

Chapter 9

Clash Redux

Background Text and Artifact Labels

Introduction

In May 1754, a skirmish among British-American, French-Canadian, and American Indian fighters in a remote mountain glen near present-day Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, sparked a conflict that quickly spread across half of North America. Within a few years, a war that historians recognize as the first global conflict touched four continents and millions of people from the Mississippi Valley to the Philippines. No single name for this clash of empires is universally recognized: the European and overseas phases, which lasted from 1756 - 1763, have long been known as the Seven Years ' War. The American phase, which began in 1754 and lasted through the fall of New France in 1760, is commonly known as the French and Indian War, or to modern French Canadians as the War of the Conquest. In broad outline, this struggle might be thought of as the British, French and Indian War.

This conflict profoundly shaped the modern world. During the two centuries before the skirmish that brought infamy to a young George Washington, the British, French, Spanish, Dutch, and Swedish empires had competed for control and commerce in North America. In this struggle, Native American held the balance of power by playing the Europeans off one another. The series of wars and revolutions that began in 1754 reshaped the political and cultural landscape of North America. France was stripped of its North American empire, and Britain's efforts to control the vast territory it unexpectedly acquired in 1763 led to rebellion and the creation of the United States and Canada. The breakdown of the old balance of power had tragic consequences for Native Americans. Their struggle for sovereignty and independence still resonate today.

Cannons from the Allegheny Arsenal Memorial Bronze

Dating to the time of the French and Indian War, these cannons were later captured from the British army by the Americans at the battle of Saratoga, 1777. In the nineteenth century they were part of a monument at the Allegheny Arsenal in Pittsburgh. The monument was demolished in the twentieth century, and the Carnegie Institute preserved the cannons for the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the American Revolution.

Can you find these interesting markings in the bronze, smooth bore barrels. The “L” in the middle of the barrel represents Sir John Ligonier, the British head of ordnance and name sake of Fort Ligonier. The dates “1755” and “1761” are the years the cannons were cast. The crest “GR 2” stands for George Rex or King George II of England. “GR 3” stands for King George III.

An Expedition from Canada

In early 1753, 2,000 French soldiers, Canadian militiamen, and Indian allies set out from Montreal on an arduous military campaign to the west. Their mission was to build a series of forts on La Belle Riviere (“the Beautiful River”), known to Englishmen and Iroquois Indians as the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers. For many, the very survival of New France rested on the outcome of this expedition.

New France was more than 150 years old in 1753. Quebec, the first permanent French settlement, had been founded just a year after Jamestown in Virginia. Most of the approximately 70,000 French-speaking inhabitants, along with thousands of enslaved Africans and American Indians, lived along the St. Lawrence River in Canada, but widely scattered settlements, religious missions, trading posts, and forts stretched from Isle Royale and Acadia to the Illinois country and Louisiana.

Adapting to Conditions

Travelers in New France used many objects and technologies borrowed from the native peoples of North America. One of the most useful items on a continent crisscrossed by rivers and lakes was the birch bark canoe. By the 1740s, canoes up to 36 feet long paddled by a crew of eight to 10 men--carried as much as 5,000 pounds of cargo.

Canadians and French soldiers serving in the colony frequently adopted articles of Native American dress, including moccasins, leggings, and breechclouts that made travel easier. Snowshoes made it possible to move about the country in winter. Woven burden straps and wooden toboggans allowed heavy loads to cross road-less lands.

Embelton Figure:

The Portage: An Iroquois Warrior and Canadian Militiaman at Presque Isle, 1753-54

All Canadian males between the ages of 16 and 60 were enrolled in the militia company of their home parish or city neighborhood, creating a force of about 13,000 men in 1750. Militiamen were required to maintain arms and ammunition, train periodically (mostly by firing at targets), and turn out for unpaid military service when called upon. Those who had experience paddling canoes or fighting enemy Indians or English colonists were particularly prized for military campaigns. "One recognizes them easily," a French officer later observed, "by their looks, by their size, and because all of them are tattooed on their bodies. ...One would not pass for a man among the Indians of the Far West if he had not had himself tattooed."

C'arte d'un voyage fait dans la Belle Rivière en la Nouvelle France, by Révérend Père

Bonnecamps, 1749

Governor la Galissonnière dispatched Canadian officer Pierre-Joseph Céloron de Blainville (1693-1759) to the Ohio River in June 1749 with 200 French, Canadian, and allied Indian fighters. Their task was to drive off British traders and press the Ohio Indians into alliance with the French. Jesuit chaplain Joseph-Pierre de Bonnecamps (1707-1790), an accomplished mathematician and cartographer, accompanied the expedition and produced this map of the river and region.

Courtesy of Bibliothèque historique centrale de la Marine, Recueil 67, no. 21

Céloron plate, 1749

Céloron plate (photo)

To assert France's territorial claims to the Ohio Valley, Céloron buried engraved lead plates as the expedition moved through the region. In 1798, a group of boys playing near the mouth of the Muskingum River in Ohio found this original plate from the expedition. Half was melted down for bullets before its significance was realized. Another Céloron plate was found along the Ohio River in 1848.

Courtesy of American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

Courtesy of Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia

A People Between

The French expedition to the Ohio in 1753-54 entered the crossroads of 18th-century Native America. Depopulated in the 1600s by imported European diseases, intertribal warfare, and drought, the upper Ohio Valley became a rich hunting ground and refuge for displaced peoples during the half century before the French invasion. The diverse groups who came to be known as "Ohio Indians" emigrated from across eastern North America. They included Lenapes, Munsees, and Shawnees from the Delaware Valley; Nanticokes from the Chesapeake; Mahicans from the Hudson Valley; Wyandots from near Detroit; and Iroquois families from as far away as the St. Lawrence Valley. All formed in new communities before 1753.

Most of these people shared the bitter experience of European colonial encroachment and dispossession, in some cases aided by the Iroquois Confederacy. All were prepared to defend tenaciously their independence in this new homeland.

Commercial Hunting

In the early 1700s, the Ohio Country boasted one of the richest hunting grounds in northeastern North America. Large populations of whitetail deer and fur-bearing animals like beaver and otter drew native hunters and their families from distant regions. These skins and furs were exchanged for European manufactured goods upon which many Indian peoples had come to depend.

Demand for deerskins was particularly high in the British colonies. By 1753, Pennsylvania and Virginia-based traders carried textiles and clothing, firearms, ammunition, cooking utensils, and other goods across the Allegheny Mountains on horseback each year. Canadian merchants favored the more luxurious furs from northern lands but began sending canoes with trade goods to the "Beautiful River" around 1750.

