Marks of Towns in it? This Wampum I do not know, which you have discharg'd me off the Land with; but you need not put yourself to the Trouble of Speaking for I will not hear you; I am not afraid of Flies or Mosquito's; for Indians are such as those; I tell you down that River I will go, & will build upon it according to my Command; If the River was ever so block'd up, I have Forces sufficient to burst it open, & tread under my Feet all that stand in Opposition together with their Alliances; for my Force is as the Sand upon the Sea Shoar [sic]: therefore here is your Wampum, I fling it at you. Child, you talk foolish; you say

⁵George Washington, Expedition to the Ohio, in The Dairies of George Washington, ed. Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, 2 vols. (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1976), 1:137.

this Land belongs to you, but there is not the Black of my Nail yours, I saw the Land sooner than you did, before the Shawnesse & you were at War; La Salle was the Man that went down, and took Possession of that River; it is my Land, & I will have it let who will stand up for, or say against it.⁶

The Six Nations, shocked by the French invasion but still unable to surmount their factional divisions, did next to nothing. They felt so hemmed in and threatened by both the British and French that they literally did not know what to do for fear of further destabilizing the situation. Never again would the Six Nations be the unmoving pivot about which the French and British empires were forced to circle. Their sole action was to send a group of clan matrons to Marin to find out if he came to attack the Six Nations, a fear which the French commander took some pains to alleviate. The Mohawks had just broken the Covenant Chain with their New York "allies," further complicating matters and freezing the diplomatic machinery of the Iroquois at a time when it was most needed. British colonial officials were also very worried about the Ohio

⁶Washington, Expedition to the Ohio, 1:137-138. In their heyday the Iroquois would have regarded Marin's arrogant, insulting, and racist speech as tantamount to a declaration of war. If the first people to light a campfire and settle in an area is to be used as the criterion for rightful possession of the land, the Shawnees, the descendants of the Fort Ancient Aspect culture, were the rightful owners of the Ohio Valley. Marin's argument is therefore based strictly on whatever legal "rights" are accrued via military conquest. James Thomas Flexner, Mohawk Baronet: A Biography of Sir William Johnson (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959; reprint. Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown, and Company, 1979), 60; James H. Howard, Shawnee! The Ceremonialism of a Native American Tribe and Its Cultural Background (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1981), 4.

Indians, many of whom they knew would become allies of the French rather than allow themselves to be conquered by that imperialist power. Conrad Weiser was brooding about Pennsylvania's helplessness due to its pacifist Quaker assembly in the face of a real military threat. He wrote the Virginians (who, unlike the Quakers, had no compunctions about shooting their enemies) that diplomacy was no longer effective because of the French incursion, and that they should raise an army and occupy the Ohio Valley before the French arrived.⁷

Diplomatic activities between the British and their Ohio Indian trading partners were in chaos following the French invasion. While Tanaghrisson tried to handle the situation with the French in the Ohio Valley, Scaroyady led a high-level multi-national Indian diplomatic delegation eastward to solicit help from the British. Conferences were held at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and Winchester, Virginia in

⁷Journal of Conrad Weiser to Mohawks' Country, 1753, in PCR, 5:645; Walter Butler to William Johnson, 12 June 1753, in Sir William Johnson, The Papers of Sir William Johnson, ed. James Sullivan et al., 14 vols., hereafter cited as PWJ (Albany, NY: University of the State of New York, 1921-1965), 9:106; Duquesne to Rouille, 20 August 1753, in WCNP, 50-51; Conrad Weiser to Colonel John Taylor of Virginia, 1753, as quoted in Paul A.W. Wallace, Conrad Weiser: Friend of Colonist and Mohawk (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), 348-349; Michael N. McConnell, A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and its Peoples, 1724-1774 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 106-107. Weiser was at a loss regarding the Iroquois, writing to Provincial Secretary Richard Peters: "Everything lies in such a confusion, that I am quite perplexed in my mind, and do not know how to act in Indian Affairs any more. They [the Iroquois] are apostates as to their old natural principle of honesty, and become drunkards, rogues, thieves and liars." Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 15 March 1754, in EAIDTL, 2:327.

the Fall of 1753 to try to straighten things out. The Ohio Indians wanted arms to defend themselves from the French and to avoid again becoming dependents of the Iroquois. The Virginians (i.e., the Ohio Company) wanted forts and settlements in the Ohio Valley. The Pennsylvanians wanted a secure western flank and peace at any price. The Pennsylvania traders, heavily in debt and unable to trade in the region, begged their government for relief from their debts. Croghan, Montour, and company wanted title to western lands and concessions for trade goods. The Winchester Conference Minutes were rigged to read that the Ohio Indians had approved a British fort in their valley. At Carlisle the Indians got nothing but assurances from pacifist Pennsylvania. There is some evidence that George Croghan and company, who had successfully negotiated for the right to carry the Indians' goods to the Ohio, managed to steal their present, worth about eight hundred pounds sterling. The Indians went home in a gloomy mood, as it was now apparent that the British had been merely "fair weather friends" in supporting their quest for political and economic autonomy.⁸

⁸Report of the Treaty Held with the Ohio Indians at Carlisle, in October, 1753, in EAIDTL, 2:282-300; Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, Report on the Winchester Conference, 6 November 1753, in *ibid.*, 301-303; Provincial Council: Indian Messages and the Governor's Reply, in *ibid.*, 304-308; Jennings, Empire of Fortune, 54-59. George Croghan somehow managed to convince the Pennsylvania commissioners at the Carlisle Conference that it was "too great a risk" (presumably due to French patrols) to let the Indians take the presents home with them. He stated that it would be better to let him convey the goods to the Ohio, where he would distribute them. Croghan and his confederates left with the goods before the

Virginia's Governor Dinwiddie had decided to give fair warning to the French in the Ohio Valley before sending in his soldiers. In October 1753, he sent a twenty-one year old militia major named George Washington to deliver a letter to the French commander on the Ohio demanding to know what he was doing there, on what the English viewed as King George's lands. Washington's journal of his difficult winter journey to Fort LeBoeuf and back marks the beginning of the Washington legend. He was experienced in wilderness life and travel, having done survey work while still in his teens for the Fairfax estate in Virginia's Blue-Ridge Mountains. Taking Christopher Gist (who also kept a journal) as his guide, Jacob Vanbraam as his French translator, and four men to handle the baggage and horses, Washington proceeded to the Forks of the Ohio, which he reached on 22 October. While there, Washington wrote prophetically that he "spent some Time in viewing the Rivers, and the Land in the Fork, which I think extremely well situated for a Fort." The Lenape sachem Shingas lived nearby, and agreed to accompany Washington to Logstown for a conference with the Ohio leadership. Arriving at Logstown on 25 October, Washington immediately conferred with Scaroyady, Tanaghrisson, and the other Iroquois sachems there and informed them of his mission. The Logstown leaders, who wanted him to stay until they could round up a

conference ended. It is possible that the goods were delivered as promised, but there is also no known record of the Ohio Indians receiving any of Pennsylvania's considerable present from the Carlisle conference. Ibid., 59.

suitable escort of warriors to protect him and confer with all the important sachems of the valley, were rather irritated when Washington, attempting to comply with his orders "to make all possible dispatch," insisted on leaving quickly. Nonetheless, Tanaghrisson and three other Indians agreed to accompany him on his embassy to the French.⁹

Arriving at Venango on the 4th of December, Washington found the French colors flying over a former English trading establishment, now known as Fort Machault. The commandant, Phillipe de Joncaire, astutely realized that a general officer or even Duquesne himself would be obliged to answer a demand as important as Dinwiddie's. After entertaining Washington and his party as well as his limited resources would allow, Joncaire sent them with a military escort in canoes to the area commander at Fort LeBoeuf. Arriving on 11 December 1753, Marin's replacement as commanding general of all the French forces on the Ohio, Captain Jacques Le Gardeur de Saint-Pierre, made sure that Washington's party was well-treated and entertained. This officer wrote a polite, formal reply to Governor Dinwiddie wherein the former stated that the lands along the Ohio belonged to his King, not George II of Britain. In particular, Saint-Pierre did not "think himself obliged" to obey Dinwiddie's demand

⁹Washington, Expedition to the Ohio, 1:130-142; Christopher Gist, Christopher Gist's Journals, With Historical, Geographical, and Ethnological Notes and Biographies of His Contemporaries [1750-1753], ed. William M. Darlington (Pittsburgh: J.R. Weldin, 1893), 80-81. Washington's quotes in Washington, Expedition to the Ohio, 1:132, 140.

that he and his men vacate their forts in the Ohio Valley and retire to Canada. After repeated and eventually unsuccessful attempts to keep Tanaghrisson and the other Indians in Washington's party at the fort with promises of unlimited supplies of liquor, Saint-Pierre finally sent them on their way. After reaching Venango on 22 December and finding his party's horses in bad shape, Washington decided that Saint-Pierre's message was too important to delay. Leaving the Indians and putting Vanbraam in charge of the horses and baggage, Washington and Gist traveled the rest of the way on foot. After some harrowing adventures, including being fired at by a hostile Lenape warrior (whom they captured and later released unharmed), crossing the icy Monongahela River on a raft, nearly freezing to death, and visiting the pro-British Alliquippa, they finally arrived back in Virginia. Washington delivered his message and journal to Governor Dinwiddie in Williamsburg on 16 January 1754, and the military establishments of Britain and France prepared to meet each other head to head.¹⁰

Lost in the claims and counter-claims of the kings of France and Britain were the rights of the real owners of the Ohio country, the peoples of the Susquehanna-Ohio Indian

¹⁰Washington, Expedition to the Ohio, 1:143-161; Gist, Journals, 81-87; George Croghan's Report of Washington's Journey while at Logstown, 12 January 1754, in PCR, 5:731; Governor Dinwiddie to the French Commandant on the Ohio, 31 October 1753, in NYCD, 10:258; M. de St. Pierre to Governor Dinwiddie, 15 December 1753, in ibid., 258-259. Saint-Pierre's quote is in ibid., 258. Joincaire was the same French officer encountered on Celeron's 1749 expedition and at the 1751 Logstown Conference.

Alliance. Many of the Indians in the Ohio country were reduced to semi-starvation due to the sudden absence of jobs hauling French army equipment, which had carried many of them through the summer of 1753, and the lack of trade goods from the hastily-departed British traders, such as powder and lead for hunting. These peoples no longer possessed the skills needed to survive in the Northeastern woodlands without the technological implements available only through trade with Europeans.¹¹ Rum, ironically, was the only commodity the British traders managed to smuggle into the Ohio Valley in large quantities following the French invasion. Many of the Indians sought consolation in almost perpetual drunkenness, cursing the British diplomats and French soldiers who had brought them to such a low state of affairs. Tanaghrisson, Scaroyady, and the rest of the Ohio Valley leadership had little influence left with the Ohio Indians except for a few of their own Iroquois kinsmen. In effect, the Iroquois Great Council and the Ohio Shawnees and Delawares had disowned the western Iroquois, despite Tanaghrisson's continued lobbying for a united front against the French invaders.¹²

¹¹J. Leitch Wright, Jr., The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indians in the Old South (New York: Free Press, 1981), 170-171.

¹²George Croghan to Governor James Hamilton, 14 May 1754, in EAIDTL, 2:330-331; Washington, Expedition to the Ohio, 1:142; George Croghan's Journal of a Journey to and Conferences with the Indians at Logstown, 12 January-2 February 1754, in PCR, 730-735; Provincial Council: Indian Messages and the Governor's Reply, 15-20 November 1753, in EAIDTL, 2:304-308; Journal of the 1753 Carlisle Conference, in PCR, 5:677; William Johnson to Governor Clinton, 12 March

William Johnson and the Great Council sachems at Onondaga both denounced the Mohawk nation when the latter, led by the nominally pro-British sachem Theyanoguin (often called "Hendrick" by the English), broke the Covenant Chain with New York in 1753. Hendrick was no stranger to diplomacy with Euroamericans, and had deliberately set in motion a shock wave that reverberated all the way to London. Hendrick's maneuver stunned the British Board of Trade, whose members were not familiar with the niceties and subtleties of Iroquois diplomacy. The Board was particularly worried about intercolonial unity in opposition to the French threat in the Ohio Valley due to the confidence the Indians were beginning to place in the unified French colonial government. In consequence, the Board of Trade ordered the governors of Virginia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maryland, and Pennsylvania to send commissioners to renew the Covenant Chain with the Six Nations. These commissioners were to design a plan where their squabbling colonial governments would present a unified diplomatic front in proceedings with the Iroquois. They were also to redress any wrongs the

1754, in PWJ, 9:126-132; White, Middle Ground, 238-240; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 347; Jennings, Empire of Fortune, 64. While William Johnson and the Mohawks were at loggerheads, Conrad Weiser reported that the Great Council was then pretending to add the Tutelos and Nanticokes as the "seventh and eighth nations" of the Iroquois to get more presents from the English. Weiser saw right through this scheme because the Iroquois had great derision for both groups, calling them "...good for nothing people as anything among the Indians ... the Six Nations minds them no more than the English do the nigers." Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 28 January 1754, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 350.

