

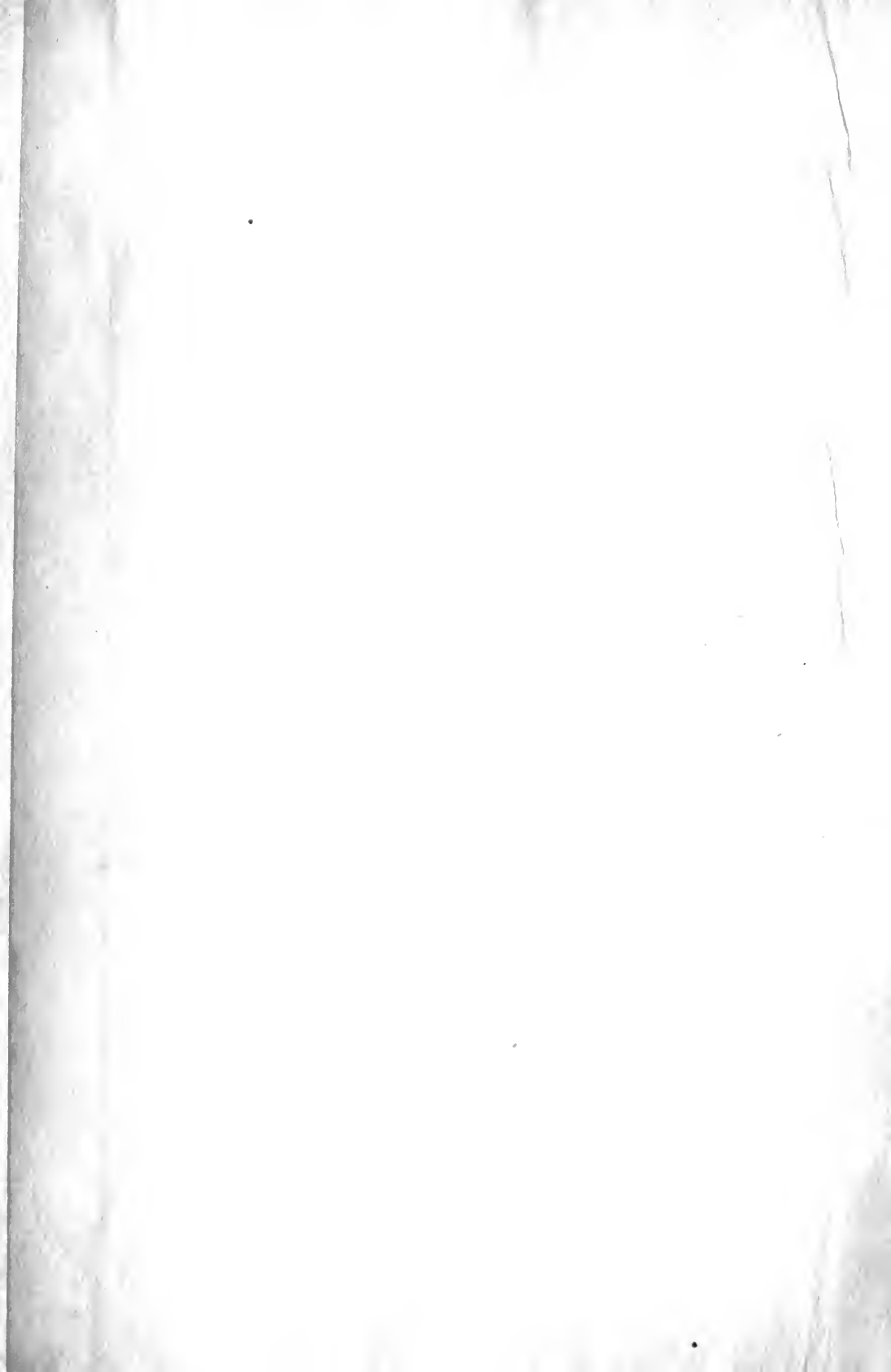
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A HISTORY OF WILKES-BARRÉ

LUZERNE COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

FROM ITS FIRST BEGINNINGS TO THE PRESENT TIME; INCLUDING
CHAPTERS OF NEWLY-DISCOVERED

EARLY WYOMING VALLEY HISTORY

TOGETHER WITH MANY BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES AND MUCH
GENEALOGICAL MATERIAL

BY

OSCAR JEWELL HARVEY, A. M.

AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF LODGE No. 61, F. & A. M.", "THE HARVEY BOOK",
"A HISTORY OF IREM TEMPLE", ETC.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MANY PORTRAITS, MAPS, FACSIMILES, ORIGINAL
DRAWINGS AND CONTEMPORARY VIEWS



COMPLETE IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME I

WILKES-BARRÉ

1909

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THESE ANNALS OF MY NATIVE TOWN
ARE DEDICATED TO

THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
WILKES-BARRÉ,

IN ADMIRING RECOGNITION OF ITS AIMS AND THE IMPORTANT RESULTS
IT IS ACCOMPLISHING; AS WELL AS IN GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT
OF THE VALUABLE AID GIVEN ME BY MANY OF ITS MEMBERS, AND
THE LARGE AMOUNT OF IMPORTANT INFORMATION GLEANED BY ME
FROM ITS COLLECTIONS, DURING THE PROGRESS OF MY WORK.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Oscar Harny". The signature is written in black ink and features a long, sweeping horizontal line that extends to the right, underlining the name. The letters are fluid and connected, with a small number "4" written below the letter "y".



“Sires of old, your fame is writ in gold ;
Your heritage we treasure, and your mandates heed.
While Time shall last, no stain shall e'er be cast
To dim the light that shines above each patriot deed.”

—*Brinley Richards.*





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A Note of Explanation.

In gathering together material for this work I spent upwards of three years before attempting to prepare for the printer a single page of copy. At length, having effected what I then believed to be an exhaustive search for interesting and authentic historical matter relating to Wilkes-Barré and Wyoming Valley, I began the task of putting the same in shape for the printer; and soon thereafter the actual work of printing the following pages was begun.

But, while preparing copy, and reading proofs of the printer's work, I sought in new directions for additional historical data, and met with unusual and pronounced success. One find seemed to lead to another find, and the large amount of theretofore unused and absolutely valuable material, which it was my good fortune to turn up, soon convinced me that it would be necessary for me either to recast my plans and enlarge the scope of my work, or else discard entirely my latest finds. Meanwhile, I had been urged by competent and esteemed advisers to devote as much space in my book as possible to an account of the various clans and tribes of Indians which at one time or another had occupied Wyoming Valley.

After careful consideration it seemed to me that, in the circumstances, the proper course for me to pursue was: to stop the work of printing, and devote a considerable amount of time to further investigation and consideration of the subject matter in hand.

In the execution of this plan a large amount of time has been necessarily expended, the printing of the work has gone on by slow degrees, and, instead of appearing in one volume of about 700 pages (as originally intended, and arranged for), the work comprises three royal 8vo volumes, aggregating over 1,800 pages. Two of these volumes are published at this time, while the third and final volume (which will contain a very complete and comprehensive index to the three volumes) will appear about the close of the present year.

May 19, 1909.

O. J. H.



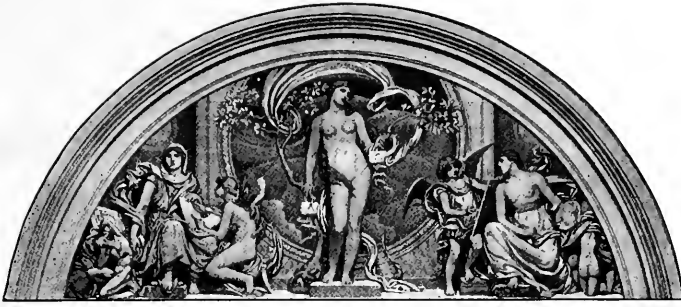


“Deal gently with us, ye who read!
Our largest hope is unfulfilled;
The promise still outruns the deed;
The tower, but not the spire, we build.”



“Would I might borrow from the mines of morn
A little of their brimming store of gold!
Would I might filch from out the sunset’s hold
Some of the rubies that its breast adorn!”





A Chronological Table

OF SOME OF THE MOST INTERESTING AND IMPORTANT OCCURRENCES
MENTIONED IN THIS WORK.

