

Kuskusky Towns and Early Western Pennsylvania Indian History, 1748-1778

DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, Indians throughout eastern North America came under increasing pressure from Euro-American colonies. This was especially true for native societies living on the borders of Anglo-America. The growing conflict between Great Britain and France after 1689 threatened not only the peace of their respective American colonies, but also the survival of many Indian nations, from the Iroquois of New York to the Cherokees and Creeks of the southeast, who found themselves living between the imperial giants. Of equal concern to the Delawares and Shawnees of eastern Pennsylvania was the rising tide of colonial settlement that threatened to appropriate and extinguish the natives' political independence and cultural identities.

The history of one Indian townsite in the Beaver River Valley of western Pennsylvania demonstrates how some native peoples met the challenges of a world in which the balance of political and cultural power was shifting dramatically toward colonial societies that continued to expand at the expense of nearby Indians. Located at or near present-day New Castle, Pennsylvania, the original town site, then called Kuskusky, was occupied by Iroquois who, like their Delaware and Shawnee neighbors, brought to western Pennsylvania the social and political threats that frequently accompanied colonial settlements and inter-colonial conflicts. By 1748, the upper Ohio Valley had been transformed into a cockpit of international and intercolonial rivalries that once more threatened the Indians living there. For almost thirty years thereafter, the Indians at Kuskusky and the newer "Kuskuskies" towns were often at the center of the Indians' now familiar struggle for security, a struggle that effectively ended in the mid-1770s when the towns and western Pennsylvania passed from the Indians' world to that of the new United States. The history of the Kuskusky towns demonstrates the dynamic quality of Indian efforts to confront colonial, especially British-American, expansion. As Kuskusky history indicates, such efforts included not only the armed struggle so popular in

accounts of frontier history but also the less understood native use of accommodation and skilled diplomacy.

The precise origins of Kuskusky are obscure, yet the town was well enough known to merit inclusion in John Mitchell's 1755 map of British America, which identified "Kuskuskies" as the "Chief Town of the 6 Nations on the Ohio."¹ In all likelihood, the natives who settled in the Beaver Valley were part of a larger migration during which some Iroquois abandoned their towns in New York for new sites along the south shore of Lake Erie. The Senecas, especially, had ample reason to move west. Since 1718 they had taken advantage of the French occupation of the Niagara portage by working as porters over the long and exhausting escarpment journey. Such work earned the natives a variety of goods from local French garrisons.² Yet, if the Niagara portage lured some Senecas away from their former territory in the Genesee Valley, conditions there within Iroquoia drove others away. In 1733 Pennsylvanians learned of "a very great sickness amongst the Six Nations"—a severe outbreak of smallpox that probably led Senecas and other Iroquois in an effort to escape the pestilence to move west into the hunting grounds of the upper Ohio.³ Less than a decade later, poor harvests among the Senecas led New York observers to report in 1741 that the Indians were "in great want of provisions." Colonial leaders sent corn to the natives in order to prevent them from "settling at a Distance" in places like the Ohio Valley where, by the mid-1740s, the Senecas and others had removed "for the sake of Hunting."⁴

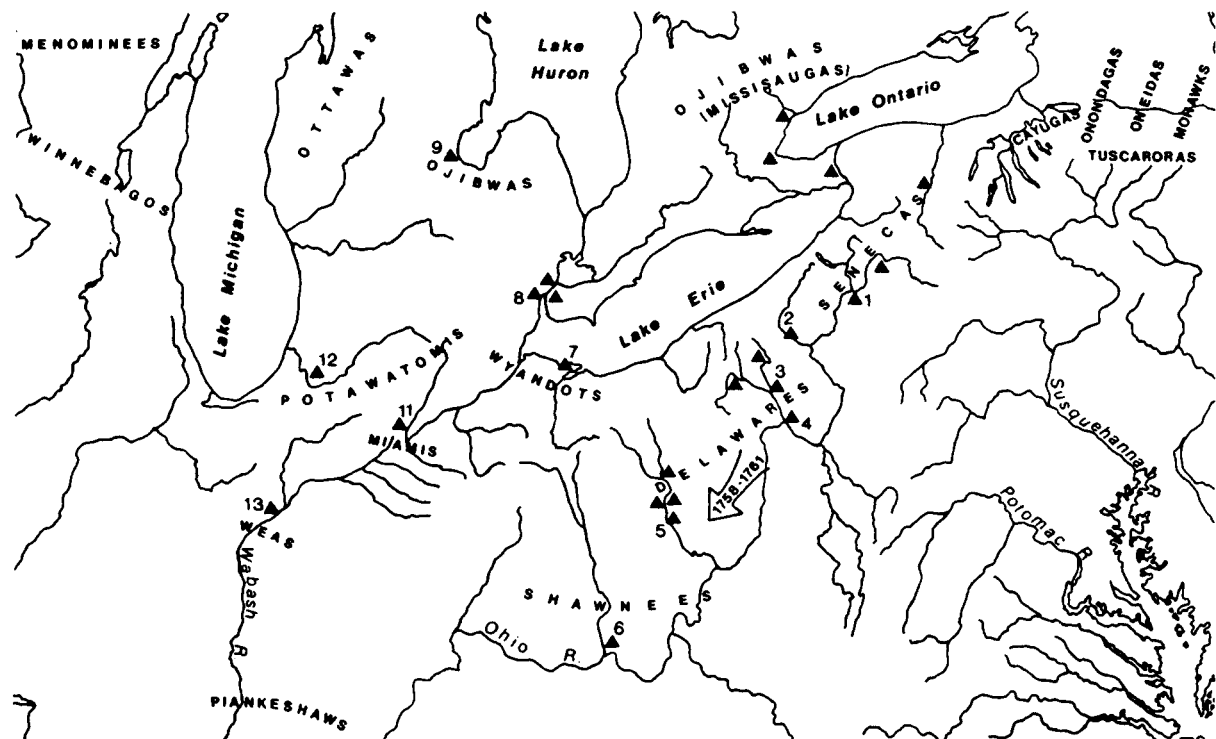
Added to the burdens of disease and food shortages was the pressure of social turmoil generated by the unscrupulous behavior of British

¹ The Mitchell Map of 1755 is reproduced with accompanying narrative in Thomas H. Smith, *The Mapping of Ohio* (Kent, 1977), 7-10.

² E.B. O'Callaghan and Bethold Fernow, eds., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, (15 vols., Albany, 1856-1887), 9:885 (hereafter, NYCD).

³ Samuel Hazard, ed., *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, (16 vols., Harrisburg and Philadelphia, 1838-1853), 3:512 (hereafter, *Pa. Council Minutes*); Beauharnois to Maurepas, May 1, 1733, in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Collections of the Historical Society of Wisconsin*, vol. 17, *The French Regime in Wisconsin, 1727-1748* (Madison, 1906), 172-73.

⁴ Peter Wraxall, *An Abridgment of the Indian Affairs Contained in Four Folio Volumes, Transacted in the Colony of New York, from the Year 1678 to the Year 1751*, ed. C.H. McIlwain (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1915), 221, 224; Thwaites, ed., *The French Regime, 1727-1748*, 337; *Pa. Council Minutes*, 5:357-58.