Indians had suffered at the hands of English traders, landowners, and politicians, and also co-ordinate their military defenses in case of invasion. In that Governor Clinton's mentally-ill replacement, Sir Danvers Osbourne, committed suicide two days after taking office, New York's able and ambitious Lieutenant Governor, James DeLancey, actually called and hosted the conference.¹³

The Albany Conference between the British colonies and the Six Nations began on 19 June 1754. Often showcased is Benjamin Franklin's Plan of Union for the colonies, which he unsuccessfully attempted to enact at the conference. His plan presaged the unifying activities of the Second Continental Congress by twenty-two years. But the behind-the-scenes activities of sundry colonies and the Iroquois were also very important. The covenant chain with the Iroquois was rebrightened with presents from all the attending colonies. Pennsylvania and New York combined to keep Connecticut out of the Wyoming Valley, haven for the Eastern Lenapes and Shawnees, over which the Iroquois had threatened to go to war if white settlers should ever arrive. Massachusetts fought a successful floor fight with James DeLancey, who had made the unpardonable error of trying to control the congress when he had been authorized

¹³The Earl of Holderness to the Governors of America, 28 August 1753 and The Lords of Trade to Sir Danvers Osbourne, 18 September 1753, in NYCD, 6:794-795, 800-802; Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 28 January 1754, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 350-351; Milton W. Hamilton, Sir William Johnson: Colonial American, 1715-1763 (Port Washington, NY: National University Publications, 1976), 100-101.

only to call it. Finally, Pennsylvania successfully lobbied for a new land purchase from the Iroquois, which would legitimize the flood of squatters who had settled west of the Susquehanna.¹⁴

The Pennsylvania Land Purchase of 1754 stated that the Six Nations, and not the Ohio Indians, ruled and owned the land of the Ohio Valley. As listed in the deed, the purchase included all lands west of a diagonal line drawn from the Susquehanna River at the mouth of Penn's Creek (Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania), to the northern (New York) border at Conewago Creek. The purchase was then extended west to the present western and southern borders of the state of Pennsylvania. It took in the entire watersheds of the Allegheny River and the West branch of the Susquehanna, and included a large chunk of strategically valuable land on the southeastern shore of Lake Erie. Members of the Great Council, including Hendrick, his brother Abraham, Joseph Brant, the Seneca sachem Tagashata, Taghneghdoarus (John Shikellamy), and other influential sachems signed the deed in July 1754. It cost Pennsylvania's provincial government a mere four hundred pounds New York money, and thus became one of the great land bargains of all time. The Iroquois Great Council, Pennsylvania commissioners, Governor DeLancey, and William Johnson openly approved the Albany

¹⁴Report of the Pennsylvania Commissioners at the Albany Congress, June-July 1754, in PCR, 6:110-129; Minutes of the Conference at Albany, 25 June-3 July 1754, in NYCD, 6:861-871; Harry M. Ward, Colonial America, 1603-1763 (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1991), 376-377.

Land cession. As Conrad Weiser stated, if Pennsylvania had not moved to purchase the land, Connecticut would have undoubtedly found some way to do so.¹⁵

The Pennsylvania delegation had succeeded in foiling Connecticut at the Albany Conference by showing that colony's commissioners a copy of a 1736 treaty between the Iroquois and Pennsylvania. In it, the Iroquois had agreed to sell no land within the bounds of the colony except to the government of Pennsylvania. But Connecticut's Susquehannah Company and its chief agent, New York fur trader John Henry Lydius, were not as easily frustrated as Connecticut's gentlemanly commissioners. In a land fraud as vile as the Walking Purchase, Lydius got Hendrick, Brant, and many of the other Iroquois sachems drunk one by one, pushed a paper under their noses, and then gave them money to put their marks on it. In their inebriated state, these sachems had been tricked into deeding away their beloved Wyoming Valley to the Susquehanna Company. As predicted,

¹⁵Land Purchase by Pennsylvania at the Albany Congress, in PCR, 6:118-129; Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, 21 December 1754, in EAIDTL, 2:377-378; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 359-360. Some of the Iroquois were not pleased with the land cession to Pennsylvania, complaining that while it been signed by members of the Great Council, it had not been accepted by the full council meeting at Onondaga, as was required by tribal custom. The Ohio Indians were also not pleased, and made their displeasure known to the Great Council, which asked William Johnson to rectify things. William Johnson sent these complaints to the Board of Trade, which eventually convinced Thomas Penn to restore part of the land to the Indians. This was done at the 1758 Easton conference between the Iroquois and Pennsylvania's government. Minutes of the Easton Conference, October 1758, in PCR, 8:199; Theodore Thayer, Pennsylvania Politics and the Growth of Democracy, 1740-1776 (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1953), 50-51.

this act infuriated the Iroquois Great Council. Both Conrad Weiser and William Johnson worked furiously to repair the damage, but Lydius had worked so quickly and thoroughly that little could be done to rectify things. The Great Council or its representatives had not approved of the deed, thus it had no validity under Indian law. Yet the Susquehannah Company began to take possession of the Wyoming Valley anyway, and Pennsylvania's protests were lost in the complexity of intercolonial law.¹⁶

The British won the race to the forks of the Ohio in the spring of 1754, but were unable to exploit their advantage. Virginia and the Ohio Company had not been idle after Washington's journey to Fort LeBoeuf the previous December, and had sent Captain William Trent to build a fort at the Forks of the Ohio before the French got there. Trent, another of Croghan's partners, was absent in Virginia in search of desperately-needed supplies when six hundred

¹⁶Deed From the Six Nations to the Susquehannah Company, 11 July 1754, in Samuel Hazard, ed., Pennsylvania Archives, 9 series, 138 vols. (Philadelphia, PA: J. Severns and Company, 1852-1949), 1st Series, 2:147-158; Governor James Hamilton to William Johnson, Reports of Susquehannah Company Agents Entering the Wyoming Valley, 18 March 1754, in PCR, 5:774-777; Daniel Claus to Richard Peters, Lydius' Methods in Effecting the Albany Land Fraud, 17 September 1754, in Julian P. Boyd, ed., The Susquehannah Company Papers, hereafter cited as SCP (Wilkes-Barre, PA: Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, 1930; reprint. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1962), 130-133; John Shikellamy's Report of Connecticut Settlers in the Wyoming Valley, Given by Scaroyady to the Provincial Council, 24 December 1754, in PCR, 6:216-217; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 361, 363. This legal conflict led to war between the colonists and the Eastern Lenapes from 1756-1758, the so-called Yankee-Pennamite wars between Pennsylvania and Connecticut in the 1760's, and the "Wyoming Massacre" of settlers by Iroquois and loyalist raiders during the American War for Independence in 1778. Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 363.

French soldiers arrived on 17 April 1754. Ensign Edward Ward, Croghan's half-brother and Trent's second-in-command, was issued an ultimatum to surrender. With only forty-one men and no artillery, Ward, after stalling a bit, decided it was in his best interests to submit. It was a gentlemanly surrender. Ward dined that evening with the French commander, Captain Claude-Pierre Pecaudy de Contrecoeur and his officers, drank lots of wine, and sold the French his carpentry tools. The British marched out the next morning with their possessions and all the honors of war. The French quickly built their own fort (using the tools they had purchased from Ward), which they proudly named Fort Duquesne.¹⁷

¹⁷Captain Contrecoeurs' Summons to Ensign Ward to Surrender, 17 April 1754, in NYCD, 6:841-842; Washington, Expedition to the Ohio, 1:177, 181-182, 188; Alexander Colhoun to Lieutenant Governor DeLancey, 12 April 1754, in WCNP, 79-80; George Washington to Governor Hamilton, Report on Ensign Ward's Surrender, 6 May 1754, in NYCD, 6:840-841; Jennings, Empire of Fortune, 65. Contrecoeur had replaced Saint-Pierre as the senior French commander in the upper Ohio Valley in the Spring of 1754. Fort Duquesne was designed by Captain Francois Le Mercier, an experienced French military engineer. Based on the principles of the great French fortress builder Vauban, it was a solidly-built earth and wood edifice that measured one hundred fifty feet on a side. Its north and west sides, which faced the rivers at "the Point," were made of wooden logs, whereas its landward sides were protected by a ditch and a twelve foot earthen wall. Eight cannon were mounted on its bastions, and it could house a permanent garrison of three hundred men. During the winter of 1754, it housed a garrison of six officers, fifteen cadets, and 237 soldiers. Captain Robert Strobo, taken hostage at Great Meadows in July 1754 and imprisoned at Fort Duquesne, managed to smuggle two (2) letters describing its deficiencies (including a diagram of the fort) and the best way to reduce it to the British authorities, the first via Allumapee's old kinsman Nenacheehunt ("Delaware George"), and the second by the Mohawk warrior Moses Contjochqua ("The Song"), Conrad Weiser's brother by adoption and Scaroyady's brother-in-law. Duquesne to Rouille, Le Mercier's Engineering Activities on

Virginia attempted to oust the French by sending their own military force into the area, under the command of George Washington, now a Lieutenant Colonel and second in command of the Virginia Regiment. De Contrecoeur, commanding at Fort Duquesne, sent a party of thirty-three men led by Ensign Joseph Coulon de Villiers, Sieur de Jumonville, to meet the British and order them to retire or suffer the consequences. Washington, forewarned of the French approach by his Indian allies but unaware of Jumonville's ambassadorial duties, assumed the French were on a military scout, and determined to strike first. The Western Iroquois warriors and Washington's men caught the unprepared French in their encampment at daybreak on 28 May 1754. The Virginians and their Western Iroquois allies, led by Tanaghrisson himself, killed Jumonville and nine of his men. The remaining French soldiers were taken prisoner and sent to Virginia to await exchange.¹⁸

the Ohio, 8 October 1754, in WCNP, 64; Robert Strobo, Situation at Fort Duquesne and Draught of the Fort, 28 July 1754, in PCR, 6:161-163; Robert Strobo, Description of Fort Duquesne and its Environs, 16 August 1754, in *ibid.*, 141-143; Report of the Garrisons of the Belle Riviere and its Dependencies Which Wintered in 1754, 25 June 1755, in WCNP, 64-65; George Croghan to Governor Hamilton, 16 August 1754, in PCR, 6:140-141; George Croghan to Governor Hamilton, 30 August 1754, in *ibid.*, 160-161; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 365; Paul A.W. Wallace, Indians in Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1961; reprint. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1989), 178-179; Martin, "Confrontation at the Monongahela," 139-141.

¹⁸Contrecoeur to Duquesne, 2 June 1754, as quoted in The Diaries of George Washington, 1:195-196, fn. 59; Washington, Expedition to the Ohio, 1:194-198; Governor Dinwiddie to Governor Hamilton, Engagement at Jumonville Glen, 21 June 1754, in PCR, 6:55-57; Martin, "Confrontation at the

One of Jumonville's men, a Canadian named Monceau, had been outside the camp at the time of the attack. Unwisely allowed to pass unmolested by the British and the Indians because he had no shoes, he limped and ran the sixty miles to Fort Duquesne to inform his superiors. Contrecoeur quickly sent a picked force of five hundred French soldiers and two hundred reliable Indian allies under Captain Louis Coulon de Villiers, Jumonville's half-brother, to strike the English. The British, who had unwisely pulled back from a better position near Redstone Creek, were then huddled in and about a crude log structure located in a naturally-occurring open area called the Great Meadows (near present-day Uniontown, Pennsylvania) which Washington had dubbed "Fort Necessity." Washington's four hundred poorly-equipped and trained men included a mixture of hard-to-manage British regular Army forces, Virginia militia, and a company of Ohio traders under the command of trusty Andrew Montour, now a Captain in the Virginia Regiment. Montour was the only Indian to fight on the British side during the battle, as Tanaghrisson and his people, believing Washington's position

Monongahela," 164. Scaroyady also participated in this action, and gave his recollection of it at the Meeting of the Provincial Council 19 December 1754, in *ibid.*, 195. Washington's Indian allies at this battle, the first of the so-called French and Indian War, were drawn exclusively from Tanaghrisson's band of Western Iroquois. At this juncture, most of the other Ohio Indians remained neutral. There is some evidence that Tanaghrisson himself dispatched the wounded Jumonville with a tomahawk, although Contrecoeur stated that the latter was shot in the head by one of Washington's soldiers. Washington, Expedition to the Ohio, 195-197; White, Middle Ground, 240-241.

to be hopeless, had left before the French army's arrival.¹⁹ De Villiers arrived on 3 July, intent on revenge, and began his attack immediately when he saw the exposed English position. Washington's half-starved men were no match for the experienced French Troops de Marine and their Indian allies. The British commander finally agreed to De Villier's surrender terms after about eight hours of fighting in a pouring rain, in which the British suffered thirty dead and about seventy wounded. Washington did not read French, and the preamble of the capitulation terms contained the statement that he had "assassinated" Jumonville, whom the French, of course, portrayed as the purest and most inoffensive person imaginable. On 4 July 1754, Washington and his men, with the exception of two hostages (including the observant Captain Strobo), departed for Virginia with full military honors. De Villiers and his men quickly destroyed the small British swivel cannons, burned Fort Necessity, and returned to a joyful welcome at

¹⁹Tanaghrisson, an experienced Seneca war-leader, noted Fort Necessity's poor siting when he first saw it, and that its flimsy stockade would be useless against a determined attack. Although he still had a high regard for Colonel Washington ("a good-natured man but had no Experience"), the Seneca sachem stated that the British could have won had they followed his advice, and that in general "the French had acted as great Cowards, and the English as Fools in that Engagement." He later stated that he and the other Indians had left with their families long before the battle began "because Colonel Washington would never listen to them [the Indians], but was always driving them to fight on by his directions." Conrad Weiser's Conversation with Tanaghrisson at the Aughwick Conference, 3 September 1754, in PCR, 6:151-152.