- 1616—Étienne Brulé (Stephen Bruehle) descends the Susquehanna River, from the head-waters of its North Branch to Chesapeake Bay.
- 1701—A band of Shawanese Indians establish themselves in Wyoming Valley.
- 1723—A large number of Palatines pass through Wyoming Valley en route from Schoharie Valley, New York, to Berks County, Pennsylvania.
- 1729—Conrad Weiser passes through Wyoming en route from Schoharie, New York, to Berks County, Pennsylvania.
- 1737—March. Conrad Weiser at Wyoming.
- April. Dutch traders from New York at Wyoming.
- 1738—Conrad Weiser and William Parsons visit Wyoming.
- 1741—The Rev. John Sergeant, accompanied by several Stockbridge Indians, comes from Massachusetts to Wyoming to preach the gospel to the Indians located here.
- 1742—July. Delaware Indians (of the Unami, or Wanamie, clan) ordered by the Six Nations to remove to Wyoming.
- September. A band of Wanamies establish themselves in what is now the Fifteenth Ward of Wilkes-Barré.
- October. Count Zinzendorff and his companions at Wyoming.
- 1744—April. Moravian missionaries John M. Mack and Christian Frölich at Wyoming.
- 1746—Spring. John M. Mack again visits Wyoming.
- 1747—Autumn. Bishop Spangenberg (Moravian) visits Wyoming and preaches to the Indians.
- 1748—June. Nanticoke Indians remove from the mouth of the Juniata to Wyoming Valley—lower end.
- July. Missionaries Mack and Zeisberger at Wyoming.
- October. Baron de Watteville (a Moravian Bishop) and missionaries Cammerhoff, Mack and Zeisberger at Wyoming.
- October 7. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered at Wyoming for the first time.
- 1749—April. A numerous band of Shawanese, under the chieftanship of *Paxinosa*, locate in Wyoming.
- 1750—May. Missionaries Cammerhoff, Mack and Zeisberger, accompanied by Timothy Horsfield and Gottlieb Bezold of Bethlehem, spend eight days at Wyoming.
- 1751—November. Zeisberger at Wyoming.
- 1752—June. Spangenberg, Zeisberger and the Rev. C. Seidel of Bethlehem at Wyoming.
- July. An embassy of Shawanese and Nanticoke Indians goes from Wyoming to Gnadenhütten.
- 1753—March. An embassy of Shawanese and Nanticoke Indians from Wyoming visits Gnadenhütten.

- 1753—May. The Nanticoke Indians remove from Wyoming to New York.
 —May. The Rev. Christian Seidel of Bethlehem visits Wyoming.
 —May. Certain white traders at Wyoming.
 —May. Memorial, relative to lands at Wyoming, presented by certain inhabitants of Connecticut to the General Assembly of that Colony.
 —July 18. "The Susquehanna Company" organized at Windham, Connecticut.
 —October. Exploring and purchasing committee of The Susquehanna Company visits Wyoming.
- 1754—April. Many Indians, under the leadership of *Teedyuscung*, remove from Gnadenhütten to Wyoming and locate within the present limits of Wilkes-Barré.
 —July. Moravian missionaries B. A. Grubé and C. G. Rundt from Gnadenhütten spend some days at Wyoming preaching to the Indians; during which time the sacrament of baptism is administered for the first time in this region.
 —July 11. Deed from Six Nation Indians conveying the Wyoming region to The Susquehanna Company is executed at Albany, New York.
 —Autumn. Representatives of the abovementioned Company come to Wyoming to look over the lands which have been purchased.
- 1755—March. Christian Frederick Post, a Moravian missionary, establishes himself at Wyoming to minister to the Indian converts here, and to entertain visiting missionaries.
 —July. Missionaries Zeisberger and Seidel at Wyoming.
 —October. Zeisberger and Seidel are again at Wyoming preaching to the Indians.
- 1756—Owing to the French and English War Wyoming is entirely forsaken by the Indians.
- 1757—October. The erection of houses at Wyoming, for the use of the Delaware Indians under the chieftanship of *Teedyuscung*, is begun by the Pennsylvania authorities.
- 1758—May 22. *Teedyuscung* and his Delawares again settle down in Wyoming, and the work of building houses for them is resumed by white workmen in the employ of the Pennsylvania Government.
 —May 27. The first death of a white man—killed and scalped by inimical Indians—occurs in Wyoming.
- 1762—March. David Zeisberger goes on a mission to the Indians at Wyoming.
 —May 19. The Susquehanna Company decides to effect a settlement upon their lands at Wyoming.
 —June. Important conference at Easton, Pennsylvania, between Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, Sir Wm. Johnson, and *Teedyuscung* and other chiefs of the Delaware Indians.
 —August. Conference at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, between Governor Hamilton and Six Nation, Delaware and Shawanese Indians.
 —September. Under the auspices of The Susquehanna Company 119 settlers locate near the mouth of Mill Creek, within the limits of what was later the township of Wilkes-Barré, and begin to build three small block-houses.
- 1763—Deed to The Susquehanna Company—confirming the sale of Wyoming lands made in July, 1754—executed by Six Nation Indians.
 —April 19. The Delaware King, *Teedyuscung*, burnt to death in his house, within the present limits of Wilkes-Barré.
 —May. The settlement at Mill Creek is renewed by a large number of people under The Susquehanna Company.
 —May. David Zeisberger preaches twice to the Indians at Wyoming.
 —June. John Woolman, the noted Quaker minister, preaches to the Wyoming Indians.
 —June. The red men's occupancy of Wyoming Valley comes to an end.
 —October 15. Delaware Indians attack the settlers at Mill Creek, some of whom are massacred, others are driven away from the valley, and the remainder are carried off as prisoners.
- 1764—Wyoming Valley uninhabited by either whites or Indians.

- 1765—John Anderson, Capt. John Dick and Capt. Amos Ogden, Pennsylvania and New Jersey men, locate in Wyoming Valley as Indian traders, under authority received from Sir William Johnson.
- Specimens of anthracite coal taken from Wyoming and sent to England.
- 1768—November. Indian treaty at Fort Stanwix, New York.
- December 8. The "Manor of Sunbury" surveyed at Wyoming for the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania.
 - December 9. The "Manor of Stoke" (comprehending the present city and township of Wilkes-Barré) located and surveyed for the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania.
 - December. Captain Ogden, John Anderson, Charles Stewart, Alexander Patterson, John Jennings, and several other Pennsylvanians and New Jerseymen, with the intention of becoming lessees or purchasers of the Proprietary lands at Wyoming, erect a small block-house at Mill Creek and establish themselves therein.
 - December 28. The Susquehanna Company formally decides to retake possession of its lands in Wyoming and settle the same.
- 1769—February 8. The "first forty" settlers under The Susquehanna Company arrive at Wyoming.
- May 12. A large body of settlers, led by Maj. John Durkee, with authority from The Susquehanna Company, arrives at Wyoming from Connecticut and New York, and the erection of Fort Durkee is begun on the river bank near the present Ross Street, Wilkes-Barré.
 - June 22. Col. Turbutt Francis, in command of a small body of armed Pennsylvanians, comes to Wyoming from Fort Augusta (now Sunbury, Pennsylvania) and orders the New Englanders to leave the valley.
 - July. The town (township) of Wilkes-Barré located and named by Major Durkee.
 - August 29. A large number of settlers under The Susquehanna Company, at Wilkes-Barré, petition the General Assembly of Connecticut to erect the lands at Wyoming into a county.
 - September. The five "settling-towns" in Wyoming Valley surveyed under the direction of Major Durkee.
 - September. The First Pennamite-Yankee War is begun.
 - November 14. Fort Durkee is surrendered to the Pennamites by the Yankees, and the latter are driven from the valley.
- 1770—February 11. Capt. Lazarus Stewart and his "Paxtang Boys" come to Wilkes-Barré to co-operate with the Yankees. They regain possession of Fort Durkee.
- June. Wilkes-Barré town-plot is surveyed and plotted, and lots are drawn by the proprietors of the township.
 - June 28. Governor Penn of Pennsylvania issues a proclamation prohibiting any person from settling at Wyoming without authority from the Proprietaries of the Province.
- 1771—January 18. The erection of Fort Wyoming is begun by the Pennamites on the river bank near the present Northampton Street, Wilkes-Barré.
- August 15. Fort Wyoming is surrendered by the Pennamites, after a siege of twenty-six days by a force of Yankees under the command of Capt. Zebulon Butler.
- 1772—March. Northumberland County (comprehending Wyoming Valley) is erected by Act of the Pennsylvania Assembly.
- First grist-mill erected in Wyoming Valley—on Mill Creek.
 - April. Survey of Wilkes-Barré township completed, and lots finally distributed.
 - November. Forty Fort erected in Kingston Township.
- 1773—June 2. The Susquehanna Company adopts "Articles of Agreement," or a code of laws, for the government of the Wyoming settlements, and "Directors" in and for the six Wyoming townships are appointed.