The Indian Fashion

The rivalry between British and French empires created many dangers for American Indians, but the Europeans' competition for allies also empowered native peoples to extract gifts and favorable terms of trade. By 1753, most eastern American Indians had access to European manufactured goods for well over a century. Many groups became dependent on imported garments and cloth, firearms, ammunition, and other items. The 18th-century "Indian Fashion" incorporated items that could only be obtained through exchange and gift-giving. Selectively adopting these manufactured goods, native peoples developed a rich style of dress, but one that still drew on traditional practices, ideas, and technology.

Forest Diplomacy

The struggle for American Indian sovereignty was waged in the council room as much as on the battlefield. Indian groups could often play the British and French off one another. A decade before the 1753 Ohio expedition, an Iroquois leader had warned a Pennsylvania official that "they were not unacquainted with their own true Interests; and therefore would not join with either Nation [Britain or France] in the War, unless compelled to it for their own Preservation: That hitherto, from their Situation and Alliances, they had been courted by both; but should either prevail so far as to drive the other out of the Country, they should be no longer considered, Presents would be no longer made to them, and in the End they should be obliged to submit to such Laws, as the conquerors should think fit to impose on them. "

	Embelton Figure: <u>Tanaghrisson</u>
The size and boldness of the French and Indian force that invaded the Ohio Valley in 1753 alarmed the residents, who met to consider a response. Opinions were divided, for some considered the French a useful ally against the British colonies, particularly Virginia. The	

greatest opposition to the French came from a Seneca chief named Tanaghrisson. Traveling from his home near the Forks of the Ohio (now Pittsburgh) to the French camp at Presque Isle on Lake Erie, Tanaghrisson presented a string of wampum, warning: "Both you and the English are White. We live in a Country between, therefore the Land does not belong either to one or the other; but the GREAT BEING above allow'd it to be a Place of residence for us; so Fathers, I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our Brothers the English, for I will keep you at arms' length."

A Young Virginian's Volley

Following the founding of Virginia in 1607, a string of British colonies developed along the Atlantic seaboard. Immigration and natural growth swelled the colonial population to more than 1.5 million by 1750, creating a constant demand for new agricultural land. Although most British colonists lived only a few days' travel from the coast, colonial land claims extended far into the North American interior. French and American Indian claims to those same lands made conflict inevitable.

By the end of the 1740s, British officials viewed with alarm the prospect of a French Empire stretching uninterrupted from Canada to Louisiana. The riches that would flow to France would threaten the very existence of the British colonies, and perhaps Great Britain itself. British strategists believed expansion across the Appalachian Mountains was critical to the security and prosperity of Britain's Atlantic Empire.

A Warning to the French

France and Britain were officially at peace in 1753. The last war between them had ended in 1748, but disputes over colonial boundaries remained. British officials viewed French activities from Acadia to the Ohio Valley as encroachments. Virginia Governor Robert Dinwiddie strongly advocated confronting the French. In 1749, Virginia land speculators of the newly formed Ohio Company obtained a land grant near the Forks of the Ohio River (now Pittsburgh), but their plans to erect a fort and settlement there were threatened by New France Governor Duquesne's expedition. In October 1753, Dinwiddie and his council dispatched George Washington, a young militia officer, to gather intelligence and deliver a warning to the French commander on the Ohio.

The Ohio Expedition of 1754

When Major George Washington returned with confirmation of French intentions in January 1754, Governor Dinwiddie moved quickly to raise an army. This task was far more complicated in the British colonies than in New France. On paper, the Virginia militia alone (14,000 men) outnumbered its Canadian counterpart, but unlike the Canadians, Virginia militiamen had not participated in a major military campaign for generations. Support from other British colonies was weak. With few Indian allies or British soldiers available for defense, Virginia and other colonies had, when the need arose, raised "provincial" troops for a limited term of service. Dinwiddie created such a regiment for the Ohio expedition, the first detachment of which set out in April under newly promoted Lieutenant Colonel Washington.

A Volley Fired by A Young Virginian

While the Virginians' marched to the Forks of the Ohio, the French drove off an advance party of workmen and begun building Fort Duquesne. Washington was still 60 miles away when Seneca chief Tanaghrisson sent warning of an enemy party nearby. On the morning of May 28, 1754, Washington and 40 soldiers attacked Ensign Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville and his detachment of Canadian militia. The brief, chaotic firefight ended with the wounded Jumonville producing a written summons similar to the one Washington had carried to the French six months before. Tanaghrisson, whose demands that the French leave his country had been ignored and belittled, killed Jumonville with a blow from his tomahawk, saying, "thou art not yet dead, my Father." Looking back on this event years later, British statesman Horace Walpole

observed, "The volley fired by a young Virginian in the backwoods of America set the world on fire."

Revenge at the Great Meadows

Expecting retaliation for his attack on Jumonville, Washington set his men to building a small fort at the nearby Great Meadows. This natural clearing in the heavily timbered Allegheny Mountains seemed "a charming field for an encounter" to the inexperienced Virginian, who expected a European-style battle in the open. His expectations were dashed on July 3, 1754, when Jumonville's brother, using the cover of the surrounding forest, attacked with 500 French soldiers and Canadian militiamen and 100 allied warriors. The action quickly settled into an uneven firefight, with bullets raining down on Fort Necessity from wooded hillsides nearby.

By evening, one-third of Washington's force was dead or wounded. Heavy thunderstorms and constant firing left most defenders' firearms useless. When his demoralized soldiers broke into the rum supply, Washington had little choice but to surrender. The French commander permitted the battered force to return to Virginia, but one of the terms of the capitulation terms assigned Washington responsibility for Jumonville's "assassination."

Robert Dinwiddie, oil on canvas, artist unknown, c. 1760-65

Scottish merchant Robert Dinwiddie served as Virginia's lieutenant-governor from 1751-1758. A strong supporter of extending British control into the North American interior, Dinwiddie took the lead in countering French moves in the Ohio Country.

Courtesy of National Portrait Gallery, London

Proclamation by Robert Dinwiddie, 1754

In preparation for the 1754 campaign to drive the French from the Ohio Valley, Governor Dinwiddie offered land bounties to encourage enlistments in the Virginia Regiment. These claims later produced tensions when British officials attempted to restrict settlement on American Indian lands west of the Appalachian Mountains.

Courtesy of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California

Treaty of Fort Necessity, 3 July 1754

George Washington, co-commander
Captain James Mackay, and French

commander Louis Coulon de Villiers signed this capitulation at the Great Meadows shortly before midnight on July 3, 1754. This copy was dispatched to France, where it disappeared during the dispersal of official papers during the French Revolution. It remained in private hands until it was returned to North America in the 20th century.