Fort Duquesne.²⁰

Washington's defeat at Fort Necessity, which seemed unimportant if only the numbers of troops engaged were considered, was in actuality a colossal disaster for the British. It showed the Ohio Indians that the English were "a weak reed to hold onto" during a time when the Indians were being metaphorically swept along in the raging river of French and British imperial designs. Although Tanaghrisson and his kinsmen fought alongside Washington at Jumonville Glen, the only Indian who remained with the English commander at Fort Necessity was Andrew Montour. The allegiance of the Ohio Indians had swung firmly to the French, and without Indian allies, British interests in the Ohio Valley were doomed. The largely-fictional Ohio Indian Confederacy disintegrated a few days prior to 26 June 1754 when Scaroyady burned the recently-abandoned village of Logstown to the ground. Only a few Ohio Iroquois answered

²⁰Washington, Expedition to the Ohio, 1:196, 199; De Villiers' Journal of the Reduction of Fort Necessity, 3-4 July 1754, in NYCD, 10:261-262; M. de Villiers' Terms for the Capitulation of Fort Necessity [in French], 4 July 1754, in PCR, 6:52-53; Varin to Bigot, Report on the English Capitulation at Fort Necessity, 24 July 1754, in WCNP, 80-82; Governor Dinwiddie to Governor Hamilton, Report on the Capitulation of Virginia Troops at Fort Necessity, 31 July 1754, in PCR, 6:136-138; Colonel Innes of Virginia to Governor Hamilton, Detail of the Battle for Fort Necessity, 12 July 1754, in ibid., 50-52; Andrew Montour to Richard Peters, 16 May 1754, in ibid., 46; George Washington to Andrew Montour, 10 October 1755, in The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick, 39 vols. (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1931), 1:197-198; Eccles, The Canadian Frontier, 164. De Villiers is to be commended for restraining his Indian allies from massacring the hapless British after the surrender.

Tanaghrisson's call to aid the British after Jumonville Glen. Even before the fighting began in the Ohio Valley, many Shawnees and Delawares had sent their families eastward over the mountains toward the Susquehanna River, and out of harm's way.²¹

Although more resilient than the Ohio Confederacy, a death blow had also been dealt to the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance at Great Meadows. The ties between the eastern and western parts of the geographically extended Alliance had been irreparably broken. Many of its component peoples would soon be induced or compelled to fight against one another in the camps of either the British or the French. From this time forth the Iroquois and the other elements of the former Alliance would generally form two polarized camps. Although they would sometimes aid or ignore each other in passing, they were often opposed to each other in council and in war. As the Alliance slowly bled to death, Scaroyady, Tanaghrisson and many others of the Western Iroquois, Lenapes, and Shawnees retired with their families eastward over the mountains to George Croghan's plantation

²¹Quotation from Thomas McKee, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 365; Washington, Expedition to the Ohio, 1:209; Minutes of the Provincial Council, 19 December 1754, in PCR, 6:198; William Johnson, Reflections on the Fight at Fort Necessity, 29 July 1754, in WJP, 1:409-410; Conrad Weiser, News About the Indians Obtained at Shamokin, 7 May 1754, in PCR, 6:37; Daniel Claus to the Governor of New York, Sentiments Regarding English Weakness Among the Indians, October 1754, in ibid., 181-182; Daniel Claus to Secretary Peters, Large Numbers of Iroquois Emigrating to Canada, 8 October 1754, in ibid., 182-183; George Croghan, Report on the Ohio Indians Coming Back Over the Mountains, 16 October 1754, in ibid., 180; Jennings, Empire of Fortune, 67.

at Aughwick. They all wanted to renew the chain of friendship with Virginia and Pennsylvania, and to be given directions as to what to do with the French in possession of their homeland. Croghan and Montour took it upon themselves to feed the refugees, although Croghan did petition the governor for some relief, as there were so many Indians on his plantation he almost ran out of provisions. But Governor Hamilton was still deeply suspicious of Croghan despite the latter's apparent benevolence to the refugees. Hamilton's solution was to send Conrad Weiser to Aughwick to both confer with the Indians and to insure that none of the money used to provision the Indians was being siphoned off into Croghan's pocket.²²

Although the British agreed to feed the Indian refugees, the 1754 Aughwick Conference did nothing to restore the status-quo ante-bellum in the Ohio Valley. Weiser noted that the Ohio Shawnees and Delawares were strongly united, and were determined on following their own course, be it as friends of the British, neutrals, or French allies. The Shawnees, Delawares, and Miamis were determined to get their liberty and homeland back, even though the Six Nations counseled all of the Ohio peoples to sit still and wait and see what they did regarding the invaders. Weiser

²²Andrew Montour to Governor Hamilton, 21 July 1754, in *PCR*, 6:130; George Croghan to Governor Hamilton, 16 August 1754, in *ibid.*, 140-141; Governor Hamilton to George Croghan, 23 August 1754, in *ibid.*, 145-147; Governor Hamilton to Conrad Weiser, Esquire, Instructions for the Council to be Held at Aughwick, 24 August 1754, in *ibid.*, 147-148; George Croghan to Governor Hamilton, 30 August 1754, in *ibid.*, 160-161.

noted that the Miamis "went home in disgust" when they heard this, as it was apparent to them that the Six Nations were no longer in control of anything outside of their ancestral homeland. In October and November 1754, Croghan received reports that the French at Fort Duquesne were recruiting Indian warriors against an expected British counter-attack, and small French-led raiding parties began to trickle outward toward the exposed homes and settlements of the Virginia and Pennsylvania backcountry.²³

Andrew Montour, caught between loyalties to two worlds, was also out of sorts. He had fought hard at Fort Necessity, endured the surrender and retreat, and had come home to find that a flood of Indian refugees had eaten most of the corn crop his wife had planned to use to feed their family that winter. Apparently the pressure of the year's events made something snap in his mind. While escorting Conrad Weiser to the Aughwick Conference, Montour got drunk and uncharacteristically cursed and swore at his old supervisor. He accused Weiser of cheating the Indians by helping to engineer the 1754 Land Purchase, and threatened death to the Scots-Irish frontiersmen then overrunning his and other Indian lands. Although he apologized to Weiser the morning after each incident, Weiser was left a bit

²³Conrad Weiser, Journal of the Aughwick Conference, 24 August-8 September 1754, in *PCR*, 6:150-160; George Croghan to the Governor, 16 October 1754, in *ibid.*, 180; George Croghan to Governor Morris, Report on Indian Movements and Uneasiness Along the Ohio, 23 November 1754, in *ibid.*, 181; Conrad Weiser to Governor Hamilton, 13 September 1754, in *ibid.*, 148-150. Weiser's quote from *ibid.*, 159.

uneasy during the conference. As he was leaving Aughwick, he stated that the drunken Montour "Swore terrible when he saw me mount my horse." Apparently rather fearful of the Iroquois warrior, Weiser took a secretive route home to avoid Montour, who found him anyway just west of the Susquehanna at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Weiser need not have feared; Montour "welcomed me with shaking hands, called me a one side, [and] asked pardon for offenses given." Montour had ridden day and night to ask Weiser's forgiveness, stopping only for an hour at his house for fear of missing him. Despite the aforementioned incidents, the light of the Alliance and his own good parenting once more shone through Andrew Montour. Weiser forgave him, gave him some "pocket money," and sent him to the wars in Virginia.²⁴

²⁴Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 27 October 1754, as quoted in Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 371-372. Weiser's quotes, *ibid.* Andrew Montour, who had endured much derision for getting sick and having to turn back from his first expedition against the Catawbas, would later rise to become one of the greatest war leaders in Iroquois history. Pro-British to the end, he retained his captain's commission from Virginia and fought under Braddock at the Battle of the Monongahela on 9 July 1755. There he helped his friend George Washington, who had the highest respect for him, to get the British survivors out of the area as the victorious pro-French Indians pillaged and scalped the dead. With Scaroyady, Montour did some risky intelligence work for Pennsylvania's government among the pro-French Delaware later in the year. He marched with William Johnson in his attempt (aborted by General Webb) to relieve Fort William Henry in 1756, and took part in General Abercrombie's heroic but disastrous attack on Montcalm's formidable breastworks at Fort Ticonderoga in 1758. Montour interpreted at the 1758 Easton Conference, and under the direction of Sir William Johnson led expeditions that destroyed many of the anti-British Delaware villages on both branches of the upper Susquehanna River during Pontiac's War in 1763-1764. He then retired to his plantations, and was killed just south of Pittsburgh in 1772 by a Seneca warrior. Major Issac Hamilton to Sir William Johnson, 22 January 1772, in PWJ, 5:120; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:223-246; Wallace,

In an unexpected blow to the interests of the Western Iroquois, Tanaghrisson died on 5 October 1754 at John Harris' trading post at Paxtang on the lower Susquehanna River. Homeless and ill, the Seneca sachem was apparently on his way to Philadelphia to meet with governmental officials before he was overcome by disease. Scaroyady, Tanaghrisson's family, and the other Iroquois attending him were pleased when Harris took measures to make sure he was "buried well." Although Scaroyady took over the reins of leadership, with Tanaghrisson's death the Western alliance no longer had an effective principal leader, and the pan-national Indian government in the Ohio Valley devolved on individual tribal sachems and war leaders, who spoke only for their own groups. It was much the same throughout the eastern areas of the Alliance, as the Iroquois could not control the western war parties that came through the Allegheny gaps to torment the Pennsylvania backcountry after Braddock's defeat in 1755.²⁵

War is a terrible thing. A fundamental agent of

Indians in Pennsylvania, 178.

²⁵John Harris to Mr. Richard Peters, Death of Tanaghrisson, 29 October 1754, in PCR, 6:184. Scaroyady immediately went to Onondaga to confer with the Great Council. But for all his abilities and kinsmen in Iroquoia, he was in effect directing a "shadow government," as the Ohio Valley was now entirely under local leadership. In addition, the Iroquois Great Council had decided late in the year to bring all of its allies to Iroquoia from the Ohio Valley, apparently to keep their people out of harm's way and perhaps to bolster the number of available warriors. Conference at Philadelphia between Scaroyady and the Governor, 19 December 1754, in PCR, 6:193-200; George Croghan to Governor Morris, 23 December 1754, in ibid., 218-219.

change, it leaves so much destruction and misery in its wake that the intended ends, although sometimes desirable before the conflict starts, almost never justify the means. The displacements and horrors visited on the Indians of the dying Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance, some by warriors of other kindred nations, were typical of such conflicts. Most of the destruction, however, came from the French and British professional soldiers who fought for the ultimate control of the North American continent.