- 1774—January. The Wyoming region is erected by the General Assembly of Connecticut into the town of Westmoreland, and attached to Litchfield County, Connecticut.
- March 1. The town of Westmoreland is formally organized by an election of officers, and the transaction of other business, at a “town-meeting” held in Wilkes-Barré.
- 1775—May. The 24th, or Westmoreland, Regiment of Connecticut Militia established, with Zebulon Butler as Colonel.
- July. Conference of Indians from New York with Col. Zebulon Butler at Wilkes-Barré.
 - August 8. The inhabitants of Westmoreland, assembled in town-meeting at Wilkes-Barré, resolve that they will “unanimously join” their “brethren in America in the common cause of defending” their liberty.
 - September 28. Pennamites attack Connecticut settlers on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, wounding and killing some and taking others prisoners.
 - November 4. Congress recommends that the Province of Pennsylvania should put a stop to hostilities against the Yankees in the Wyoming region.
 - December 25. The Plunket invasion and the battle of “Rampart Rocks.” Termination of the First Pennamite-Yankee War.
- 1776—March 6. Sixty-six men of Westmoreland organize themselves into a military company and offer their services to the Continental Congress to “engage in the common cause as soldiers in the defense of liberty.”
- August 24. At a town-meeting held in Wilkes-Barré the inhabitants of Westmoreland vote to erect suitable forts as a defense against the “common enemy.”
 - September 16. Conference of Indians from New York State with Col. Zebulon Butler at Wilkes-Barré.
 - September 17. The two “Wyoming, or Westmoreland, Independent Companies” —enlisted a few weeks previously—are mustered into the Continental service at Wilkes-Barré.
 - October. The town of Westmoreland is erected into the county of Westmoreland, of the State of Connecticut, by the General Assembly of that State.
- 1777—January 1. The “Wyoming Independent Companies” march from Wilkes-Barré to New Jersey, where they take part in the battle of Millstone River, January 20.
- January. A large party of Indians from New York, en route to Easton, Pennsylvania, spend several days at Wilkes-Barré and hold an informal conference with the local authorities.
 - May 1. A conference is held at Wilkes-Barré between a delegation of Six Nation Indians and a committee of Westmoreland inhabitants.
- 1778—July 3. Battle and massacre of Wyoming.
- July 4. Capitulation of Forty Fort. Wilkes-Barré almost wholly destroyed by the Indians.
 - August 4. Continental soldiers and Westmoreland militia under the command of Col. Zebulon Butler march into Wyoming Valley and establish “Camp Westmoreland” at Wilkes-Barré.
 - October 1-3. Colonel Hartley’s military expedition at Wilkes-Barré on its return march from the upper Susquehanna.
 - October 28. The remains of the Westmorelanders who lost their lives in the battle and massacre of July 3, 1778, are gathered up and interred.
 - October. Fort Wyoming (the second work of defense to bear that name) is erected on the River Common near Northampton Street.
 - November 2. Frances Slocum carried into captivity by Indians.
- 1779—April 11. First troops for the Sullivan Expedition reach Wilkes-Barré.
- June 23. General Sullivan, with the main body of his army, arrives at Wilkes-Barré.
 - June 24. The first meeting of a Lodge of Free Masons to be held in North-eastern Pennsylvania takes place at Wilkes-Barré.

- 1779—July 1. First public execution by hanging in Wyoming Valley.
- July 5. An elaborate entertainment is held at Forty Fort "in celebration of the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence."
- July 31. The Sullivan Expedition sets out from Wilkes-Barré on its march up the Susquehanna.
- October 7. The Sullivan Expedition returns to Wilkes-Barré.
- 1780—A Continental military garrison (the "Wyoming Post") is maintained at Wilkes-Barré under the command of Col. Zebulon Butler.
- 1782—May. Col. John Durkee, the founder of Wilkes-Barré, dies at Norwich, Connecticut.
- December 30. The "Decree of Trenton" is rendered.
- 1783—April. Pennsylvania troops garrison Fort Wyoming, and its name is changed to Fort Dickinson.
- October. The Second Pennamite-Yankee War is begun.
- Alexander Patterson endeavors to change the name of Wilkes-Barré to "London-derry."
- 1784—March 15. The ice in the Susquehanna breaks up, and a very disastrous flood follows. Wilkes-Barré is inundated.
- May. The Pennamites drive the majority of the Connecticut settlers from the valley by force.
- July 24. Many dwelling-houses in Wilkes-Barré are burnt to the ground by the Pennamites.
- August 2. The fight at Locust Hill occurs.
- September 28. Fort Dickinson is besieged by the Yankees.
- November 30. Fort Dickinson having been evacuated by the Pennamites is demolished by the Yankees, and the war is virtually ended.
- 1786—March. A scheme is on foot to erect a new State ("Westmoreland") out of the Wyoming region.
- April 27. Gen. Ethan Allen comes to Wilkes-Barré from Vermont, intent on the "new State" project.
- September 25. An Act erecting the county of Luzerne out of a portion of the Wyoming region is passed by the General Assembly of Pennsylvania.
- October. The great "pumpkin" flood occurs.
- 1787—February 1. First election in Luzerne County—for Representative to Assembly, Councillor, Sheriff, Coroner, and Commissioners—held at the house of Col. Zebulon Butler, Wilkes-Barré.
- March 28. The Confirming Law (relating to land titles in certain townships in the Wyoming region) is enacted by the Pennsylvania Assembly.
- May 29. The first courts of Luzerne County are opened and held at the house of Col. Zebulon Butler, Wilkes-Barré.
- October 2. Col. John Franklin is arrested in Wilkes-Barré and conveyed to Philadelphia.
- 1788—May. The erection of the first Luzerne County Court House and Jail is begun on the Public Square.
- June 26. Col. Timothy Pickering is abducted from his home on South Main Street and carried away captive.
- 1790—March 18. Jemima Wilkinson, "the Universal Friend," visits and preaches in Wilkes-Barré.
- April 1. The Confirming Law, having been suspended March 29, 1788, is repealed by the State Assembly.
- 1792—March. A delegation of Oneida Indians, en route from New York State to a conference with the Secretary of War at Philadelphia, is entertained in Wilkes-Barré.
- 1794—September. Capt. Samuel Bowman marches from Wilkes-Barré with his company of Light Infantry, raised for the provisional military force organized by the State to put down the "Whisky Insurrection."
- 1795—July. A Post Office is established at Wilkes-Barré.

- 1796—First newspaper, *The Herald of the Times* (weekly), published in Wilkes-Barré.
- 1797—July. The Duke of Orleans (later Louis Philippe, King of France) and his brothers, the Duke of Montpensier and the Count of Beaujolais, visit Wilkes-Barré.
- December 26. John Wilkes, one of the two men for whom Wilkes-Barré was named, dies in England.
- 1799—April 4. The Pennsylvania Legislature enacts the "Compromise Law," relating to lands lying "in the seventeen townships, Luzerne County."
- July. Capt. Samuel Bowman, holding a commission in the "Provisional Army" being organized by the United States for the anticipated war with France, is raising a company of infantry at Wilkes-Barré. A detachment of thirty men marches to Elizabethtown, New Jersey.
- December 27. Public exercises held in the Court House in memory of General Washington, whose death occurred at Mt. Vernon December 14.
- 1800—July. Erection begun on Public Square of a meeting-house—many years later known as "Old Ship Zion."
- 1801—Erection begun on Public Square of the second Luzerne County Court House.
- March 4. Democrats celebrate by a procession and barbecue the election and inauguration of Thomas Jefferson as President of the United States.
- 1802—Erection begun of stone jail on East Market Street.
- July 20. Isaac Barré, one of the two men for whom Wilkes-Barré was named, dies in London.
- 1805—Easton and Wilkes-Barré Turnpike in process of construction.
- 1806—March 17. Borough of Wilkes-Barré incorporated by Act of Legislature.
- August 18. Wilkes-Barré Library Company organized.
- October 16. First elephant show in Wilkes-Barré.
- 1807—First brick building in Wilkes-Barré erected.
- March. Wilkes-Barré Academy incorporated, and opened a few months later.
- 1808—February 11. Jesse Fell burns anthracite coal in an open grate for the first time in North-eastern Pennsylvania.
- 1810—September. First bank ("Philadelphia Branch") begins operations in Wilkes-Barré.
- 1812—April 10. Launch of the river-boat, *The Luzerne of Wilkes-Barré*.
- 1816—June and August. Severe frosts in Wyoming Valley, and certain crops destroyed.
- 1817—February 14. Thermometer at Wilkes-Barré registers 20° below 0.
- 1818—July 12. Extraordinary hail-storm in Wyoming Valley.
- 1819—February. First bridge across the Susquehanna at Wilkes-Barré—foot of Market Street—opened to the public.
- November 1. Luzerne County Bible Society is organized.
- November 14. The river at Wilkes-Barré is frozen over.
- 1826—April 12. First steamboat (*Codorus*) at Wilkes-Barré.
- 1831—May. First canal-boat leaves Wilkes-Barré for Philadelphia, laden with flour, coal and lumber.
- 1833—July 3. The remains of those who fell in the battle and massacre of Wyoming are re-interred, and the corner-stone of the Wyoming Monument is laid.
- 1834—May. Ice, snow, cold weather, and seven-year locusts damage vegetation in Wyoming Valley and cause much inconvenience.
- June 27. Wyoming Division, North Branch Canal, completed, and water let in.
- 1836—March 26. Sleds cross the Susquehanna on the ice.
- October 5. Eleven inches of snow fall in Wyoming Valley.
- 1842—June 18. First balloon ascension in Wilkes-Barré.
- 1843—May 23. First train of passenger-cars run on a railroad in Wyoming Valley.
- 1846—July 3. Wyoming Monument dedicated, in the presence of the Governor of the Commonwealth and other distinguished visitors.
- December 7. The Wyoming Artillerists leave Wilkes-Barré for the seat of war. (The War with Mexico.)
- 1849—April 6. Wilkes-Barré Law and Library Association organized.
- 1850—First telegraph line running into Wilkes-Barré is in operation.

