"... an important contribution to both American and frontier history."

The Boundaries between Us

Natives and Newcomers along the Frontiers of the Old Northwest Territory, 1750–1850

Edited by Daniel P. Barr

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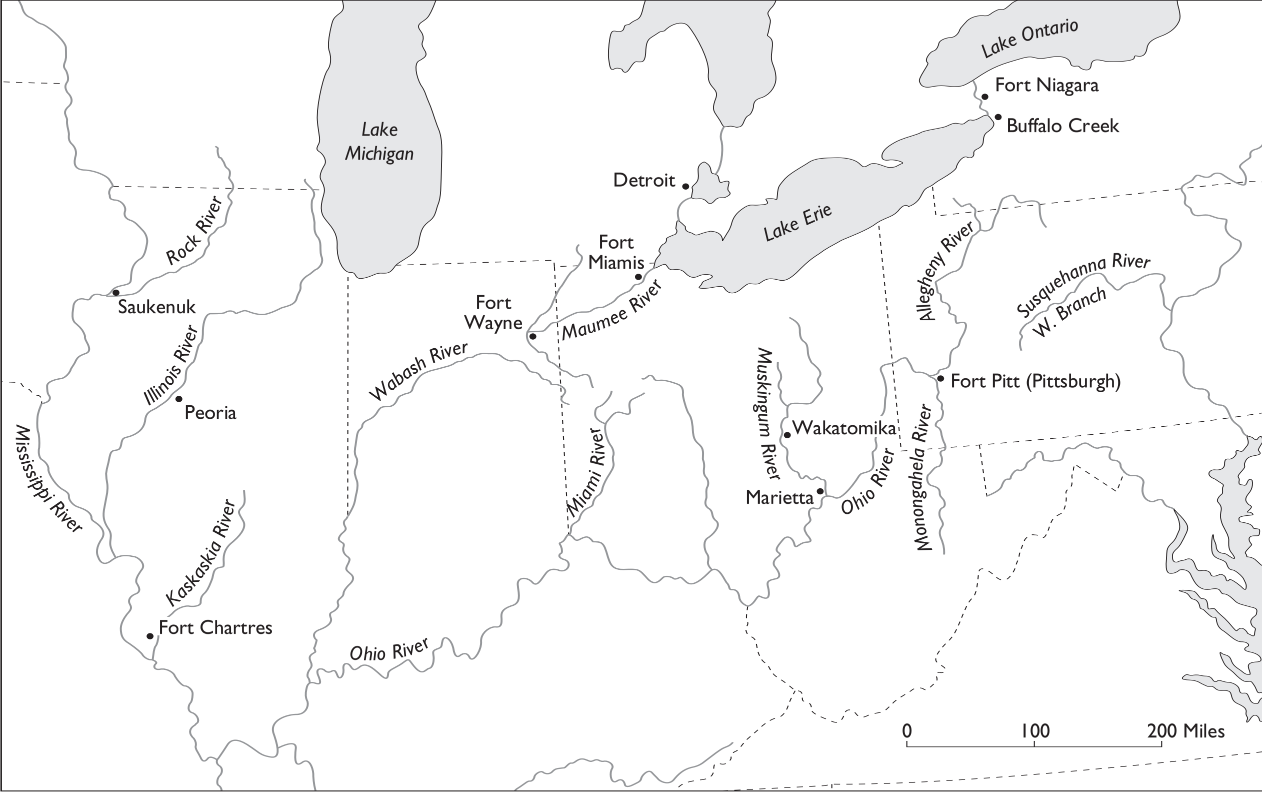
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Introduction: Fluid Boundaries and Negotiated Identities

Intersection, Accommodation, and Conflict on an Evolving Frontier

The settlement history of the United States' first national frontier, the Old Northwest Territory, is rich with compelling drama and captivating characters, especially when focused on the interaction between native peoples and Euro-American newcomers. One can hardly envision this aspect of the region's early history without bringing to mind Tecumseh or Black Hawk, William Henry Harrison or Anthony Wayne, while images of Indian warriors stalking Arthur St. Clair's doomed army in the Ohio wilderness contrast with visions of American pioneers successfully establishing themselves upon the fields and prairies of Indiana and Illinois. Yet outside of these familiar stories and comfortable understandings of Indians and white settlers in the Old Northwest Territory, there is much that remains unexplored, understudied, or misunderstood about cultural interaction and accommodation. Such sentiment was raised, in part, by historians Andrew Cayton and Peter Onuf, whose 1990 interpretive work *The Midwest and the Nation: Rethinking the History of an American Region* critiqued the existing body of scholarship on the Old Northwest Territory. Cayton and Onuf asserted their intention to "encourage historians to think about the region in more systematic ways than they have in the past . . . [and] to suggest that the Old Northwest was more than a generic frontier or a cultural crossroads." They hoped to excite historians into a vast reexamination of the Old Northwest Territory and the states it eventually became, a process that began with the meetings of native inhabitants and newcomers. Moreover, this conceptual call-to-arms underscored an understanding that the Old Northwest Territory occupies a fundamental place in the early history of American westward expansion. Here for the new American nation came the first great challenge of the West, to manage and control not only its claimed territory, but also the diverse peoples—Indian

and white—whose lives, ambitions, and futures were tied to the region. The region thus served as a primer for the larger process of contact, conquest, and colonialism that would unfold as the United States expanded westward.[1]

The Old Northwest Territory was fertile ground for conflict, accommodation, resistance, and adaptation, and it thus remains fertile ground for historical inquiry. A generation of new studies has reopened the ground in the Old Northwest in an effort to advance our understandings of the region, its diverse peoples, and their significance in the larger realm of American history.[2] Much of recent scholarship pertaining to the Old Northwest Territory derives its focus from significant trends that emerged in early American historiography over the past few decades. Among the most vibrant have been the (now-not-so) "'New' Indian history" and the growing number of studies that focus on the eastern frontiers of North America. The New Indian history grew in large part from the efforts of a specialized group of historians, generally dubbed ethnohistorians, who eschewed longstanding but worn out themes of American Indian victimization and helplessness in favor of agency, in the process offering compelling new insights into the diverse ways that native peoples influenced, shaped, and participated in American history. While the body of work in this field is broad, much of the best scholarship has addressed early American history, where the meeting of diffuse cultures was so crucial. Scholars such as Colin Calloway, Richard White, R. David Edmunds, and James Axtell, among many others, have declined to settle for viewing Indian history through the old lens of interpretation—the simplistic, often redundant tale of the violent clash between Indian nations and the Anglo-Americans who dispossessed them, a tired interpretive vehicle driven most often by the monolithic theme of inevitable conquest—and instead focused their vision on the complicated interrelationships that grew out of the diverse meetings, intersections, and conflicts between natives and newcomers along the frontiers of early America. As a consequence, they have opened intriguing new avenues for investigation into what Colin Calloway has termed "New Worlds for All."[3]

Concurrently, albeit somewhat younger than the New Indian scholarship, there have been transforming studies of the importance of frontier settlement in early American history. Focused on the eastern frontiers of North America, which in truth stretch geographically from the Atlantic seashore to the Mississippi River (though the eastern frontier is too often referred to simply as the colonial backcountry), these works, like those of New Indian history, move beyond familiar historical models—namely the seemingly linear evolution of the transplanted British communities along the Atlantic coast into the United States—and instead attribute great importance to the intersection of Indians, westward moving colonists, and empires in midland North America.

Here, on the fluid frontiers of early America, historians have found patterns of interaction, cooperation, competition, and conflict that established important precedents and left lasting legacies for the future westward expansion of what would become the United States, offering interesting new avenues of exploration for Frederick Jackson Turner's much maligned but incredibly resilient notion that the frontier experience shaped American culture.[4]

Most importantly, there has been a trend to blend these two methodologies into a singular approach, as both the New Indian history and eastern frontier studies share a common understanding that the significance of cultural interaction is more often found in the meeting than in the end result. Perhaps no singular study has done more to advance this understanding than *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815,* Richard White's vastly influential take on the intersection of diverse cultures, interests, and aspirations in what would eventually become the Old Northwest Territory. White argued that "on the middle ground diverse peoples adjust their differences through what amounts to a process of creative, and often expedient misunderstandings." Here natives and newcomers came together in the spirit of accommodation, appealing to each others' cultural values, always, however, with an eye toward advancing their own interests. Moreover, White demonstrated that to truly understand the meeting of natives and newcomers in this region, historians must examine events at the local or village level. Only by looking there can we come to an understanding of how Indians and Euro-Americans strove to create a world that might include everyone.[5]

In the wake of *The Middle Ground* have come several recent studies that build upon, interpret, and in some cases recast White's model of frontier and cultural interaction. These studies engage both the middle ground as an interpretive model and the influence that White's interpretation has had upon scholars studying cultural interaction, tacitly—if not overtly—examining where the concept of the middle ground failed, floundered, or persevered. Recent works by Daniel Richter and Jane Merritt, for example, have demonstrated that the development of racial hatred among both natives and newcomers occurred earlier and was more widespread than White acknowledges.[6] White certainly allows for this concept, but he sees it primarily as a phenomenon that arises in the wake of the American Revolution, arguing that in the years following the Revolution "the common world yielded to a frontier over which people crossed only to shed blood."[7] Yet emerging scholarship, including several of the essays in this collection, is demonstrating that real forms of accommodation existed between natives and newcomers in the Old Northwest region long after the creation of the United States. These may have been limited to prominent individuals or particular localities, but the concept of the middle ground did not necessarily die away entirely.

The Boundaries between Us seeks to engage and expand on these ideas and methodologies while asking new questions about the relationships between natives and newcomers, both ahead of and behind the frontiers of Euro-American settlement in the Old Northwest Territory. Gathering together eleven original essays, it examines the sociocultural contexts in which natives and newcomers lived, traded, negotiated, interacted, and fought. Together they created a landscape of fluid boundaries and negotiated identities, a rapidly changing world where the possibility for accommodation or conflict ebbed and flowed within the context of local circumstances and individual choices. Examples of this shifting world come from a broad geographic range of what can be considered the Old Northwest Territory, originating in the upper Ohio River valley of what is now western Pennsylvania, stretching west to the Illinois-Iowa border, and encapsulating many points in between. The temporal journey is expansive as well, ranging from the years just prior to the Seven Years' War, moving through the Early Republic, and eventually coming to rest in the Indian Removal Era of the 1830s and 1840s. Together the essays offer a broad historical perspective on a century of contact, interaction, conflict, and displacement that aspires to offer new avenues of inquiry for unfolding discussions in the history of the Old Northwest Territory, as well as the history of early America, the eastern frontier, and cultural interaction between native peoples and newcomers.

The essays are arranged chronologically and spatially, with the first four essays investigating the interaction of natives and newcomers within the context of the imperial struggle to control the interior of North America prior to the creation of the United States. Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century in the Ohio Country—widely defined here as stretching from the forks of the Ohio River to the Illinois Valley—these essays focus primarily on native reactions to colonialism and imperial reactions to native resistance. Here, indeed, a new world was created for all, one that demanded change on the part of both natives and newcomers while presenting challenges that both struggled to meet as they alternately traded, negotiated, and fought with one another.