The undeclared war between France and Great Britain moved into high gear in 1755. Britain dispatched an army under Major General Edward Braddock to capture Fort Duquesne, and a fleet under Admiral Edward Boscawen to intercept a French fleet transporting badly-needed reinforcements to New France. However, the attempts of British Prime Minister Thomas Pelham-Holles, the Duke of Newcastle, to avoid a general war with France were doomed to failure. Braddock was unexpectedly defeated at the Battle of the Monongahela,²⁶ and Boscawen was unable to prevent

²⁶The debacle at Fort Necessity, in which the Virginia militia had proven itself ineffective against a small but professionally-led French army, showed the citizens of the English middle colonies just how precarious their situation was. Major General Edward Braddock of the Coldstream Guards came to America as Commander-in-Chief to prove to provincial soldiers like George Washington how to win in battle using the "proper" methods of European warfare. Braddock seemed unstoppable as he marched his army toward Fort Duquesne, his engineers building a corduroy road out of logs as they marched. But he would not listen to experienced provincial officers and Indians, such as George Washington (serving as a volunteer), Captains George Croghan and Andrew Montour, and Scaroyady, who tried to counsel him that European battlefield tactics would not work in the North American wilderness. Braddock's subsequent defeat and death at the Battle of the

most of the French troop transports from reaching Quebec. To make things worse, the diplomatic situation in Europe became so complex that no one at the time really understood what was going on. Militaristic arguments began driving both the French and British governments, arguments that ignored the wishes of many American colonists and most of the Indian nations, whose desires to avoid war and be left alone were lost amidst the angry clamor of war.²⁷

Reverse after reverse followed Braddock's defeat, and many observers began to believe that the French would ultimately overcome the American colonies.²⁸ Pennsylvania,

Monongahela about ten miles from Fort Duquesne on 9 July 1755 (in which two-thirds of his 2,200 man army were either killed, wounded, or captured) was as much due to the brilliance of the French officers and their Indian allies as to the ineptitude of Braddock and his own officers. Eight Western Iroquois Indians stayed with the column and fought under Braddock despite his known derision for them and their methods of warfare; Scaroyady, Canachquasy (Alliquippa's son), Kahuktodon, Attschechokatha, Froson, Kashwughdaniunte or Tohashwuchdioony ("The Belt"), Dyioquario, and Captain Andrew Montour. Washington, Croghan, and Montour pleaded with their commander to let their men spread out, take cover, and fight back in frontier fashion, but Braddock refused and forced his men to stand out in the open in ranks as the Indians and French shot them to pieces from their woodland cover. Minutes of the Provincial Council, 15 August 1755, in PCR, 6:523-525; John Swain to Governor Morris, 19 July 1755, as quoted in Jennings, Empire of Fortune, 157, fn. 55; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, 1:79; Jennings, Empire of Fortune, 151-158; Hamilton, The French and Indian Wars, 152-159.

²⁷T.R. Clayton, "The Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Halifax, and the American Origins of the Seven Years' War," The Historical Journal 24, no. 3 (1981): 573, 602-603.

²⁸The historian Lawrence Henry Gipson has noted that it is a myth that North America was destined to be conquered by Anglo-Americans. The French and Indian War or "The Great War for the Empire" (1754-1763) was, according to him, the most momentous war in American history, with far greater effects than either the American War for Independence or the Civil War. Its overall impact can be gauged from the fact that it

due to the religious convictions of its Quaker-dominated assembly, did not have its own organized militia until 1756. It was thus a prime target for French-allied Indians after the Battle of the Monongahela. When news of Braddock's defeat reached the Susquehanna River in August 1755, the English and German settlers, many of whom had never had problems with their tolerant and generally good-natured Indian neighbors, refused to believe that they soon would be in mortal danger from French-allied Indian war parties. The first attack on the Susquehanna came at the settlement of Penn's Creek, Pennsylvania on 17 October 1755. Fourteen settlers were killed and scalped, and eleven captured and carried away for adoption or torture. Another attack routed an armed party of English settlers led by trader John Harris on 25 October near the mouth of Penn's Creek (present-day Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania). This brought a response from a "posse" composed not of white settlers, but of twenty-nine friendly Indians from Shamokin. It included the three sons of Shikellamy, Andrew Montour, and Scaroyady's Mohawk son-in-law Jagrea. The Seneca war leader Tohashwuchdioony, "The Belt," one of Tanaghrisson's confederates and Braddock's stalwart ally at the Battle of the Monongahela, led the

uniquely determined the governmental, social and economic patterns of American civilization, and whether or not Anglo-Americans would be allowed to emigrate westward. The war's outcome was never a sure thing, as France was considered to be the greatest military power in the world in the mid-eighteenth century. France then had the potential of overcoming the American colonies and the British forces protecting them. Lawrence Henry Gipson, The British Empire Before the American Revolution, 15 vols. (New York: Knopf, 1958-1970), 6:10-11.

mounted force. Weiser reported that Tohashwuchdioony had "cried like a child" when he saw the scalped bodies of the English settlers, and the consequent end of the peace that he and the other sachems of the Alliance had worked so hard to preserve.²⁹

By 1755, the British Lords of Trade saw the need for a unified command regarding Indian diplomacy during time of war. Consequently, William Johnson was made Superintendent of Indian Affairs to the Iroquois and subsidiary nations and tribes. By doing this, the Crown completely bypassed all the affected colonial governments, and Johnson became the sole diplomatic arbitrator between Great Britain and the Indians. Pennsylvania and Conrad Weiser, its senior diplomat, were thus isolated from the Iroquois both politically and diplomatically, although Johnson proved to be an excellent advocate for the Indians in his new position. Johnson also tried his hand at being a warrior.

²⁹Christopher Saur, Pennsylvania has Nothing to Fear from the Indians, in Pennsylvanische Berichte, 16 September 1755; Conrad Weiser to Governor Morris, 17 September 1755, in PCR, 6:613-615; John Harris to Governor Morris, 20 October 1755, in ibid., 645-646; Conrad Weiser to Governor Morris, 22 October 1755, in ibid., 647; John Harris to the Governor, 28 October 1755, in ibid., 654-655; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 396-397. The aforementioned Seneca war leader Tohashwuchdioony, "The Belt," should not be confused with Tohashwughtonionty, "The Belt of Wampum," Conrad Weiser's pro-French host at the 1750 conference at Onondaga. Ibid., 395. Weiser was not idle at this desperate time. Informed of the foregoing attacks, he raised the alarm and lead his terrified neighbors in an unsuccessful attempt to stop the Indian raiding parties then entering the Tulpehocken area from the mountain gaps to the north. A Brief Narrative of the Incursions and Ravages of the French & Indians in the Province of Pennsylvania, 29 December 1755, in PCR, 6:766-768; Conrad Weiser to Governor Robert Morris, 30 October 1755, in ibid., 656-659; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 400-401.

On 8 September 1755 Johnson, commanding his Mohawk allies and the New York militia, won the Battle of Lake George against the French and their Indian allies. He even managed to capture the hapless French commanding general, Baron Dieskau, who made the mistake of bringing his men out into the open and charging Johnson's entrenched soldiers and warriors, much like Braddock had done a few months earlier. For this singular victory in an era of defeats Johnson was made a Baronet. However, Johnson's friend Hendrick was killed at this battle during an early morning scout. The ancient warrior, after an exchange of fire between the Mohawks and the French-allied Caughnawaga Iroquois, became separated from his men and blundered into the hostile encampment. A group of young boys armed with toy bows and arrows killed him, and his body was inexpertly scalped by the women and children. Thus one of the great sachems of the Six Nations was killed by his own people.³⁰

By the beginning of 1756 the "Inchin Schar" had begun in earnest, as Indian raiders terrorized and depopulated the formerly pacific Euroamerican farmsteads of central Pennsylvania. But British colonists were not the only victims; the Ohio country and the Wyoming Valley also became very dangerous to those Indians who still supported the British. This was partly due to the spying activities that

³⁰Goldsbrow Banyar to William Johnson, 23 September 1755, in PWJ, 2:80-82; General Johnson to William Cockcroft, 23 September 1755, in ibid., 82-83; Commission of Sir William Johnson to be Superintendent of Indian Affairs, in NYCD, 7:559-562; Hamilton, Sir William Johnson, 115; Flexner, Mohawk Baronet, 146; Jennings, Empire of Fortune, 163-164.

warriors such as Andrew Montour and Scaroyady were doing for their British allies among disaffected Indian groups. These pro-British Indians were forced to flee with their families to the protection of the English settlements or to the Six Nations. Included in this group were the three Shikellamy brothers, Andrew Montour, Tohashwughtonionty, Weiser's adoptive brothers Jonathan Cayenquiloqua and Moses the Song, and Scaroyady. Conrad Weiser offered sanctuary to many of these Indians at his own home. Weiser, now a lieutenant-colonel in the Pennsylvania Regiment, tried to protect the innocents on both sides, especially those Native Americans who remained loyal to Pennsylvania. These people also came to need protection from bands of armed white men, many of whom had lost their families and friends in Indian raids, and who began a terrible precedent by declaring all Indians responsible for massacres that only a few had perpetrated. Thus the war that had begun in the Ohio Valley over the quest for fur-trade profits and land speculation had evolved into a ugly race war, in which every Indian regardless of age, gender, or loyalty became labeled as "the enemy."³¹

³¹John Potter, Sheriff, to Richard Peters, News of Indian Incursions in the Settlements West of the Susquehanna River, 3 November 1755, in PCR, 6:673-674; John Armstrong to Governor Morris, 2 November 1755, in ibid., 676; Governor Morris to Colonel Washington, 2 February 1756, in PA, 1st Series, 2:564; Report of Scaroyady to the Provincial Council, 8 November 1755, in PCR, 6:682-687; Minutes of the Provincial Council, Meeting With the Indians, 24 February 1756, in ibid., 7:46-50. While at John Harris' store scouting for news on 31 January 1756, Weiser heard that fifteen armed colonists from the Carlisle area were planning to come to Harris' and kill all the friendly Indians the merchant was sheltering there.

But White-Indian relations continued to deteriorate. By the late 1760s, Pennsylvania and Virginia backwoodsmen would typically shoot on sight any Indians they might meet on the road. Tahgahjute or Logan, Shikellamy's middle son, lost his entire family in such an unprovoked attack. His brother Sogogeghyata ("John Petty") and five other Iroquois warriors were invited to cross the river from their encampment and drink with a party of Virginians led by Daniel Greathouse. After drinking for a while with their hosts the unknowing Indians were treacherously tomahawked from behind by the Virginians. The backwoodmen shot down another boatload of warriors coming to their aid of the kinsmen, and then crossed the river to kill the women and children. Logan's sister, the wife of Euroamerican trader John Gibson, was carrying a baby on her back when the settlers came upon them. She was shot in the forehead at point-blank range by one of the white men. The bullet went through her head and cut the strap that held the

Weiser immediately sent a message to the Carlisle authorities notifying them that he knew what was going on, and unless they restrained their citizens, a general war with the Indians might ensue. He then arranged to have the peaceful Indians at Carlisle smuggled to Harris', where they would be under his and the Pennsylvania government's protection. Weiser thus defused, by his own formidable prestige, a probable massacre of Native American innocents on the lower Susquehanna. Conrad Weiser, *Journal of the Proceedings at John Harris' Ferry*, in *PCR*, 7:34-35; Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 428-429, 432; Kelley, *Pennsylvania, The Colonial Years*, 338-339, 343. Weiser, who died in 1760, was not around to stop the massacre of the few remaining Conestogas by the rampaging "Paxton Boys" on 14 and 27 December 1763. Names and Possessions of the Indians Lately Killed at Conestoga, 1763, in *PCR*, 9:101-103; Barry C. Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians* (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1993), 66-67.

cradleboard, causing the infant to fall behind his mother's body. The settler who had shot Shikellamy's daughter was about to dash the baby's brains out with his rifle butt, but "was struck with some remorse on seeing the child fall with its mother." The baby, the grandson of Shikellamy and the sole survivor of the massacre, was later brought safely to his grieving father.³²

The European powers formally began the "Seven Years' War" in 1756, turning a bloody series of North American skirmishes into a world-wide war for empire between Britain, France, and their allies. Fighting raged in Europe, India, North America, the Caribbean, and between French and English cruisers in the Pacific Ocean. Pennsylvania's "Augusta" Regiment, named after the Queen of England, built Fort Augusta at Shamokin as a bulwark against the French. In a desperate attempt to try to stop Delaware war parties, Colonel John Armstrong, commanding the three hundred-man Second Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, attacked and burned the pro-French Lenape town of Kittanning on 8

³²Conference Between the Indians and Sir William Johnson, 4 March 1768, in PCR, 9:496-500; Captain William Crawford and Mr. John Neville, Relation on the Murders of a Group of Indians Near the Mouth of Yellow Creek, 3 May 1774, in NYCD, 8:464-465; John Bull to the Governor of Pennsylvania, description of the Murders of the Indians at Yellow Creek, 24 May 1774, in PA, 1st Series, 4:499-500. Quotation from Crawford and Neville, *ibid.*, 464. Yellow Creek is in present-day Indiana County, Pennsylvania. Captain John Cresap was erroneously blamed by Logan for the massacre. This murderous incident was one of the principle causes of Lord Dunmore's War, in which Indian war parties terrorized the Pennsylvania and Virginia backcountry in 1774. Logan led three successive war parties in ultimately futile attempts to find and eliminate his family's murderers. Sipe, Indian Chiefs, 440-443.