- 1852—First daily newspaper published in Wilkes-Barré.
- 1856—February 1. Gas manufactured by the Wilkes-Barré Gas Company turned on and burned for the first time.
- June 24. First train comes into the valley from Scranton over the Lackawanna and Bloomsburg Railroad.
- August 12. The corner-stone of the third Luzerne County Court House is laid with Masonic ceremonies.
- 1857—April 20. Two feet of snow fall in the valley.
- May 20. Ten inches of snow fall.
- 1858—February. The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society is organized.
- 1860—September 19. Water is turned on by the Wilkes-Barré Water Company for the first time.
- September 24. First steam fire-engine seen and operated in Wilkes-Barré.
- 1861—February 13. Destructive ice freshet in the Susquehanna.
- April 18. First company of Wilkes-Barré volunteers (Wyoming Artillerists) for the defense of the Union leaves for Harrisburg, where it is mustered into the United States service.
- 1863—June 18. Emergency-militia leave Wilkes-Barré for Harrisburg. (Pennsylvania invaded by the Confederates.)
- 1865—March 17. Greatest flood in the Susquehanna ever known.
- 1866—March 29. Wyoming Valley Hotel opened.
- March 31. First passenger train is run into Wilkes-Barré over the new (Wilkes-Barré Mountain) track of the Lehigh and Susquehanna Railroad.
- June 13. Pennsylvania State Medical Society meets in Wilkes-Barré.
- June 25. First street-car (Wilkes-Barré and Kingston Railway) runs in Wilkes-Barré.
- June 27. The Judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania banqueted at Wilkes-Barré by members of the Bar of Luzerne County.
- September. First cobble-stone street-pavement laid in Wilkes-Barré (West Market Street).
- 1867—April 9. Great fire, destroying many buildings on West Market and North and South Franklin Streets.
- May 29. First passenger train is run from White Haven over the Lehigh Valley Railroad to Wilkes-Barré—to station below Northampton Street.
- 1868—September 9. Corner-stone of the present Luzerne County Prison laid with Masonic ceremonies.
- 1870—October. The bounds of Wilkes-Barré Borough are extended in a small degree.
- 1871—May 4. Wilkes-Barré Borough is incorporated into a city by an Act of the State Legislature.
- 1872—July 4. Celebration of the centennial anniversary of the founding and naming of Wilkes-Barré.
- October. The Wilkes-Barré City Hospital is established and opened.
- December 26. Twelve inches of snow on the ground, and temperature 10° below 0. Coldest weather in ten years.
- 1875—March 17. Destructive ice freshet in the Susquehanna.
- 1877—July. Railroad riots prevail, and United States troops are ultimately ordered to Wyoming Valley.
- 1878—July 3. Celebration of the centennial anniversary of the battle and massacre of Wyoming. President Hayes, members of his Cabinet, and other distinguished visitors present.
- November. First telephone line in Wilkes-Barré opened.
- 1879—July 25. The 9th Regiment, N. G. P., organized and officers elected at Wilkes-Barré.
- 1884—May 30. Snow falls, covering the mountains near Wilkes-Barré.
- 1885—October 4. New edifice of the First Methodist Episcopal Church dedicated.
- 1886—April. First asphalt street-pavement laid in Wilkes-Barré (Franklin Street).
- September. Centennial anniversary of the erection of Luzerne County celebrated.

- 1886—November 11. Wilkes-Barré warmed for the first time by steam heat.
—December 4. Corner-stone of the 9th Regiment Armory laid.
- 1887—May 10. Erection of North Street Bridge begun.
—July 11. Corner-stone of First Presbyterian Church laid.
—September 17. Centennial anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States celebrated.
—October 26. Ninth Regiment Armory dedicated.
- 1888—March 12. A violent blizzard rages.
—March 19. First electric street-car runs in Wilkes-Barré (North Main Street).
- 1889—January 28. Osterhout Free Library opened to the public.
—April. Celebration of the centennial anniversary of the inauguration of George Washington as the first President of the United States.
- 1890—April 9. Memorial Hall (G. A. R.) dedicated.
—July. The three public school districts of the city consolidated into one, under the control of a board of six directors.
—August 19. Destructive cyclone strikes Wilkes-Barré.
- 1891—December 30. New Y. M. C. A. building opened.
- 1892—October 21. Columbus Day celebration.
- 1893—March 10. Greatest ice freshet in the Susquehanna since 1865.
—May 23. Fortieth annual conclave of the Grand Commandery of Knights Templar of Pennsylvania convenes in Wilkes-Barré.
- 1895—September. New Board of Trade organized.
—October 14. First woman attorney admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County.
- 1897—October 29. Nesbitt Theater opened.
—November 25. New club-house of Wilkes-Barré Wheelmen opened.
—December 25. First service held in the new edifice of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church.
- 1898—March 7. Mercy Hospital opened to patients.
—April 27. Ninth Regiment, N. G. P., leaves for Mt. Gretna, Pennsylvania, in response to the call for volunteers for the Spanish-American War.
—September 22. Wilkes-Barré becomes a "city of the Third Class."
- 1899—April. First horseless carriage runs in Wilkes-Barré.
—July. The Pennsylvania State Bar Association holds its annual meeting and banquet in Wilkes-Barré.
- 1900—May 21. Forty-seventh annual conclave of the Grand Commandery of Knights Templar of Pennsylvania convenes in Wilkes-Barré.
—June 26. The Pennsylvania State Editorial Association meets in Wilkes-Barré.
- 1901—December. Unusual freshet in the Susquehanna.
- 1902—March 1-3. Disastrous flood in the Susquehanna.
—November 27. Corner-stone of the Federal Post Office building, Wilkes-Barré, laid with Masonic ceremonies.
- 1903—June 30. The Pennsylvania State Educational Association holds its forty-eighth annual session at Wilkes-Barré.
—December 14. First passenger car is run over the Laurel Line (3d-rail road) between Scranton and Wilkes-Barré.
- 1904—March 9. Serious flood in the Susquehanna, causing much damage to property.
- 1905—August 10. President Roosevelt, Cardinal Gibbons, and other distinguished visitors in Wilkes-Barré as guests of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union at its national convention.
- 1906—May 10-12. Centennial Jubilee of the erection of Wilkes-Barré into a borough.
—December 8. Wilkes-Barré Park Commission organized.
- 1907—November 27. Corner-stone of Irem Temple, Ancient Arabic Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, laid at midnight with impressive ceremonies.
- 1908—December 15. Irem Temple dedicated.



CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—REASONS FOR WRITING THIS HISTORY—SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

Wyoming warrior sons of old,
And matrons worthy of your time,
Deep in our inmost hearts we hold
Your memories, sacred and sublime.

“One generation shall praise thy works to another,
and shall declare thy mighty acts.”—*Psalms CXLV: 4.*

A modern philosopher has said: “Considering how many really needful things there are to be done in these hustling and bustling days—corn to be hoed, wood to be chopped, roads to be mended, rooms to be swept, bread to be baked, buttons to be sewed on, cradles to be rocked—it is somewhat more than surprising that hundreds of fairly intelligent men and women keep on writing books. Evidently many authors write books for the same reason that hens lay eggs—to relieve themselves.”

Another alleged philosopher has capped this statement by the observation that “*cacoëthes scribendi* has long been known to be a fever and sickness of feeble minds; but never did it reach such proportions as now, when the cheapness of print and paper all the world over, and the ever critical condition of the public intelligence, give it scope for development to an immeasurable degree. Everybody writes; and from the fashionable lady who cannot spell, to the tight-rope dancer who dictates her ‘Impressions from an Altitude’, any one who possesses a grain of vanity or has had a shred of adventure embodies his or her ideas or recollections in an article for a periodical or a volume for the circulating library. Whether a physician becomes illustrious through a patient’s death, or a comic-opera singer has pleased a London or Paris audience; whether a general has won a battle, or a lady been distinguished in a divorce case; whether a man has been tried for his life or has served a term in prison, one and all of these will forthwith publish something—article, monograph, playlet, essay, reminiscence or the letters of somebody else—without the slightest regard to whether they possess any literary capabilities for the work or not.”

When one considers the width and depth of the flood—not only of ambitious and elaborate works, but of productions of a modest and less

formal character—that annually bursts forth from the teeming presses of our land, one must admit that there are some forcible, although homely, truths contained in the foregoing statements and observations. Nevertheless, the writer of this present book does not deem it necessary to offer any excuse or apology relative to “the wherefore and the why” of its genesis, inasmuch as he knows that in these present days many of the intelligent and patriotic people of this land are earnestly engaged—individually and in organized bodies—in rescuing from oblivion and preserving in some attainable form and place whatever material will tend to throw light on the true history of past times in this country.