In the opening essay, "The Shawnees and the English: Captives and War," distinguished historian Ian K. Steele reexamines the relationship between the Ohio Shawnees, British authorities, and American colonists during the era of the Seven Years' War in North America. His account focuses on the circumstances surrounding the incarceration of six Shawnee warriors in 1753 by colonial authorities in South Carolina, an imprisonment that precipitated the destruction of pro-British sympathies among the Shawnees, prompted their alliance with the French during the Seven Years' War, and caused lingering bitterness toward Americans that again led to violence during Pontiac's Rebellion in 1763. In tracing this little-known episode in Shawnee history, Steele

offers a thought-provoking analysis of the differing cultural understandings of captivity, stressing the role that misconceptions and failed negotiations played in the onset of war. He concludes that the Anglo-American demands for the return of white captives as a condition of peace at war's end constituted a serious "grievance of honor" for the Shawnees, a perceived decline of status so severe that it brought about new political and diplomatic orientations within Shawnee society, which in turn forged the militant stance that dominated Shawnee-American relations through the War of 1812.

Similarly, my offering, "'This Land Is Ours and Not Yours': The Western Delawares and the Seven Years' War in the Upper Ohio Valley," addresses the motivations and actions of the western Delaware Indians, those living along the present-day Pennsylvania-Ohio border, before and during the Seven Years' War. Like the Shawnees in Steele's account, I find that the western Delawares' decision for war was specific to their own experiences, which included strong recollections of earlier removals from Pennsylvania, the failure of negotiation to preserve their land rights in the upper Ohio Valley, and a militant determination not to become migrants again. Emboldened by their past experiences, these Delawares launched a systematic campaign designed to achieve not victory over the enemy's military forces on the battlefield, but rather the subjugation of the settler population in the Pennsylvania backcountry in order to force a negotiated political settlement that would assure their territorial integrity against the advancing tide of colonial settlement. At first unwilling, and then unable to defend their borders, colonial officials in Pennsylvania eventually settled, agreeing to a treaty that, at least in spirit, satisfied western Delaware demands.

On the heels of the Seven Years' War, David Dixon uncovers the broad roots of native unity during the 1763 Indian uprising in the Ohio Country in "'We Speak as One People': Native Unity and the Pontiac Indian Uprising." Disputing interpretations that too narrowly afford the Ottawa chief Pontiac a primal role in fomenting unified native resistance, Dixon explains native unity during the uprising through the anthropological model of ethnogenesis—the process of cultural reinvention practiced by native groups who, facing great pressure and stress from advancing Anglo-American colonialism, reorient their societies and cultures in an effort to stave off elimination. He finds that it was chiefly their desire to retain and reinvigorate traditional lifeways and preserve their cultural integrity that led diverse native groups in the Ohio Country to forge the unanimity necessary to launch a Pan-Indian uprising against the British and their American colonialists.

In the years following the Seven Years' War, Matthew C. Ward argues, the British Army and the Ohio Indians developed an unusually close social and economic relationship, centered on the British Army's attempts to protect the

Indians from aggressive American colonial settlers. In "'The Indians Our Real Friends': The British Army and the Ohio Indians," Ward demonstrates that most British officers, and many enlisted men, sympathized with the plight of the Indians of the Northwest, instead blaming interloping colonial traders and settlers for causing the contention that had marked the region over the previous decade. In discussing the British Army's role in overcoming that tension, Ward illuminates a compelling dichotomy faced by the army in the Old Northwest: on one hand, the British Army existed as a force of mediation and direction between Indians and colonists, especially in matters of trade and commerce; on the other hand, the army had to keep the two cultures separate, especially where territory and land issues were at stake, in order to preserve peace. The British Army thus had the difficult, if not impossible, task of bridging certain boundaries between cultures while also keeping others firmly in place. Viewed within the context of this dilemma, Ward offers a clearer understanding of the pitfalls of British frontier policy and the inability of the army to successfully integrate its bifurcated duty assignment along the Old Northwest frontier.

The remaining seven essays address the Old Northwest Territory after the formation of the American nation. They illuminate specific individuals, episodes, and developments within the complex struggle for control of the region during the formative years of the Early Republic, including the military, economic, social, and conceptual layers of the contest for the region. From the end of the American Revolution through the height of the Indian Removal Era, the Old Northwest housed continued tensions between native peoples and newcomers. During these turbulent and expansive decades, however, the struggle took new forms as American settlement and development intensified and the American government sought to consolidate its hegemony over the region. As had occurred during the imperial contest for the Midwest, native peoples met these challenges in diffuse ways, particular to their own needs and circumstances. The essays in this section move beyond familiar accounts of the Northwest Indian wars and Tecumseh, and instead illuminate some of the ways in which natives and newcomers addressed one another away from the battlefield.

Lisa Brooks's essay begins this process, looking beyond the violence that often accompanied Indian efforts to preserve their lands in the Northwest, instead exploring the important ways in which native traditions and political philosophy guided the struggle for autonomy. In "Two Paths to Peace: Competing Visions of Native Space in the Old Northwest," she explores the competing visions of Mohawk leader Joseph Brant and Stockbridge Mahican leader Hendrick Aupaumut regarding peace and the preservation of native space in the Old Northwest Territory in the decade after the American Revolution.

Brant, advocating a traditional Iroquoian concept known as "the Dish with One Spoon," argued for the creation of an Indian Confederation in the Northwest, a unified polity that could speak with one voice and successfully negotiate favorable terms with the newly formed United States. Aupaumut also desired union, but he strove to reintegrate his Mahican people into a position of importance vis-à-vis the Indians of the region by brokering a treaty with the United States government. It was his hope that his dispossessed people might hang their "kettle" alongside a "common pot" for all Northwest tribes, finding both a new home and a new meaning for their disrupted lives. Both leaders ultimately sought the same goals—union and self-preservation—but by dissecting and analyzing their differing approaches and self-interests, Brooks advances our understanding of how native peoples conceived and constructed that most elusive of creations—unity.

In "'A Superior Civilization': Appropriation, Negotiation, and Interaction in the Northwest Territory," Frazer Dorian McGlinchey takes a somewhat different tack, addressing the landscape of the Old Northwest and the hopes and aspirations that American newcomers had for its development. His analysis focuses on Marietta, Ohio, the first official settlement in the region formally defined as the Northwest Territory by the United States government. Here the associates of the Ohio Company planned to erect an atypical settlement, a gleaming example of the magnificent civilization to which the new American nation could aspire. As McGlinchey relates, the plans of the Marietta settlers had little use for the former native inhabitants of the region, yet they struggled to imprint their vision for the landscape over the tangible and physical reminders that the land once boasted a formidable native presence. And when native resistance again flared during the Northwest Indian wars of the 1790s, their vision for the landscape eroded beneath practical demands for defense and security. Despite their best efforts, the Marietta settlers struggled to create their "superior civilization" in a landscape that did not yet allow for a world without Indians.

The social and cultural boundaries separating natives and newcomers in northeastern Indiana is the subject of Donald H. Gaff's essay, "Three Men from Three Rivers: Navigating between Native and American Identity in the Old Northwest Territory." Taking material culture as his cue, Gaff brings an anthropologist's eye to studying the clothing, homes, and possessions of three prominent Miami Indian leaders, Little Turtle, Jean Baptiste Richardville, and William Wells. By studying their material habits and creature comforts, Gaff demonstrates the porous nature of the boundaries separating native and American identity in the Old Northwest Territory, especially when applied to influential and important individuals. As he points out, the lives of these three prominent men reveal the fluidity of the frontier in this portion of the Old

Northwest, where cultural and societal barriers were transparent enough to allow Little Turtle, Richardville, and Wells to actively involve themselves on both sides of the cultural divide as it pleased them. By relating their activities along the Old Northwest frontier, Gaff offers a compelling case that it is still eminently useful, where possible, to understand cultural assimilation in terms of individuals, rather than tightly confining our historical inquiries in that arena to the broader categories of tribes and ethnicities.

Few events along the frontiers of the Old Northwest Territory generated the level of tension between natives and newcomers as did murder, both of whites by Indians and of Indians by whites. In "Negotiating Law on the Frontier: Responses to Cross-Cultural Homicide in Illinois," Bruce P. Smith examines the seldom addressed ways in which Americans and native peoples engaged the law in response to the murder of one of their own by the other. Noting that there is scant extant scholarship devoted to the study of murder in the Old Northwest Territory, Smith employs case studies to demonstrate that native peoples were capable, at least in certain instances, of engaging American law and using American legal institutions for their own ends. As such, the legal system on the Old Northwest frontier remained a *de facto* middle ground, and the law remained a place where natives and newcomers could engage one another on relatively equal footing, long after other forms of cultural mediation had been subjugated.

Phyllis Gernhardt's essay, "'Justice and Public Policy': Indian Trade, Treaties, and Removal from Northern Indiana," scrutinizes the route by which treaties signed by the Potawatomis and the Miamis forced these Indian nations into economic entrapment. Crucial to this process were self-serving American Indian traders, merchants, and businessmen whose livelihood depended on maintaining a native presence in the region. As Gernhardt relates, these traders became intricately involved in American Indian policy. Recognizing the traders' intimate contacts with native society, the United States government relied on these merchants' abilities to influence the native inhabitants at treaty negotiations, and in particular, the government manipulated the Indians' financial obligations and debts to the traders as a means to secure native land cessions. Yet the formula did not always produce a favorable equation. From their central place of influence, the Indian traders of northern Indiana often put themselves ahead of both Indians and the federal government, playing both sides against the other to assure that they stood to reap the greatest benefit from the removal process. Gernhardt's essay is a wonderful departure point for greater study of the role that private citizens played in bringing about Indian removal in the Old Northwest.

Ginette Aley explores the surprising and often ironic influence of the transportation revolution on federal Indian policy in the Old Northwest Ter-

ritory during the first half of the nineteenth century. Seeking to shed light on how the transportation revolution affected native-newcomer relations, her essay, "Bringing About the Dawn: Agriculture, Internal Improvements, Indian Policy, and Euro-American Hegemony in the Old Northwest," charts an intriguing course along the parallel streams of internal improvement and Indian removal. In her analysis, the construction of canals and the establishment of market-based agriculture represented the finalization of American dominion over the land. Yet it is the process, more than the result, that merits attention in Aley's careful handling of events. Utilizing Indiana as her litmus test, she makes a clear case for understanding the internal improvement movement, subject as it was to both national and local machinations, as an important determinant in native-newcomer relations and the formulation of the Indian Removal policy as a desired federal objective in the Old Northwest Territory. Of particular interest is the impact that improved transportation had on the ability of native peoples to retain any presence in the emerging landscape of the region, as the proposed routes of canals and roads transformed formerly undesirable land—territory often relegated to Indians in treaties—into highly coveted space that resulted in refocused efforts to remove all Indians even further to margins of territorial society and space.

The leadership of Keokuk, a contemporary and sometimes adversary of Black Hawk, is the subject of Thomas J. Lappas's essay, "'A Perfect Apollo': Keokuk and Sac Leadership during the Removal Era." Examining Keokuk not from the vantage point of a cross-cultural mediator but rather as a traditional leader of native peoples, Lappas concludes that Keokuk's adherence to the requirements of native society led him to seek peace and accommodation with the United States government, in contrast to his more celebrated counterpart Black Hawk. Consciously avoiding the path of military resistance, Keokuk nonetheless achieved a remarkable level of success in securing rights and privileges for his people from the United States government. The key to his success, Lappas concludes, was his ability to don the familiar roles of a traditional Sac leader, appeasing his home constituency while at the same time playing the role of warrior and military leader, which seemed necessary in order to gain concessions from the Americans. With feet firmly planted in two worlds, Keokuk steered his people through the dangerous Removal Era, affording them at least the possibility of new life west of the Mississippi River.