September 1756.³³

By early 1757, the British Navy, despite a succession of setbacks early in the conflict, began taking the offensive. The British fleet won major victories at Le Havre, off Lagos, and at Quiberon Bay. Released from blockade duty, British warships went on the prowl for French merchantmen and privateers, and the flow of goods into Quebec was greatly attenuated. With no Indian trade goods coming in, New France had nothing to sell or give to its Indian allies. This enabled British merchants such as Sir William Johnson to easily outbid the French for Indian favor. Many of the Indians, dependent on the manufactures of the white man's world since the advent of the fur trade, quickly flocked to the generously-stocked English trading posts. The British fleet, by then the dominant sea power in the world, had won the battle of supply. French land victories and the attacks of their Indian allies on colonial settlers became less and less frequent due to the paucity of

³³Colonel John Armstrong, Report of the Expedition to Kittanning, 14 September 1756, in PCR, 7:257-263; Colonel John Armstrong, Scheme of an Expedition to Kittanning, as illustrated in McConnell, A Country Between, 26; Colonel James Burd, Journal of the Construction and Garrison of Fort Augusta, 8 December 1756-14 October 1757, in PA, 2nd Series, 2:742-820; Gipson, British Empire Before the American Revolution, 6:vii, 9:3-4. When the wounded war leader Captain Jacobs was asked to come out of his burning house and surrender by Armstrong, he defiantly replied, "I eat fire!" and fought on. He was later shot down attempting to exit a window. Colonel John Armstrong, Report of the Expedition to Kittanning, 14 September 1756, in PCR, 7:260; Wallace, Indians in Pennsylvania, 150.

fresh French troops, military equipment, and trade goods.³⁴

The British Army had also learned from its mistakes. It contained many professional officers who, unlike Braddock, were familiar with the irregular warfare practiced by the Indians. Many of these men had encountered such tactics on battlefields in Europe or Scotland during the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745-1746. They had generated a storm of literature which described irregular warfare and the most effective countermeasures to be used against it. Officers such as Sir Jeffrey Amherst, John Forbes, Henry Bouquet, and James Wolfe were aware of the necessity of deploying skirmishers to protect their infantry columns from Indian attack. They became, along with occasional "amateurs" like Sir William Johnson and George Washington, the successful agents who were finally able to wrest France's Canadian empire from her iron grasp.³⁵

The war that had erupted at Jumonville Glen and Great Meadows led eventually to the conquest of French Canada by the British Army and Navy. On 24 November 1758 the French abandoned and burned Fort Duquesne upon the approach of British regular and colonial troops and their Indian allies commanded by General John Forbes. Fort Niagara fell to Sir

³⁴Warren Tute, The True Glory: The Story of the Royal Navy Over a Thousand Years (New York: Harper and Row, 1983), 85-87; Gipson, British Empire Before the American Revolution, 6:12, 15; Flexner, Mohawk Baronet, 188.

³⁵Peter E. Russell, "Redcoats in the Wilderness: British Officers and Irregular Warfare in Europe and America, 1740 to 1760," William and Mary Quarterly 35, no.4 (October 1978): 651.

William Johnson, commanding British troops and his own Mohawk allies, on 25 July 1759. But the amphibious campaign and battle for Quebec in 1759 sealed the doom of French Canada.³⁶ Montreal and French western posts were conquered the following year, and French Canada passed inexorably into the hands of its British conquerors.³⁷

³⁶The commander-in-chief of French forces in North America was the forty-eight-year-old Lieutenant General Louis-Joseph, the Marquis de Montcalm. His opponent was Major General James Wolfe, a tubercular young man of thirty-three. Wolfe and his fleet commander, Vice-Admiral Charles Saunders, had been hammering fruitlessly against Quebec and the fortified heights surrounding it from June to September 1759. Deciding to risk everything on an amphibious assault, Wolfe deceived the French by leading his men up a little-known and lightly guarded path on the cliffs west of the city the night of 12 September. Montcalm was stunned on the morning of 13 September to find the entire British army, four thousand strong, drawn up in serried scarlet ranks to meet him on the Plains of Abraham west of the city. Montcalm then made the mistake of leading his polyglot army out of the gates of Quebec to battle Wolfe before reinforcements under his able lieutenant, the Comte de Bougainville, could arrive. The British waited until the French were forty yards distant before firing two devastating volleys from their muskets, and then charged with fixed bayonets. The French army disintegrated into an undisciplined mob and ran for the gates of the city. Both Montcalm and Wolfe were shot through the lungs during the pursuit, Wolfe dying on the field among his victorious grenadiers, and Montcalm within the walls of Quebec early the next morning. Quebec surrendered to Wolfe's subordinants on 17 September 1759. Francis Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1884; reprint. Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1983), 544-547, 559-560.

³⁷Although the Seven Years' War originated in North America, the great European powers of France, Spain, and England viewed the eventual winner as the master of North America. In this conflict, France initially reversed her traditional policy of trying to become dominant in Europe by attempting to surpass and defeat the English in North America. But she wasted any benefit gained there by squandering her resources trying to defeat Frederick the Great's Prussian armies, allowing England to throw her main strength against France's overseas possessions. In the 1763 Treaty of Paris, France ceded all or her North American continental possessions to Britain, except New Orleans and Louisiana, which went to Spain. Alexander DeConde, A History of American Foreign

The importance of Native American warriors in the foregoing campaigns cannot be overestimated. In every major campaign of the war except the struggle for Quebec they were involved in the outcome, functioning as autonomous agents at the peripheries of the great European armies that surged across the landscape. All of the Iroquois nations, except the Mohawks, managed to stay neutral during the war. Others, such as elements of the Eastern Lenapes and most of the Ohio Indians, allied themselves with the French and carried the war to the isolated farms and communities of the Anglo-American frontier. In contrast, British allies, such as the Catawbas and Sir William Johnson's Mohawks, fought valiantly and unceasingly at the bidding of the British Crown. Johnson even went so far as to state that Great Britain, without its Indian allies, could never have conquered French Canada.³⁸

Even before the fall of Quebec, the Iroquois were well aware that they no longer held the balance of power between the English and French, and had become a small satellite nation on the periphery of an expanding, world-wide British empire. On 29 May 1760, some of the Iroquois and Munsee inhabitants of the upstate New York village of Tioga told a visiting missionary that they had seen a strange vision in

Policy (New York: Scribners, 1963; reprint. New York: Scribners, 1971), 20-22.

³⁸Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade, 17 May 1759, in NYCD, 7:375-378; Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade, 25 September 1763, in *ibid.*, 559-562; Flexner, Mohawk Baronet, 219-220.

the heavens. They saw two horses in the Moon, one coming from the East, the other from the West. These horses fought a terrible battle. The easterly horse prevailed, and threw the other down and fell on top of him. Men then appeared from the East and drove all before them. This vision and its most likely interpretation, that the British would defeat the French and take over Indian lands, greatly upset the Tiogans.³⁹

The Indians of eastern North America were just beginning to become conscious of themselves not only as Senecas, Twightwees, Lenapes, or Shawnees, but also as members of a distinct group -- American Indians. As in 1755, the Ohio Indians would again fight to regain control of their lands from the British in a 1763-1764 conflict known as "Pontiac's War."⁴⁰ But it was already too late. By the early 1760s the British war machine was completely functional in the Northeastern Woodlands of North America. The Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance, which had held the Leviathan at bay for a half century, was no longer able to defend its component peoples. The Indians saw this British imperial beast begin in earnest the work that was done surreptitiously at the Walking Purchase in 1737. They watched numbly as their lands were "legally" alienated and their wives and children starved for the lack of food they could no longer

³⁹John Hays, Vision of the Tiogans, 2 June 1760, in PA, 1st Series, 3:738; Gregory Evans Dowd, A Spirited Resistance: The North American Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815 (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), xvii-xviii.

⁴⁰Jennings, Empire of Fortune, 442-446.

provide them while they themselves were shot down on the road. There were further attempts for Native American unity in the Old Northwest against the even more relentless government and army of the United States during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. But such Indian political and military cohesion only slowed the process of alienation and displacement at the hands of the Euroamericans who would eventually militarily dominate the native peoples of the Northeastern Woodlands.

This chapter described the French invasion of Indian lands in the upper Ohio Valley in 1753, and the ineffective response of the Alliance's sachems. It also followed George Washington's mission to Fort LeBoeuf, the French and British race to build a fort at the Forks of the Ohio, and the disaster of the British defeat at Fort Necessity in the summer of 1754. It also showed the reactions and adaptations of the Indians to the inception of imperial warfare in the Ohio Valley, the major cause of the downfall of the Susquehanna-Ohio Indian Alliance. Chapter VII concludes the dissertation with a summary of Indian character and importance in colonial societies, a reiteration of the thesis, and a summary of its proofs.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSION

At the time of "First Contact" with European explorers in the early sixteenth century, the native peoples of what is now the interior woodland areas of the northeastern United States were unaware of the enormity of the impending changes that would eventually engulf them. When Europeans and Euroamericans compared them with the highly-organized civilizations of MesoAmerica or Europe, eighteenth-century Northeastern Woodlands Indian cultures were thought to be deficient in terms of social structure, education, medical care, monumental stone architecture, astronomical techniques, writing skills, and metal-working technology. Like most Native Americans in well-watered areas north of Mexico, Northeastern Woodlands peoples built small utilitarian structures of wood, earth, and other materials designed for living, not massive stone structures used for marketplaces, elaborate religious ceremonies, or defense in time of war. Time and the elements have dissolved almost all of their wooden structures into the forest loam from which they came, whereas those MesoAmerican stone structures which survived their area's internecine wars and the Spanish Conquest for the most part remain as sentinels over the graves of those peoples who created them. Thus the village of Otstonwakin on the West Branch of the Susquehanna River (located just southeast of the present-day city of

Williamsport, Pennsylvania), a thriving multicultural center and home to hundreds of people during several periods of occupation from about 1500 to about 1745, today is nothing more than a pile of mud and rubble near the riverbank being excavated by the local county archeological society.¹

Except for times of war, sickness, and mourning, life for the Indians of the Alliance was generally pleasant and revolved around the family. Great kindness was shown to all family and clan members, and especially to children, who were greatly loved. The most extreme form of punishment meted out to Indian children (and this only when all else had failed) was a bowl of cold water tossed in the face. This is in direct contrast to the severe corporal punishments typically utilized by contemporary European or colonial American parents.²

¹Malcolm B. Brown, "Field Notes," 4 October 1995; Herbert C. Kraft, The Lenape: Archeology, History, and Ethnography (Newark, N.J.: New Jersey Historical Society, 1986), 243; Michael D. Coe, Mexico, 3rd ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993), 11-12, 89-97; Brian M. Fagan, Ancient North America: The Archeology of a Continent (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 419-423.

²Benjamin Franklin reported an all-too-typical case of an infant's torture and death at the hands of her Pennsylvania-German father. Extract of a Letter from Bethel Township in Lancaster County, 19 May 1748, in The Pennsylvania Gazette, 11 August 1748. In contrast, sympathy and love for children was typical of the Indians of the era. According to some reliable European observers, in late 1679 at a multi-family Lenape dwelling in New Jersey, "a little naked child fell from its mother's lap, and received a cut on its head, whereupon all who sat around that fire, and belonged to that household, began to cry, husband and wife, young and old, and scream more than the child, as if they themselves had broken their arms or legs." Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, Journal of a Voyage to New York and a Tour in Several of the American Colonies in 1679-80, trans. Henry C. Murphy (New York: Long Island Historical Society, 1867), 248.