He would say, however, that he is one of those whose pleasure and pride it is to have been born in Wilkes-Barré—the “Diamond City”* on Susquehanna’s side, in fair Wyoming’s historic vale. In the days of his youth he was told that “in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; and on the eighth He made—the valley of Wyoming!” We who are “to the manner born” believe that there are few regions like unto our well-beloved Wyoming. It seems to the writer that no mountains ever clasped within their embrace so beautiful a valley—as if no valley ever looked up to so beautiful mountains. He loves his birthplace—this ancient town of unique name and notable life, with whose earliest beginnings more than one of his ancestors were intimately and honorably connected; he cherishes its traditions and its history; he holds in high regard its upright and honorable citizens; and as Paul the Apostle claimed his birthright as a Roman citizen, so will the writer, wherever he may be, always proudly claim his birthright as a Wilkes-Barréan.

Oh! the last spark of feeling and life must depart,
Ere his love for Wilkes-Barré will fade from his heart.

No attempt previous to this, so far as the writer is aware, has ever been made to write the history of Wilkes-Barré. And this fact appears most remarkable when one realizes, in the first place: that, with the exception of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and a very few other old towns of this country, there is no town in the United States whose early history is so intensely interesting and has so many strikingly dramatic events interwoven in it from its very beginning as that of this “Diamond City” of ours; and in the second place: that there is no town in the United States—with the exception of the city of Washington—founded within the last one hundred and fifty years, that has had so many well-known and eminent men identified or concerned in one way or another with its birth and early history as this same town. A cursory examination of the following pages will show the correctness of these statements to even the most careless or indifferent seeker after facts.

The history of Wilkes-Barré up to about the year 1800 is really, in a wide sense, the history of Wyoming Valley for the same period. And to-day the life of the town is in a large measure that of the valley, because the various hamlets, boroughs and cities of the valley are steamlly conjoined with Wilkes-Barré, not only by wagon-roads and steam and electric railways, but by business and social connections.

* Why “Diamond City”? Because the Public Square in the center of the town is diamond-shaped—having been originally surveyed in that form. Because the town is entirely underlaid with a vast wealth of black diamonds, and is overlaid with hospitality, cultivation and beauty—qualities which, like the chief characteristics of the diamond, are distinctive and attractive.

Within the past hundred and thirty years much has been published concerning the history and traditions of Wyoming. First, during the time that the controversy over Wyoming land-titles raged between the Pennsylvania and Connecticut claimants, many pamphlets and letters—some of them written by learned and well-known men—came from the press. Then the massacre—so called, but in reality the *battle*—of Wyoming brought into action the pens of many writers. The first extended and formal narrative of this disastrous event was published in England early in 1780, in *Dodsley's Annual Register* for 1779, and is said on good authority to have been written by the famous Edmund Burke. The exaggerations of this supposedly reliable narrative* escaped into the continuation of Hume and Smollett's, Adolphus' and other histories of England; and somewhat similar unreliable accounts appeared in various books of travels and in the American histories of Gordon, Ramsay and Botta—all of which were either written or published prior to the year 1800. From that year to the present the author of every published history of the United States or of the American people has had something to say about the early settlement of Wyoming Valley and the distressful experiences of its inhabitants in July, 1778.

The first history of Wyoming was written in 1818 by Isaac A. Chapman, then a resident of Wilkes-Barré and editor and publisher of *The Gleaner*, one of the three weekly newspapers of the town. This history, an interesting and a valuable work so far as it extends (the author died before he had completed it), was not published, however, until 1830; and ten years later it was followed by William L. Stone's "Poetry and History of Wyoming." Colonel Stone was a well-known author and editor of New York City, and his writings were widely read. Three editions of his "Wyoming" were published. He had made his first visit to the valley in 1839, and the following brief paragraphs from his book will give an idea of the impressions made upon him by his experiences and observations upon that occasion.

"Wyoming is mentioned in almost every book of American history written since the Revolution, as the scene of *the* massacre; but for the most part, *that* is the only occurrence spoken of; the only fact that has been rescued from the rich mine of its historic lore. The reader of poetry has probably dreamed of Wyoming as an Elysian field, among the groves of which the fair Gertrude was wont to stray while listening to the music of the birds and gathering wild flowers; and the superficial reader of everything has regarded it as a place existing somewhere, in which the Indians once tomahawked a number of people. * * * There are thousands, doubtless, who would be surprised on being told that, independently of the event from which the poet† has woven his thrilling tale of "Gertrude", Wyoming has been the theatre of more historical action, and is invested with more historical interest, than any other inland district of the United States of equal extent."

In 1845 there came from the press Charles Miner's "History of Wyoming." It was the result of many months of indefatigable research and conscientious painstaking, and is considered to-day, as it has been ever since its publication, the most copious, complete and authentic work on the subject—a subject that was dear to the heart of Mr. Miner, who, having come to Pennsylvania in 1799, a settler under the "Connecticut claim," resided for fifty years in Wyoming Valley. This book was based, in a measure, upon documentary evidence, but more largely upon the testimony of living witnesses, and it contains little appertaining to the poetry, the legends or the natural charms of the fair vale. It treats of the stern realities that entered into the life of the early

* See Chapter XV.

† THOMAS CAMPBELL, the Scottish poet.

settlers—the sufferings, the calamities and the persecutions that those brave and hardy pioneers were compelled to undergo. The book has long been out of print (but one edition was published), and only rarely is a copy offered for sale.

In 1858 “Wyoming; its History, Stirring Incidents and Romantic Adventures,” by the Rev. George Peck, D. D., was published. The greater part of this book—which is an 8vo of 432 pages—is devoted to tales of hazardous exploits and descriptions of “historic scenes,” collected by the author during a long residence in Wyoming. Three editions of the book have been issued. In 1860 appeared Stewart Pearce’s “Annals of Luzerne County; a Record of Interesting Events, Traditions and Anecdotes, from the first settlement in Wyoming to 1860.” A second edition of this admirable compendium was issued in 1866; and since that year several histories and a great number of interesting and valuable essays, addresses, etc., treating of different localities in the “Wyoming region,” or dealing with various phases of its history, have been published from time to time.*

Besides these there have been published two or three ponderous books purporting to be histories of Luzerne County. These works are chiefly biographical in their character, while their historical portions consist largely of careless rehashes of material taken from the histories hereinbefore mentioned. They are hurried “scrape-ups” of ill-arranged facts and fictions, marked by glaring omissions and errors innumerable; and the expense of publishing them was borne in good measure by the buncoed citizens who were honored (?) by being biographed and pictured therein—although many copies of the books were unloaded at a stiff price upon “unhonored and unsung” non-subscribers. These publications belong to the “gold-brick” class, with which a much-tolerating public has been made quite familiar during recent years.

Some one professing to be a philosopher has said, “Happy is that country which has no history!” It is doubtful if a genuine American would ever give expression to such a sentiment. On the other hand, how very few of us who claim to be interested in the history either of our far-famed, storied valley, our populous, wealthy Commonwealth, or our splendid, much-admired country—the birth-land of human freedom, and the home of innumerable inestimable privileges enjoyed by all within her borders—can exclaim, as did a noted writer and preacher not long since concerning the Scottish people, of whom he is one, “We carry all our past history in our hearts!”

Some may ask, What necessity is there for inquiring minutely into the experiences of long-buried generations, or burdening our minds with their failures and their successes? Since “their love, and their hatred, and their envy, is now perished; neither have they any more a portion for ever in anything that is done under the sun,” why not let their histories as well as their names pass into oblivion? To such we would reply: The seeds of the present are to be found in the past. The world—with all its circumstances, opinions, customs and laws ruling our present condition and shaping our future destiny—is what it is in consequence of the characters and actions of those who have gone before us. We ourselves are what we are because of influences which

* In a subsequent chapter sketches of the lives, and more extended accounts of the histories, of Chapman, Miner, Peck and Pearce will be found.

have distilled upon us, like the silent dew, through the atmosphere of a dozen generations.

The study of history is, beyond question, one of the most important methods of education. It is one, too, that can be carried on all through life; and no kind of reading is so stimulative, expansive and ennobling. It makes us at once familiar with the nobleness of mind, the wisdom and the mistakes and follies of past generations; and those made familiar with that past it guards against narrowness and delivers from much crude thought and wild speculation. The study of the history of our own country ought more especially to engage the attention of the American student, and enlist his earnest pursuit. Too often do we find the student familiar with the records of ancient times—of their heroes, statesmen, poets and philosophers—while those of his own country are comparatively unknown to him. He knows nearly by heart all about the generals, battles and tactical operations of the Punic and Mithridatic wars, but is very hazy with regard to the battles of the Revolutionary War; while he knows still less concerning those of the War of 1812 and of the Mexican War—not to speak of those of the Civil War, which are “much too modern,” or which he has “not yet come to.”