Collectively the essays presented in *The Boundaries between Us* narrate the rich history of cultural convergence and conflict that marked the struggle for resources, land, and ultimately the future of the Old Northwest. The authors do not attempt to present a unified interpretation of the many dimensions of this struggle, rather they focus on both specific and general topics, revisit and reinterpret well-known events and actors, and underscore how cultural,

political, and ideological maxims shaped the interaction between natives and newcomers in the Old Northwest Territory. None of the essays collected here make pretense to being the definitive account of the region's history, rather they hope to come at the integrated story of cooperation, competition, and conflict from fresh and interesting angles, and ultimately to help spur more inquiry into the subject. Like all useful history, the essays hope to spawn, as well as answer, questions about the past, reminding us that we yet have much to learn.

Finally, a brief word about the rationale behind the title: *The Boundaries between Us* is a reflection of the ways in which natives and newcomers organized their interactions with one another in the Old Northwest Territory. Like so many zones of intercultural contact, Indians and Euro-Americans in the Old Northwest understood their relationship with each other in terms of boundaries. Euro-Americans had clearly held definitions of political borders and their place in society, but native peoples also increasingly came to understand the value of a political boundary, as when Indian representatives at a 1793 treaty meeting with the United States asserted, "We shall be persuaded that you mean to do us justice if you agree that the Ohio shall remain the boundary line between us, and if you do not consent thereto, our meeting will be altogether necessary."[8] Their worlds were aligned around political boundaries: the Proclamation Line of 1763, the Fort Stanwix Treaty Line of 1768, the border established by the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, among many others. But the title also refers to a more subtle usage of the term boundary within a cultural lexicon, as an amorphous, negotiated construct that meant different things to different people on individual, societal, or even emotional levels. Definitions of such boundaries were not found on treaties but in the beliefs, motivations, and hopes of the people and their home cultures. This, as much as any other factor, perhaps accounts for the great diversity of interaction between natives and newcomers in the Old Northwest Territory.

Notes

1. Andrew R. L. Cayton and Peter S. Onuf, *The Midwest and the Nation: Rethinking the History of an American Region* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1990), xii.

2. The following list of scholarship pertaining to the Old Northwest is, admittedly, only a selective representation of the literature available. It is limited to selected works that have appeared since Cayton and Onuf's call-to-arms in 1990. See, for example, Walter Dunn, *Opening New Markets: The British Army and the Old Northwest* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2002); Milo Milton Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest, 1763–1835: A Study of the Evolution of the Northwestern Frontier* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 2001); David Curtis Scaggs and Larry L. Nelson, eds., *The Sixty Years' War for the Great Lakes,*

1754–1814 (East Lansing: Michigan State Univ. Press, 2001); Nicole Etcheson, *The Emerging Midwest: Upland Southerners and the Political Culture of the Old Northwest, 1787–1861* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1996); and Susan E. Gray, *The Yankee West: Community Life on the Michigan Frontier* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1996). See also numerous titles in Indiana University Press's History of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier series, including Douglas R. Hurt, *The Ohio Frontier: Crucible of the Old Northwest* (1996); Andrew R. L. Cayton, *Frontier Indiana* (1996); James E. Davis, *Frontier Illinois* (1998); and Mark Wyman, *The Wisconsin Frontier* (1998).

3. The wonderful variety of compelling work relating to the New Indian history of early America is far too vast to list here. However, for starters, see Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995), and *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1997); Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991); R. David Edmunds, *The Potawatomis: Keepers of the Fire* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1978), and *Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership* (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown, 1984); and James Axtell, *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1989), *Beyond 1492: Cultural Encounters in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1992), and *Natives and Newcomers: The Cultural Origins of North America* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2001).

4. Like the New Indian history, the emerging body of studies focusing on the eastern frontiers of North America is expansive. Among the more compelling are Stephen Aron, *How the West Was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1996); Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673–1800* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997); David Colin Crass, ed., *The Southern Colonial Backcountry: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Frontier Communities* (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1998); and Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredericka Teute, eds., *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1998). In addition, a recent overview has much to offer; see Eric Hinderaker and Peter C. Macall, *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2003).

5. White, The *Middle Ground,* x.

6. Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 2001), 189–236; and Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700–1763* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2003), 235–307. White painted such a masterful picture of the potential and possibility represented by accommodation in *The Middle Ground* that there has been a tendency to overemphasize that aspect of cultural interaction on the early American frontier.

7. White, The *Middle Ground,* 456.

8. Indian Representatives, "Proposal to Maintain Indian Lands, 1793," in Colin G. Calloway, ed., *The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America* (Boston, Mass.: Bedford, 1994), 183.

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1

The Shawnees and the English

Captives and War, 1753–1765

Ian K. Steele

For a quarter of a millennium, the Ohio Shawnees were maligned and misunderstood participants in the Seven Years' War. They were seen as bloodthirsty opportunists who accepted French inducements to commence war against the English in 1754, with whom they fought with demonic cruelty. Then, in making peace, they were known "for their deceit and perfidy, paying little or no regard to their word and most solemn engagements," as Robert Rogers claimed in 1765.[1] These self-serving claims need to be reexamined to provide a more balanced account of the Shawnees. One particularly fruitful way of reviewing them comes through the study of Shawnee captivities. Despite all the scholarly attention to surviving white captivity narratives, as culturally defining popular literature or even as cultural "liberation" for white women, there has been little general analysis of the experiences of Shawnee captives or any understanding of the persisting Shawnee views of captivity in the face of growing English rigidity on the subject. The Shawnees' decision to engage in the Seven Years' War, their conduct in the war, and their prolonged and unfinished route to peace are more comprehensible if captives are seen as central.[2]

Although the Shawnees' road to war against the English had preconditions in land disputes and personal grievances, it was unintentionally triggered in Wakatomika (Waketummaky, Lapitchuna, Upper Shawnee Town) on the Muskingum River in April of 1753, when thirteen warriors undertook an arduous, risky, and time-honored quest to raid the distant Catawbas for prisoners and scalps. The intent was to weaken and humiliate a traditional enemy, replace specific war casualties, and enhance the reputations of the captors. Even as it began, this particular raid had at least one additional purpose. The

Iroquois Confederacy, with British colonial encouragement, had claimed a dubious authority over the Shawnees during the previous decade. The Iroquois had finally made a tentative peace with the British-allied Catawbas in 1751, and the pro-British Shawnees of Wakatomika were challenging the Iroquois overlordship by launching this highly visible attack on the Catawbas in the spring of 1753.[3]

This Shawnee raid was destined to become a fiasco with serious consequences. The party set off equipped with horses and several prized rifled guns, evidences of cultural adaptability, status, and prosperity. The expedition was also accompanied by its leader's medicine bundle, which included a belt of black wampum, sacred buffalo hair "prisoner ties" for anticipated captives, and silver bracelets and a silver cross. This mix of traditional and alien accouterments suggests the hybridity of these Shawnees, who were long familiar with Europeans. The leader was Itawachcomequa, "the Pride," who once had attacked Pennsylvanian traders along the Allegheny River but more recently had become a prominent pro-English chief whom one Shawnee spokesman called "a noted Man among the Shawonese, a great Warrior and a true Friend to the English." Staying "out of the Way, and by the Heads of the Rivers" the group reportedly lost their way in the Appalachian Mountains and seven of them turned back, including two who had become lame and two others who agreed to see them safely home. The remaining six persevered in their quest. "After we had marched a very long Way, not knowing the Path, we found ourselves in the white People's Country. The white People told us that if we should be taken, we should be carried Prisoners to Charles Town."[4]

These Shawnees later indicated that they understood English quite well, but they did not know how dangerous the South Carolina frontier had become. A series of incidents had prompted a panic in 1751 that caused mutually antagonistic South Carolinians and Cherokees to migrate or fortify. South Carolinians continued to be witnesses, and occasionally victims, of raiding bands of Caughnawaga Iroquois and various poorly identified "Northern Indians," thought to have been encouraged by the increasingly belligerent French. In April 1753, South Carolina's veteran governor, James Glen, issued a proclamation offering £100 to anyone who captured or killed Indians involved in a recent murder. The proclamation also offered £50 to those who captured or killed any "other Northern Indians who shall come into our Settlements after the Expiration of Three Months, unless such Indians shall have in their Company some white Man, and be coming down on any Business or Message to this Government." To counter the northern Indians, the nervous South Carolina government offered identical rewards for Indians taken dead or alive, and bounty hunters could be expected to kill Indian strangers, who would then pose no threat to either the lives or the expla-

nations of their "captors." Itawachcomequa and his band had entered very dangerous territory.[5]

Responding to reports of suspicious strangers, thirty South Carolina militiamen surrounded the six Ohio Shawnees in a farmhouse near the Salkehatchie River in the southeastern corner of the colony. Surprisingly, the Shawnees agreed to surrender their weapons and be conducted to the governor "under the Care and Protection of a Party of our Militia, rather than as Prisoners of War, that they may go without Fear," as Lt. Gov. William Bull explained in sending them on to Governor Glen in Charles Town. Bull added, "I have treated them kindly, for which they seem very thankful, and told them they are a going to hear your Excellency's Talk." The non-violent capture of well-armed warriors by white militiamen was extraordinary, especially since Indian warriors abhorred incarceration, seldom surrendered to whites, and were rarely taken as captives.[6]

Might Shawnee captives fare well in peacetime if they understood some English, surrendered without inflicting any casualties, were supported by a lieutenant governor's sympathetic letter, and arrived during Governor Glen's declared three-month period of grace? The initial reception in Charles Town was certainly not encouraging. On June 18, 1753, the *South Carolina Gazette* printed an article that stated the hope that other militia would act similarly and "soon clear the Country of these French and Northern Indians that have for some Years past infested this Province," an item that was widely reprinted in the British colonies. Governor Glen immediately ordered the Shawnees to be jailed and then, together with his Council, grilled the prisoners individually, accusing them of murder and of contradicting each other. Once an adequate translator was found, the Council heard Itawachcomequa say, "I am a Friend to all the People here. I am a Shavanah and loyal to the English."[7]

The clearest statement of the warriors' purpose was offered by the youngest Shawnee, a teen captured with his father and initially interrogated with him as well. The youth admitted that they came to capture Catawba prisoners but had taken none, and he insisted that white people had promised the Shawnees freedom if they went to talk with the governor. Another Shawnee prisoner reported that the entire war party was drunk when it set out and some had turned back when they sobered. Others gave various accounts of their purpose, including a visit to "Shartier's [*sic*] people," a Shawnee band said to include 185 warriors and their families who, several years earlier, had followed *métis* Peter Chartier in migrating from the Ohio to join the Upper Creeks.[8]

Strangers, even those captured during peacetime, seemed easier to exploit than to set free. The South Carolina governor and council, admitting that "there are [*sic*] not any positive Proof that they had actually killed any of

our People," nonetheless kept the Shawnees in jail, underestimating or disregarding how much Indians detested imprisonment. When a Catawba chief gloated about the sickly look of his jailed Shawnee enemies, the governor insisted that the prisoners were being treated well. Nonetheless, he voiced concern to the Commons House of Assembly two weeks later: "I should be sorry that any of them should die in Prison, [and] I think the sooner we get rid of them, the better." Glen did not hesitate to authorize imprisonment of the Shawnees, but his insistence on good treatment of the imprisoned was a badge of his civility. It was only the prospect of a captive dying in jail that raised serious concern.[9]