Indian towns and the trans-Appalachian frontier: 1. Conewango (Senecas), 2. Custalogas (Delawares), 3. Kuskuskie (Delawares), 4. Saucunk (Delawares), 5. Beaver's Town (Delawares [post 1760]), 6. Lower Town (Shawnees), 7. Sandusky (Wyandots), 8. Detroit (Wyandots, Ottawas, Ojibwas, Potawatomis), 9. Saginaw (Ojibwas, Ottawas), 11. Kekionga (Miamis), 12. St. Joseph (Potawatomis), 13. Quiatanon (Weas). Drawn by Linda Merrill.

traders at nearby Oswego. Liquor, flowing unchecked into Iroquois towns, poisoned social relations and worried headmen and clan matrons whose principal task was to maintain harmony within their communities. Factional divisions within Iroquois towns, though not new, might also have produced migrations into the Ohio Valley as the western, or Genesee, Senecas carried their strong opposition to continued British expansion with them to the upper Ohio Valley.⁵ Finally, the appearance of a French fort at Niagara and a New York post at Oswego in the 1720s intensified a long-standing debate over how best to confront European expansion without being overwhelmed by the rival colonies.

The Iroquois who entered the Ohio Valley would have encountered others already settled along the Allegheny River. These Delawares and Shawnees from Pennsylvania had preceded the Iroquois by a decade or more, founding towns at Kittanning and along the Conumagh River after 1724. Like those from Iroquoia, the Delawares and their Shawnee neighbors had compelling reasons for resettling in the Ohio Valley. A century of trade with Europeans in the Delaware Valley seems to have depleted local deer populations. Indeed in 1737, James Logan complained that "the most of our Delaware Indians" had been "drawn off to the branches of Ohio for the Conveniency of game."⁶

The Delawares were also driven westward by conflicts arising from the rapid expansion of Pennsylvania settlements east of the Susquehanna River. During the 1720s and 1730s, especially, provincial authorities continued to dispossess Delaware villagers. In response, the natives traded space for continued autonomy by moving westward to new homes on the Susquehanna River. From there, villagers pushed

⁵ Minutes of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, National Archives of Canada, 1:115; Wraxall, *Abridgment of Indian Affairs*, 115, 130; Anthony F.C. Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York, 1972), 30-39; William N. Fenton, "Factionalism in American Indian Society," *Actes du IV Congres International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnographiques* 2 (Vienna, 1952), 330-40.

⁶ Logan to Lt. Gov. George Clarke [New York], August 4, 1737, Logan Papers, 4:7-8 (American Philosophical Society, [hereafter, APS]); Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, April 22, 1749, Indian Affairs in Pennsylvania, #77 (APS); William A. Hunter, "Documented Sub-Divisions of the Delaware Indians," *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey* 20 (1978), 31.

up the West Branch toward the Allegheny Valley. They were soon joined by the Shawnees, recent arrivals to Pennsylvania but now on the move once more to escape overbearing Iroquois and friction with nearby colonists.⁷

The new settlement at Kuskusky quickly became one of several trading towns as Pennsylvania traders followed their native suppliers and customers west into the Ohio Valley. Indeed, the town's role in trade is apparent, given its central location along the routes used by Pennsylvanians pushing westward to do business with natives at Sandusky and on the Miami River.⁸ As their town's role as a trade center developed, residents of Kuskusky found themselves confronting once more both the social problems and the material bounty brought by the trade. Among Pennsylvanians, cheap liquor had long been a major article of trade, one that brought in its wake cheating and violence, not only among natives but between natives and resident traders. The results were costly. One of the earliest references to Kuskusky came with news that a servant belonging to Maryland trader Hugh Parker had been killed in the town during an argument over the price of rum.⁹

⁷ Hunter, "Documented Sub-Divisions," 23-27; Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies* (New York, 1984), chs. 13, 15-18; Michael N. McConnell, "Peoples 'In Between': The Iroquois and the Ohio Indians, 1720-1768," in Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, eds., *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1676-1776* (Syracuse, 1987), 94-95; Charles Callender, "Shawnee," in Bruce G. Trigger, ed., *Northeast*, vol. 15 of *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. William Sturtevant (Washington, D.C., 1978), 623, 630-31 on Shawnee migrations; see also Jennings, "Brother Miquon, Good Lord!," in Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, eds., *The World of William Penn* (Philadelphia, 1986), 208-209.

⁸ William A. Hunter, "Traders on the Ohio, 1730," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 35 (1952), 85-92; Paul A. W. Wallace, *Indian Paths of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1965), 49; on the nature of what were really multi-ethnic trading towns in the Ohio Country, see Logan Papers, vol. 11 (Indian Affairs), p. 29 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, [hereafter, HSP]); A.A. Lambing, ed., "Céloron's Journal," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* 29 (1920), 353; Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail: Ventures and Adventures of the Pennsylvania Traders on the Allegheny Path* (2 vols. New York, 1911), 1:315-18.

⁹ *Pennsylvania Archives* (hereafter, *Pa. Archives*), 1st series (12 vols., Harrisburg, 1852-1856), 1:254-55, 262, 265, 394-95, 424, 459-60; Lois Mulkearn, ed., *George Mercer Papers Relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia* (Pittsburgh, 1954), 415-16; see also Albright G. Zimmerman, "The Indian Trade of Colonial Pennsylvania," (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 1966), 253, 265, 348-49.

In addition to needed supplies, the traders who came among the Indians at Kuskusky also carried to the Ohio Country the imperial conflict between Great Britain and France. In the past, inter-colonial fighting had been limited to the volatile borderlands that separated New France from New England and New York. In the 1730s and 1740s, however, aggressive Pennsylvania traders—backed by merchant suppliers—entered what had previously been a secure corner of France's inland commercial empire. The French had built and secured alliances with native societies through a system of trade and diplomacy.¹⁰ The outbreak of a new Anglo-French war (King George's War) in Europe in 1744 led to a British naval blockade that made French trade goods both scarce and expensive. Moreover, amply supplied British peddlers threatened this network of alliances as they attempted to gain control of the rich middle western trade from the Canadians.¹¹

The conflict that would quickly sweep over the Ohio Valley first emerged at Kuskusky with the arrival of over one hundred Wyandots from Detroit, led by their headman, Orontony. The Wyandot decision to settle near Kuskusky also marked the beginning of a new phase in the history of the town and region. From a marginal corner of both Indian and Euro-American worlds, the Ohio Valley soon became the focus of a complex struggle as the region's Native Americans, British Americans, and French Canadians all contended for control of the land and its resources. Economic interests, loyalties, and opportunism shaped the ebb and flow of events in which natives and colonists, warriors and soldiers, forged alliances of convenience along a permeable cultural frontier. Only gradually did the battle lines harden into the more familiar pattern of Indians versus settlers that is now so much a part of United States frontier folklore.

The appearance of Orontony and his followers in 1748 coincided with a rush of diplomatic activity as the Wyandots and Iroquois living in the west attempted to draw Pennsylvania into their own war against

¹⁰ W. J. Eccles, "The Fur Trade and Eighteenth Century Imperialism," *William and Mary Quarterly* (hereafter, *WMQ*) 40(1983), 341-62.