Courtesy of Royal Ontario Museum. Gift of Dr. Sigmund Samuel

Charming Field for an Encounter, oil on canvas, by Robert Griffing, 2002

Artist Robert Griffing captures the opening moments of the July 3, 1754, battle at Fort Necessity. Alerted by a sentry's musket fire, Washington ordered his men to form for an engagement. He advanced with the British regulars of Captain James Mackay's South Carolina Independent Company, but suddenly discovered that the French, Canadian, and American Indian forces had no intention of fighting in the open.

Courtesy of National Park Service, Fort Necessity National Battlefield

Embelton Figure: George Washington, July 4, 1754

Washington signed a surrender document written entirely in French, and he blamed Dutch Captain Jacob Van Braam's poor translation for his seeming admission of murdering an envoy. Still, his first command ended with a dark stain on his reputation. "I wish Washington had acted with prudence and circumspection requisite in an officer of his rank," New York Indian agent William Johnson observed. Tanaghrisson, who had left Fort Necessity in disgust before the battle at Great Meadows, later complained that Washington foolishly "thought the French would come up to him in open field."

Not surprisingly, the most damning condemnation came from Canada. Washington's journal fell into the hands of Governor Duquesne, who observed, "He lies a great deal in order to justify the assassination of Sieur de Jumonville, which has recoiled upon him and which he was stupid enough to admit in his capitulation. ...There is nothing more unworthy, lower, or even blacker than the opinions and way of thinking of this Washington!"

The Northern Campaigns

News of the French and Indian victory at Fort Necessity reached Albany, New York, during a treaty conference between representatives of six northern British colonies and the Iroquois Confederacy. "Brethren," the Mohawk leader Theyanoguin (known as Hendrick) told the colonial delegates, "the Governor of Virginia and the Governor of Canada are both quarrelling about lands which belong to us, and such a quarrel as this may end in our destruction; they fight who shall have the land."

This struggle spread in 1755 to the borderlands between Canada, New York, New England, and Iroquoia. For five years, fighting centered on control of two strategic corridors. A north-south route linked Montreal and New York by Lake Champlain and the Hudson River. An east-west passage ran between Lake Ontario and Albany, following the Mohawk Valley. Tens of thousands of combatants clashed in these campaigns before the surprising conclusion of the conflict in 1760.

Lake of the Blessed Sacrament

The long, narrow body of water known as Lake Saint Sacrament to Canadians and as Lake George (after 1755) to British colonists flows north from the fringes of the Adirondack Mountains into Lake Champlain. During peacetime, hunters and trappers, traders and smugglers used this route between Canada, Albany, and New England. During the frequent colonial wars, raiding parties and armies, captives and plunder traveled up and down the placid waters.

From their bases at Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) in the north and Fort William Henry in the south, British, French, and Indian forces struggled desperately for control of this strategic lake. For a few months each year, the camps and garrisons along its shores made the region the most densely populated place in North America.

An Army Drawn from All Parts of the Globe

"God knows the difficulties I labour under," British General John Forbes complained in 1758, observing that the army under his command was "newly raised and collected from all parts of the globe." The British war effort brought together tens of thousands of men (and thousands of women and children) from across the Atlantic World. Only a third of British soldiers in North America were native-born Englishmen. Two-thirds were Scots and Irish, with the remainder a mixture of Germans, Swiss, and other Europeans (including Hungarians and Norwegians), as well as American colonists. In some British camps, visitors were as likely to hear Scottish Gaelic or German as English. A few American Indians even carried arms and wore the red coats of the British army.

Adapting to Conditions

"You might as well send a Cow in pursuit of a Hare," Virginia provincial officer Adam Stephen observed in 1755, "as an English Soldier loaded in their way with a Coat, Jacket &c. &c. &c. after Canadians in their Shirts, who can shoot and run well, or Naked Indians accustomed to the Woods." A fully loaded British soldier on the march carried at least 63 pounds of clothing, arms, and equipment. But during the American war, British commanders quickly adapted to the challenges of forest campaigning, teaching their soldiers to take cover behind trees like their Canadian, Indian, and American

counterparts. Specially raised units of rangers and "light infantry" with lighter clothing, arms, and equipment specialized in skirmishes and irregular warfare.

A French or Canadian Way of War?

The two leaders responsible for defending New France, Canadian Governor-General Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil and French commander Marquis de Montcalm, argued passionately about tactics and strategy. Vaudreuil understood that Canada had for generations held out against the British colonies by employing Indian allies and guerilla tactics to attack frontier settlements. Canadian militia and the Troupes de la Marine excelled in this kind of warfare, which kept their enemies on the defensive and unable to invade New France. To a European professional such as Montcalm, these tactics seemed uncivilized. Montcalm's French regulars were too few to dismiss his Canadian and Indian allies, but he increasingly settled into a static defense against British assaults. When large British expeditions finally reached the St. Lawrence Valley in 1759-60, Canada capitulated.

Struggle for Lake Saint Sacrament/Lake George

Two bloody actions have long captured the imagination of historians and novelists, tourists and moviemakers. In August 1757, a force of French, Canadian, and Indian fighters under Louis-Joseph de Montcalm besieged Fort William Henry for three days. When the defeated British and Americans began to march off according to terms negotiated without Montcalm's Indian allies, angry warriors seized prisoners. Some who were sick, wounded, or those who resisted were killed. This incident inspired James Fenimore Cooper's novel *Last of the Mohicans* (1826), perhaps the best-known story about the French and Indian War.

The British returned in 1758 with 16,000 British and American soldiers. On July 8, a force of only 3,600 French soldiers defeated this powerful army at Fort Carillon when the British commander ordered a direct assault on Montcalm's fortified position. The carnage of this day moved Scottish writer Robert Lewis Stevenson to pen the poem *Ticonderoga: "A Legend of the West Highlands"* (1882).

Grenadiers of the 46th, 47th, and 48th Regiments, by David Morier, 1751

Swiss artist David Morier painted these British grenadiers on the eve of the French and Indian War. All three regiments served in North America during the 1750s.

Originally designated to throw iron hand grenades in action, these soldiers retained the distinctive embroidered caps and pierced brass match cases on their shoulder belts that marked their elite status.

Courtesy of The Royal Collection © 2005, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

General Johnson Saving a Wounded French Officer, oil on canvas, by Benjamin West, c. 1764-1768

This painting, one of Pennsylvania-born artist Benjamin West's earliest historical works, is believed to commemorate an incident during the 1759 British siege of

French Fort Niagara. On July 24, British, provincial, and Iroquois fighters intercepted a French, Canadian, and Indian relief force from the Ohio Valley and Detroit. Iroquois warriors participated in the rout, later known as the Battle of La Belle Famille.