Glen and his council decided to send two of the Shawnees home, accompanied by letters to the lieutenant governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania, Robert Dinwiddie and James Hamilton, that made clear that the other four Shawnees had become hostages who would be released when headmen of their tribe came to Charles Town and gave assurances for the future good behavior of their people. The South Carolina Commons House balked even at sending these two back, "till the People of the Nation to whom they shall belong shall restore such Slaves as they have taken in this Province and carried away Captives into their Country." Finally, after the Shawnees had been imprisoned for nearly four months, Glen personally decided to send two of the captives home by way of Pennsylvania. Glen's calculations now included his assembly's demand that the Shawnee tribe return all "our friendly Indians or Mustee Slaves," noting with surprise that northern raiders were carrying off "such of our Slaves as had the least Tincture of Indian Blood in them." Hamilton was asked to call Shawnee headmen down to Philadelphia or to send "some proper Person" to the Ohio Country with the two returnees to explain the terms under which the other four would be released. Six disarmed Shawnees had become prisoners without being charged; four of them were now held as involuntary hostages by a British colonial government willing to act on the widely shared assumption that one alien could be punished for the behavior of inadequately identified others.[10]

News of their brethren's capture had reached the Ohio Shawnees within two months. While they seldom made an effort to recover warriors captured in battle, they regarded this entrapment and incarceration in peacetime as outrageous.[11] That September, at conferences with evasive Virginians and Pennsylvanians at Winchester and Carlisle, respectively, Ohio Shawnees and Delawares asked both those governments to intervene to secure the release of the six captives. The Ohio Iroquois leader Scarouady, who regarded the raid, the imprisonments, and the diplomatic petitions as embarrassing violations of the Iroquois diplomatic overlordship that he embodied, had to be restrained from going to Charles Town himself to retrieve those he regarded

as errant Shawnee subordinates. Dinwiddie and Hamilton had written Glen about the captives, with Hamilton noting that they were "the Flower of their Nation for Courage and Activity," very pro-English, and much needed in Ohio Country during the developing confrontation with the French.[12]

A week after the two hostages had left Charles Town for Philadelphia, three of the four detained Shawnees escaped from the Charles Town watch house "by cutting out one of the Iron Barrs [*sic*] of a Window, and bending two others." The South Carolina council admitted that "through the Negligence of the Centinel [they] escaped out of the Prison, and as they have not been retaken, have, as we suppose, bent their Course to their own Country." Glen did not give up so easily, pressing Creek chiefs to help in recovering the escaped hostages. He again insisted that the prisoners had been treated well, that they were given good beef and corn or bread every day and rum "very often," and he claimed to be puzzled that three had decided to escape. Conflicting accounts of the escape can be reconciled if it is presumed that Itawachcomequa died during the escape, either in jail or in the woods. Glen likely projected his own values when he claimed that the one Shawnee hostage remaining in custody, who may have been ill, "thought it dishonorable to go and still continues here."[13]

The two Shawnees originally returned by Glen arrived in Philadelphia in mid-November of 1753. After a month-long delay due to "a bloody Flux" that afflicted one of them, they were escorted home by John Patten, a Pennsylvanian Indian trader recently returned from captivity in the Ohio Country and in France. Patten's assignment was to see these Shawnees safely through Pennsylvania to the frontier town of Carlisle, then pick up the colony's leading frontier diplomats and translators, Andrew Montour and George Croghan, at the latter's station at Aughwick. Hamilton envisaged that, once this party had crossed the Allegheny Mountains, it would proceed to Shannopintown at the forks of the Ohio River to find the Six Nations chiefs Scarouady and Tanaghrisson. These Iroquois leaders were to receive Hamilton's formal message and a validating string of wampum, and then the whole party was expected to proceed down the Ohio to Lower Shawnee Town at the mouth of the Scioto River. Once there, Scarouady and Tanaghrisson would conduct a meeting with the principal Shawnee leaders, conveying the messages of Glen and Hamilton with appropriate dignity. Then the Iroquois and British would release the two healthy and reclothed Shawnee captives to their grateful people, who would acknowledge the supposed power of the Iroquois-British covenant chain and would confirm their own loyalty at that crucial time.[14]

Behind this proposed public drama, Hamilton's secret instructions to Patten called for him to measure the road from Carlisle to Shannopintown carefully to see if this increasingly contested site was within Pennsylvania.

Since reliable information concerning the Ohio Country had become scarce in the months since the French had expelled all Pennsylvanian traders, Hamilton also instructed Patten to observe the numbers, arms, and loyalties of the Mingos (migrants from the Iroquois Confederacy), Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots, and Miamis; discover what the French and the Virginians had been doing in the region; and, even more discreetly, investigate George Croghan's management of substantial presents sent to the natives by the governments of both Virginia and Pennsylvania.[15]

Hamilton's expectations met deflating reality when Patten and the two Shawnees finally caught up with Croghan and Montour at Shannopintown in mid-January 1754. Croghan had just learned that George Washington's quixotic mission to warn the French away from the upper Ohio Valley had failed, and that the new French Fort Le Boeuf on the upper Allegheny River was soundly built, fully provisioned, and, even in winter manned by about one hundred soldiers and fifty workmen. It was expected that the French would build another fort in the spring at Logstown, the diplomatic and trading center of the region. Patten and his enlarged party thus proceeded less than triumphantly and only as far as Logstown, where Shawnee warriors seized Croghan and Montour, on whose heads the French had fixed a good price. Upon recognizing their two returning kin, the Shawnees released Croghan and Montour, evidently in an exchange. Croghan understated: "The Shawonese had been Very uneasy about those Men that were in Prison, and had not those Men been released it might have been of very ill consequence at this time." Putting the best face on a diplomatic disaster, he insisted that though all the Shawnees were too drunk for serious talks, they "seem'd all overjoyed, and I believe will prove true to their Alliance." The next day a party of seventeen Canadian soldiers camped nearby and promptly captured John Patten while he was spying on them. Tanaghrisson, the Iroquois "Half King," stormed into the commander's tent and gained the inept spy's release.[16]

In Croghan's version, nothing could be done for the next ten days because the Indians were drunk. Then the French apparently concluded their inebriating visit with a one-day council, distributed presents, and called on the locals to stand aside while their French "Father" dealt with the English, whom "he will not suffer to live or tread on this River Ohio." Patten's group had spent twelve frustrating days in Logstown before they could finally attempt their formal ceremony to return the two captive Shawnee warriors. Croghan delivered the official messages and heard a soothing formal response from Tanaghrisson on behalf of the silent Shawnees and Delawares.[17]

The most revealing speech of this week-long council was the formal reply, intended for Dinwiddie and Hamilton, accompanied by a belt and eight strings of wampum for emphasis, and supposedly signed by seven Iroquois

and Delaware chiefs.[18] The chiefs endorsed the general messages received from the governors, with the pointed exception of a suspicious addition, doubtless by Croghan and Patten, demanding land grants for traders such as themselves whose goods had earlier been stolen. It is noteworthy that no Shawnees signed this letter, though the Delawares' signatures indicate that declining to do so was not simply diplomatic deference to the Iroquois. It is more noteworthy that this reply did not thank the governors for the return of the two Shawnees, did not reciprocate by returning any captives, and did not pledge any legation to Charles Town or indicate acceptance of any restraint on private raiding into the Carolinas. Croghan copied his translation of this surprisingly frank speech into his journal. By now news of the escape of the other hostages would have arrived, bringing angering details and clearly invalidating Glen's bargain even if the two other returnees were not considered simply as exchanged for the captured Croghan and Montour.[19]

Montour and Patten returned to Philadelphia immediately, bringing Croghan's journal as well as Patten's diary. Both records were read to the Pennsylvania Council, who decided to transcribe and preserve only Croghan's account. They liked Patten's calculation of the distance from Carlisle to Shannopintown, which would upset the Quaker assemblymen by indicating that the disputed forks of the Ohio were within Pennsylvania's grant, and they asked him to prepare a supporting map. However, when Patten appeared before the Pennsylvania Assembly with that map, he was dismissed as an amateur by Quakers who did not want to know that the impending French initiative would invade Pennsylvanian territory. Patten's diary, probably a frank account of a failed diplomatic mission, promptly disappeared.[20]

The capture and return of the Shawnees had proven a diplomatic disaster. Governor Glen had angered the Shawnees without gaining assurances or returned slaves. Glen, now supported by his assembly, sent the last Shawnee hostage homeward by sea the following spring; he was reportedly with George Washington's force in June 1754. Once again a captive was apparently being used in an unsuccessful attempt to lure the Shawnees to a conference. Neither Hamilton nor Pennsylvania gained much from involvement in this affair. The two returned Shawnees were, in effect, exchanged for Croghan and Montour, and there was little Shawnee gratitude. English attempts to exploit the detainees had created a Shawnee grievance at a particularly dangerous time, and it was a grievance of honor that could not easily be addressed by diplomacy.[21]

This bungled hostage-taking may also have triggered the Shawnees' diplomatic revolution of 1754, which initiated decades of intermittent war with British Americans. The two Shawnees who had escaped alive from Charles Town jail had made their way home and turned their kin against the English, while the French helped them spread a rumor that the last two captive-

hostages were dead. On New Year's Day of 1755, a very surprised Joseph-Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry, the Canadian lieutenant in charge of the Lake Erie outpost of Chatakoin, received a letter announcing the Shawnees' war against the English. His Huron courier explained over a drink that the Shawnees had reacted to the escapees' account by declaring perpetual war against the English, and they had even opened negotiations with the Hurons.[22]

Lieutenant Léry was surprised because this Shawnee declaration of war reversed a decade-long trend in Ohio Shawnees' diplomacy. Only a single Shawnee had attended the Lancaster treaty of 1744, at a time when the Pennsylvanian government regarded them as tending toward the French interest. Métis trader Peter Chartier had reinforced that view the next summer when he and some four hundred Shawnees (including Itawachcomequa) robbed two prominent Pennsylvanian traders. However, after Chartier and a substantial pro-French Shawnee faction had migrated southward to join the Creek, the remaining Ohio Shawnees had become active in the anti-French "Mutiny of 1747" and confirmed a Shawnee-Pennsylvania alliance at Lancaster and Logstown the next year.[23] The Shawnees had threatened the heralds of Céloron de Blainville's expedition in Lower Shawnee Town in 1749, and the French retaliated by killing one Shawnee the next year and holding three others captive in Fort Miami for nearly four months. By 1752 the French governor of Louisiana had become suspicious of the Shawnees and had hoped that their anti-European attitude could be channeled toward the English. Early in 1752 several Ohio Shawnee chiefs had assured Hamilton that they were about to attack the French in support of their Miami neighbors.[24]

Even as late as September 1754 a Shawnee spokesman thanked Hamilton for "procuring the Discharge of some of the Shawanese, who had been Prisoners in Carolina, and our kind Treatment of them in their Return, and Goodness in sending them back to their Nation." With his brother and brother-in-law in attendance to receive condolence gifts, a Shawnee delegation even claimed that Itawachcomequa's death would not cause a breach with the English, though he was much lamented, "and the most High knows how he came to his End."[25]