¹¹ W.J. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier* (Albuquerque, 1978), ch. 7; Lawrence Henry Gipson, *The British Empire before the American Revolution*, vol. 4, *Zones of International Friction: North America South of the Great Lakes Region* (New York, 1967), 153-73.

the French. Natives were encouraged by their Pennsylvania trading partners, led by George Croghan, who enlisted native customers against Canadian rivals with vague promises of provincial support.¹² Far from being mere pawns in the Ohio Country trade rivalry, however, the natives seized the opportunity to pursue their own ends. Oronotony's people, increasingly estranged from their French and Ottawa neighbors at Detroit, accepted Croghan's offer of assistance, in the bargain hatching a scheme to drive the French completely from the Lake Erie basin. At the same time, Ohio Iroquois warriors, trading military service for plunder and a chance to even the score with price-gouging Canadian traders, joined the Pennsylvanians and Wyandots. The Iroquois also seized the political initiative and by April 1747 had forged a regional alliance that actively solicited aid from Pennsylvania. Through a symbolic gift of deerskins, the Ohio natives announced that they were "clearing a path" between themselves and the colony.¹³

More ominous—and more indicative of what the westerners hoped to achieve—was the arrival in Philadelphia a month later of another message from the west, this time including a French scalp. The symbolism was clear to those familiar with Indian affairs: the senders were asking for a military alliance.¹⁴ If any doubt remained as to the Indians' meaning or aggressiveness, it was dramatically dispelled when, in November, a party of Iroquois, led by Scarouady, suddenly appeared in Philadelphia to collect on Croghan's promises of alliance, seeking material support in the natives' campaign against the French.¹⁵

The Ohio Iroquois' initiative had the desired effect. Pennsylvania leaders quickly seized the opportunity to extend their own influence into what was fast becoming a troublesome frontier. Consequently, provincial secretary Richard Peters and Conrad Weiser, the colony's interpreter, joined elder statesman James Logan to encourage the

¹² McConnell, "Peoples 'In Between'," 97-98; James A. Clifton, "The Re-emergent Wyandot: A Study in Ethnogenesis on the Detroit River Borderland, 1747," in K.G. Pryke and L.L. Kulisek, eds., *The Western District* (Windsor, Ontario, 1983), 1-17.

¹³ Ohio Indians to Pennsylvania, April 20, 1747, *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser., 1:737-38.

¹⁴ May 16, 1747, *ibid.*, 741-42.

¹⁵ "A Treaty Between the President and Council of the Province of Pennsylvania and the Ohio Indians," in Julian P. Boyd, ed., *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin* (Philadelphia, 1938), 102-105. (Also printed in *Pa. Council Minutes*, 5:145-47).

Assembly to appropriate a suitable gift for natives who appeared “desirous to be taken into Friendship” and who, as Peters emphasized, “may be of great service” to the colony.¹⁶ Within a year, Conrad Weiser was on his way over the Alleghenies with gifts and the authority to cement an alliance with peoples whose numbers and goals were only vaguely understood.

Weiser’s council with the Ohio Iroquois took place at another recent settlement, Logg’s Town, near present-day Ambridge, Pennsylvania, a few miles downstream from the Forks of the Ohio. Weiser’s host, Tanaghrisson, was a local Seneca headman whose origins as an Indian leader remain obscure. Tanaghrisson was one of five headmen who sent Scarouady with the Iroquois’s 1747 message to Pennsylvania. He seems to have hammered together a coalition of like-minded followers and, with Scarouady as go-between, pursued a close alliance with the colony.¹⁷ When their meeting ended, Tanaghrisson and Weiser had forged a new alliance, symbolized when the Pennsylvanian acknowledged Tanaghrisson’s council fire at Logg’s Town as the proper meeting place between the colony and the Ohio Indians. The implications for the natives were considerable. Their homeland was fast becoming the prize as rival colonies— Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Canada— rushed to lay claim to the Ohio Country. By the end of 1748 Pennsylvania enjoyed a clear advantage, standing at one end of a chain of alliances that stretched all the way to the Piankashaw towns on the Miami River. Yet, while he appeared pleased with his new role as a valued British ally, Tanaghrisson’s enthusiasm was not shared by those who stood on the sidelines at Logg’s Town and who might have wondered about the future implications of the Anglo-Iroquois partnership.

Among the Ohio Indians who followed events at Logg’s Town were the Iroquois and the Wyandots at Kuskusky. Not content to observe events from a distance and evidently unwilling to accede to Tanaghrisson’s pretensions, they attempted to seize the new opportunities offered

¹⁶ Peters to Weiser, September 26, 1747, Richard Peters Papers, vol. 2, pt. 2: 79-80 (HSP); Logan to Weiser [Oct/Nov] 1747, Logan Letterbooks, vol. 4, 137 (APS); *Pa. Council Minutes*, 5:148.

¹⁷ *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, s.v. “Tanaghrisson”; McConnell, “Peoples ‘In Between,’” 101-102.

by Weiser's appearance. To that end the Kuskusky Indians quickly tried to upstage Tanaghrisson. No sooner had Weiser arrived at Logg's Town than a message arrived from Kuskusky "to desire . . . that the ensuing Council might be held at their town." The challenge was plain enough and Tanaghrisson reacted by insisting that "the Indians at Coscosky were no more Chiefs than themselves" and should therefore be ignored. For all Tanaghrisson's concerns, however, the Kuskusky ploy was quickly rebuffed by Weiser, whose instructions bound him to negotiate with the Indians at Logg's Town.¹⁸

Though unsuccessful, the Kuskusky challenge underscored the fragility of native cooperation and the uncertainty of Tanaghrisson's own position as a local power broker. The headman's vulnerability may explain why Weiser found the Logg's Town Iroquois eager to "shake hands" as they greeted the emissary with "Great Joy . . . in their Countenances."¹⁹ Indeed, Weiser proved to be the trump card in Tanaghrisson's bid for leadership within the Ohio Country. Moreover, the Kuskusky incident helps explain why Tanaghrisson quickly and consistently embraced a British alliance; the headman's role as the principal Indian member of the new alliance came to depend heavily upon colonial good will and generosity.²⁰

However, Weiser's meeting did little to mend the rift between Logg's Town and Kuskusky that had its origins in the recently-ended Anglo-French war. At that time the Kuskusky Iroquois, originally from Cuyahoga near present-day Cleveland, Ohio, had vied for an English alliance with Iroquois from the Allegheny Valley. The Cuyahoga Indians found themselves in a decidedly secondary role after their rival, Tanaghrisson, successfully courted Pennsylvanians. By 1749 the headman Conagaresa and, presumably, other Iroquois at Kuskusky, had turned away from the British altogether. In that year the Canadians learned that a number of pro-French Senecas were then living "at a place called Gas,Cagh,Sa,Gey."²¹

¹⁸ *Pa. Council Minutes*, 5:308-310, 349-50; Palmer to Assembly, *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser., 2:82; Alfred T. Goodman, ed., *Journal of Captain William Trent from Logstown to Pickawillany A.D. 1752* (Cincinnati, 1871), 105.

¹⁹ *Pa. Council Minutes*, 5:349.

²⁰ McConnell, "Peoples 'In Between'," 103; Francis Jennings, *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies & Tribes in the Seven Years War in America* (New York, 1988), 10-16.

²¹ *NYCD*, 6:549.

Weiser's appearance at Logg's Town was only the first indication of a scramble among rival outsiders for control of the Ohio Valley. Although the natives were never privy to European councils of state, they did act to protect their own sovereignty in the face of colonial rivalries that threatened to overwhelm those who lived in the Ohio Country. Tanaghrisson had taken a calculated move closer to Pennsylvanians whose main pursuit of trade masked a growing interest in western land and whose anti-Canadian interests coincided with his own. Shortly, however, Ohio Indians would play host to others who, in response to the Ohio Iroquois-Pennsylvania alliance, moved to stake their own claims in the west.