Although there were annual periods of intense activity in the northeastern woodlands, there were also periods of leisure. The Indians lived in and with nature rather than in competition with it. Food and other items were in general parceled out equally. There were no "homeless people," as all, especially orphans and the elderly, were cared for by their families and clans. Most of these woodlands cultures did not leave great architectural edifices, political organizations, or written literary and proto-scientific traditions as did the MesoAmerican cultures who existed concurrently with them. Consequently, many early Euroamerican scholars labeled these woodlands peoples as being "uncivilized." Although the adult peoples of the Northeastern Woodlands obviously did not live lives as comfortable as many of those of the Aztec or Inca upper classes, they did retain their individual freedom, dignity, sense of community, and self-worth. These are singular achievements when contrasted with the slavery, despotism, and loss of liberties associated with many of the "Great Civilizations" of both the Eastern and Western Hemispheres.³

For over 150 years the Indian, French, and British peoples faced one another more or less equally through the oak forests and glades of the northeast. Although military,

³David Zeisberger, History of Northern American Indians, ed. A.B. Hulbert and W.N. Schwarze (Columbus, OH.: Ohio Archeological and Historical Society Publications 19, nos. 1-2 (1910)), 16; Herbert C. Kraft, The Lenape: Archeology, History, and Ethnography (Newark, NJ: New Jersey Historical Society, 1986), 243-244.

logistical, and political forces shaped the eventual nature of this confrontation, cultural forces, particularly religion, played no small part in the process. In a very real sense, the cultures of both the French and Indians, despite derogatory remarks by ethnocentrist British colonial writers, had much to be desired in comparison with the strict, vengeful, and controlled society of colonial New England settlements.⁴

According to many colonial sources, Indian males supposedly lazed around all summer while their drudge wives did all the field work. This view owes its origin to misperceptions by European or Euroamerican visitors. Indian males actually spent long winters trapping and hunting, often alone, and in frequent danger and discomfort. They also spent much time during the summer in elaborate preparation of their hunting, fishing, and fighting equipment. These warriors were thus spending a short vacation relaxing from their arduous and oftentimes exhausting winter labors, a well-deserved rest which many colonials, in their pride and cultural arrogance, incorrectly interpreted as sloth. The disdainful English attitude toward the Indians as hunters (only aristocrats were legally allowed to hunt in seventeenth-century England) was also an unfounded, semi-feudal view that made no sense in the New World. The

⁴James Axtell, The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 3-5; David D. Smits, "The "Squaw Drudge": A Prime Index of Savagism," Ethnohistory 29, no. 4 (1982): 292-295.

English also criticized the Indians for allowing their women to farm. This and the Indian's simple but effective farming methods gave rise to a legal tradition that because the Indians did not farm using European techniques they did not deserve title to their land.⁵

Yet, for all their numerical and material power, the English colonists lagged markedly behind their French and Indian rivals in terms of the cultural and religious assimilation of captives. New France claimed several hundred souls who refused repatriation to the English colonies because of love for newly-acquired French spouses, converted kinsmen who preferred to stay in Canada, and (to the horror of New England clergymen) love for the Roman Catholic Church. Indian adoptions of white captives netted even more converts because of the kindness and camaraderie shown by the relatives and kinsmen of the new adoptee. This went against the general European perception that no sane white adult would ever want to become an Indian. White children captured before their mid-teens usually did not wish to return to their colonial homes from the freedom, love, and dignity accorded them as full members of their Native American group. In contrast, Indian children staying with New England families or in Indian schools almost always wanted to return home from white captivity. Despite their adeptness at war, in many ways the Indians of the colonial

⁵Zeisberger, History, 18-19; Smits, "The Squaw Drudge," 281-298. This attitude continued for centuries, and was a major rationalization for the forced alienation of Indian lands from colonial times into the twentieth century.

era were more accommodative and charitable than most Europeans, and more Christian-like than many of those who professed to be Christian.⁶

The kindnesses of Native Americans toward the inept colonials trying to feed themselves in the New World, such as the largesse of the local Indians in the formative years of colonial Jamestown and Plymouth, is relatively well known. Yet the extent of this care by individual Indians sometimes goes beyond what even altruistically-minded Europeans of the era believed possible. For example, two Dutch visitors on a tour of colonial New York, New Jersey, and their environs in 1679-80, recorded meeting an eighty year-old Hackensack Indian named Tantaque (or "Jasper"):

In the morning there came an Indian to our house, a man about eighty years of age, whom our people called Jasper, who lived at Ahakinsack [present-day Hackensack, New Jersey] or at Akinon. Concerning this Indian our old people related that when they lived on Long Island, it was once a very dear time; no provisions could be obtained, and they suffered great want, so that they were reduced to the last extremity; that God the Lord then raised up this Indian, who went out a fishing daily in order to bring fish to them every day when he caught a good mess, which he always did. If, when he came to the house, he found it alone, and they were out working in the fields, he did not fail, but opened the door, laid the fish on the floor, and proceeded on his way. For this reason these people possess great affection for him and have given him the name of Jasper, and also my "nitap," that is, my great friend. He never comes to the Manhatans [a local Lenape band] without visiting them and eating with them, as he now did, as among his old friends. We asked him

⁶Zeisberger, History, 16-19; Axtell, The Invasion Within, 291; Francis Jennings, Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1988), 198-199.

why he had done so much kindness to this people. "I have always been inclined," he answered, "from my youth up to do good, especially to good people, known to me. I took the fish to them because Maneto (the devil) [sic] said to me, you must take fish to these people, whispering ever in my ear 'you must take fish to them.' I had to do it, or Maneto would have killed me."⁷

With the exception of the older people, the local citizenry repaid Tantaque's kindness by getting him drunk and taking all his money and goods whenever they ascertained the gentle fisherman had anything of value on him.⁸ That the Indians reacted so passively and benignly to such provocations is a tribute to their tolerance, courage, self-control, innate decency, sense of justice, and cultural propriety.⁹

Although often physically on the periphery of Euroamerican settlements, Indians were very much a part of colonial America and the colonial mind. Prior to the advent of the French and Indian War, they were a constant sight on the streets of colonial towns and cities as well as in the woods and on the waterways.¹⁰ Native Americans were often

⁷Dankers and Sluyter, Journal, 149.

⁸This system of cheating the Indians out of their hard-earned goods, typical among the colonial Dutch and English traders in the New York area, was bitterly denounced by Jasper's new-found friends and chroniclers. *Ibid.*, 153.

⁹Gary B. Nash, Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early North America, 3rd. ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1992), 303.

¹⁰This was particularly true in the South. During late colonial times, Indians in the old south were more numerous than hitherto admitted, sometimes comprising as much as fifty percent of the total population of a parish or county. Indians, like blacks, worked for the white colonists as

in the thoughts and conversations of colonials even when there was no "Indian war" to discuss. The colonial records are filled with off-hand references to the activities of and conversations with Indians.¹¹ Some evidence is also beginning to emerge that Indian political processes and techniques may have had some influence in shaping the

slaves, indentured servants, and freemen, and were at least as numerous as blacks for most of the seventeenth century. In seventeenth-century Virginia, non-white apprentices were most likely to be Indians. Many Indians, like blacks, were discriminated against by planter-dominated courts, and were consigned to more-or-less permanent servitude. Other Indians worked for wages as hunters, fishermen, artisans, builders, and sharecroppers. Indian slaves were also hired out for wages to other colonists. Indians functioned in the colonial Euroamerican economy as sailors, pirates, swineherds, cattlemen, brickmakers, bricklayers, coopers, wheelwrights, blacksmiths, boatswains, sawyers, seamstresses, cordwainers, gunstock makers, and as mercenaries in time of war. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indians in the Old South (New York: Free Press, 1981), 151-174.

¹¹One of the best places for the student of this era to get a "feel" for this type of cultural interaction is by reading William Byrd's Secret Diary of 1709-1712, which is filled with day-to-day references to interactions with the local Indians as well as observations on the slave and dominant white populations. Another excellent source is the Journal (1679-1680) of Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, which gives a fresh and reasonable look at life and interactions among the Dutch, English, and Lenape populations in late seventeenth century New York. Passages in Pennsylvania Colonial Records also give an excellent view of colonial-Indian interactions, especially in the writings of that "man between two cultures," Conrad Weiser. Dankers and Sluyter, Journal; William Byrd, The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712, ed. Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling (Richmond, VA: The Dietz Press, 1941); Samuel Hazard, ed., Pennsylvania Colonial Records, 16 vols., hereafter cited as PCR (Philadelphia, PA: J. Severns and Company, 1838-1853); James H. Merrell, "Some Thoughts on Colonial Historians and American Indians," William and Mary Quarterly, 46, no. 1 (1989): 116-119.

evolution of democratic institutions in Colonial America.¹² In light of the foregoing, it is particularly important to remember that the Indians were not mere "savages," but peoples who gave much to colonial America and consequently should be given more credit for the development of American society than they have previously.¹³

The Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance was a notable intercultural edifice erected by and among the Wyandot, Miami, Susquehannock, Iroquois, Tuscarora, Lenape, and Shawnee peoples in the first half of the eighteenth century. In its early years under the direction of its greatest

¹²Bruce E. Johansen and Donald A. Grinde, Jr., "The Debate Regarding Native American Precedents for Democracy: A Recent Historiography," in American Indian Culture and Research Journal, 14:1 (1990): 61-88. Indian advocates, however, often go too far when they ignore the well-known influence of European political philosophy and governmental systems and argue that the League of the Iroquois provided the model for the United States Constitution. There is good evidence, however, for a near-continuous two-way exchange of information between the foregoing cultures, and a strong case can be made for the diffusion of political ideas from Indian to Euroamerican cultures (and vice-versa) in the colonial era despite the racism prevalent among British colonials. This dovetails nicely with Franz Boas' theory that the elements of any culture are the product of complex historical processes involving the diffusion and borrowing of traits and trait complexes from nearby cultures. Elizabeth Tooker, "The United States Constitution and the Iroquois League," in Ethnohistory, 35, no. 4 (Fall 1988): 305-336; David Kaplan and Robert A. Manners, Culture Theory (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1972), 71.

¹³Virgil J. Vogel, "The Blackout of Native American Cultural Achievements," American Indian Quarterly, 11, no. 1 (1987): 11-35. Anthropologist Jack Weatherford has written two delightful books on the actual contributions of Indians to American society and to the modern world. Jack Weatherford, Indian Givers: How the Indians of the Americas Transformed the World (New York: Crown Publishers, 1988); Native Roots: How the Indians Enriched America (New York: Crown Publishers, 1991).

sachems, it was an elastic and durable structure that easily met the needs of its component peoples for peaceful intercourse and the resolution of problems among themselves and with Euroamericans. For many years the Alliance survived despite an increasing factionalization and polarization of its component peoples. The Alliance's downfall in 1754 was due primarily to the invasion of the Ohio Valley by French and British armies and to the inability of its leaders to modify their thinking to effectively resist such aggression.

The consideration, generosity, and tolerance of the Alliance's peoples not only aided the advancement of their own societies, but were largely responsible for enabling nearby British colonials to survive and eventually to build their early settlements and institutions into solid social and political edifices. Great leaders like Conguegoes, Isabelle Montour, Carondowanna, Alliquippa, Allumapees, Kakowatcheky, and Shikellamy would undoubtedly have been even more highly revered among colonial elites and early American historians had they been born Euroamericans. Yet such great men and women were not always there to guide the Alliance. Although the majority of the blame for the Alliance's downfall in 1754 lies with the imperial agents and colonial military machines of the British and French empires, the leaders of its constituent Indian peoples from 1749 onward were not perfect and made some serious political mistakes which accelerated the disintegration process.

The extensive series of trails linking the Ohio and

Susquehanna valleys over the Allegheny Mountains made a verbal dialogue between separated but kindred groups of the Alliance possible.¹⁴ The extent of such verbal communications and individual and band movements can be gleaned from the activities of leaders such as Isabelle Montour, Andrew Montour, Alliquippa, Canachquasy ("New Castle"), Scaroyady, Tanaghrisson, Tohashwuchdioony ("The Belt"), Moses the Song, Neucheconner, and Kakowatcheky. The written communications of Euroamericans who wrote and received letters for their Indian friends enhanced cross-Allegheny communications. These scribes included Moravian missionaries such as Count Zinzendorf and David Zeisberger, diplomats such as Conrad Weiser, trader-diplomats such as George Croghan and William Johnson, and literate individuals among the ever-moving Pennsylvania traders.

Tolerance, generosity, patience, courage, and civility were the unspoken watchwords for the Alliance. The Indians were by and large very considerate to each other and even to strangers when not at war. The kindness of the Lenape sachem Tantaque, who fed the starving Dutch colonial immigrants of the New Amsterdam area in the mid seventeenth century, was typical of the Alliance's peoples. Madam Montour risked her life to give the starving Conrad Weiser

¹⁴The best maps and descriptions of these trails are in Paul A.W. Wallace, Indian Trails of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1987), Charles Fisher Snyder, The Great Shamokin Path (Sunbury, Pennsylvania: Northumberland County Historical Society, 1995), and Charles A. Hanna, The Wilderness Trail, or the Ventures and Adventures of Pennsylvania Traders on the Allegheny Path, 2 vols. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1911).

and his servant some corn meal when they visited her village during a famine in the spring of 1737. The elderly Shawnee sachem Kakowatcheky saved the tactless and unmovable Moravian missionary Count Zinzendorf from the wrath of the warriors of his Shawnee band in 1742. Cayuga women risked their lives to ferry Shikellamy and Conrad Weiser across a flooding stream in 1743. Scaroyady and other Indians of the Alliance stopped the Pennsylvania authorities from forcibly evicting white settlers from Indian lands from 1748 through 1750 because they could not stand to see these Euroamerican squatters' possessions forcibly removed and their homes burned. Finally, there is the example of the Cayuga mother who in 1743 unhesitatingly gave Shikellamy's party the dinner she had been preparing for her children. This unselfish and sometimes courageous behavior toward others, particularly strangers, was typical of the Indians. It contrasts sharply with the bad treatment often given to outsiders, indigents, and sometimes the very Indians who aided them by many Euroamerican colonials.