Courtesy of Derby Museums and Art Gallery, UK

Fort Carillon powder horn, 1759

British and American forces under Abercromby's successor, Jeffrey Amherst, returned to attack Fort Carillon in 1759. Short on men and supplies and with British General James Wolfe's army besieging Quebec to the north, the garrison partially destroyed Fort Carillon and retreated north in July 1759. This powder horn, which commemorates Amherst's victory, belonged to provincial soldiers Timothy Clement and David Pratt.

Courtesy of James B. Richardson III

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Embelton Figure: John Bush near Lake George, 1755

"Honorable Sir," an aged George Bush wrote in a September 1758 plea for help to the colonial governor of Massachusetts, "I have a Son In Captivity at Cannaday if he be Living that was Taken Last year at Lake George. ...His name is John Bush." This free Black farmer, an ex-slave from South America, had already lost two sons in the war. Now, another was imprisoned. Thirty-year-old John Bush had served in the colony's militia and provincial forces since 1747, spending the winter of 1755-56 at Fort William Henry. He was captured when the fort fell to French and Indian forces in August 1757. Bush died the following year aboard a ship carrying prisoners to France.

Literate and possessing a steady hand, John Bush fashioned exquisitely engraved powder horns on the Lake George frontier in 1755-56. His work inspired other artists who developed a unique style of powder horn engraving that flourished in New England through the end of the American Revolution

The Back Country War

"Virginia is a Country Young at War," George Washington observed two and a half years after his defeat at Fort Necessity: "Until the breaking out of these disturbances [it] has lived in the most profound and Tranquil peace; never studying war nor warfare." Washington's comments characterize as well the neighboring colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania, which began the 1750s with weak or no militias and few forts or public stores of arms.

After a 1755 British expedition failed to capture Fort Duquesne, French, Canadian, and Indian fighters launched devastating raids against the Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia back countries. Similar attacks had long protected New France and Indian nations. The British would not retake the Forks of the Ohio until 1758, when they finally persuaded the Ohio Indians that their homelands would be protected from encroachment only if they would ally against the French.

March to the Monongahela

Hoping to counter French encroachments without starting a general war, British officials decided to send more regular troops and a British commander to North America in 1755. Sixty-year-old Major General Edward Braddock personally led the expedition against Fort Duquesne. George Washington, who had resigned from the Virginia Regiment, joined the campaign as one of Braddock's aides.

French commander Captain Claude-Pierre Pecauly de Contrecoeur knew that Fort Duquesne's wood and earth walls could not withstand a siege by Braddock's formidable artillery and 1,400 soldiers. His only hope lay in a preemptive attack on the British before they reached the Forks of the Ohio. On July 9, 1755, a force of 637 Indian warriors joined 250 French and Canadian fighters to gain a stunning victory.

The French, Canadian and Indian force set out from Fort Duquesne hoping to ambush Braddock's column nine miles to the east as it forded the Monongahela River. Running through the forest in long compact columns, the seasoned fighters were shocked as they neared the fording place when they spotted British soldiers ahead. They were too late! Braddock's army of 1400 had already crossed the Monongahela River. Fife and drums played the "Grenadier's March".

"A finer site could not have been beheld, the shining barrels of the muskets, the excellent order of the men, cleanliness of their appearance, the joy depicted on every face at being so near Fort Duquesne, the highest object of their wishes, the music re-echoed through the mountains. "hugg' ed themselves with joy at our good luck in having surmounted our greatest difficulties, and too hastily concluded the Enemy never would dare to oppose us. "

American Indian Warfare

"I have often heard the British officers call the Indians undisciplined savages," Pennsylvanian James Smith remarked after five years' captivity among the Ohio Indians, "which is a capital mistake." Smith observed, "They are under good command, and are punctual in obeying orders; they can act in concert, and when their officers lay a plan and give orders, they will cheerfully unite."

Many Europeans considered native war practices cruel and uncivilized, and few understood the cultural meanings behind them. The widespread tradition of "mourning war" helps explain these customs. Faced with devastating losses from disease and conflict, many families and communities eased their grief for lost kin by adopting war captives into their nations. "They rarely kill those who can be taken prisoner," a veteran French officer observed of the Iroquois, "because the honor and advantage of victory lie in bringing prisoners back to the village." Nonetheless, the scalp or ritual torture of a captive sometimes took the place of adoption.

Defending the Back country

Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia were unprepared when, with French support, Delaware, Shawnee, and other warriors attacked unprotected frontier settlements after Braddock's defeat. Swift raids by war parties with as few as a dozen fighters created thousands of refugees, stretching from the Delaware Water Gap in eastern Pennsylvania to the Carolina back country. More than 1,000 inhabitants were carried into captivity; perhaps 1,500 more lost their lives in the attacks.

To counter this threat, the provinces raised regiments of soldiers and erected a line of forts and blockhouses along the eastern edge of the Allegheny Mountains. This stationary defense proved ineffective against the raiders, though it provided valuable military experience to men like George Washington.

The Fall of Fort Duquesne

Three years after Braddock's defeat, British Brigadier General John Forbes gathered an army "collected from all parts of the globe," including a regiment of Scottish Highlanders, German-speaking redcoats, and Cherokee warriors from the southern Appalachian Mountains.

Forbes understood better than most British commanders that the key to defeating the outnumbered and poorly supplied French was to lure away their allies. He joined provincial and royal officials in pledging that the Ohio Indians' lands would be protected from colonial expansion if they withdrew support for the French. This was a welcome message to peoples weary of war and eager to be free of French and British occupation.

Forbes' army of more than 5,000 men marched the final 50 miles to the Forks of the Ohio in November 1758. With only a few hundred French and Canadian defenders on hand, the French commander of Fort Duquesne destroyed the fort and withdrew. Forbes claimed the ruins and renamed them Pittsburgh after British Prime Minister William Pitt.

Benjamin Franklin, oil on canvas, by Mason Chamberlain, 1762
Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) was already an internationally recognized scientist when conflict broke out in the Ohio Valley in 1754. The following spring, Franklin met General Braddock during the army's march through Maryland, and arranged to dispatch from Pennsylvania 150 badly needed wagons with teams and drivers. Years later, Franklin

remembered Braddock as a brave officer who underestimated the skill of his enemy. *Courtesy of Philadelphia Museum of Art: Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Wharton Sinkler, 1956*

Braddock's Defeat, oil on canvas, by Edwin Willard Deming, 1903
American artist Edwin Willard Deming (1860-1942) dramatized the July 9, 1755 Battle of the Monongahela from the French-allied Indian perspective in this stirring

painting. More than 600 warriors, supported by about 200 Canadian and French soldiers, took part in the action. In this scene, Ottawa-French leader Charles Langlade (left foreground, raised fist) offers encouragement as George Washington reaches for the wounded General Braddock. *Courtesy of Wisconsin Historical Society, Image ID: 1900*

Dunbar's Camp Debris, c.1755

These fragments of military and vehicle hardware were lost or destroyed in the aftermath of the July 9, 1755 Battle of the Monongahela. Survivors of the action fled to the encampment of the second division of Braddock's army, located near the site of the Jumonville skirmish. Before he died of his wounds, Braddock ordered Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Dunbar to destroy the remaining military supplies and retreat to the settlements.