The Canadians' response was quick enough and very different from Weiser's diplomacy. Fearful of losing their inland territories altogether to the British Americans, French officials attempted both to recoup their prestige among the Indians and to overawe their ambitious enemies. In 1749 Captain Pierre-Joseph Céloron de Blainville appeared in the upper Allegheny Valley at the head of several hundred colonial regulars, Canadian militia, and mission Indian allies. His task was to proclaim French sovereignty over the Ohio Country and warn off the British traders working the region. The periodic burial of lead plates inscribed with a declaration of ownership symbolically underscored Louis XV's claims, while the very appearance of Céloron's detachment did force Pennsylvania traders to make themselves scarce until the threat had passed. Those few who did fall into Canadian hands had merchandise confiscated and were sent packing.²²

The Indians' response to Céloron's passage through their country was anything but the submission and cooperation the captain and his superiors had anticipated. Hunting camps and smaller villages from the Lake Chautauqua portage to the Delaware town at Kittanning were hastily abandoned ahead of the French advance. On those occasions when the captain was able to speak to villagers, his declarations

²² Eccles, "Fur Trade and Eighteenth Century Imperialism," 355-58; idem., *Canadian Frontier*, 157-60; Galissonniere to Rouille, June 26, 1749, in Theodore Calvin Pease, ed., *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, 19, *Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War, 1747-1755* (Springfield, 1940), 97; see also "Account of the Voyage on the Beautiful River Made in 1749, under the Direction of Monsieur de Céloron, by Father Bonnecamps," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* 29(1920), 397-423.

of French sovereignty and demands that the natives abandon British in favor of French trade were met with silence or skeptical replies from people who viewed this armed host as nothing less than an invasion and who placed little store in French promises to fill the economic vacuum left by any British departure.²³ Tension was therefore running high as Céloron confronted the Iroquois at Logg's Town. Among those awaiting the captain were "80 warriors" from Kuskusky—in all likelihood the Wyandots. The natives' purpose, "to aid their brothers" and to strike at the French if necessary, reflected the level of distrust created by Céloron's march. The Indians interpreted the appearance of so many armed Frenchmen as a provocation—in striking contrast to Weiser's solitary and unarmed mission.²⁴

The battle that both the Kuskusky warriors and Céloron's nervous troops expected never occurred. Instead, native leaders and the captain exchanged formal—and largely meaningless—speeches. Céloron once more asserted French command over the Ohio Country and called upon the natives to abandon their British trading partners. The reply of the Ohio Iroquois was deliberately noncommittal. Each side clearly distrusted the other, yet both used considerable restraint. Céloron was able to depart unopposed for similar—and equally disappointing—rendezvous among the Shawnees and Piankashaw.²⁵ The captain's careful maneuvering at Logg's Town is easily understandable. Outnumbered and outgunned, he stood little chance of surviving a fight with the Iroquois whose town also included many Shawnees, Delawares, Abenakis, and others who had come to trade. Moreover, a fight was the last thing the French needed as they struggled to regain influence in what was a strategically vital region.

Yet the Indians at Logg's Town, especially Tanaghrisson, had reasons of their own for showing restraint, even though they were highly displeased with Céloron's imperious manner. The Ohio Iroquois-Pennsylvania alliance was hardly a year old and still fragile. Therefore, it appears that the pro-British Indians at Logg's Town, unsure of

²³ "Céloron's Journal," 339-48; "Account of the Voyage . . . by Father Bonnecamps," 409.

²⁴ On the Logg's Town meeting see "Céloron's Journal," 352-58; quotes from "Account of the Voyage . . . by Father Bonnecamps," 406. The Wyandots soon left the Beaver Valley for a new settlement in the upper Muskingum Valley.

²⁵ "Céloron's Journal," 352, 357-59.

their influence, chose a cautious approach when dealing with Céloron, preferring to allow the French to make the first hostile move.²⁶

Céloron's mission strengthened the alliance with Pennsylvania. Yet the Indians left behind became increasingly concerned about their own independence as they found themselves ever more caught between rival European powers. Those concerns were fueled with the 1750 arrival of Christopher Gist, yet another foreign emissary. Gist came officially to invite the Ohio Iroquois to a council with Virginia authorities. Unofficially, the Virginian was also the advance man for the recently formed Ohio Company. His two trips into the west were for the purpose of locating suitable lands for an ambitious group of gentry who now held a royal grant for 200,000 acres west of the mountains.²⁷ Indeed, the proposed congress with the Ohio Iroquois was to facilitate the sale of land to the colony. Virginia had now joined Pennsylvania and Canada in the scramble for the Ohio Country. The addition of the Virginia claim to already contested territory served to confirm the threat of British settlement of land that was precariously held by natives who had moved into the region to escape that very threat.

Gist quickly aroused suspicion wherever he went. His diplomatic mission notwithstanding, the natives were rightly convinced that Gist "was come to settle the . . . Land." This conviction was strengthened as they observed the Virginian taking measurements, even though Gist understood that "it was dangerous to let a Compass be seen among the Indians," so dangerous, in fact, that some Delawares and Iroquois openly declared that Gist "should never go Home again safe."²⁸ Gist did return to Virginia, but only because of the Indians' respect for ambassadors, whatever their ulterior motives.

Gist not only met with suspicion and profound distrust, he also encountered natives who had both long memories of earlier dispossession and serious concern about what the Europeans' race for the Ohio Valley meant for their own security. Gist met the Delaware Nemecolin who suggested that, if the British king could send messages, he could

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 353, 357, 359; Hamilton to Clinton, October 2, 1749, *NYCD*, 6:531.

²⁷ See Mulkearn, ed., *Mercer Papers*, 7-40, for Gist's two journals. Gist's narrative is full of detailed observations about the land and its resources, leaving little doubt as to the true purpose of his venture.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

receive them as well, and proceeded to recount his own father's eviction from land guaranteed to him by William Penn himself.²⁹ Later, Gist encountered Tamaqua, "a Sagamore or Chief of the Delaware" whose life and Kuskusky's would soon be closely intertwined. Tamaqua was bold enough to ask pointedly "where the Indians' Land lay" in the face of British and French claims. The headman and his companions were not taken in by Gist's rather lame response that "We are all one King's People" and that the British desired nothing more than to extend to the natives "the same Privileges as the White People have." Tamaqua undoubtedly left this exchange little encouraged and no less apprehensive.³⁰

In the months following Gist's departure, the Ohio Indians faced the increasing likelihood of a new European conflict, the spoils of which would include their land. At Kuskusky, and in the Ohio Valley, villagers discussed their options and considered what action to take. Tanaghrisson neatly summarized the problem facing all Ohio Indians when he pointedly observed that now he and his neighbors lived "in a Country between" two aggressive foreign powers.³¹

Yet, beyond this growing realization, there was little consensus among the natives. Indeed, the intensified Anglo-French contest added a new dimension to the factionalism that periodically surfaced within native societies. At issue was how best to preserve the largest possible measure of autonomy. Tanaghrisson continued to cling to his alliance with Pennsylvania and, after 1752, Virginia. He and his followers among the Ohio Iroquois were convinced that British trade and weapons were a potent counter-force to French saber rattling.

Tanaghrisson's cooperation with the Virginians during the Logg's Town Treaty of June 1752, however, quickly cost him much of the support of his own people as well as that of non-Iroquois neighbors. The Virginians, representing both their government and the Ohio Company, were eager to clear the natives' claim to lands west of the Alleghenies and to establish posts in the region that would provide tangible proof of British claims against any French challenge. In a

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 33-34.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 39.