While one Shawnee faction was reassuring the English in September 1754, another was attacking them at Buffalo Creek on South Carolina's Broad River. Marquis Duquesne, New France's governor, claimed that it took persistent French chiding to prompt the Shawnees to seek revenge for the Charles Town captivity, and they had finally attacked and sent prisoners, scalps, and a war belt to neighboring tribes. While the Carolinians could not initially identify the attackers in what they called the unprovoked "Buffalo Creek Massacre," the Cherokees reported that the raiders had been Shawnees and Nottoways. The raiders killed sixteen recently established settlers and thirteen others

went missing. It was likely the same raiding party, on their way home through the Cumberland Gap, who killed three men at Holston's River, on land that the Shawnees and other tribes had long claimed.[26]

American Indians repeatedly insisted that it was the captivity in Charles Town that provoked the Shawnees to war, and the English were expected to find that explanation adequate. Shawnee warrior Wauntaupenny, captured by a Cherokee war party in 1757 and interrogated by Pennsylvanian officers at Fort Lyttleton, said that the Shawnees and Delawares attacked the English "by Reason of their People's being taken and imprisoned by the white People in Carolina." Succomabe, a Chickasaw refugee who had lived with the Shawnees for about three years before being captured along with Wauntaupenny, was interrogated separately. Though the Shawnees had been at peace when Succomabe had joined them, "some time after he came to them, they concluded on a War, & the Reason whereof was, Some of the Shawonese were taken in Carolina and put in Prison."[27]

Six Nations spokesmen repeated the same argument. A Mohawk sachem, Little Abraham, told the Pennsylvanian authorities, at a conference that same year at Lancaster Court House where no Shawnees were present, that the Shawnees had a single war grievance:

> A Party of Shawaneese who was going to War against their Enemies in their way thro Carolina called at a house not suspecting any harm as they were amongst their Friends, a number of the Inhabitants rose & took them Prisoners on Account of some Mischief that was done there, about that time[,] suspecting them to be the People that had done the Mischief and carried them to Charles Town & put them in Prison, where the Chief Man called the Pride died. The Relations of these People were much exasperated against you our Brethren the English on Account of the ill treatment you gave their Friends & have been continually spiriting up their Nations to take Revenge.[28]

Little Abraham urged the Pennsylvanians to "do justice" but did not specify how. Instead he emphasized Delaware land grievances, which had obvious solutions from which the Iroquois could benefit directly. At the crucial Easton Peace Conference of October 1758, the Oneida orator Thomas King returned to the same theme, reminding the English that "you gave the first Offence; For in Time of Profound Peace, some of the Shawanese passing through South Carolina to go to War with the[ir] Enemies, were taken up and put in Prison . . . and one who was an Head Man of that Nation, lost his Life, and the others were severely used." He then recounted that the Shawnees, encouraged by the French, lured young Delaware warriors to help them avenge the death.

The Ohio Seneca chief Ackowanothio elaborated further on the same incident, blaming French priests for seducing the Shawnees to that side, but admitting that this had been possible only because of their "being wrong'd in Carolina, and Imprisoned, and had their Chief hanged or put to death in a cruel manner." Ackowanothio also agreed that the Shawnees were the initiators who convinced the Delawares to join them in a revenge that became "the French and Indian War."[29]

Whatever the Indians claimed, the Charles Town captivity never became part of either French or English descriptions of the coming of the Seven Years' War. Most French participants who eventually published accounts of the war had arrived in North America after 1754 and made no mention of the Shawnee captives. Richard Waddington's magisterial *La Guerre de Sept Ans* starts its detailed discussion of the American aspects of the war in 1756, and Guy Frégault's standard *La Guerre de la Conquête* makes no mention of the Shawnee captives.[30] Quaker leaders, who could not comprehend the intensity of the Shawnees' grievance, sought in vain for some unfair Virginia or Pennsylvania land transaction that they could help renegotiate or reverse. Charles Thomson, Quaker scribe to Delaware chief Teedyuscung, focused overwhelmingly on Delaware grievances in his 1759 *An Inquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest.* He mentioned the Charles Town captivity of the Shawnees only in passing and in his concluding list of grievances, where he noted "the Imprisonment of the Shawnee Warriors in Carolina, where the principal Man died."[31]

Early British and American histories were predictably determined to blame the French for starting a world war and had no room for the embarrassing and unconvincing story of the Shawnee captives. The incident was not part of the war's causes in the books by William Smith, John Almon, John Entick, or Thomas Mante.[32] In 1765 Robert Rogers offered his bold lie: "The . . . Shawanees are remarked for their deceit and perfidy, paying little or no regard to their word and most solemn engagements," twisting the origin of the conflict, however plausible he might have seemed concerning peacemaking.[33] By 1855 the lone surviving version of the Shawnee captivity had become garbled and framed in racial condescension; Quaker missionary Henry Harvey recorded the imprisonment as being in North Carolina and occurring about 1755, during a "time of peace, when their chief man died in prison, and as this was to them a grievous act, after so long a time of peace, it is not to be expected, considering the nature of an Indian, anything short of restitution or revenge would ever satisfy them."[34] Francis Parkman would eventually echo Rogers, describing the "Shawanoes" as fickle, opportunistic, and easily seduced by the French, though Parkman allowed that "neglect and ill usage" drove Britain's Shawnee and Delaware allies into the hands of the French.

Francis Jennings indicated vaguely that by 1755 the British government regarded Glen as a bungler of Indian diplomacy. Recent scholarly works by Richard White and Michael McConnell mention the Charles Town captivity, but no European writer then or since has been willing to accept the native understanding of this trigger for the Shawnees' involvement in the war.[35]

Did the Shawnee captivity of 1753 help shape their very long Seven Years' War, especially in their taking, treatment, and return of captives? The Charles Town captivities prompted retaliation in the Buffalo Creek Massacre, which opened the Shawnees' war in September 1754, but the Shawnees readily shifted their attacks on the English from the Carolinas to the closer Virginia frontier. The struggle between the Shawnees and the Virginians became self-reinforcing and continued spasmodically for six decades. While more study is needed on this antagonism, it is clear that the Shawnees killed or captured more Virginians than other colonials between 1754 and 1765, and the Shawnees cooperated with the French most fully when the French targets were Virginian.

Compared to other Indian attackers on the Allegheny frontiers during this period, including their very close Delaware allies, the Shawnees seem to have captured more and killed fewer.[36] Such apparent differences could be due to relatively poor British colonial identification of Shawnee attackers or to the survival of detailed lists of captives still held by the Shawnees late in 1765, including some who were not initially captured by them. The Shawnees also tended to limit their participation in extended campaigns organized by the French. In such sustained operations, a warrior could take scalps without encumbering further action, but they could take prisoners only at the end of the campaign. The Shawnees' separate and parallel war of revenge against the English was larger and lasted much longer than any contribution the tribe made to French-backed multiracial expeditions. These attacks were usually single-strike surprise raids, with terrifying beginnings that were quickly shifted to the very different tactics needed to take and keep healthy captives.[37]

In clearly identified Shawnee attacks, very few children under sixteen were killed compared to the number captured (of 103 captured children, nine were killed), despite the fact that crying children assisted pursuers in locating war parties hurrying their captives westward. Four times as many women over sixteen were captured by the Shawnees than were killed (of twenty-eight captured, seven were killed), suggesting that those who did not fight back were less likely to be killed. In addition, captive women could produce more food than they consumed, even if they did not become integrated members of the village.[38] Because adult men predominated in the armies, militias, and as white frontier laborers, men were nearly twice as likely as women to be

victims of attacking Shawnees. Adult men were more likely to be killed than were women. Whether or not the Shawnees were deliberately seeking multiracial demographic growth, their captives were those less likely to resist and more likely to adjust to life in a native community. The Shawnees' choice of captives does not suggest that they regarded the capture and adoption of prisoners as a fate worse than death, or as anything like being incarcerated in a jail. Although all captives were not adopted, and those who were not lived harder lives, there is evidence of full acceptance and eventual prominence for numerous captives within Shawnee society. It is particularly revealing that the Shawnees' propensity for taking captives was not eroded by years of war in which their English-speaking enemies took no Shawnee prisoners at all. The endless English talk about exchanging prisoners was entirely hypocritical.[39]

There were very few confirmed instances of Shawnees torturing colonial captives before 1765 and much evidence that the Shawnees intended to assimilate most of their captives. Peter Lewney's widely reprinted account of the horrid torture, death, and cannibalizing of a Virginia militiaman named Cole was an exception that deserves scrutiny. Some two hundred Indians and twenty-six Canadians had attacked Ephraim Vause's Fort in June 1756, a joint expedition with European objectives, tactics, scale of losses, and concluding diplomacy. Shawnees and Miamis, and possibly Wyandots and Potawatomis, had been with the Canadians, led by the experienced woodland diplomat and commander of Fort Miami, François-Marie Picoté de Belestre. At least thirty-two Indians were reported killed in the eight-hour firefight that preceded the burning of this stockaded house and the surrender of nine militiamen and their families. At least one severely wounded defender was executed, without torture, after the surrender, in keeping with a practice that the Indians considered a realistic and merciful necessity and their opponents saw as a barbaric violation of surrender terms. After a division of the surviving defenders among the victorious, the Shawnee warriors and their captives headed for Lower Shawnee Town, and one elderly captive who could not keep up was killed without torture on the way. Days later, before reaching the town where the fate of the captives would be decided by prominent matrons, warriors reportedly tortured, killed, and consumed parts of militiaman Cole. It is not known whether this had been a ritual revenge for exceptionally high Shawnee losses to a handful of defenders, a savage response to something Cole had done or said after capture, or an impromptu act of barbarity initiated by angry and vengeful fighting men. Fellow captive Peter Lewney was not tortured. In fact he was treated well in captivity and escaped the following year to tell what remains the sole surviving version of Cole's fate, a horror story promptly widely reprinted to stiffen the backbone of English and colonials in a war going badly, and to counter the rather subversive published stories of

good treatment told by others who had escaped from Shawnee and Delaware captivity.[40]

Very few escaped from Shawnee captivity. Only one captive, a young man taken in the Buffalo Creek Massacre, is reported to have escaped on the way to the Ohio Shawnee villages. Pursuit of a retreating party of warriors and their captives always put the latter at very grave risk, as it would in any martial situation, and no captives of the Shawnees are known to have been recovered that way. An attack on a settlement where captives were held was equally rash, though the Cherokees did conduct one successful raid to free captives from a Shawnee village in 1765. Because these villages were about two hundred miles west of Fort Pitt, escape from there was difficult. Adult male captives were reportedly allowed only three charges of ammunition when hunting from Shawnee villages, to deter escape attempts; nonetheless, fourteen of the twenty who escaped from Shawnee towns were adult males. Regular captured soldiers needed a witness to prove that they escaped and were not merely deserters, a potentially fatal accusation; soldiers tended to come back in pairs. Pairs also appealed to women escaping from Shawnee towns. Ann Mullin and Lany Pussey made the attempt but were captured by Onondaga while on their way home and spent an additional eleven months in Shawnee hands. Mary Draper Ingles and Mrs. Bingamin barely survived on nuts and berries during their harrowing forty-day escape, by the end of which the latter was threatening the former with cannibalism.[41]