Courtesy of James B. Richardson III, Douglas Angeloni, and the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania

Diorama, Battle of the Monongahela

Braddock's Defeat, July 9, 1755

[British side of Diorama]

Pittsburgh model maker Lee Howard depicts the July 9, 1755, Battle of the Monongahela, also known as Braddock's Defeat. Crowded along a narrow road under a high canopy of forest (cleared away here to reveal troop positions), British and American forces stood their ground for

about three hours before heavy casualties and the loss of their commander sparked a panicked retreat back across the river.

[French side of Diorama]

Braddock's army faced a force of 36 officers and 72 regular soldiers of the colony troops, 146 Canadian militia, and 736 Indian fighters, mostly from nations in the Great Lakes region and Canada's St. Lawrence Valley. Hoping to ambush the British column as it forded the Monongahela River at Turtle Creek, these allied fighters arrived too late, encountering British forces already formed in column. Quickly taking cover, they inflicted terrible damage on their British and American opponents.

Diorama by J. Lee Howard, 2005

An Indian War chief completely equipped with a scalp in his hand, pen and ink and watercolor, by George Townshend, 1751-1758

This sketch captures the light dress, arms, and equipment favored by eastern American Indian fighters on military campaigns. After Braddock's Defeat, Virginia officer Adam Stephen noted, "you might as well send a Cow in pursuit of a Hare as an English Soldier loaded in their way with a Coat, Jacket &c. after Canadians in their Shirts, who can shoot and run well, or naked Indians accustomed to the Woods."

Courtesy of National Portrait Gallery, London

Embelton Figure: Martin Lucornery, Nattle fo the Monogahela, July 9, 1755

Private Martin Lucomey of the British Independent Company of New York was near the rear of Braddock's column when shots rang out far ahead. As the firing increased, Hungarian-born Lucomey heard through the forest in front of him the fearful sound of Indian warriors' shouts. Virginia Captain Adam Stephen, stationed nearby, recalled that the Indians and Canadians "kept on their Bellies in the Bushes and behind the Trees, and took particular Aim at Our Men, and Officers especially."

Most of the British troops stood helplessly in ranks or huddled together in the open, easy targets for the deadly fire that poured on them from every side. But Stephen observed that the Virginians and Lucomey's fellow Independents "behaved better and suffered much." A comrade recalled that Martin, who spoke little English, acted bravely that afternoon, "watching his opportunity to fire upon the enemy" from behind a tree. When asked why he wept toward the end of the battle, Lucornery replied, "it was from Grief for seeing the English retreating." In a final

act of heroism, he helped carry the mortally wounded General Braddock from the field.

The Fight for Canada

From 1755 to 1760, British, French, and American Indians engaged in some of the largest and most dramatic military operations of the American war. Campaigns in Atlantic Canada and the St. Lawrence Valley involved joint operations between naval and land forces, as well as large-scale European-style sieges employing heavy artillery and complex engineering earthworks. The contrast between these operations and the campaigns in the American interior reveal both the remarkable military power that 18th-century empires could produce far from Europe and the limits of that power. The dominance of regular European troops and fleets in these campaigns reinforced the contempt shared by most Europeans toward native and colonial fighters. This perspective shaped profoundly the fate of Britain's American empire after the fall of Canada.

Acadia

French settlement in Acadia (now western Nova Scotia, eastern New Brunswick, and northeastern Maine) began in the early 1600s. France ceded Acadian territory to the British in 1713, but by 1750, more than 13,000 French-speaking inhabitants were living along the region's extensive coastline. The boundaries were still in dispute when conflict broke out in the Ohio country in 1754. Most Acadians living in British territory had remained neutral during previous conflicts, but in 1755, fear of insurgency and desire for the Acadians' lands and fishing grounds led New England and British forces to ruthlessly expel the inhabitants. This ethnic displacement scattered Acadians across the British colonies and the larger Atlantic world. Those who settled in Louisiana came to be known as "Cajuns," from the word "Acadian."

Louisburg

Founded in 1719 as a counterweight to British Nova Scotia, the fortress and naval base of Louisburg on Isle Royale (Cape Breton Island) quickly grew into one of the busiest ports in North America. Louisburg's harbor protected French fleets guarding the rich fishing grounds as well as the sea approach to Canada. In 1745, an army of New Englanders and the Royal Navy besieged and took the port, which subsequently returned to France by the peace treaty of 1748. During the 1750s, British forces based in Halifax (founded in 1749) were dispatched to fight against French, Canadian, and Acadian fighters as well as Mi'kmaq, Abenaki, and other warriors who opposed British colonial expansion. French ships based at Louisburg continued to provide credible defense for Canada until the successful British siege of 1758.

Quebec

Founded by Samuel de Champlain in 1608, Quebec, the capital of New France, was blessed with natural defenses in the form of high cliffs and a difficult water approach from the Atlantic Ocean. By 1750, it housed grand public buildings and more than 5,000 inhabitants. British commander James Wolfe arrived in June 1759 with a fleet of 141 vessels, almost 10,000 soldiers, and 13,000 sailors. French commander Montcalm had fewer than 4,000 French regulars, 12,000 militia and Troupes de la Marine, and perhaps 1,800 warriors from the Great Lakes and Canada to defend the city and many miles of countryside. After months of ineffective probing attacks and a terror campaign that destroyed 1,400 Canadian farms, Wolfe unexpectedly landed a force west of the city. On September 13, 1759, British troops prevailed in a battle that left both Wolfe and Montcalm dead.

The Fall of Canada

By 1760, France's early success against Britain and her allies was only a distant memory. Denied reinforcements or significant supplies since 1757, French and Canadian forces could only attempt to hold territory with the hope that peace would soon come. Native peoples who had allied themselves with the French suffered from the loss of supplies as well. Support from the Ohio nations, then other Indians, steadily eroded, further weakening New France. Iroquois communities in Canada and the heartland of the Confederacy remained divided through 1759, when many leaders concluded it was wise to forge good relations with the likely winners. More

than 800 warriors accompanied one of the three British armies converging on Montreal in September 1760. The city capitulated to Major General Jeffery Amherst five years to the day after the Battle of Lake George/Saint Sacrament.