Peaceful intercultural cooperation was another distinguishing characteristic of the Alliance. Different native peoples lived peacefully in close proximity to each other in the Susquehanna Valley in the early eighteenth century. Susquehannocks, Shawnees, Iroquois, their Lenape "grandfathers," and other groups worked closely together to promote the common good when the valley was being resettled. In addition to mono-culture villages, there were many intercultural villages on the Susquehanna, such as Shamokin and

Otstonwakin, where different ethnic groups lived together peacefully. Great sachems able to see the importance of inter-cultural co-operation, such as Shikellamy, Isabelle Montour, Kakowatcheky, and Allumapees, guided the Alliance in its early stages. In the first two decades of the eighteenth century, the Susquehannocks at Conestoga unhesitatingly aided the Iroquois by sheltering emigrating groups such as the Nanticokes, Potomac Shawnees, and their former enemies the Tuscaroras, then entering the Susquehanna Valley from the south. The Conestogas were also extremely patient and tolerant when provoked by British traders, such as the peaceful handling of the "Anne Le Tort" problem by the Susquehannock matron Conguegoes and the other Conestoga sachems. In 1712, Allumapees and his Lenape colleagues magnanimously arranged the beginnings of the covenant chain between the Iroquois and Pennsylvania so that Pennsylvania could also rest with them under the enlightened construct of the Iroquois Great Tree of Peace. The Iroquois, then the greatest power in the region, reversed their former policy of warring with the Tuscarora and not only made peace with them, but also sheltered their southern kinsmen and admitted them as the Sixth Nation of their League.

Although there were the expected inter-cultural differences among the various groups of the Alliance, there were enough cultural similarities to allow peaceful interactions among all of its peoples. The life cycles of the peoples of the Alliance had many similarities, primarily reflecting differing Iroquoian and Algonquian cultural

traits. Subsistence patterns reflected differences between peoples who depended primarily on agriculture, such as the Iroquois and Susquehannocks, and hunter-gathering groups, such as the Lenapes. There were common hunting techniques and a strong desire for firearms among all groups. Housing did not reflect a linear Algonquian vs. Iroquoian pattern, but differed according to societal needs, construction techniques, and the materials that were used. Material cultures were based on a hodge-podge of "layered" European and late-Woodlands era technologies. Regarding religion, there were some common ceremonial threads, but each culture often had quite different religious conceptions and sets of rituals. There were some differences in social and political systems (again, according to the needs of the culture), but all groups had extensive female participation and were very concerned with the autonomy of the individual. Finally, external relations showed common methods of diplomacy, using the Iroquois model, and also a near-universal reliance on mourning war to satisfy the needs of the individual societies.

Stresses which would begin to test the Alliance's resiliency emerged in the second two decades of the eighteenth century. Among these were the Lenape and Shawnee exodus to the Ohio Valley, the Iroquois-Catawba War, the Euro-Indian fur trade, white settler incursions along the Susquehanna, and the advent of Pennsylvania's New Indian Policy with the Iroquois in 1732. Although the Iroquois transferred Lenape lands to Pennsylvania at the 1732 and

1736 Philadelphia Treaty Conferences, intertribal relationships were not actively polarized between the Iroquois and the Lenapes at that time. A good indication of the degree of good will and peace then existing among the Alliance's peoples can be ascertained from the uneventful journey which the unescorted sachems and matrons of the Iroquois Great Council, many of them quite old and feeble, made from Iroquoia down the Susquehanna Valley to the 1736 Philadelphia treaty conference. The diplomatic team of the Oneida sachem Shikellamy and the Iroquois-Pennsylvania interpreter Conrad Weiser¹⁵ insured that the chain of

¹⁵Weiser, who had a well-known reputation for honesty in the colonial era, has been severely maligned by ethnohistorian Francis Jennings, whose zeal in historically defending and avenging the Indians, although often justified, sometimes lends itself to an inaccurate view of Iroquois-Euroamerican relations during the colonial era. Jennings' assessments of the impact of events on the Indians are generally correct in both scope and detail. However, his interpretations of original documents are sometimes careless and counterfactual, especially in the case of Conrad Weiser.

An example of Jennings' improper analysis of original documents concerns the preparations for the intercolonial Albany Conference in 1754. In a letter to Richard Peters, Weiser offered arguments as to why he could not travel to Onondaga using the dangerous Susquehanna River route, as well as the necessity of upholding Onondaga's overriding claim to the Ohio country and a discussion of his proposed trip to the Wyoming Valley. Weiser then addressed some potential problems regarding the hoped-for land purchase from the Iroquois:

I have further to say, that a Rough Draft of English North America should be got ready against the ensuing Treaty, or any Emergency, wherein the Noted Rivers, Towns, and the Division Lines between the Provinces are laid down. The Indians know that the King has granted the lands (under the Condition of Satisfying the Indians) to the Different English Colonies, and in a manner divided it amongst them, and if leave could be obtained from the Indians to Run the Northern Line of Pennsylvania from the Head of Delaware Westwards it would be a good thing, but some Indians must Attend. All this would be a good

beginning to get the Lands secured to the Proprietors. Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 15 March 1754, in Alden T. Vaughan, ed., Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789, 11 vols., hereafter cited as "EAIDTL" (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, Inc., 1984), 2:326-327.

Jennings states that the above is a description of how Conrad Weiser was "deceiving the Indians about the survey of their ceded land." Yet a more careful reading of the text shows that Weiser was doing just the opposite, as he wanted a good map available to make sure the Iroquois knew they were not being deceived by Pennsylvania during negotiations for Pennsylvania's planned land purchase at Albany. The intent of the proposed survey was to properly delineate the intercolonial boundary between New York's southern and Pennsylvania's northern borders, which would better support Pennsylvania's purchase under English law. Weiser also insisted that the Indians be allowed to accompany the surveyors so that the former would be satisfied they weren't being cheated. Ibid.; Quotation from Jennings, Empire of Fortune, 105.

Weiser himself ran the survey, which took place some months after the conference. In a October 1754 letter to Richard Peters, Weiser noted that in September he had traveled up the West Branch of the Susquehanna River and had begun to run the "Northwest by West" diagonal survey line from the river to the New York border, as stipulated in the Albany Purchase deed. The Shikellamy brothers stopped by the survey site (apparently at Weiser's invitation) and pointed out that the line, if continued, would take a large portion of Indian lands to the North and East of the boundary agreed to at Albany. Weiser recollected that Pennsylvania's commissioners had been told by the Iroquois sachems during the negotiations at Albany that the survey line must never touch the Susquehanna River East of the Big Island (near present-day Lock Haven, Pennsylvania). He also remembered, with some embarrassment, that he had noticed while viewing Lewis Evans' map (the best then available) with the commissioners and Iroquois sachems at Albany, that the line, if run by the written directions in the treaty, would cross the river too far to the east. Weiser immediately stopped the survey, apologized to the Shikellamy brothers, and wrote his government, urging it to play fair with the Indians, despite the specific wording on the deed. As some of the Indians in the area had already threatened white settlers who had attempted to settle on the disputed lands, Weiser also told the somewhat mollified Shikellamy brothers that he would ask his government to run a new survey, more to their liking, in their presence. Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 12 October 1754, in The Susquehannah Company Papers, ed. Julian P. Boyd (Wilkes-Barre, PA: Wyoming Historical and Geological Society,

friendship between Onondaga and Philadelphia would remain bright and strong, and that the pro-French faction in the Iroquois Great Council would not be able to induce the League to declare war against the British at the inception of "King George's War" in 1744.

The infamous 1737 "Walking Purchase" and the 1742 and 1744 Philadelphia conferences were so unfair to the Shawnees and Lenapes that they acted to polarize the Iroquois and the Lenape-Shawnee union against each other and greatly increased the westward egress of the latter two groups from the Susquehanna Valley. Looking toward a better future, Lenape and Shawnee expatriates traveled to the Ohio Valley and quickly established trans-Allegheny settlements such as Kittanning and Logstown. Quickly determining that their former Iroquois overlords had little power over them in the Ohio Valley, the Lenape bands coalesced politically and formed the Delaware nation at their new place of residence in the 1720s and 30s.

Rifts appeared in the Alliance in the late 1740s and early 1750s, although they were not yet deep enough to break it apart. The advent of King George's War (1744-1748) produced large-scale strains in the already factionalized Iroquois Confederacy, as did the conflicts in the Ohio Valley between the French fur trade empire and the upstart Pennsylvania traders then flooding into the region. A crack in the Alliance appeared in 1745 due to the French attack on

1930; reprint. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1962), 1:136-137; Deed of the Albany Purchase, 1754, in PCR, 6:120.

Saratoga, which split the Iroquois Confederacy into irreconcilable pro-French (Seneca) and pro-British (Mohawk) factions, and virtually eliminated any remaining Iroquois hegemony in the Ohio Valley. The Death of Allumapees at Shamokin in 1747 also broke the Lenape into eastern and western factions, a rift that would not be healed until the mid 1750s.

A major problem for the Alliance was the rise of the upstart Ohio Indian Confederacy, a new western "campfire" or political entity centered in Ohio Valley village-complex "republics" in 1747. Its leaders, led by the Iroquois sachems Tanaghrisson, Canajachrera, Kachshwuchdanionty, Scaroyady and the Shawnee sachem Kakowatcheky were intent on bypassing the Iroquois Great Council at Onondaga and forming their own economic alliance with Pennsylvania to secure high-quality, low-price trade goods from the British and security from the French. Pennsylvania informally recognized this Confederacy, which included the Wyandot-Hurons, Miamis, and western Shawnees, Lenapes, and expatriate Western Iroquois, at the 1747 Philadelphia and 1748 Lancaster conferences, weakening the Alliance by splitting it into two political camps. As Shikellamy foresaw, this new western Confederacy was militarily weak and an easy target for French expansionists and British land speculators. The absence of Shikellamy's advice and counsel after his death in late 1748 was a major factor in the decline of the Alliance. Accompanied by the trader-diplomats Andrew Montour and George Croghan, Conrad Weiser

met with the Ohio Indians at the 1748 Logstown Conference. There the alliance between the Ohio Indian Confederacy, Pennsylvania, and Virginia was formally cemented.

Further damage to the Alliance was caused by European machinations. The new imperial French system on the Ohio, engineered beginning in 1747 by the Marquis de la Galissoniere, the acting Governor-general of New France, upset France's former trade alliances with the Indians in the region. A military expedition under French Captain Celeron de Bienville traveled down the Ohio River in the summer of 1749 to awe the Indians, but ended up amusing or angering them instead. In addition, British recognition of the Ohio Confederacy kept the Iroquois Great Council's influence at a low ebb and enhanced French influence in the Ohio Valley. At the initial phase of the second of two conferences with the Iroquois at Philadelphia in 1749, Conrad Weiser insulted the Great Council sachem Canasatego and almost broke the covenant chain between Onondaga and Philadelphia. Although Weiser later redeemed himself to some extent, the influence of this adopted son of the Mohawks with the Iroquois Great Council began a slow decline. This is one of the reasons that New York's William Johnson, another favorite adoptive son of the Mohawks, would soon eclipse Weiser in diplomatic affairs.

Diplomatic efforts by colonials sometimes aided the Alliance. The 1749 land purchase by Pennsylvania legitimized the white squatters who had already settled on Indian lands west of the Susquehanna. In addition, inter-

colonial attempts to end the Iroquois-Catawba War resulted in a one year truce. But other Euroamerican forces were at work which would destabilize the Alliance, such as the Ohio Company, a British land speculation company intent on acquiring by whatever means necessary a large portion of the Indian lands of the Ohio Valley. Yet the Alliance, with Tanaghrisson as voice, stood firm at the 1751 Logstown Conference, informing the French that they were on Indian lands and should quit meddling in Indian affairs. But British diplomats, echoing the greedy desires of the Ohio Company, completely disregarded Indian rights at the disastrous 1752 Logstown Conference. Just before that conference began the pro-British Miami trading center of Pickawillany was destroyed and its village chief Memeskia killed by the French and their Indian allies. In effect, this cataclysmic event tore the western limb of the Alliance away from the main body.