³¹ "Case of the Ohio Company," *ibid.*, 23.

difficult meeting, Tanaghrisson agreed to allow the Virginians to build a "strong house" somewhere in the Ohio Country.³²

The response of Indians at Kuskusky is unknown, but subsequent events suggest that some continued to stand by the Logg's Town headman, while others lined up behind Conagaresa. Others—especially the Shawnees and Delawares who held fresh memories of earlier dispossessions—remained in the background but took a far more cautious approach to both the British and French. They chose to remain "between" rather than tip the scales too far in favor of one or the other European power. The Senecas, who held long-standing kinship bonds with such Canadian agents as Philippe-Thomas Chabert de Joncaire, enjoyed useful economic relations with the Canadians. They took a different view, maintaining that the French—whose interests had always been commercial and military, never territorial—posed less of a threat than did Pennsylvania and Virginia farmers. None of these positions was immutable, and groups shifted their stand as events and opportunities demanded. Nevertheless, regardless of where they stood, all Ohio Indians continued to balance one European power against the other, trading support and influence for aid and guarantees of continued native sovereignty.

Tanaghrisson's position by late 1752 was an unenviable one. His influence—never strong beyond his own people—depended largely upon material support from colonial allies. By 1752 Pennsylvania, led by its Quaker assembly, had removed itself from official activities that might provoke a war, leaving the field—and Tanaghrisson—to the more aggressive Virginians. Moreover, had Tanaghrisson not bowed to the pressures exerted on him at Logg's Town, it is likely that the Virginians would have abandoned him in favor of direct negotiations with the Delawares and Shawnees who heretofore had chosen to work through the Seneca headman.³³ Yet cooperation cost Tanaghrisson more than he or anyone else could have anticipated. Upon learning of continued British efforts to dominate the Ohio Country and stung by the reception accorded Céloron, the new governor general of New

³² McConnell, "Peoples 'In Between,'" 102-103; Jennings *Empire of Fortune*, 37-45; treaty proceedings are printed in "The Treaty of Logg's Town, 1752," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 13 (1905-06), 148-74.

³³ McConnell, "Peoples 'In Between,'" 103.

France, Ange de Menneville, Marquis Duquesne, decided to meet his enemy's diplomacy with force when, in 1753, he dispatched an army of some 2,000 men to the Ohio Valley to settle once and for all the issue of ownership.³⁴

Tanaghrisson dealt as best he could with Captain Paul Marin de la Malgue and his army. He issued the Iroquois' traditional three warnings, demanding that the French immediately withdraw. Yet the headman's words had a hollow ring; his native following was rapidly diminishing and his Virginia allies were nowhere in sight. Meanwhile, many Ohio Indians took a more cautious path. Many simply stood aside, while others, including the Delawares and Senecas living at Venango and farther up the Allegheny, took full advantage of low summer water and the Canadians' need to keep goods moving by earning wages as porters and guides.³⁵ Most ignored Tanaghrisson's call to resist. Captain Marin added to the humiliation by ridiculing Tanaghrisson, refusing even to touch his message wampum.³⁶

Tanaghrisson and other Indians who hoped for British aid against the French were soon disappointed. The support that did arrive came in the unimpressive shape of young George Washington. On his first trip west in November 1753, Washington came as an ambassador bearing a letter from Virginia's lieutenant governor Robert Dinwiddie ordering the French to leave the Ohio Valley, a demand which met with the same firm refusal earlier given to Tanaghrisson.³⁷ Washington's second appearance, in the spring of 1754 at the head of his colony's forces, was an even greater disaster for his native allies. The young colonel's ineptitude, transparent lack of martial experience, and his refusal to be guided by older and wiser native leaders exasperated even Tanaghrisson. Nevertheless, the headman and a bare handful of warriors stood by the Virginians, withdrawing only when, in early

³⁴ On the French invasion of the Ohio Country, the best study remains Donald H. Kent, *The French Invasion of Western Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1954), esp. 27-68.

³⁵ Sylvester K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent, eds., *Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1941), 51-52.

³⁶ Kent, *French Invasion*, 46-49; Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, eds., *The Diaries of George Washington*, 6 vols. (Charlottesville, Va., 1976-80), 1:140-42.

³⁷ Jackson and Twohig, eds., *Diaries of Washington*, 1:9-12 on Tanaghrisson's declining influence in the wake of the French invasion.

July, Washington allowed himself to be trapped in his camp at the Great Meadows.³⁸

By midsummer of 1754, with the French in full control of the Ohio Country, Tanaghrisson and his followers abandoned their homes and moved east to George Croghan's trading post at Aughwick, where their leader died before year's end.³⁹ Most Delawares and Shawnees remained behind, as did the Senecas living along the upper Allegheny Valley, while the Iroquois at Kuskusky either joined the refugees at Aughwick or moved to the Allegheny River Seneca towns. The events that transformed the Ohio Country from a backwater to an imperial battlefield reshaped Kuskusky as well. From a marginal settlement about which little was known, the town soon became a central focus in the ongoing contest for the Ohio Valley.

Warfare brought foreign armies, disease, and turmoil to the Indians of the Ohio Valley even as hostilities gave many natives a grand opportunity to exact a price for having previously suffered the threat of dispossession at the hands of Pennsylvanians and Virginians. The Seven Years' War also transformed Kuskusky. Its ethnic composition changed as the now-abandoned Iroquois and Wyandot settlements became the principal seat of the western Delaware. With that change came another: Iroquois "Kuskusky" became "the Kuskuskies"—a cluster of four or five Delaware villages located in the area covered by present-day New Castle westward up the Mahoning River.⁴⁰ The town's population was altered in yet another way with the arrival of numerous captives taken in raids against border settlements from Penn's Creek to Winchester.

Not all of the Delawares favored the war, but in the wake of Braddock's defeat, the headman Shingas launched his own campaign against British colonists during the autumn of 1755. The Kuskuskies

³⁸ For Indian critiques of Washington's conduct, see *Pa. Council Minutes*, 6:151-52; Jackson and Twohig, eds., *Diaries of Washington*, 1:155-56, 162 n. 3; Donald H. Kent, ed., "Contrecoeur's Copy of George Washington's Journal of 1754," *Pennsylvania History* 19(1952), 35; Jennings, *Empire of Fortune*, ch. 4 contains the most recent interpretation of events surrounding Washington's 1754 campaign.

³⁹ "Contrecoeur's Copy of Washington's Journal," 36; *Pa. Council Minutes*, 6:130; *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, s.v. "Tanaghrisson."

⁴⁰ "Two Journals of Western Tours by Charles Frederick Post," in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* (Cleveland, 1904), 1:196.

soon served as one of several bases from which Delaware, Iroquois, and Shawnee warriors struck at border settlements and military outposts. Captives who managed to escape estimated that in 1756 some one hundred warriors were encamped at the Kuskuskies, with nearly twice that number in the nearby towns of Shenango near present-day Sharon, Saucunk near the present Beaver Falls, and Venango.⁴¹ The proximity of French garrisons to the north and south made the Beaver Valley an ideal staging area since French troops did all they could to encourage native warriors both to terrorize the British frontier and to divert their enemy's superior resources from operations against the heart of New France. The Delawares led by Shingas, Captain Jacobs, and others needed little encouragement; memories of dispossession by Pennsylvanians drove many, while hoped-for booty and the chance to earn reputations that could be turned into political influence at home animated other warriors. Few doubted that, should the British win the war, the natives' hold over the Ohio Country would be jeopardized.⁴²

As Delaware warriors launched their devastating border war against Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, the Kuskuskies villages became home for colonial captives, some of whom, including Hugh Gibson, Marie Le Roy, and Barbara Leininger, left accounts of their ordeals.⁴³ Such young men and women, along with children, were a special prize for Ohio warriors, for they were often adopted as replacements for their captors' deceased kin. In the close-knit world of the Delawares and their neighbors, colonial—as well as native—captives served to patch together a social fabric torn by epidemics, age, and warfare. Indeed, securing captives proved a powerful motive behind warfare, as deaths in battle during the Seven Years' War compounded the need to replace lost kinfolk.⁴⁴

⁴¹ *Pa. Council Minutes*, 7:531.