The Death of General Wolfe, oil on canvas, by Benjamin West, 1776

Pennsylvania-born artist Benjamin West's allegorical painting of Wolfe's death at the Battle of Quebec is one of most widely recognized images of the French and Indian War. In fact, the mortally wounded Wolfe died well behind British lines with only a few attendants.

Courtesy of William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan

Embleton Figure: Honor in Defeat: An Officer of the Royal-Roussillon Regiment at Montreal, September 7, 1760

This figure represents an anonymous French officer at the capitulation of New France in September, 1760. In retaliation for what he considered French collusion in the "massacre" at Fort William on Lake George in 1757, British Commander-in-Chief Jeffrey Amherst denied the honors of war to French forces upon the capitulation of Montreal in 1760. On the evening of September 7, 1760, French officers burned the regimental flags they had carried during the difficult campaigns in defense of New France (Canada) rather than surrender them to the victorious British.

The World on Fire

"The volley fired by a young Virginian in the backwoods of America," 18th-century British statesman Horace Walpole observed, "set the world on fire." Two hundred years later, another British statesman, Winston Churchill, recognized the conflict that began with the death of Ensign Jumonville as the first world war. Outside North America, where fighting raged for two years before a formal declaration of war between Britain and France, the conflict became known as the Seven Years' War. The fighting spread to Europe and India in 1756, and to the West Indies, Africa, and the Philippines before the end of the conflict in 1763. Fleets clashed in a far-ranging naval war, and in the end, the political map of Europe, America, and other parts of the globe was transformed. The Seven Years' War (1756-1763) shaped the second half of the 18th century as profoundly as World War II (1939-1945) did the 20th century.

The European War

Britain, France, and their European allies viewed the peace that ended the War of the Austrian Succession (1741-1748) as only a temporary truce. Britain and France jockeyed for position overseas, and fighting broke out in North America in 1754. By 1756, the major powers had realigned themselves for the anticipated resumption of war: Britain and Prussia faced France, Austria, and Russia, and both alliances included lesser European powers. A formal declaration of war came in April 1756, when French forces under the Marquis de La Galissoniere besieged the British territory of Minorca in the Mediterranean Sea.

The human scale of the European conflict dwarfed the American phase of the war. Armies of more than 100,000 soldiers routinely campaigned in Central Europe, whereas the largest British expeditionary force in North America numbered less than 25,000.

West Africa

British Prime Minister William Pitt sought to offset France's imposing military strength in Europe by striking forcefully at French colonies in North America, the West Indies, Africa, and India. In 1758, Pitt dispatched expeditions against French trading stations on the west coast of Africa, a rich source of gold dust, ivory, gum arabic, and slaves. Among the human cargo taken aboard British ships during the Seven Years' War was a young girl purchased by the prosperous Wheatley family of Boston. Phyllis Wheatley learned English and Latin, and became the first

published African American poet. "In every human breast," this early advocate of abolitionism wrote, "God has implanted a principle which we call love of freedom. It is impatient of oppression and pants for deliverance. "

War in Asia

British and French trading companies had competed on the Indian subcontinent since the 1600s. Periodic conflicts involved private armies raised in Europe by the companies, local indigenous fighters, and a few regular troops and ships. In 1756, fighting broke out in the Bengal region and spread across the region over the next six years. By 1761, France had lost its last stronghold there, cementing British colonial domination of India that would last until 1947, with the birth of India and Pakistan.

Spain entered the Seven Years' War on the side of France in 1762. Britain responded with an expedition dispatched from India that attacked and seized Manila, the principal administrative and commercial center of the Spanish Philippines. British victories on land and sea now ringed the globe.

The West Indies

William Pitt considered the valuable French sugar-producing islands in the West Indies an important part of his strategy to weaken France by seizing her colonies and commerce. In 1759, British expeditions attacked Martinique and Guadeloupe in the Leeward Islands. Such conquests offered both economic and strategic benefits. They yielded valuable plunder and commodities and created territorial bargaining chips that could offset British losses in Europe in future peace negotiations. Spain's entrance into the Seven Years' War likewise prompted British attacks on its colonies in the Leeward Islands and Cuba. The 1762 siege of Havana gave Britain possession of the capital of Spain's American empire, though the human cost from disease was immense.

Pruskoi Dragun, Rosiskoi Kazak (Prussian Dragoon, Russian Cossack), engraving, artist unknown, c. 1757

This Russian print depicts a skirmish between Cossacks and Prussian Dragoons. Britain's ally in Central Europe, Prussian King Frederick II, faced a daunting alliance of Austrian, Russian, and other French allies.

Courtesy of Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library

Die Schlact bei Kolin am 18. Juni 1757, by August Querfurt

This commemorative painting of the June 18, 1757 Battle of Kolin (located east of Prague in the present-day Czech Republic) conveys the massive scale of 18th-century European land battles. A

Prussian army of about 34,000 engaged Austrian forces numbering nearly 53,000. In a single day, about 20,000 combatants were killed or wounded.

Courtesy of Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, Vienna Austria

Robert Clive and Mia Jaffier after the Battle of Plassey, oil on canvas, by Francis Hayman, 1757

British artist Francis Hayman painted four monumental canvases commemorating British war victories for display at Vauxhall Gardens, a theme park and museum near London. The original 12-by-15-foot works have not survived. This study depicts British commander Robert Clive's victory over French and native East Indian forces at the 1757 Battle of Plassy.

National Portrait Gallery, London

Embleton Figure: <u>A British Jack Tar toasts British victories 1762</u>

<p>Britain's navy had long been the strongest element in the defense of the island kingdom and its overseas colonial empire. During the Seven Years ' War, the Royal Navy projected unprecedented military power across the globe.</p>	

British sailors were often known as "tars" because shipboard work left their clothes coated with the substance, or "Jacks," slang for workers and common laboring men. These terms were later joined in the familiar nickname "Jack Tar." Aboard ship, the men of the Royal Navy inhabited a "wooden world," with customs and practices completely alien to land-dwelling countrymen. Ethnically and racially diverse, sailors were generally better fed and paid than soldiers and landsmen. Life at sea could be dangerous and hard, but opportunities for social and professional advancement were great.

This figure depicts a British sailor, "Jack Tar," toasting British victory and domination of the North American continent. American colonists joined in the celebration, assuming they would share in the benefits of the victory they played such an important part in achieving.

First Rebels

The surrender of Montreal in September 1760 effectively ended the American conflict between Britain and France, although fighting continued overseas for two more years. Long courted as allies and trading partners, Native Americans were left out of the peace negotiations and faced a foreboding shift in British behavior. "The success of his Majesty's arms this campaign," Indian agent George Croghan warned, "gives rise to an opinion generally received in the Army, that we have conquered the continent. It is true we may say we have beat the French, but we have nothing to boast from the war with the Natives."