The Shawnees gave few of their captives as diplomatic gifts to Indian allies or the French, and they did not routinely sell captives to the French or to those British American families, religious groups, or governments who sought to ransom captives. The Shawnees also firmly refused to surrender captives without payment; such transfers were traditionally compensation that admitted guilt for serious tribal or intertribal crimes. Consequently, numerous young whites lived with Shawnee families through two wars, and those families became increasingly averse to losing their adoptees. As Pontiac's Rebellion ended, the Shawnees also acquired captives from Indian neighbors who were making their peace with the British, neighbors who could then, without the humiliation of surrendering captives, attest that they had absolutely no English remaining with them.[42]

The return of all captives eventually became not an attending consequence of a peace that had been concluded but the central precondition for Shawnees' peace talks with colonial and British negotiators. For Pennsylvanians, the return of captives had been the only objective for which their fractured polity could unite, and the return of all captives had been a feature of Pennsylvanian negotiations with the Delawares from as early as the spring of 1756. Six Nations intermediaries and advisors seem to have readily favored English

insistence on the return of prisoners, recognizing that this would humiliate the Delawares and Shawnees who had rebelled against their Iroquois overlords in going to war against the British.[43]

British soldier-negotiators, led by Col. Henry Bouquet, were not initially preoccupied with captives but eventually learned the value of returned captives as a humiliating mark of submission and as a clear sign that the peace had been "ratified" beyond the immediate circle of negotiators. When prudent, the British military certainly ignored the issue of returning captives, as they did at the crucial Easton Conference of October 1758 or at Fort Pitt that December, when Bouquet reportedly told Delaware chief Custaloga:

> I do not speak to you about the English prisoners you have adopted as your relatives and incorporated into your families. I only hope that, when peace is made, you will be willing to return those of advanced age, who would be in your way, or of very little use to you. As for the young children, who are pretty and able to serve you, I will not be angry if they stay among you.[44]

After the fall of Canada, however, the British demand for the return of all prisoners became more insistent, and Shawnee negotiators felt forced to make promises that they could not fulfill. By the summer of 1761 a frustrated Henry Bouquet proposed a ban on trade with the Shawnees until they returned their captives and stopped stealing horses. At precisely the same time, deputy superintendent of Indian affairs George Croghan was openly buying captives despite General Amherst's ban on all "presents," and Croghan urged that the resistant Shawnees not be pressed to return any more prisoners. Shawnee spokesman Red Hawk [Miskapalathy] exploited Croghan's conciliatory views and brought nothing but promises to a major conference at Lancaster in August of 1762. Five months later Red Hawk and two other Shawnee chiefs came to Fort Pitt to return two women and a child who had become part of their own families, again disappointing British expectations. Although the Shawnees brought in five more captives as late as June 1763, negotiations evaporated with the outbreak of Pontiac's Rebellion.[45]

There had been a truce, but no peace, between the Shawnees and the British between 1760 and 1763. Shawnee raids had been suspended, and accommodating sachems had brought in a few of their own captives, but the British came to believe that wider tribal assent to peace would be indicated only when all those holding captives returned them, and that clearly had not happened. For their part, the Shawnees and other Ohio Indian leaders had recognized that, besides fomenting severe internal disruption, surrendering more adoptees would completely destroy the Indian negotiating position. As long as the English-speaking people wanted their captives back unharmed,

there was a chance to negotiate a British withdrawal from the Ohio, or at least to forestall renewed British hostilities that would endanger those captives who had become such an English preoccupation.[46]

Although the Shawnees were peripheral players in Pontiac's Rebellion, they and their allies understood the value the British had come to attach to captives. Despite the deadly violence that accompanied the initial destruction of minor military forts, one prisoner was taken for every three people killed in Pontiac's Rebellion, compared to fewer than one for every four killed in the raids of the years 1756 to 1758. The Shawnees were clearly identified as involved in killing or capturing 37 individuals between 1763 and 1765, and of these 14 are known to have been killed. Despite this minor role in Pontiac's Rebellion, the Shawnees remained a major enemy of the British primarily because of the captives they still held from the previous war. As early as September 1763, Bouquet mapped an invasion of the Ohio that targeted Wakatomika. The next spring Bouquet drafted terms of a peace to be imposed on the Ohio tribes, including: "That they deliver up all the white men, they have amongst them, either as Prisoners or adopted, and the last to be absolutely insisted on, whether they themselves consent to it or not, as they [and some Frenchmen living with the Shawanese] have been very active against us." Bouquet's proposal also included requiring Indian leaders to become voluntary hostages until all conditions of the settlement were fulfilled.[47]

When Bouquet's fifteen-hundred-man expedition invaded the Ohio in October of 1764, they proceeded to within a day's march of Wakatomika, and Bouquet demanded the return of all English, French, and blacks, and all their children of whatever ages, living amongst the Indians. Bouquet's messenger-interpreter bearing these harsh terms was none other than David Owens, a former army deserter who had recently murdered his Shawnee wife and relatives, claimed a bounty on their five scalps, and apparently escaped retribution from either society.[48] The Shawnees, Delawares, and Mingos were given twelve days to bring in their captives, and the Shawnees predictably proved the most resistant. When Big Wolf and eight other Shawnees finally arrived with eight captives, a disappointed Bouquet demanded that the Shawnees "deliver every drop of White blood in your Nation." A few days later, after the Delawares had brought in more captives, Bouquet threatened to attack the "hauty [*sic*] Shawnees." Although Red Hawk promptly sent Bouquet some stolen horses and an encouraging letter carried by a released captive, Bouquet admitted, "I don't know what measures I shall be Obliged to take with that Insolent Nation."[49]

After more harsh threats on both sides, including a Shawnee threat to kill all their captives, the Shawnees finally joined in the sad and poignant climax that split multiracial families and attempted to impose racial segregation.

Promising a hundred more captives still held in Lower Shawnee Town, the Shawnees delivered what may have been as few as twenty-two captives in 1764. Many of these were bound and forced to come; some promptly escaped back to their Shawnee families, and some were forcibly returned to the English as often as three times. While some colonial families were tearfully reunited in this process, others could not be, and many multiracial families were simply broken apart. For all the cross-cultural knowledge shared by captives who became translators, brokers, traders, warriors, and wives, in colonial or Shawnee society, the invading Europeans were forcefully delineating the boundaries between the cultures.[50]

As at Charles Town eleven years before, the British again held six Shawnee hostages who were to ensure compliance. These hostages, including chiefs Red Hawk and Cornstalk, were initially held in Fort Pitt, where they were apparently threatened by onlookers and taunted with scalps. These hostages were to ensure the truce, the delivery of the remaining captives, and Shawnees' negotiation of peace through Sir William Johnson the next spring. This time all six Shawnee hostages escaped, though one was killed and scalped in the woods near Fort Pitt. Bouquet demanded new hostages, though he considered this diplomatically dangerous death as a murder in peacetime and sought, unsuccessfully, civilian prosecution of the killer.[51]

Although the Shawnees brought 9 frostbitten captives to Fort Pitt in January 1765 and 44 more in May, the Shawnees definitely did not return all of their captives. The Shawnees smoked a peace pipe at Johnson Hall that July, despite the recent murders of 9 Shawnees by Virginian "Augusta boys." Yet Shawnee spokesman Benavissica was unconvincing both in disavowing those Shawnee hostages who had escaped from Fort Pitt and in claiming, "as for the Prisoners we really believe they are all at present remitted." Yet Johnson needed to end an embarrassing Indian war, so his negotiation with the Shawnees merely left them to return the remainder of their captives in their own good time. Although these numbers are very tentative, the Shawnees are thought to have taken some 285 live captives between 1753 and 1765. Only 135 had returned by 1765, and four more would be returned between 1767 and 1771. Forty-six captives are known to have lived out their lives among the Shawnees, and the fate of about 100 others remains unknown.[52]

The Ohio Shawnees certainly did not come out of the 1765 negotiations as firm British allies. Some Shawnees had visited Fort Chartres and New Orleans in the spring of 1765, claiming continuing Shawnee support for the French. Prominent among these Shawnees was Charlot Kaské, whose German father had married a Shawnee and who himself had married a British captive, with whom he had a family. Kaské had been a close ally of Pontiac but completely rejected the peace; he became influential among the pro-French Illinois and

eventually migrated west of the Mississippi. Other Ohio Shawnees talked of renewing their war against the British as early as 1766. They were furious when the British bought Shawnee hunting grounds from the Iroquois at the Treaty of Stanwix in 1768 and were thereafter thought to be constructing an intertribal anti-British alliance. Dunmore's War, in which Wakatomika was completely destroyed and Shawnee hunting grounds in Kentucky appropriated, was another violent episode, but by no means the final one.[53]

Although they had included factions for and against the English, the Shawnees had acquired much to resent since that naive party of warriors had gone from Wakatomika to Charles Town in 1753. The Shawnees would go on to fight the "Long Knives" in the American Revolution, again in that decade of war that ended at Fallen Timbers in 1794, and again under Tecumseh. Although they did not cause those sixty years of intermittent war, the captivities of 1753 had triggered a reversal in Shawnee diplomacy and launched violence that was reinforced for generations. The Ohio Indian commitment to the Seven Years' War had begun with an obvious and serious Shawnee grievance of honor. The Shawnees tended to take more captives than other combatants and were known to keep them longer; the English, who took no Shawnee captives, eventually made a race-based return of all captives an unenforceable prerequisite of peace, and there was no genuine peace between 1760 and 1763 or after 1765. The Shawnee escape of 1753 had destroyed one dictated solution and a similar escape in 1765 had destroyed another. To recognize the importance of this long-forgotten initial grievance in the Shawnees' decision for war is to challenge enduring misunderstandings of their character and motives, to suggest that they had a war of their own—fought with Delaware and French assistance—and to appreciate the prominent place of captivity in the origin, conduct, and conclusion of this colonial frontier conflict.[54]

Notes

1. Robert Rogers, *A Concise Account of North America: Containing a Description of the Several British Colonies on that Continent* (London: J. Millan, 1765), 237.

2. Recent studies include Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600–1850* (New York: Pantheon, 2002); John Demos, *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America* (New York: Knopf, 1994); Alden T. Vaughan and Daniel K. Richter, "Crossing the Cultural Divide: Indians and New Englanders, 1605–1763," *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings* 90 (1980): 23–99; and James Axtell, "The White Indians of Colonial America," *William and Mary Quarterly* 32 (1975): 55–88 [hereafter cited as *WMQ*]. For captives along Allegheny frontiers, see Matthew C. Ward, "La Guerre Sauvage: The Seven Years' War on the Virginia and Pennsylvania Frontier" (Ph.D. Diss., The College of William and Mary, 1992); and "Redeeming Captives: Pennsylvania Cap-

tives among the Ohio Indians, 1755–1765," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 125 (2001): 161–89. On gender, see Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Captured Subjects/Savage Others: Violently Engendering the New American," *Gender and History* 5 (1993): 177–95; and June Namias, *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1992).

3. Dwight L. Smith, "Shawnee Captivity Ethnohistory," *Ethnohistory* 2 (1955): 29–57; Vernon Kinietz and Erminie W. Voegelin, eds., *Shawnee Traditions: C. C. Trowbridge's Account* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1939), viii–x, 11–12; James H. Merrell, *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1989), 40–41, 118–19, 135; Merrell, "Their Very Bones Shall Fight: The Catawba-Iroquois Wars," in Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, eds., *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600–1800* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1987), 115–33.