The majority of persons outside of asylums for the feeble-minded know that there was once a great revolution in America. This, except the fact that Christopher Columbus is believed to have discovered this country, is the one anchor to which everybody makes fast when questioned as to knowledge of American history. There is everywhere a shadowy tradition of Puritans, and the name *Mayflower* may sound familiar; but the siege of Louisbourg—the massacres of the French and Indian wars—the taking of Quebec—the Stamp Tax—the attitude of the British people in general towards the American Colonies—the speeches of this country's staunch friends in the English Parliament during the early days of the Revolution—all these things are utterly unknown to the mass of the people.

Where, in the vast and diversified history of human actions, can we find more stirring incidents, more godlike action, severer or deadlier contests, more illustrious instances of firmness of purpose, of a self-sacrificing spirit to the public good, of personal fortitude, of manly boldness, of greatness of mind and vigor of thought, than in the history of our own country? When, therefore, American history offers so much that is picturesque and inspiring, it seems a pity that so little of its charm should appeal to the popular mind.

To those who believe that the study of history should be carefully pursued in our schools and colleges, it is very gratifying to know that just now in many localities in our land teachers' institutes, State superintendents of education and boards of school-control are either advocating or providing for the formation of *local-history* classes in the public schools, on the ground that “the children ought to know the interesting and instructive story of their own home.” Relative to this matter the Rev. Dr. Henry L. Jones, rector of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Wilkes-Barré, and Vice President of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, in an admirable address* recently delivered before that society on the subject of its “educational value,” said:

* See “Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society,” VII: 68.

"Extraordinary efforts are being made at the present time to instruct the children of our schools in lessons of patriotism. Nearly every school-house in the land, like a government post, is surmounted by the stars and stripes. * * * Meantime, what instruction is the rising generation receiving in relation to its own immediate surroundings; as to the deeds of valor, the acts of statesmanship, or honors in the field of letters or science, achieved by those who once walked the streets they now walk and lived where they now live?"

"They are surely right who think that every city and town should have its history written with some detail for use in its schools. Such a local text-book should contain a clear statement of the location of the place; something as to its topography, geology and botany; the history of settlement; the establishment of its churches and schools; its military history; its industries and railroads; its charitable institutions; something of the noted men and women who were born or have lived or visited there.

"Such a study would awaken interest. A child loves to read and talk about places with which he is familiar, as we older people are more interested in anything about countries we have visited than about those we have never seen. The local history and geography are the easiest for the child to grasp, and he will learn other history and the geography of remote countries much more readily as a result of this study. * * * Teach him of the self-denials and achievements of those who moulded the character of the life with which he is in immediate contact; get his enthusiasm aroused by the actors in scenes that are comparatively near and familiar, and he will be ready for a broader outlook and a wider vision. To know all that pertains to this little corner of creation in which we live, is to know much of the reality and romance of life."

The valley of Wyoming is indeed classic ground. Its history is full of interest, and many of its truthful tales, in the strangeness of their circumstances, far exceed the fictions of romance. Colonel Stone, in his "Poetry and History of Wyoming" previously mentioned, said:

"All that is fierce and brutal, selfish and unrelenting, bitter and vindictive, in the passions of men embroiled in civil strife, has been displayed there [in Wyoming]. All that is lofty in patriotism—all that is generous, noble and self-devoted in the cause of country and liberty, has been proudly called into action there. All that is true, confiding, self-denying, constant, heroic, virtuous and enduring in women, has been sweetly illustrated there."

Some years later another well-known writer asserted:

"There is no spot of ground within the limits of the old thirteen States, not excepting Lexington, Bunker Hill or Groton, that awakens such tender and deep emotions of sympathy throughout the land as this bloodstained valley of Wyoming."

The Hon. Stanley Woodward, President of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, in an address before that society February 11, 1896, said:

"Certain it is, that no portion of American history is richer in its lights and shadows, its romantic adventures and its eccentric departures from the ordinary and the commonplace, than that of this beautiful valley of Wyoming, where we are so fortunate as to live. * * * It is therefore wise to pause occasionally in the grand march of present progress, and take a backward look."

In an address before the Wyoming Commemorative Association July 3, 1901, President E. D. Warfield of Lafayette College said:

"What a wonderful story is the story of this valley! The men and women who came here had many vicissitudes. The region is singularly marked by the folly, the meanness, the passion of men. * * * There are names of warning as well as cheer in the thrilling story. But after every allowance is made, the impulse given here by the pioneer is the impulse which has borne fruit in the wide farms, the populous cities, the noble people of this beautiful region."

The story of this valley is, beyond all question, the record of endless feats of arms, and of victory and defeat in a ceaseless strife waged against wild nature and wild man; a record of men who greatly dared and greatly did; a record of hardy, resolute men who, with incredible risk and toil, laid deep the foundations of the civilization that we inherit. Every incident connected with the early history of the valley, in which the valor of our forefathers was so signally displayed, comes down to us with all the interest of self-love, and all the freshness of romance. We love to dwell, for reasons better felt than explained, on the deeds of our

sires and the times that tried their souls; and there is something hallowed in the associations which gather around us—a feeling almost of devotion—while reflecting on those instances of ardent zeal and chivalrous patriotism which distinguished their lives.

In an address delivered July 3, 1896, before the Wyoming Commemorative Association, Sidney G. Fisher, Esq., a member of the Bar of Philadelphia, and well known as an author, said :

“You people of Wyoming are more interested in State history than all the other people of our Commonwealth put together. You have studied the history of this valley with a thoroughness of detail and described the events with a vividness of language which have made it known to the whole English-speaking race. I know of no other episode in the history of any of our States that has been done so completely and well. I am not, therefore, obliged to begin by attempting to arouse your interest in history; for it is already as strong as my own. If all the people of Pennsylvania had been always in the same degree interested in the State's history, we should, I think, have a more homogeneous and united Commonwealth and would stand first instead of second in the Union.

“I have often wondered exactly why it was that the Connecticut people were able to make this valley that they had discovered in Pennsylvania so celebrated in America and England that the English poet Campbell should write of it his ‘Gertrude of Wyoming,’ a most sympathetic work of genius, less than thirty years after the Revolution had closed, and when we were on the eve of the War of 1812. It may have been that clear cut power of expression which is common in New England, and is the result of New England education or of the life, or climate, or something in that land. The New Englanders have written the history of the whole country and forced their ideas on the world,* while we modest Pennsylvanians, with equally good ideas and equally good history, have remained unsung and unhonored because we were not nimble with our tongues. I am inclined to think, however, that you Connecticut people, with your instinctive mastery of the aptest language, had a comparatively easy task with Wyoming. The story of Wyoming was in itself essentially interesting and fascinating. It was a story—we naturally call it a story rather than a history—and whatever possesses the essential elements of a story is sure to charm.”

Yes, much has been written of Wyoming in both prose and verse; but “there are many historical periods and episodes which may be reconsidered again and again, and always with interest, when they pertain to places and things which concern ourselves.” On the other hand, our history has been investigated and written about by our own people so much from the spread-eagle and glorification point of view, that one can find very few among us who can talk about it in any other vein.

All history—which is made, like the sea, from many sources—is necessarily a selection of facts; and a writer who is animated by a strong sympathy with one side of a question, or an earnest desire to prove some special point, will be much tempted in his selection of facts to give undue prominence to those that support his view. It has been said that “history is read, not with our eyes but with our prejudices.” The development of the public mind, however, has made acceptable and necessary in these days new and unprejudiced methods of historical research, in which the value of the author is to be judged by his editorial skill and candor in arranging contemporaneous data which speak for themselves. Modern history must necessarily, to a large degree, be compilation; but it is the duty of the compiler to examine well the sources of his information, and to study critically and impartially the information itself. When a writer, dealing with facts, is too careless to acquaint himself with the accessible and incontrovertible truth, but

*In this same strain Charles A. Hanna has written in his “The Scotch-Irish; or, the Scot in North Britain, North Ireland and North America” (New York, 1902). He undertakes to show that American history, written, as it has been, chiefly by New Englanders, is one-sided if not actually perverted in its conclusions.

“splashes gaily along,” trusting to his memory or calling upon his imagination, it may be safely assumed that he has no ambition to be esteemed first-rate, and that he will be taken at his own valuation.