Pressed to cut costs, British commander Jeffrey Amherst abolished customary practices such as gift-giving upon which good relations with independent Indian nations depended. Coupled with unwelcome British garrisons and encroachments by Anglo-Americans, these new policies incited a widespread uprising across the Great Lakes and Ohio country commonly known as "Pontiac's Rebellion," named after the Ottawa leader who led the attack on Detroit.

Garrisons Under Siege

During the 1758 Forbes expedition, the British assured local Indian peoples that they only intended to drive the French from Fort Duquesne. The tribes, then, viewed with alarm the construction of a massive brick and stone fortress at the Forks of the Ohio. By 1762, British soldiers, now stationed from the borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia to Wisconsin, seemed unwilling or unable to honor wartime promises to act generously and keep squatters and land speculators away.

In 1763, emboldened by charismatic Delaware Indian visionary Neolin, who encouraged pan-Indian resistance to the British, Ohio Indian warriors surrounded Fort Pitt and attacked smaller posts and frontier settlements. Limited access to arms, ammunition, and trade goods made the attacks difficult to sustain. With the advance of British and American forces under Colonel Henry Bouquet in the fall of 1764, Delaware, Shawnee, and Ohio Iroquois leaders accepted an offer of peace.

Germs and Genocide

A decade of war had brutalized the combatants. Frustrated by their inability to check the warriors' attacks on British garrisons in the west after 1763, British commanders planned drastic countermeasures. Amherst and Bouquet discussed spreading smallpox among warring Ohio Indians, a step that Captain Simeon Ecuyer took independently in June 1763, when he gave

blankets and a handkerchief from Fort Pitt's smallpox hospital to two Delaware Indian leaders at a council.

Backcountry Pennsylvanians panicked at the mere rumor of fresh raids. "Every tree is become an Indian for the terrified inhabitants," Colonel Bouquet observed. Angered by the provincial and imperial governments' inability to protect them, frontier vigilantes killed 20 peaceful Conestoga Indians near Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and threatened Christian Moravian converts at Philadelphia.

The American Revolution in Indian Country

Peace treaties and the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which prohibited settlement west of the Allegheny Mountains, temporarily eased relations between Indians and the British Empire, but Anglo-American pressure to open western lands to settlement produced new tensions. "The lands between the Allegheny hills and the Ohio," Virginia Governor Francis Fauquier reported in 1766, "are said to be so extremely fine that people will run all risks whether from government or from Indians to take possession and seat themselves on these lands without the least plea of right for doing so."

Having suffered from entanglement in previous conflicts between Europeans, most Indian nations were reluctant to support either the British or American rebels in 1775. Many considered the warring British and Americans akin to a pair of scissors: composed of two sharp knives that should destroy one other when closed, such an instrument only cut what came between. Indians always lost in such contests, the reasoning went, although most eastern nations eventually sided with the British against the greater threat of an expansionist American republic.

Map, Survey of the Environs of Ft. Pitt, ink and watercolor, surveyed by Lieut. E. Meyer, c. 1761

British military engineer Elias Meyer produced this detailed survey of Fort Pitt and its surroundings before flooding damaged the post in 1762-3. The contrast between the massive earth and brick fortress and the comparatively tiny French Fort Duquesne, marked "B" on the plan, struck many Ohio Indians as evidence of British intentions to take their lands.

Courtesy of The National Archives of the U.K. TNA: (PRO) ref. WO78/300

Inkstand, marked "J F DAVENPORT/ FORT PITT/ PROVINCE STORE/ 1761," 1761

Josiah Franklin Davenport (b.1727), Benjamin Franklin's nephew, served as a provincial officer on the 1758 Forbes' Expedition against Fort Duquesne. Between 1761 and 1765, he managed the Pennsylvania provincial trading post at Pittsburgh. During the 1763 siege of Fort Pitt by Ohio Indians, Davenport served as a volunteer militia officer.

Collections of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Gift of anonymous donor, 2003.60

The Indians Delivering up the English Captives to Colonel Bouquet near his camp at the forks of Muskingum, North America in November 1764, ink and wash

on paper, by Benjamin West, c. 1769
Many observers were shocked when adopted Indian captives resisted returning to their homes and families following Colonel Bouquet's 1764 military campaign against the Ohio Indians. This sketch by Pennsylvania artist Benjamin West was engraved for the London edition of a historical journal of Bouquet's expedition that included remarks on the deep bonds between Indian parents and their adoptive kin.

Courtesy of Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, USA

Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea), oil on canvas, by George Romney, 1776
Mohawk leader Thayendanegea (Joseph Brant) was born in the Ohio Country in 1742/3. After serving alongside British forces at Fort Carillon (1758), Niagara (1759) and Montreal (1760), Brant attended school in New England before returning to his Mohawk

Valley home in 1763. He helped bring Pontiac's Rebellion to an end, and traveled to London in 1776 to seek British support against the rebelling American colonists.

Courtesy of National Gallery of Canada, Transfer from the Canadian War Memorials, 1921

	Embleton Figure: <u>Captive or Kin?</u>
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"There is an unknown charm in the Indian life which surprisingly attaches white people," Presbyterian missionary David McClure observed during a trip to the Ohio Country in 1772, "those especially who have been captivated in early life." Although experiences varied, many captives of European or African descent, particularly those adopted to replace deceased kin, were surprised at the indulgent treatment they received from their captors. Recalling his experience as an adopted member of an Ohio Mohawk family, Pennsylvanian James Smith wrote, "I never knew them to make any distinction between me and themselves in any respect whatever until I left them." After the conclusion of fighting in 1764, British observers were shocked by how attached many captives, including those taken as adults, had become to their captors.

The Triumph of Britannia?

After the fall of New France and the stunning victories of the Seven Years' War, British officials turned their attention to the defense and administration of the newly enlarged American empire. With 90,000 Catholic subjects in Canada, and at least 50,000 Native Americans (including perhaps 10,000 warriors) living east of the Mississippi River, a large military presence (7,500 regulars) seemed necessary. Rather than burdening British taxpayers, who had footed the enormous costs of the war, Great Britain now expected American colonists to pay for their own defense. At the same time, Parliament enacted a series of measures to centralize colonial administration and enforce trade laws.

Once treated as imperial partners rather than dependents by the wartime administration of William Pitt, many American colonists bristled at what they believed was a systematic effort to deprive them of their British liberties. The burst of pro-British patriotic fervor that had briefly spanned the Atlantic Ocean quickly gave way to protests and recriminations.

The Triumph of Britannia

"Our bells are worn threadbare with the ringing of victories," statesman Horace Walpole observed in 1759, as the tide of war turned from France to Britain. Britons on both sides of the Atlantic created a steady demand for commemorative prints, medals, punchbowls, and other objects celebrating British successes.