4. William L. McDowell Jr., ed., *Colonial Records of South Carolina: Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, May 21, 1750–August 7, 1754* (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1958–70), 422–29, 432–33 [hereafter cited as *SCDIA*]; *South Carolina Gazette,* June 18, 1753; Samuel Hazard, ed., *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, 1683–1790,* 16 vols. (Philadelphia, Pa.: T. Fenn, 1851–53), 6:153, 160 [hereafter cited as *CRP*]; "Conrad Weiser's Journal of a Tour of the Ohio, Aug. 11–Oct. 2, 1748," in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846,* 32 vols. (Cleveland, Ohio: A. H. Clark, 1904–7), 1:32; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991), 190–92, 243.

In 1753 Itawachcomequa married the sister of Lepechkewe, called "the Young King." See *CRP* 6:153, 160; Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail,* 2 vols. (New York: Putnam's, 1911), 1:232, 280–81, 287–88, 309, 311, 325, 331; 2:139, 159; E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Procured in Holland, England, and France,* 15 vols. (Albany, N.Y.: Weed, Parsons, 1857), 10:20 [hereafter cited as *NYCD*]; Wilber Jacobs, ed., *The Appalachian Indian Frontier: The Edmund Atkin Report and Plan of 1755* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1954), 65; 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: Norton, 1984), 269–70; James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: Norton, 1999), 73–75. See also Francis Jennings, "Bisaillon (Bezellon, Bizaillon), Peter," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography,* 14 vols. (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1966–1991), 3:65–66 [hereafter cited as *DCB*]; Michael N. McConnell, *A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724–1774* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1992), 53–54.

5. Gregory Evans Dowd, "The Panic of 1751: The Significance of Rumors on the South Carolina–Cherokee Frontier," *WMQ* 53 (1996): 527–60; *South Carolina Gazette,* April 18, May 28, June 12, 1753; McDowell, ed., *SCDIA,* 414–20. Glen offered a full defense of the proclamation to the Board of Trade in his letter of June 25, 1753, but did not report anything of the Shawnee captives in his letters during the next year; Colonial Office Records, Class 5 Papers, Records Office of Great Britain, Kew, England, 5/374, 150–53 [hereafter cited as PRO/CO]. On Glen, see W. Stitt Robinson, *James Glen, From Scottish Provost to Royal Governor of South Carolina* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1996).

6. McDowell, ed., *SCDIA,* 421; *South Carolina Gazette,* June 18, 1753. For eight Mohawks held in irons at Quebec in December 1748, see Jon Parmenter, "At the Woods' Edge: Iroquois Foreign Relations, 1727–1768" (Ph.D. Diss., Univ. of Michigan, 1999), 227–33, 250; *NYCD,* 10:144.

7. *South Carolina Gazette,* June 18, 1753; reprinted in *Pennsylvania Gazette,* July 26, 1753; *New York Mercury,* July 30, 1753. Indeed, Edmund Atkin, former South Carolina Councillor later to become superintendent of Indian affairs for the southern frontier, considered the Ohio Shawnees to be firm allies of the British. McDowell, ed., *SCDIA,* 422; Jacobs, ed., *The Edmund Atkin Report,* xviii–xx, 41, 43.

8. Jacobs, ed., *The Edmund Atkin Report,* 43; McDowell, ed., *SCDIA,* 421–27, 433. James Adair claimed that he led a party of Catawbas to apprehend Chartier in 1747; see Adair's *History of the American Indians,* ed. Samuel Cole Williams (New York: Argonaut, 1966), 4n1.

9. McDowell, ed., *SCDIA,* 456. Execution was regarded as more acceptable; see Jan Grabonski, "French Criminal Justice and Indians in Montreal, 1670–1760," *Ethnohistory* 43 (1996): 405–29.

10. J. H. Easterby, ed., *Colonial Records of South Carolina: Journals of the Commons House of Assembly,* 14 vols. (Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1951–89), 12:xxiii–xxiv, 291–92, 297, 301; McDowell, ed., *SCDIA,* 457–58; Glen to Hamilton, October 3 and 12, 1753, *CRP,* 5:462–64, 699–700.

11. For Shawnee threats of war against the Miami for wrongful capture of a woman and boy in 1751, see William M. Darlington, ed., *Christopher Gist's Journals* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: J. R. Weldin, 1893), 46; Lawrence H. Keeley, *War before Civilization* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1996), 85–88; Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540–1866* (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1979), 6.

12. Hamilton to Glen, October 30, 1753, *CRP,* Dinwiddie to Glen, October 26, 1753; McDowell, ed., *SCDIA,* 466–67; Leonard W. Labaree, ed., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin,* 32 vols. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1959–96), 5:105–6; Francis Jennings, *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies and Tribes in the Seven Years' War in America* (New York: Norton, 1988), 57–59.

13. McDowell, ed., *SCDIA,* 464–65, 468; John Sullivan, ed., *The Papers of Sir William Johnson,* 14 vols. (Albany: Univ. of the State of New York, 1921–65), 9:755 [hereafter cited as *SWJP*]; *New York Mercury,* July 30, 1753; *South Carolina Gazette,* October 29, 1753.

14. *South Carolina Gazette,* October 29, 1753; McDowell, ed., *SCDIA,* 467–68; *CRP,* 5:698–700, 704; Howard N. Eavenson, *Map Maker and Indian Traders: An Account of John Patten, Trader, Arctic Explorer, and Map Maker* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1949); *Pennsylvania Archives,* 9 ser., 138 vols. (Philadelphia: State Printer of Pennsylvania, 1852–56, 1875–1949), 1st ser., 2:209–10.

15. Hamilton to Glen, December 6, 1753, McDowell, ed., *SCDIA,* 471; *CRP,* 5:704–9; Eavenson, *Map Maker,* 154–55.

16. "Croghan's Journal, 1754," *CRP,* 5:732, and Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* 1:74–75; Fernand Grenier, ed., *Papiers Contrecoeur et autres documents concernant le conflit anglo-français sur l'Ohio de 1745 à 1756* (Ottawa, Can.: Presses Universitaires Laval, 1952), 99–101, 128; Eavenson, *Map Maker,* 52–61; Hanna, *Wilderness Trail,* 2:3; William A. Hunter, *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1753–1758* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and

Museum Commission, 1960), 35, 103. On the French commander Michel Maray de la Chauvignerie, see *DCB,* 2:126, 625; 3:101, 320, 401, 614.

17. Grenier, ed., *Papiers Contrecoeur,* 99–101, 128; *CRP,* 5:734.

18. There has been some confusion about whether Newcomer (Netawatwees), who signed, was a Delaware or a Shawnee, but he was definitely the former. See John W. Jordan, ed., "Journal of James Kenny, 1761–1763," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 37 (1913): 187; Franklin D. Dexter, ed., *Diary of David McClure, Doctor of Divinity, 1748–1820* (New York: Knickerbocker, 1899), 61; British Library (London, England), Additional Manuscripts, MSS 21655, fol. 251; Earl P. Olmstead, *Blackcoats among the Delaware* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State Univ. Press, 1991), 10; Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1991), 68–69.

19. *CRP,* 5:734; Hanna, *Wilderness Trail,* 1:360, 375; Nicholas B. Wainwright, *George Croghan, Wilderness Diplomat* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1959), 57–60.

20. Eavenson, *Map Maker,* 52–70; *CRP,* 5:730–35, 750–51, 760–63.

21. Washington to Dinwiddie, June 10, 1754, W. W. Abbot, ed., *The Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series,* 10 vols. (Charlottesville: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1983–95), 1:133.

22. "Journal de Joseph-Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry, Lieutenant des troupes, 1754–1755," in *Rapport de l'Archivists de la Province de Québec pour 1927–1928* (Québec, Can.: Proulx, 1928), 409–10; *DCB,* 4:145–47.

23. Randolph C. Downes, *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1940), 39–41; Merrell, *Into the American Woods,* 73–75; White, *Middle Ground,* 190–92; Jennings, "Bisaillon," *DCB,* 3:65–66.

24. *CRP,* 5:482–84, 496–98, 568–71; Vaudreuil to Macarty, April 27, 1752, in Theodore C. Pease and Ernestine Jenison, eds., *Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War* (Springfield, Ill.: Trustees of the State Historical Library, 1940), 597. See also ibid., 362–65, 773; Joseph-Pierre de Bonnécamps, "Relation du Voyage de la Belle Rivière faite en 1749, sous les ordres de M. de Céloron," in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents,* 73 vols. (Cleveland, Ohio: Burrows, 1896–1901), 69:170–71.

25. Pease and Jenison, eds., *Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War,* 597; *CRP,* 5:568–71.

26. "Votes of the Assembly," *Pennsylvania Archives,* 8th ser., 5:4,120, 4,145–49 (quotation on 4,148); *CRP,* 6:150–60 (quotation on 153); Grenier, ed., *Papiers Contrecoeur,* 222–23, 266, 289; H. R. Casgrain, ed., *Extraits des Archives des Ministères da la Marine et de la Guerre à Paris* (Quebec, Can.: L. J. Demers, 1890), 9–10; *South Carolina Gazette,* October 17, 1754; McDowell, ed., *SCDIA,* 23, 79; William Preston Papers, Lyman C. Draper Manuscript Collection, Historical Society of Wisconsin, Division of Archives and Manuscripts, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin [hereafter cited as DMC], Ser. QQ, 1:83; A. A. Lambling, ed., *The Baptismal Register of Fort Duquesne* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Myers, Shinkle, 1885), 56–57.

27. *CRP,* 7:531–32.

28. *SWJP,* 9:755; *CRP,* 7:540.

29. *CRP,* 8:197–98; *Pennsylvania Archives,* 1st ser., 3:147, 548–50.

30. The major French chroniclers of the war, Bougainville, Desandrouins, Malartic, and Pouchot, all arrived in North America in 1755. See Richard Waddington, *La Guerre de*

Sept Ans, 5 vols. (Paris: Firmin, 1899–1907), especially 1:217. Frégault's book (Montreal, Can.: Fides, 1955) was translated by Margaret M. Cameron as *Canada: The War of the Conquest* (Toronto, Can.: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1969).

31. Charles Thomson, *Hopewell Friends History 1734–1934, Frederick County, Virginia* (Strasburg, Va.: Shenandoah, 1936), 113–25. See also Thomson, *An Inquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest* (London: J. Wilke, 1759), 77, 81.

32. Smith, *Review;* John Almon, *An Impartial History of the Late War: Deduced from the Committing of Hostilities in 1749, to the Signing of the Definitive Treaty of Peace in 1763* (London: 1763); John Entick, *General History of the Late War, Containing Its Rise, Progress, and Event in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America* (London: E. and C. Dilly, 1764–66); Thomas Mante, *The History of the Late War in North America and the Islands of the West Indies* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1772). George Bancroft also said nothing of the incident and dismissed the Shawnees: "So desolate was the wilderness, that a vagabond tribe could wander undisturbed from Cumberland River to the Alabama, from the head-waters of the Santee to the Susquehannah [*sic*]." See Bancroft, *History of the United States of America,* Centenary Edition, 6 vols. (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown, 1879), 2:327.

33. Rogers, *A Concise Account,* 237.

34. Henry Harvey, *History of the Shawnee Indians from the Years 1681 to 1854, Inclusive* (Cincinnati, Ohio: E. Morgan, 1855), 85. Thomas Wildcat Alford, self-described keeper of Shawnee history, made no mention of the incident in *Civilization and the Story of the Absentee Shawnees* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1979).