For a good deal of the information that Chapman, Stone, Miner and Peck—previously mentioned—incorporated in their several histories of our valley they were, in a measure, dependent upon the recollections of the old people of Wyoming who were alive when these authors wrote. (I have often thought how much it is to be regretted that those who made history a century and more ago did not write it out. But it seems that the people of that period rarely realized how common, everyday events would become uncommon and valuable in the lapse of years.) Owing to the lack of facilities for, as well as the expense of, gathering information during the period from 1800 to 1850; ignorance at that time as to the existence of many interesting and important letters, diaries and official documents and records; the proneness of early chroniclers of historic events here to rely too much upon the oral testimony of their contemporaries who had been present in our valley when, many years previous to the giving of that testimony, the events then related and recorded had taken place, our principal historians perpetrated, and their successors in the field have assisted in perpetuating, some very inaccurate and misleading statements relative to the early history not only of Wyoming, but of Wilkes-Barré. Although some of these errors have been corrected and refuted over and over by later writers, yet they continue to be propagated and palmed upon the reading public, and seem to be imperishable. Then again, mention of many important matters has been entirely omitted from the published histories, either through design or lack of knowledge of facts; while in several instances statements concerning certain interesting facts are either obscure or indefinite.

Believing that the history of Wyoming, as well as that of Wilkes-Barré, had long waited for consecutive and full narration, in an absolutely unbiased manner and with modern methods of historical research and treatment applied to the subject, the writer of these pages determined some four years since to attempt the task of preparing for publication a history of Wilkes-Barré; and during the time that has intervened he has labored constantly and diligently to accomplish his purpose. Further than this, it has been from the first his aim and hope to produce a work worthy of publication—one that will be a medium of authentic and authoritative information to those who read books and wish to become better acquainted with the past life of this interesting locality—a history that will be honorable to his native town and a credit to himself, so that, departing, he may leave behind him “footsteps on the sands of Time.”

“Many books are but repetitions and many writers mere echoes; and the greater part of literature is the pouring out of one bottle into another,” wrote a well-known librarian of this country not long ago. The present writer begs to assert that, although there may be many defects and shortcomings in the work now offered to the public, it is not a compound or concoction of the Wyoming and Luzerne histories hereinbefore referred to. In other words, this history has not been brought into being by a simple pouring from the bottles of Chapman, Stone, Miner, Peck, Pearce and other local historians into a little bottle

of the writer's own. He carefully went over the same ground traversed by the historians mentioned—using freely of the stores of material accumulated by them in their respective works. In addition, however, he made various expeditions into territory previously unthought of and untraveled by investigators of Wyoming's past life; and thence he brought back, from long-undisturbed resting-places, much invaluable historical data in the shape of letters, diaries, military and other reports, public records, etc., relating to the life of Wilkes-Barré and Wyoming prior to the year 1800. He gleaned widely and, he hopes, wisely and well.

In preparing his material for publication the writer endeavored, so far as possible, to refrain from glittering generalities, rhetorical rhapsodies and fulsome flatteries; and, as the writing of the work was not undertaken with a view either to asperse or to build up the reputation and character of any person or family, an attempt was made to be particularly careful and accurate in preparing the numerous biographical notes and sketches that are scattered throughout the following pages. (Neither bouquets nor brickbats have been thrown at the subjects of these little biographies—except in two or three well-deserved cases.) Endeavors, also, were made to avoid the interjection of purely personal opinion into the narrative, as well as the introduction of doubtful tales based solely upon family traditions and tea-table tattle.

In seeking out material for a work of this kind, covering a period of a century and a-half, it must be obvious to the reader that the task was attended with many difficulties; the chiefest of which arose from the fact that many valuable public and private records that would not only have greatly facilitated the task, but made the results more complete and interesting, were a long time ago either lost or destroyed. Nearly all the town and county records of Westmoreland (the name by which the Wyoming region was entitled while it was under the jurisdiction of Connecticut),* the earliest town records of Wilkes-Barré, the early Church records and the private papers and documents of families generally were either utterly destroyed or widely dispersed at the time of the British and Indian invasion in July, 1778. Later, during the Pennamite-Yankee difficulties, other public and private records of the New England settlers were destroyed by the Pennsylvania party. No special—certainly no strenuous—effort was ever made in early days by the people of Wyoming to gather up, renew or replace these dispersed and lost records, except at the beginning of the last century, when the commissioners under the Compromise Law of 1799† were at work settling the land-title disputes.

Very full minutes of their proceedings were kept by these commissioners; which minutes, contained in four large manuscript volumes (the whereabouts of which cannot now be ascertained), the present writer carefully examined some seven years ago. From them he learned that in July, 1801, the following original records and documents were produced by their then custodians before the commissioners, and, having been duly identified and authenticated by various witnesses, their contents were accepted by the commissioners as evidence in support of the claims of Connecticut land-holders:

* See Chapters XI and XIII.

† See Chapter XXVI.

- (i) A number of manuscript maps, original drafts of surveys and lists of lot-holders.
- (ii) One volume of "Westmoreland Probate Records"—containing more than 100 pages of records, largely in the handwriting of Obadiah Gore, Jr.
- (iii) One volume, containing upwards of seventy pages, entitled "Wilkesbarre Town Votes, No. 1."
- (iv) One volume of original "Records of the Town of Westmoreland," marked "Vol. I—paged from 1 to 622."
- (v) One volume of original "Records of the Town of Westmoreland," marked "Vol. II—paged from 623 to 1033."
- (vi) One volume of original "Records of the Town of Westmoreland," marked "Vol. III (containing the earliest records)—paged from 1034 to 1397."
- (vii) One volume of original "Records of the Town of Westmoreland," marked "Vol. IV (chiefly in the handwriting of Obadiah Gore, Jr.)—paged from 1 to 170."

In addition to the foregoing there were filed with the commissioners, during the progress of their work, hundreds of depositions of witnesses, containing much important information relative to early Connecticut settlers and settlements in the Wyoming region.

Of the records mentioned, "(iii)" was in the years 1801-'5 in the custody of Jesse Fell, Esq., the then Town Clerk of Wilkes-Barré—having come into his hands in 1796; while "(iv)," "(v)" and "(vi)" were in the custody of Lord Butler, Esq., with whom they had been deposited in 1792 by his father, Col. Zebulon Butler, in whose hands they had been for many years. It appears that early in 1805 Messrs. Fell and Butler— Influenced probably by the desires of many landholders under the Connecticut title—declined* to deliver the record-books in their custody into the hands of the commissioners, previously mentioned, who were then nearing the end of their labors.

By an Act of the Pennsylvania Legislature passed April 4, 1805, the "Westmoreland records" were authorized to be deposited with the Recorder of Deeds of Luzerne County, and certified copies of the same were to be accepted as evidence as occasion might require. Whether or not these records were ever deposited in the office of the Recorder of Deeds cannot now be ascertained; but it is certain that they are not now there, nor have they been there during many years past. March 28, 1808, the Legislature passed an Act suspending all the powers of the commissioners under the Act of April, 1799, and its supplements, and requiring them to deposit their books, records, papers, etc., with the Secretary of the Land Office of the Commonwealth. Under date of March 28, 1896, the Secretary of the Department of Internal Affairs of Pennsylvania (which department now comprehends the Land Office) informed the writer hereof that the books, etc., referred to were not then among the records of the department, and, so far as could be learned, had never been deposited there. And yet, in the published "Report of the Public Archives Commission, of the American Historical Association," made in 1900 (see page 285, Vol. II, of said report), we find this paragraph:

* See *The Luzerne Federalist* of January 19 and 26, and February 9, 1805.

"When, a few years since, the office of the Bureau of Railroads was created and attached to the Department of Internal Affairs, the room in which the 'Nicholson Land' papers and 'The Seventeen Township (Wyoming)' papers had been kept was required for its use. Accordingly, these extremely valuable papers, largely unpublished, were boxed and stored in the cellar of the building, where they are of course inaccessible, and exposed to destruction in event of serious accident to the water-pipes."

No one living in Wyoming during the first decade of the last century seems to have then realized that the records and documents of Westmoreland and of the Compromise Law commissioners had any historical value or were of even the least importance. Without doubt they were allowed to be kicked about from pillar to post during a number of years. From 1813 to 1816 the Hon. John B. Gibson was President Judge of the Luzerne County courts, and resided in Wilkes-Barré. Later, for many years, he was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth. He deposited with the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, May 11, 1819,* "a copy of the Susquehanna Company's survey,† together with an ample collection of scarce documents, made by Judge Cooper when one of the commissioners to carry out the Compromise Law." Having recognized the value of these documents, Judge Gibson had determined that they should be placed where they would be preserved. Whether or not he had gathered them up during his residence in Wilkes-Barré, or, later, had obtained them from his friend Judge Cooper, is not now known; but this fact is known, *viz.*: that the documents in question remained hidden away in the vault of the Philosophical Society, apparently unknown to, and certainly unseen by, a single writer of Wyoming history until the year 1897, when the present writer was permitted by the society to examine them and make copies of such as he desired.

About 1832 or '3 Charles Miner found "a bound volume containing the old Westmoreland records" in possession of a resident of Wilkes-Barré, "who had used the blank leaves" of the book.‡ Mr. Miner secured possession, and in his historical labors made use, of this book, which, in the judgment of the present writer (in the absence of an identifying description of the same by Mr. Miner), was either the record-book "(iii)" or "(vi)" mentioned on page 26. If it was "(vi)," it may now be seen in the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, "tattered and torn and all forlorn" and bearing a title—"The Town Book of Wilkes Barre"—attached to it since the year 1802 by some unknown scrivener. If, on the other hand, the book mentioned by Mr. Miner was "(iii)," then the writer is unable to locate its present resting-place.