⁴² Beverly W. Bond, Jr., ed., "The Captivity of Charles Stuart, 1755-1757," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 13(1926-27), 63-65.

⁴³ Timothy Alden, ed., "An Account of the Captivity of Hugh Gibson Among the Delaware Indians of the Big Beaver and Muskingum, from the latter part of July 1756, to the beginning of April, 1759," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3d ser., 6(1837), 141-53; "The Narrative of Marie Le Roy and Barbara Leininger, for Three Years Captives Among the Indians," trans. Edmund de Schweinitz, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (hereafter, *PMHB*) 29(1905), 407-20.

⁴⁴ James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York, 1981), 168-206, esp. 173-77; Richter, "War and Culture," passim on the mourning war and its impact on Iroquois society.

How many British Americans were carried away by war parties to native towns beyond the mountains is uncertain, although several hundred were eventually repatriated at Fort Pitt in the early 1760s. These included two women held by Tamaqua's lineage and surrendered with painful reluctance by the Delaware's headman, who lovingly referred to them as "my mother" and "my sister."⁴⁵ Marie Le Roy and Barbara Leininger, who escaped early in 1759, listed by name twenty-one others then held at the Kuskuskies. Many more had been taken farther west, to new Delaware towns in the Muskingum Valley, or to distant Detroit or the Shawnee towns in southern Ohio.⁴⁶

The many captives at the Kuskuskies and other towns were living proof of the success of Indian raiders and also a measure of the physical and psychological damage inflicted on the colonists as their western borderlands were all but abandoned under the onslaught of Ohio Indian warriors. In desperation, Pennsylvania's fledgling militia mounted a counterattack. Led by Colonel John Armstrong, the troops destroyed the large Delaware town at Kittanning on September 8, 1756.⁴⁷ Shaken by the vulnerability of their Allegheny Valley towns, the natives pulled back to the greater safety of the Beaver Valley, and the Kuskuskies not only grew in size but quickly became the political hub of the Delawares in the west. Moreover, the aftershocks of the Kittanning raid provided the impetus for an emerging peace faction, led by those, including Shingas's brother, Tamaqua, who had never enthusiastically supported the border war. From his home at the Kuskuskies, Tamaqua and a loyal following added one more dimension to the already complex nature of their town: Kuskuskies had served as a base for raiders, a haven for refugees, and a new home for captives; the peace faction added the function of diplomatic center. Indeed, by late autumn, 1758, anxious leaders of colonial governments, royal armies, and native societies all turned their attention to events unfolding at the Kuskuskies.

Peace overtures were tentative at first, marked by distrust on the part of the Delawares and factional infighting and divided authority

⁴⁵ *Pa. Council Minutes*, 8:389.

⁴⁶ "Narrative of Marie Le Roy and Barbara Leininger," 417-20.

⁴⁷ William A. Hunter, "Victory at Kittanning," *Pennsylvania History*, 23(1956), 376-407.

within Pennsylvania.⁴⁸ Tamaqua and his followers were willing to end their war but only on terms that guaranteed their sovereignty and control of the lands in the west. The Indians thus followed with interest the colony's effort to make peace with the eastern Delawares led by Teedyuscung. Prospects for an end to the border war had improved by the summer of 1758 as the crown's Indian agents and provincial authorities prepared to meet Teedyuscung at Easton to acknowledge his people's land claims and wrongful dispossession from the upper Delaware Valley. The subsequent Easton Treaty, with its British pledge to honor native land claims, became the basis for future negotiations with Indians in the Ohio Valley as well. Meanwhile, Fort Duquesne was once more the principal objective of a new British offensive. General John Forbes, at the head of a British-provincial army, needed above all to deprive his enemy of native support. With this in mind, Forbes encouraged new overtures to the Ohio Indians. Moravian missionary Christian Frederick Post was the chosen emissary in the series of exchanges that dominated the summer and autumn of 1758. Post's two trips to the Kuskuskies, in July and November, helped pave the way for Forbes's army to take the Forks of the Ohio and opened the road to the Ohio Indians.⁴⁹

Post was led to the Kuskuskies because, by the summer of 1758, Tamaqua had taken the bold—and risky—step of opening direct contact with the British. Indeed, by year's end Tamaqua was referred to by colonists as the western Delaware "king," or principal spokesman for his people. And, though Shingas continued to lead the warriors until autumn, Tamaqua's other brothers, Delaware George and, especially, Pisquetomen, served the peace faction as hosts and ambassadors. Pisquetomen arrived at Easton near the end of the treaty congress and carried news of the treaty back to the Ohio as he escorted Post to a meeting with Tamaqua at the Kuskuskies.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ William A. Hunter, "Provincial Negotiations with the Western Indians, 1754-1758," *Pennsylvania History*, 18(1951), 213-19 on the early phases of Pennsylvania-Ohio Indian negotiations.

⁴⁹ *Pa. Council Minutes*, 8:142-45, 456-59; Forbes to Lt. Col. Henry Bouquet, June 16, 1758, same to same, July 20, 1758, Alfred Proctor James, ed., *Writings of General John Forbes Relating to his Service in North America* (Menasha, Wisc., 1938), 115-16, 154; McConnell, "Peoples 'In Between'," 106-107; Jennings, *Empire of Fortune*, ch. 17.

⁵⁰ "Two Journals of Western Tours," 240, 246-48, 256-58, 274, 275-76; Francis Jennings, "A Vanishing Indian: Francis Parkman versus His Sources," *PMHB* 87(1963), 307-308, 317; McConnell, "Peoples 'In Between'," 106-107.

Post's venture to the Ohio Indians was a difficult one. The Delawares and other natives continued their raids, even as negotiations began at the Kuskuskies. Complicating the situation, French agents labored to block any British effort to make peace with the Indians. Moreover, the slow but steady march of Forbes's 7,000 troops sent mixed signals to natives inclined to distrust British motives and actions.⁵¹ The Delawares questioned Post closely about his countrymen's true intentions and wondered how the British could speak of peace while sending an army into the Ohio Country. Other natives hardly concealed their hostility; Post frequently met Delaware Indians who were "disturbed at my coming . . . their faces quite distorted with rage."⁵²

Despite transparent native hostility, the Delawares agreed in November not to oppose Forbes's army, due largely to Tamaqua's leadership and the increasingly convergent interests as natives and the British worked to restore peace in the west.⁵³ Tamaqua's political and diplomatic skills were evident in his ability to rally enough influential men—including, in the end, Shingas—to fashion a truce. British overtures, including a pledge to honor the natives' sovereignty in their own lands, made Tamaqua's task easier.⁵⁴ Forbes wanted to avoid a confrontation with Ohio Indians, while Pennsylvanians and their neighbors anxiously sought an end to a bloody and politically dangerous border war. Likewise, at the Kuskuskies there were many who wished an end to a costly war, especially since the French appeared unable to lend material support or even to defend themselves against the oncoming British army.

Thus, by late autumn 1758, the mutual need for peace drew the Delawares, their neighbors, and the British into negotiations. The French, deprived of local native allies, abandoned Fort Duquesne; within a year they evacuated their remaining forts in the Ohio Valley. Meanwhile, British garrisons and neighboring Indians entered into an

⁵¹ McConnell, "Peoples 'In Between,'" 106-107.