35. Francis Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe,* 3 vols. (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown, 1905), 2:14; Jennings, *Empire of Fortune,* 147–48; White, *Middle Ground,* 243–44; McConnell, *A Country Between,* 120.

36. The following estimates are from a provisional and incomplete database of persons reported as captured, killed, or missing by all parties on Allegheny frontiers between 1745 and 1765. All surviving newspapers of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina have been studied and checked against other sources. Major unpublished sources include Admiralty, Amherst, and Virginia Papers in the Public Record Office, the Abercromby, Amherst, and Stonehouse Manuscripts in the Huntington Library; the Bouquet Papers in the British Library; and DMC. Major printed document collections include *NYCD; Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War; CRP; Pennsylvania Archives; The Papers of George Washington;* and *SWJP.* The captivity narratives of Mary Draper Ingles, Robert Kirk, Peter Lewney, Jacob Persinger, and John Slover (cited below) were also employed. Of the 409 reported victims of Shawnee attacks, 129 (31.5 percent) are known to have been killed either immediately or within five days of capture. The Delawares killed 53 percent of their 347 known victims, and all Indian attackers killed an estimated 69 percent of some 1,215 victims.

37. For French complaints see Grenier, ed., *Papiers Contrecoeur,* 364–67. On the debatable role of Shawnees against Braddock, see C. A. Weslager, *The Delaware Indians, a History* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1972), 224; "Kenny Journal," 183; and Beverly W. Bond Jr., ed., "The Captivity of Charles Stuart, 1755–1757," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 13 (1926-1927): 63. The major attacks were Williams Fort (March 7), Vause's fort (June 25), and Fort Granville (August 31) in 1756; and those at South Branch (April 27) and Fort Seybert (April 28) in 1758. The Shawnees also participated in the de-

feat of Maj. James Grant's expedition in September 1758 and the last French raid from Fort Duquesne two months later.

38. For Hannah Dennis's six years with the Shawnees, and escape, see Chester Raymond Young, "The Effects of the French and Indian War on Civilian Life in the Frontier Counties of Virginia, 1754–1763" (Ph.D. Diss., Vanderbilt Univ., 1969), 133–35; James B. Finley, *Life among the Indians* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Hitchcock and Walden, 1857), 45–47; and Joseph Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia,* 2 vols. (Richmond, Va.: Ellis Jones, 1886), 1:111. For the intriguing case of Margaret Moore, who married Blue Jacket, see John Sugden, *Blue Jacket, Warrior of the Shawnees* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 2000), 3, 255; and Joshua Antrim, *The History of Champaign and Logan Counties* (Bellefontaine, Ohio: Press Printing, 1872), 327–28.

39. Charlot Kaské's wife was a captive, as was Blue Jacket's. Captive boys who grew up to be Shawnee warriors included John Ward and George Brown. Norman J. Heard, *White into Red: A Study of the Assimilation of White Persons Captured by Indians* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow, 1973), 120; Ward, "La Guerre Sauvage," 361.

40. *Pennsylvania Gazette,* July 28, 1757, reprinted in *New York Mercury,* August 1, 1757, in *London Chronicle* (*Universal Evening Post*), September 6–8, 1757; Milo M. Quaife, ed., "Captivity of Peter Looney," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 15 (1928): 95–96; reprinted in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 15 (1928): 95–96. Captain and self-styled Maj. John Smith was in charge of the defense; PRO/CO, 30/8/95, 214–15; Loudon Papers, Henry Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif., 4,791, 4,807, 4,925, 5,452, 5,658. See also William Preston Papers, DMC, Ser. QQ, 1:131–35; and *Shawnee Traditions,* 19–21, 53–54. The torture was reported in Robert Kirk, *The Memoirs and Adventures of Robert Kirk, Late of the Royal Highland Regiment* (Limerick, Ire.: J. Ferrar, 1770), 7–11, 38–40 (likely apocryphal).

Montcalm and Bougainville both heard reports of cannibalism in the Ohio Valley and made light of them. Bougainville's remark that the Delawares and Shawnees "have eaten an English officer whose pallor and plumpness tempted them" may refer to Cole. See Edward P. Hamilton, ed., *Adventure in the Wilderness: The American Journals of Louis Antoine de Bougainville, 1756–1760* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 114; and Waddington, *La Guerre de Sept Ans,* 1:228.

A brief and rather humane captivity among the Delawares was published as *A Narrative of the Sufferings and Surprizing Deliverances of William and Elizabeth Fleming,* by William Fleming (Boston, Mass.: Green and Russell, 1756), with accounts in the *New York Mercury* of March 8 and 15, 1756. The story of Mary Draper Ingles' escape from fellow captive Mrs. Bingamin, who had her own cannibalistic intents, was first published in the *New York Mercury* of February 16, 1756.

41. The Cherokee recovered all five of their captives; see *Pennsylvania Gazette,* June 6 and 13, 1765. A Catawba war party recovered an unidentified prisoner in a fight in the spring of 1757; *Pennsylvania Gazette,* May 19, 1757. At the strategically successful attack on Kittaning, September 8–9, 1756, Pennsylvania forces killed fourteen Delawares, lost thirty-three killed, and recovered only seven captives. The Delawares killed only one of their captives, Mrs. Alexander McAllister, who was recaptured after being "rescued." See William A. Hunter, "Victory at Kittanning," *Pennsylvania History* 23 (1956): 376–407. Escaping soldiers were Martin Barrowelly and John Hogan; David Owens and Robert Kirk. See Huntington Library, Loudoun Papers, 3,758, and Abercromby Papers, 659; *Pennsyl-*

vania Gazette, August 19, 1756, September 28, 1758, October 19, 1758; *CRP,* 8:561–62; Kirk, *Memoirs,* 5–40; and *Pennsylvania Gazette,* March 17, 1763, on Mullin and Pussey. On Mary Ingles, compare the accounts in Roberta Ingles Steele and Andrew Lewis Ingles, eds., *The Story of Mary Draper Ingles and Son Thomas Ingles, as Told by John Ingles Sr.* (Radford, Va.: Commonwealth, 1969) and Mary Rodd Furbee, *Shawnee Captive: The Story of Mary Draper Ingles* (Greensboro, N.C.: Morgan Reynolds, 2001) with *New York Mercury,* January 16, February 16, and March 1, 1756. On Hannah Dennis's solo escape, see Young, "The Effects of the French and Indian War on Civilian Life," 133–35.

42. Smith, "Shawnee Captivity Ethnohistory," 36–37; *Shawnee Traditions,* 13–14. On gifts, see Quaife, ed., "Captivity of Peter Looney," 95–96; James Everett Seaver, ed., *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison* (Canandaigua, N.Y.: J. D. Bemis, 1824); "The Narrative of John Slover," in Archibald Louden, ed., *A Selection, of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives of Outrages, Committed by the Indians, in Their Wars, with the White People,* 2 vols. (Carlisle, Pa.: A. Louden, 1808–11), 1:17–32. See also *Pennsylvania Gazette,* November 13, 1755; *New York Mercury,* November 17, 1755; Sylvester K. Stevens, Donald H. Kent, and Autumn L. Leonard, eds., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet,* 6 vols. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Museum and Historical Commission, 1951–94), 6:89 [hereafter cited as *PHB*]. On ransom, see Christian Frederick Post, "Two journals of Western Tours . . . [July–Sept. 1758; Oct. 1758–Jan. 1759]," in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* 1:287; "Kenny Journal," 172.

43. *CRP,* 7:97–110, 137–41.

44. *PHB,* 2:626; Sylvester K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent, eds., *Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1941), 134–38; Stephen F. Auth, *The Ten Years' War: Indian-White Relations in Pennsylvania, 1755–1765* (New York: Garland, 1989), 58, 123–24; "Kenny Journal," 423.

45. British Library, Additional Manuscripts, MSS 21638:244, 248, MSS 21655:177–79; *SWJP,* 3:210–17, 10:317–18; *Minutes of Conferences Held at Lancaster in August 1762* (Philadelphia, Pa.: B. Franklin and D. Hall, 1763), 12–13. Ecuyer reported that two women and two children had been returned, and the "presents" given in exchange were valued at thirty Pennsylvania Indians. See *PHB,* 6:139–41, 156n1; British Library, Additional Manuscripts, MSS 21634, fol. 207. A Shawnee party had given William Johnson two prisoners and a scalp at a meeting in Detroit in December 1761. See *SWJP,* 10:328, 546–48; "Kenny Journal," 194.

46. *SWJP,* 3:550; 10:317–18; White, *The Middle Ground,* 261–63.

47. *PHB,* 6:416–17, 532–33, 538–40. Bouquet was remembering the spying, deceptions, and robberies blamed on adoptees; see *PHB,* 514–16, 522–26, 534, 540–41, 586, 663.

48. Bouquet admitted to Gage that the demand for all the children of white women that Indians had was his own; see *PHB,* 6:706. On Owens, see Loudon, *A Selection,* 2:166; Hanna, *Wilderness Trail,* 2:386; Stephen Brumwell, *Redcoats: The British Soldier in the Americas, 1755–1763* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001), 175. On the terms, see William Smith, *An Historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians, in the Year 1764, under the Command of Henry Bouquet Esq.* (Philadelphia, Pa.: T. Jefferies, 1766), 15–16; and *PHB,* 6:674.

49. *PHB,* 6:681–82, 684, 687–89, 697–99. For Shawnee resistance, see John McCullough, *A Narrative of the Captivity of John McCullough, Esq.* in Louden, *A Selection,* 1:252–302, esp. 284–85.

50. Bouquet claimed that the "obstinate Shawnee" still had 150 prisoners, and there was a named list of 84 still in Shawnee towns. See British Library, Additional Manuscripts, MSS 21655, fol. 251; *PHB,* 6:709; Stevens, *Wilderness Chronicles,* 289–90; Smith, *An Historical Account,* 26–29; Jacob Persinger, *The Life of Jacob Persinger* (Sturgeon, Mo.: Moody and McMichael, 1861).

51. *PHB,* 6:738–39, 746. The hostages were Mesquepalathy (Red Hawk), Ewechonmey (the Wrestler), Keightque, Tamimabuck (Corn Stalk), Wapekapa (White Legs), and Weighthakina. See Huntington Library, Huntington Manuscripts, San Marino, Calif., 569:37–38. Both Red Hawk and Cornstalk would be murdered while held hostage once again in Fort Randolph in 1777. See Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995), 167.

52. *PHB,* 6:751–54; Smith, *An Historical Account,* 34–35; *NYCD,* 7:750–58; *SWJP,* 11:720–21, 823, 831. There were eighty-eight named captives still in Lower Shawnee Town alone late in November 1764. See British Library, Additional Manuscripts, MSS 21655, fol. 296. Ten Shawnees, given a pass by an Augusta county magistrate to travel through Virginia, were attacked, and nine of them were killed. See *Pennsylvania Archives,* 1st ser., 4:218.

53. *NYCD,* 10:1,157–60; White, *Middle Ground,* 301–5; Dowd, *Spirited Resistance,* 42; Michael N. McConnell, "Peoples In Between: The Iroquois and the Ohio Indians, 1720–1768," in Richter and Merrell, eds., *Beyond the Covenant Chain,* 93–112.

55. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country,* 158–81; John Sugden, *Tecumseh* (New York, Henry Holt, 1997), and *Blue Jacket.*

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