British-Indian relations continued in an uproar at this critical juncture. The Mohawks, angry at the Albany traders, broke the covenant chain with New York. Non-productive meetings were held between the Ohio Indians and Pennsylvania and Virginia at the 1753 Carlisle and Winchester conferences. The 1754 inter-colonial Albany Conference between the British and the Iroquois netted Pennsylvania its greatly-desired land purchase. It was also the scene of the infamous Albany Land Fraud, whereby Connecticut's Susquehannah Company claimed the lands of the Indians' beloved Wyoming Valley.

The invasion of the Ohio Valley by the armed forces of France and Britain in 1753-54 signalled the end of the Susquehanna-Ohio Indian Alliance. The French, under the direction of the French Governor-general the Marquis de Duquesne, invaded first, building forts at Presque Isle, the headwaters of French Creek (Fort LeBoeuf), and Venango. The three symbolic warnings given the French invaders by the Ohio Indians in 1753 were derisively thrown aside by the French commander, forcing the leaders of the Ohio Confederacy to realize how helpless they had become. The Iroquois Great Council, unable to decide what to do, did next to nothing to try to stop the French. The colony of Virginia sent George Washington to the French Commandant at Fort LeBoeuf to induce the French to leave, a demand that was politely but firmly refused. In the spring of 1754 the French army descended the Allegheny River from Venango to the Forks of the Ohio where they sent a small group of Virginia militia packing and built their own post, Fort Duquesne. In a British counter-stroke against the French, Washington again entered the Ohio Valley at the head of the Virginia militia. At Jumonville Glen, he and his Indian allies ambushed a party of French soldiers whom he claimed were on a military scouting expedition and whom the French said were on a diplomatic mission. After this action all of Washington's Indian allies left him except Andrew Montour, who stood with his friend despite the difficult times ahead. Washington was subsequently defeated at Fort Necessity in July 1754 by a strong and well-trained force of French

soldiers and their Indian allies. In addition to ending almost all British influence in the Ohio Valley, this disaster marked the downfall of the semi-fictional Ohio Indian Confederacy and pushed many of the Ohio Indians back into the arms of the French.

The downfall the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance was made inevitable by the fall of the Ohio Confederacy. The Alliance's death knell can be traced to the day that Scaroyady burned the abandoned trading center of Logstown in June 1754. The nations of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance were politically polarized from that time forward. The Miamis and Wyandots and some Lenapes and Shawnees quickly went over to the French camp. Other members of the Shawnee and Lenape nations traveled eastward back over the mountains to the upper Susquehanna Valley. The Western Iroquois emigrated to Aughwick, Iroquoia, or the Philadelphia area for shelter. The conflict which had started as an imperial war between France and Britain for the lands and Indian trade of the Ohio Valley soon became a war of racial hatred in which the peoples of the dying Susquehanna-Ohio Indian Alliance were mistreated and sometimes murdered by the very Euroamerican peoples to whom they had shown so much generosity, accommodation, and tolerance.

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APPENDIX

BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY

In that this dissertation's interpretation and methodology are quite different from kindred works, it is useful to review the ethnographical and secondary historical material in this field. The "Patrician School," so named due to its undeviating pro-Euroamerican viewpoint characteristic of pre-Civil War era British and American historians, articulates the well-worn "Indians are Savages" or "conquest theory" interpretation. Cadwallader Colden's The History of the Five Indian Nations (1747) is one of the major sources for the pervasive myth and interpretive misperception that the "barbarous and savage" Iroquois were the militaristic and senatorial "Romans" of the New World. Peter Wraxall's An Abridgement of Indian Affairs (1754) emphasizes the importance of the fur trade to Colonial America. It is a valuable contribution to the history of the fur trade and to an understanding of the ongoing North American Anglo-French conflict. Francis Parkman's monumental multi-volume France and England in North America (1865-1893) is, despite its biases, still a standard source for understanding the French and British colonial governments during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although a superb writer and historian of the French and British colonial elites, Parkman had little good to say about the Indians, thus giving his work a one-dimensional quality when viewed through modern ethnological

perspectives.

Early Ethnologists also began to take part in the debate in the early nineteenth century. Moravian missionary David Zeisberger's History of Northern American Indians (1779) gives an excellent overview of the Lenape and other Eastern woodlands peoples. Zeisberger labored among the Indians as a missionary for almost sixty years, and unlike most Euroamericans of his generation, regarded the Indians as human beings worthy of respect. Except for religion, his writings are relatively free of any biases or value judgments, and thus form a reliable early ethnographical work. Determined that information on Indian cultures available in his day should not be lost forever, Henry Schoolcraft compiled a collection of priceless historical and ethnographical accounts in his History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States (6 volumes, 1851). Lewis Henry Morgan's The League of the Iroquois (1851) is still the best general description of this people and its culture. However, it does suffer from the ethnocentrism and unilineal view of cultural development that were the touchstones of anthropological thought of the Victorian Era. C.C. Trowbridge's Shawnese Traditions (1824) and Meearmear Traditions (1825) are excellent early attempts by a pioneer social scientist to record and understand the Shawnee and Miami cultures. Horatio Hale's The Iroquois Book of Rites (1883) is another attempt by an amateur ethnologist to understand the linguistic, religious, and literary patterns of the Iroquois people.

Charles Hanna's The Wilderness Trail (2 volumes, 1910) best exemplifies the "Progressive School," in which economic matters are central to the interpretation of historical causation. Hanna's well-written and mildly biased work suffers in particular from a rather amateurish methodology in which citations of primary sources are given haphazardly if at all. Despite his vast knowledge of the standard colonial primary sources and his detailed analysis of the activities of the individual Pennsylvania traders, he does not have a complete vision of the actual macroeconomic situation regarding the fur trade in the Ohio and Susquehanna Valleys. Yet Hanna does offer a huge amount of information (with many primary source quotations) on the movements and activities of the Pennsylvania traders and the many Indians with whom they came into contact. The collection of colonial-era maps he compiled within the work are in the main outstanding.

The "Consensus School" began to transcend the biases developed by the Patrician and Progressive Schools and to incorporate some ethnographical material in the historical narrative. Randolph C. Downes' Council Fires on the Upper Ohio (1940) is an excellent study of the Ohio Indians, the first modern work to successfully present an Indian viewpoint. Paul A.W. Wallace's Conrad Weiser (1945) and Indians in Pennsylvania (1961) are works that portray the Indians not as savages but as human beings with viable viewpoints and cultures. Wallace also did a tremendous favor to scholars by incorporating many previously

inaccessible primary text quotations within the narrative of his magnum opus, Conrad Weiser. Despite their age, these works are still the best-balanced monographs on eighteenth-century Eastern Woodlands Indians available today. Jane Sumner Brown's The Catawba Indians: People of the River (1966) is an early ethnohistorical work that raises the colonial era Catawba to the status of equal importance with their white counterparts. Anthony F.C. Wallace's The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca (1969) offers an eye-opening account of the colonial-era decline and later revival of Iroquois-Seneca society due to the work of the prophet Handsome Lake and his followers. Wilbur R. Jacobs' Wilderness Politics and Indian Gifts: The Northern Colonial Frontier, 1748-1763 (1967) focuses on the importance and context of Indian "presents" and gift-giving in the colonial era. Barbara Graymont's ethnohistory The Iroquois in the American Revolution (1972) focuses on the decline of the Iroquois in the colonial and Revolutionary eras. Finally, C.A. Weslager's The Delaware Indians: A History (1972) offers a good but somewhat dated appraisal of the history of the Lenape people.

The unapologetically pro-British "Imperial School" is best exemplified by Lawrence Henry Gipson's massive The British Empire Before the American Revolution (14 volumes, 1936-1970). In this work, the premier colonial synthesis for the English, Indian, and French northeastern dominions, Gipson saw the French and Indian War as but one portion of the first world-wide war, the "Great War for the Empire," a

war in which the Indians as well as the French were the major losers.

Modern ethnographers have used the techniques of anthropology to delve deeply into the cultures of the descendants of the Alliance's peoples. Frank G. Speck led the way with his Catawba Texts (1934), Oklahoma Delaware Ceremonies, Feasts, and Dances (1937), and The Iroquois: A Study in Cultural Evolution (1945). Elizabeth Tooker's The Iroquois Ceremonial of Midwinter (1970) provides an exceptional glimpse into this important ceremonial and its historical antecedents. William Fenton's works, such as those printed in the Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture (1951), offer important analyses of Iroquois and neighboring cultures. Bruce G. Trigger's The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660 (2 volumes, 1976) is a good ethnohistorical survey of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Huron culture written by an anthropologist. James Howard's Shawnee! The Ceremonialism of a Native American Tribe and its Cultural Background (1981) is a solid anthropological survey of the Shawnee which also contains a strong ethnohistorical component.

Beginning in the late 1960s historians of the "Revisionist" or "New Indian History School" began to use of ethnohistorical techniques to promote a more positive view of American Indians, although sometimes in the context of a heavily-biased tendency toward Native American advocacy. W.J. Eccles' The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760 (1969)

provides an excellent view of French Canada, its indigenous Indian tribes, and the relations of the English and the Iroquois. He also characterizes the Eastern Woodlands Indians of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as civilizations with as much power and influence in North America as the vaunted British and French Empires. James Axtell analyzes Indian-European relations in the colonial era in his collection of essays, The European and the Indian (1981), and explores the nature of intercultural religious contacts in The Invasion Within (1985). Daniel K. Richter and James Merrell edited a collection of ground-breaking essays analyzing the extent of Iroquois hegemony in Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Native North America, 1600-1800 (1987). The most radically pro-Indian of the revisionist ethnohistorians is Francis Jennings. The two volumes of his ethnohistorical synthesis, The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire (1984) and Empire of Fortune (1988), are so strongly biased toward the Indians and against white colonial males that they are in effect a strange and brooding "Doppelganger" of Francis Parkman's France and England in North America. Jennings' assessments of the impact of events on the Indians, however, are generally very well thought out, and are occasionally brilliant, such as his "The Indian Trade of the Susquehanna Valley" (1966). James Merrell's The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors From European Contact Through the Era of Removal (1989), an ethnohistorical analysis of the adaptations of this remarkable people through the

twentieth century, adds to but does not replace Jane Brown's superb The Catawba Indians. Michael N. McConnell's A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and its Peoples, 1724-1774 (1992) notes that the Ohio Valley was both a zone of international friction and a cultural frontier, a "Country Between" in which England and France vied for the hearts, minds, and trade of the local Indian inhabitants. Daniel K. Richter's "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience" (1983) is an important paper which fully delineates the extent, traits, and ramifications of the Iroquoian system of Mourning War. In his Ordeal of the Longhouse (1992), Richter sees the Iroquois as neither "ignoble savages" nor as "all-conquering militarists," but simply as a people who, like colonial immigrants to the Americas, often found themselves caught up by economic, political, and demographic forces over which they had little control.

The "Modern Eclectic School," to which this dissertation belongs, blends the best aspects of ethnography and the consensus and revisionist schools to produce historical constructs that give a more balanced view of the still rather hazy eighteenth-century Eastern Woodland Indians. Herbert C. Kraft's The Lenape: Archeology, History, and Ethnography (1986) provides an excellent picture of the Lenape people by combining archeological evidence with a good analysis of ethnological material and underutilized primary sources. Richard White's The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes

Region, 1650-1815 (1991) is a brilliant work on the colonial-era Ohio Valley and Great Lakes Indians. He theorizes that in the Great Lakes-Ohio Valley region, called by the French the "pays d'en haut," there occurred in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a process of accommodation involving cultural change between the Algonquian-speaking Indians and the British and French. This took place on the "Middle Ground," or that place in-between cultures, peoples, villages, and empires where these very different peoples adjusted their differences and maintained their sovereignty and pride via a set of shared meanings and practices. Barry C. Kent's Susquehanna's Indians (1993) is a well-researched and extremely reliable source which focuses on the indigenous peoples of the Susquehanna Valley from the later prehistoric era through the early eighteenth century. The author packed an enormous amount of archeological data into the work, and skillfully blended ethnographical, archeological, and historical material to produce a profile of the indigenous Susquehannock and Lenape cultures and the later-arriving Iroquois, Conoys, and Shawnees.

The foregoing works do not of themselves identify the existence of the Susquehanna-Ohio Alliance, which was first delineated in this dissertation. They are, however, a major part of the conceptual foundation upon which this work is based, as well as being useful interpretive or descriptive sources in their own right.

2

VITA

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Doctor of Philosophy

Dissertation: "IS IT NOT OUR LAND?" AN ETHNOHISTORY OF THE
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