Britain emerges from the Seven Years' War as the world's leading commercial empire, with newly acquired territories that stretched from the Mississippi Valley to India's Ganges River. By the 1763 Treaty of Paris, Britain gained islands in the West Indies and territory in India and Africa, received favorable concessions to British interests in Europe, and became the sole colonial power in North America east of the Mississippi River.

This vast overseas empire was a surprising result of the war. Even more surprising to Britons at home and in America was how quickly it unraveled.

Britons or Americans?

The 1765 Stamp Act and the colonial protests that followed have long been viewed as the first steps leading to the American Revolution. The decade that ended in April 1775 with the outbreak of rebellion in Massachusetts would be better characterized as a struggle to define the relationship between mother country and colonies rather than a drive for independence.

The Seven Years' War and its aftermath exposed the widening gap between British and American views. After more than a century's experience of minimal economic and political interference from Britain, many American colonists believed that victory in the Seven Years' War only came when they were treated as equals and asked to freely contribute manpower and resources. British officials, on the other hand, tended to recall examples of colonial resistance to British authority and ascribed victory to the British army and navy alone.

Rebellion to Revolution

Veterans of the French and Indian War filled the armies on both sides of the rebellion that broke out in Massachusetts in April 1775. "These people show a spirit and conduct against us they never showed against the French," British commander-in-chief Thomas Gage—a veteran of Braddock's Defeat—observed after the June 1775 Battle of Breed's Hill (Bunker Hill).

George Washington soon took command of the New England forces, and drew on his French and Indian War experiences to forge the "Continental Army." His youthful combat experiences continued to influence him after the Declaration of Independence. Faced with a massive British assault on New York that threatened to crush his army and the Revolution, Washington recalled his narrow escapes at Fort Mifflin and Braddock's Defeat. "The same Providence that protected us upon those occasions," he wrote fellow veteran Adam Stephen in July 1776, "will, I hope, continue his Mercies, and make us happy Instruments in restoring Peace and liberty to this once favour'd, but now distressed Country."

Echoes of the Seven Years' War

On October 19, 1781, a defeated British army under Lord Cornwallis marched out of Yorktown, Virginia, between lines of jubilant French and American troops. Beyond the horizon, a French fleet in the Chesapeake Bay had sealed the Britain's fate by preventing escape by sea. Led by veterans of the Seven Years' War, the winning forces owed their victory in large part to military reforms undertaken after 1763 by a defeated and humiliated France.

The Franco-American victory at Yorktown led to British recognition of an independent United States of America. In 1794, American armed forces defeated the Ohio Indians at the Battle of Fallen Timbers and suppressed a rebellion against the new federal government by Western Pennsylvania "Whiskey Rebels." The struggle to control the Forks of the Ohio River that began with shots fired by Lieutenant Colonel George Washington in 1754 was finally realized 40 years later under President Washington.

The Storming of Yorktown, October 19, 1781, Surrender and Parade, (detail), gouache on paper, by Louis Nicolas Blarenberghe, 1784

French artist Louis-Nicholas van Blarenberghe produced two panoramic paintings of the 1781 siege and surrender of Yorktown for French King Louis XVI and the comte de Rochambeau, who led French land forces in the campaign against General Charles Cornwallis' British army. In this detail, red-coated British troops march to a surrender ceremony between victorious French and American forces.

Courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY. Photo P. Bernard

Canadians

After the September 1760 surrender of Montreal, British Lieutenant General Jeffrey Amherst established a temporary military government in Canada. French forces were shipped off, but fewer than 300 Canadians had the wealth or inclination to leave their homeland. Those who stayed were disarmed and forced to swear allegiance to the British Crown but were permitted to retain their property and to practice their religion freely. French language and civil law remained in use, and most aspects of social and religious life remained unchanged.

The 1763 Treaty of Paris ended uncertainty about the fate of New France. Absorbed into British North America, the remaining inhabitants from Acadia to the Mississippi Valley were forced to adjust to permanent occupation. Despite British intentions to encourage Protestant settlement and assimilate the Catholic inhabitants, Governors James Murray and Guy Carleton did little to transform the cultural character of Canada, which remained overwhelmingly French.

Canada Invaded

Charged with securing a province inhabited by 70,000 conquered inhabitants and thousands of Native Americans with just a handful of British troops, Governor Carleton advocated lenient rule to win the loyalty of the Canadians. Eyeing the deteriorating political situation in the British colonies to the south, Carleton and British officials realized the province's security depended on Canadian support.

Rebellious American colonists invaded Canada in 1775, expecting an easy conquest with the assistance of sympathetic Canadians. But the majority of the French-speaking inhabitants remained neutral in what they considered a dispute between Englishmen. In fact, the threat to their homeland and oppressive behavior by the Americans inspired growing numbers of Canadians to take up arms against the invaders. Canadian militiamen stood side-by-side with British soldiers and inhabitants to defend Quebec from an American attack on December 31, 1775, and participated in the campaign that drove the invaders away in 1776.

Canada Transformed

Nearly 40,000 loyal British subjects fled to Canada during the American Revolution. Most settled in the Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (formerly Acadia), but about 6,000 entered Quebec and were eventually given land to the west of the settled part of the province—"Upper Canada," now Ontario. This migration planted the seeds of political divisions between French and English-speaking Canadians that still affect the country's politics today.

An American invasion drove thousands of refugees from the Iroquois Confederacy's homelands as well. Using Fort Niagara as a base, Iroquois warriors under the leadership of Mohawk Joseph Brant, born in the Ohio country in 1742 and a veteran of the French and Indian War, fought along the New York-Pennsylvania frontier during the American Revolution. In 1784, Brant led Mohawk and other Iroquois refugees to a new settlement on the Grand River in Upper Canada, today the largest Iroquois community in North America.

Addenda to Exhibit

Picture located in the 6th floor atrium and very visible from railing to the right of the elevator upon exit.

Washington as a Captain in the French and Indian War

by Junius Brutus Stearns.
1849-56.

Many of the formative events in George Washington's life occurred in Western Pennsylvania during the French and Indian War (1754-1763). Here at the Battle of the Monongahela, July 9, 1755, Washington sits astride a white steed, while below him Major General Edward Braddock suffers the mortal wound that symbolizes the defeat of British troops by French and Indian forces. Contrary to the title of Stearns painting, Washington held no rank at the battle, preferring the status of volunteer aide to General Braddock.

Picture located in door frame near Braddock's defeat painting.

Do You Measure Up?

Detail from an etching by William Hogarth shows an anxious English recruit standing on tip toes to meet the height requirements to enlist and fight the French.