⁵² "Two Journals of Western Tours," 195, 200, 212.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 240, 256, 258.

⁵⁴ "Minutes of Conferences Held at Easton, In October, 1758," in Boyd, ed., *Indian Treaties*, 215-43; "Benjamin Chew's Journal," *ibid.*, 307, on the Easton Treaty commitments; see also Jennings, *Empire of Fortune*, 396-403.

uneasy peace that ended in 1763 when imperial interests shattered the accommodation first reached at the Kuskuskies.⁵⁵

Even before the Indians' Defensive War of 1763-1764 engulfed the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes, the Kuskuskies and its countryside were undergoing yet another transformation. While Tamaqua and his people accepted the challenge of negotiating with the British, they also took the precaution of moving out of the path of Forbes's army and away from the garrisons the general and his successors planted in the Ohio Country. Captives Marie Le Roy and Barbara Leininger reported that by the end of 1758 the Delawares were prepared to abandon virtually all of their Beaver Valley towns in favor of new settlements in the distant—and safer—Muskingum Valley of Ohio.⁵⁶ The Kuskuskies, once the center of the western Delaware and the focus of Ohio Indian-British relations, now became a backwater as the Beaver Valley gradually became part of British America and less of a functional part of the Indians' world. Colonial settlers followed the army to the Forks of the Ohio where, by 1762, "Pittsboro" was a thriving town of traders, tavern keepers, soldiers, and would-be homesteaders.⁵⁷

At the same time, the Ligonier Valley and the upper Monongahela Valley near Redstone Creek attracted settlers who followed the military roads into the west. Border inhabitants, mostly from Virginia, were stopped only briefly by the British-Indian war in 1763 and not at all by royal proclamations or boundary treaties. Meanwhile, the struggle over the borderlands shifted to the southwest where the Shawnees and the Ohio Iroquois waged a decade-long campaign to keep their Kentucky hunting grounds free of Virginia squatters and hide hunters who invaded the region, carrying their virulent hatred of Indians with them.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ McConnell, "Peoples 'In Between'," 108-109; Jennings, *Empire of Fortune*, ch. 20.

⁵⁶ Hunter, "Documented Sub-Divisions," 34; Helen Hornbeck Tanner, et al., *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series, vol. 174 (Norman, Okla., 1987), maps 9, 13; on the 1763-64 war as a native defensive struggle instead of a pan-Indian uprising led by Pontiac, see W.J. Eccles, Michael N. McConnell, and Susan Laskin, "The Western Indians' Defensive War, 1763," R. Cole Harris and Geoffrey J. Mathews, eds., *Historical Atlas of Canada, 1: From the Beginning to 1800* (Toronto, 1987), plate 44.

⁵⁷ Bouquet to Capt. Gavin Cochrane, July 12, 1761, Louis M. Waddell, et al., eds., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, (5 vols. to date, Harrisburg, 1958-), 5:629-30.

⁵⁸ On Indian hating in Pennsylvania and the borderlands, see Alden T. Vaughan, "Frontier Banditti and the Indians: The Paxton Boys' Legacy, 1763-1775," *Pennsylvania History*, 51(1984), 1-29.

It is doubtful that all Indians left the Kuskuskies after 1758, but for a decade the site was hardly acknowledged by British travelers and residents whose attention was drawn farther west to the new Delaware and Shawnee towns on the Muskingum and Scioto rivers. The Kuskuskies were reoccupied by 1769, however, when Custaloga led his Munsees from the Cuyahoga River back to the Beaver Valley. They took up residence in some or all of the so-called "New Kuskuskies" sites—the villages once occupied by Tamaqua's people. Custaloga's motives for returning to the Kuskuskies are unclear, but proximity to British traders at Pittsburgh may have been part of the reason.⁵⁹ Custaloga may also have had in mind a plan to draw together disparate groups of Munsees then living in the upper Allegheny Valley or entering the region with Moravian missionaries from Pennsylvania. Briefly in the early 1770s Custaloga played host to a mission settlement—Friedenstadt—founded not far from his town.⁶⁰

The arrival of missionaries in the Ohio Country in the late 1760s marked only the latest effort by the Moravians to spread their own brand of piety and devotion to the natives of New York and Pennsylvania.⁶¹ From mission settlements in the upper Susquehanna Valley, the Moravians had once before attempted to plant a mission among the western Delawares. That effort, in 1762, foundered: the natives had come to doubt colonists who displayed an interest in settling among them; their suspicion was strengthened by a spreading nativist movement at the time among the Delawares.⁶²

Within a decade, the Moravians returned, this time both as preachers among the yet unconverted Munsees of the upper Allegheny Valley and as leaders of a flock of eastern converts seeking new lives away

⁵⁹ Hunter, "Documented Sub-Divisions," 34-35; something of the material record of this last of the Kuskuskies settlements can be found in John A. Zakucia, "Chambers Site, (36La11 [1957])," (unpublished field notes and artifact inventory on file with the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg).

⁶⁰ "Diary of David Zeisberger's and Gottlob Senseman's Journey to Goschgoschink on the Ohio and Their Arrival there 1768," Moravian Archives, box 135, folder 7, item 1: 80 (microfilm of typescript translation).

⁶¹ Elma Gray and L.R. Gray, *Wilderness Christians: The Moravian Mission to the Delaware Indians* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1956), chs. 2-4; Paul A. W. Wallace, *The Travels of John Heckewelder in Frontier America* (orig. pub. as *Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder*), (Pittsburgh, 1985), ch. 1, 27-31.

⁶² Wallace, *Travels of Heckewelder*, 41-43.

from the threats and temptations posed by expanding colonial settlements. The 1768 Fort Stanwix Treaty added to the urgency of such a move by placing the eastern Moravian towns within Pennsylvania's jurisdiction. Meanwhile, David Zeisberger had founded a new mission north of Venango, though not without sparking a conflict between those Munsees who sought conversion and their traditionalist kin and neighbors. Unwilling to remain in their bitterly divided towns, Zeisberger's new followers, led by the "blind Chief," Allemewi, searched for a new town site. They found one when, in 1768, "several strange Indians" appeared at their old town at Goschgosching, near present-day Tionesta, Pennsylvania, with a message from Glikkikan, chief councilor to Custaloga, inviting the Moravians and their flock to settle at the Kuskuskies.⁶³

Cooperation between the missionaries and Custaloga proved short-lived. Zeisberger and his followers settled some distance from Custaloga's people, creating at Friedenstadt what the Moravians hoped would be a model Christian community. Yet, by the end of 1770, conflict between those who saw the missionaries as a threat and those willing to accept—or at least to accommodate—the Moravians surfaced at the Kuskuskies. In fact, two concurrent and overlapping disputes arose. On the one hand, Zeisberger attempted to keep his mission town free of what he deemed the vices of Indian life: the drinking, "pagan" ceremonies, and the far less disciplined work regimens of settlements like the Kuskuskies. Some people outside Friedenstadt viewed this exclusiveness with suspicion and found the converts' way of life hardly worth following. On the other hand, the Kuskuskies were driven by factional disputes that pitted Custaloga and other traditionalists against others, including Glikkikan—now baptized by the Moravians as "Isaac"—who supported the nearby mission town. Throughout the early 1770s factional conflict continued unabated at the Kuskuskies; in 1772 the Ohio Seneca headman Kiashota learned that "one half of

⁶³ George H. Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among Indians in North America*, trans. Christian Ignatius La Trobe. 3 pts. (London, 1794), pt. 3, 35, 55-56; Archer Butler Hulbert and William Nathaniel Schwarze, eds., *The Diaries of Zeisberger Relating to the First Missions in the Ohio Basin* Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, vol. 21 (Columbus, 1912), 14, 30, 47; "Zeisberger's and Senseman's Journey," 53, 69, 76, 79, 86-87, 93.

the Indians" in the town "were offended with the other for hearkening to" the Moravians. And those who did come to the missionaries often left the Kuskuskies altogether, preferring the relative peace of Friedenstadt.⁶⁴

By the time Kiashota viewed the unhappy scene at the Kuskuskies, the Moravians had reluctantly admitted that the "enmity of the greater part of . . . Kaskaskunk and other savage neighbors rather increased" in response to their mission. Thereafter, Friedenstadt served only as a way station for eastern converts who, led by John Heckewelder, traveled to the Muskingum Valley at the invitation of the Delawares. There they and the former residents of Friedenstadt built new towns—Gnadenhütten and Schönbrunn—settlements that would later fall victim to vicious border warfare during the American Revolution.⁶⁵

Violence between Indians and border settlers had already become commonplace in the Ohio Country by the time Custaloga returned to the Beaver Valley. The Fort Stanwix Treaty not only forced the Moravians to relocate their missions but pushed the borders of British America to the Allegheny River itself.⁶⁶ Few speculators or settlers were content to remain east of the treaty line, however, and the colonial invasion of the Ohio Country intensified, as did violence whenever natives and invaders collided.⁶⁷ The object of much colonial attention lay far to the south of the Kuskuskies, in the Kanawha Valley and the lands beyond. This region, Kentucky, had been for over a generation both a hunting preserve and no-man's land between Ohio Indians and their southern Indian enemies. Now, in the early 1770s, the land became a battleground of another kind as Shawnee warriors challenged

⁶⁴ Loskiel, *History*, pt. 3, 56-58, 69, 71, 72-74; John Heckewelder, *A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren to the Delaware and Mohegan Indians, from Its Commencement in the Year 1740, to the Close of the Year 1808* (Philadelphia, 1820), 112-15; Franklin B. Dexter, ed., *Diary of David McClure, Doctor of Divinity, 1748-1820* (New York, 1899), 42.

⁶⁵ Heckewelder, *Narrative*, 112-15.

⁶⁶ Tanner et al., *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History*, 55 and map 12: "Changes in Sovereignty."

⁶⁷ Thomas Perkins Abernathy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution*, University of Virginia Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, Monograph no. 25 (New York, 1937), 82-83; Lord Dunmore to the Earl of Dartmouth, March 18, 1774, Great Britain, Colonial Office, *Documents of the American Revolution, 1770-1783*, ed. K.G. Davies, 21 vols. (Shannon, Ireland, 1972-1981), 8:65; Sir William Johnson to Dartmouth, June 20, 1774, NYCD, 8:460-61.

Virginian "long hunters" and squatters for control of the region. The crown, in order to avoid this sort of confrontation, had ordered the land beyond the Kanawha closed to settlement. Virginians honored the edict only in the breach. Meanwhile, their royal governor, Thomas Murray, Lord Dunmore, was locked in a boundary dispute with Pennsylvania; he backed men at Pittsburgh who declared the town and surrounding territory to be part of Virginia. As 1774 opened, intercolonial boundary disputes and continued friction in Kentucky created an explosive atmosphere. Open warfare between Indians and colonists came in March 1774 when two gangs of Virginians murdered Shawnees and Iroquois hunting parties, triggering what has since been known as Dunmore's War.

Natives at the Kuskuskies, like their neighbors to the west, must have followed events along the Ohio River with dread. Few Ohio Indians wanted a war; even the divided Shawnees only attacked Dunmore's army at Point Pleasant when it became clear that the Virginians were bent on destroying the Indians' towns north of the Ohio.⁶⁸ The Delawares and Munsees tried in the meantime—with no success—to convince both sides to negotiate their differences. Nevertheless, for a brief period in the troubled summer of 1774, the Kuskuskies once more drew attention as Delaware and Munsee headmen, among them Captain Pipe, White Eyes, and Killbuck, met in a vain search for peace between the Shawnees, Ohio Iroquois, and the Virginians.⁶⁹ By November the war had reached its climax at Point Pleasant and soon after ended with the Treaty of Camp Charlotte. By then, the Kuskuskies had slipped once more into obscurity as part of an increasingly marginal corner of Indian America, the town's significance limited to its role as a minor entrepot for Pennsylvanians trading with nations to the west.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Tanner et al., *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History*, 68, 72; *NYCD*, 8:466; *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser., 4:498-99; Arthur St. Clair to John Penn, 29 May 1774, *ibid.*, 501; Nicholas B. Wainwright, ed., "Turmoil at Pittsburgh: Diary of Augustine Prevost, 1774," *PMHB* 85(1961), 151-52.

⁶⁹ George Croghan to John Connolly and Alexander McKee, May 4, 1774, Croghan Papers, sec. 35 (Cadwallader Collection, HSP); *ibid.*, May 5, 1774; "Diary of Augustine Prevost," 134-35, 142, 149; Loskiel, *History*, pt. 3, 94; *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser., 4:500; White Eyes to Virginia and Pennsylvania, July 23, 1774, *ibid.*, 552-53.

⁷⁰ St. Clair to John Penn, July 17, 1774, William Henry Smith, ed., *The St. Clair Papers: The Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair . . . with His Correspondence and Other Papers*, (2 vols., Cincinnati, 1882), 1:326.

Dunmore's War, while excluding the Shawnees from Kentucky, did nothing to restore peace to the volatile Ohio Country, a region soon torn apart once more as the outbreak of revolution in the colonies pitted Indians, Americans, and British in a struggle over the Middle West reminiscent of the earlier Seven Years' War. And it was during the Revolution that the final, almost anti-climactic, events in the history of the Kuskuskie took place. In the first weeks of 1778, Pennsylvania militia led by General Edward Hand, bent on destroying a British outpost on the Cuyahoga River, left Pittsburgh on a march that took them up the Beaver Valley to the now largely abandoned Kuskuskie towns. There, in February, some of Hand's ill-disciplined force murdered at least two of the small party of Indians found on the site. This and similar brutality at the Salt Licks marked the end of what became known as the "Squaw Campaign"—so named because of the Indian women killed by the troops.⁷¹ The murders were only the latest episodes in a spiraling cycle of violence that became the hallmark of American-Indian encounters during and after the Revolution from the Mohawk Valley to the Georgia foothills.

Yet, if the senseless killing of Indians by Hand's militia had become a commonplace, the "Squaw Campaign" nevertheless marked a small, but not insignificant, watershed in regional history. The natives' town at the Kuskuskie was at best a tiny enclave in what was already, in 1778, becoming part of the nascent United States. For a half century the residents of the Kuskusky towns and their neighbors had waged a campaign to secure their lands and sovereignty, employing trade and diplomatic skill as well as bullets. Lacking strong native or European allies and faced with a tide of American settlement they could not stem alone, the Ohio Indians ultimately lost to the invaders. Hand's troops marched north through land that would soon lie within the Old Northwest of the new North American empire.

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⁷¹ Edward G. Williams, *Fort Pitt and the Revolution* (Pittsburgh, 1978), 79-80; Randolph C. Downes, *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio: A Narrative of Indian Affairs in the Upper Ohio Valley Until 1795* (Pittsburgh, 1940), 211, on the "Squaw Campaign" and chs. 9-13 on the final transformation of the Ohio Country; Tanner et al., *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History*, map 14: "Frontier in Transition 1774-1794: Expeditions into the Northwest Indian Country."