In a communication from a local writer relative to certain historical matters—printed in the *Wilkes-Barré Advocate*, November 27, 1850—the following paragraph appeared:

"There are in the possession of one who claims no right to them, the old Westmoreland records, worth their weight in gold, preserved and furnished by Mr. Joseph Slocum; and the valuable records of the old Susquehanna Company, obtained by a vote of Assembly‡ by Senator [Luther] Kidder and Mr. Speaker [Hendrick B.] Wright."

* See Sergeant and Rawle's *Pennsylvania State Reports*, VI: 99.

† It is a manuscript map, which was, unquestionably, made at some time between the years 1795 and 1800, and was used by the commissioners while executing the Compromise Law. A photo-illustration and a full description of the map will be found in Chapter VIII.

‡ See Miner's "History of Wyoming," Introduction, page v.

§ This was in the year 1843, when strenuous efforts were being made to complete the erection of the Wyoming Monument.

Dr. H. Hollister, in the first edition (published in 1857) of his "History of the Lackawanna Valley," in referring to the old Westmoreland records, said (page 62):

"These old records, which deserve a more honored place than the musty coop* they occupy in Wilkes-Barré, are the records of the doings and laws of the colony at Wyoming while the authority of Connecticut was acknowledged here. * * We know of no other ancient manuscript whose publication would afford more interest and insight of other days than the three or four written volumes of Westmoreland records which are now so rapidly passing to decay."

In the second edition of his history, published in 1869, Doctor Hollister said (page 114) concerning these volumes:

"These old records which once occupied a musty coop in Wilkes-Barré *could not be found a few months ago*, when the writer sought for them through a clever and prominent official. * * If they can be exhumed, they should be printed. The Historical Society of Wilkes-Barré, if not able or disposed to print, ought to be their custodian."

As early as 1873 Steuben Jenkins, Esq., of the borough of Wyoming, in the valley of Wyoming, was "industriously at work on a new history of Wyoming, which, it was claimed, would contain many new facts in relation to the early settlement of the valley." Mr. Jenkins worked on his history as he felt inclined, or as opportunity was offered, during a period of many years, and, in a careful, painstaking way, gathered together a large amount of valuable material. But, before he was able to put this material in shape for the printer, he died (May 29, 1890). In 1885 Mr. Jenkins very kindly permitted the writer of this to examine and make extracts from a few of the original records and documents, and some of the other historical data, in the former's possession. Among the original record-books then examined were those referred to on page 26 as "(v)" and "(vii)." These are now, presumably, in possession of the representatives of the estate of Mr. Jenkins; but since his death permission to examine these public records has not been granted to any one.

In the course of his labors the writer carefully examined and made full extracts from the following described original, unpublished documents and records, in addition to those previously mentioned and others to be referred to hereinafter. Without doubt none of these was ever seen by Chapman, Miner, Stone, Peck or Pearce, inasmuch as when they wrote this material was not known to be in existence; or, if known, was not accessible:

(1) Full and complete records of the transactions of the Connecticut Susquehanna Company were kept by its officers from 1753 till 1802. Col. John Franklin became Clerk of the company in 1786, and from that time until his death in 1831 the records of the company were in his possession. In 1801 he produced the minute-book—a book of 170 pages, covering the years 1753-'86—before the commissioners under the Compromise Law, who made a copy of the same for their use. Afterwards for many years the whereabouts of the original records of the Susquehanna Company was not generally known (the reference to them in the quoted paragraph on page 27 the writer is unable to explain); but in July, 1862, twelve manuscript volumes of them were presented to The Connecticut Historical Society, at Hartford, by Edward Herrick, Jr., Esq., of Athens, Pennsylvania, with the information that they had been "found among the papers of the late Col. John Franklin."

*Without doubt either the old Luzerne County Court House or the "Fire-proof," that stood in the Public Square and were torn down in 1858, is here referred to.

Some years before his death Dr. Charles J. Hoadly of Hartford, for many years State Librarian of Connecticut and President of the Historical Society, informed the writer that the books of the Susquehanna Company were sent by Mr. Herrick to Mr. C. Hosmer, Secretary and Librarian of the Historical Society, who kept in Hartford "a sort of general curiosity-shop (what you could not find anywhere else you would usually find at Hosmer's shop)." Upon receiving these books Mr. Hosmer laid them aside in his shop, and there, shortly afterwards, Doctor Hoadly saw them. Some years later the latter, desiring to examine the books, looked for them at the hall of the Historical Society, but could not find them. Finally they were found in Hosmer's shop, covered up with various articles. They were then removed to the hall of the Society; but, in time, Hosmer, who was then an aged man, forgot where he had stored them. Doctor Hoadly again made a thorough search for them, when they were found in various out-of-the-way corners, littered over with newspapers, pamphlets, etc. They were then collected and placed in the fire-proof vault of the Society, where they now are.

(2) The "Wolcott Papers," "Trumbull Papers," "Dr. Wm. Samuel Johnson Papers" and other valuable manuscripts in the collections of The Connecticut Historical Society.

(3) Some 200 original petitions, memorials, letters, certificates, etc., either from or concerning the early settlers at Wyoming under the Connecticut Susquehanna Company. These documents are arranged in a volume entitled "Susquehannah Settlers, 1755-1796, Vol. I," preserved in the Connecticut State Library, Hartford.

(4) Two small volumes of 163 pages of original minutes of the proceedings at Wilkes-Barré in the Summer of 1787 of the commissioners (Col. Timothy Pickering, Stephen Balliett and William Montgomery) under the Confirming Law.* These records are now in the possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

(5) A large number of letters, military reports, rough drafts of minutes of town-meetings in Wyoming, lists of early settlers, etc., in possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

(6) A large collection of original manuscripts known as the "Trumbull Papers," in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, at Boston. These papers were derived from descendants of the Hon. Jonathan Trumbull, for many years Governor of Connecticut, and a shareholder in the Connecticut Susquehanna Company.

(7) The "Pickering Papers," also in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. These papers—consisting of letters written to and by Col. Timothy Pickering, † diaries, military reports, etc.—are comprised in fifty-eight folio volumes, and among them the writer of this found over 1,000 manuscript pages containing much interesting and valuable matter relating to the history of Wyoming and Wilkes-Barré prior to the year 1800. Colonel Pickering (who resided in Wilkes-Barré from 1787 to 1791) was not only a remarkably able and well-informed man, but a voluminous writer, and he seems to have kept a copy or rough draft of every letter and document he ever wrote. We of Wyoming owe him a debt of gratitude for having written and preserved so many interesting pages concerning the people and the happenings in this valley.

* See Chapter XXV.

† See Chapter XXIV.

(8) The "Penn Manuscripts," in possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia. In 1870 a large number of original letters, manuscript documents, charters, grants, etc., relating to William Penn and the Pennsylvania Proprietary family were offered for sale in England. They were purchased, and in 1873 were presented to The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

(9) A large collection of miscellaneous legal and other public documents, private correspondence, etc., relating to Wyoming, and bearing dates earlier than 1805. In possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

(10) A small but very interesting and valuable collection of original letters, reports and other manuscripts relating to the Connecticut Susquehanna Company and Wyoming affairs prior to 1790. In possession of Mr. James Terry, a well-known archæologist and collector of New Haven, Connecticut.

(11) "Stevens' Facsimiles of Manuscripts," various manuscript volumes entitled "American Loyalists" and a number of original, unpublished documents owned by the New York Public Library (Lenox Branch).

(12) Through the friendship and kindly interest of the Hon. Whitelaw Reid, Special Ambassador from the United States to the Coronation of King Edward VII in 1902, the writer was enabled to procure from certain government archives in London complete copies of many original, unpublished letters, military reports, etc., written by British officers in New York and Canada during the years 1777-'83 relative to military and Indian affairs on the upper Susquehanna and at Fort Niagara near Lake Ontario, also concerning the British and Indian incursions upon Wyoming, as well as other important matters that transpired during the years mentioned. The writer of this is confident that no other American writer—early or recent—on the subject of the warfare waged by the British and their Indian allies along the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania during the Revolutionary period, ever utilized these interesting and valuable documents.

In addition to the various unprinted records and documents just enumerated, the writer carefully examined, and extracted much valuable material from, the following-mentioned printed records—many of which were published subsequently to the writing of Stone's and Miner's histories of Wyoming:

(1) The "Pennsylvania Colonial Records"—sixteen volumes.

(2) The "Pennsylvania Archives"—seventy-five volumes in four series.

(3) "American Archives"—nine volumes.

(4) "American State Papers"—thirty-eight volumes.

(5) "The Public Papers of George Clinton." In 1853 the Legislature of New York purchased forty-eight folio volumes of original documents that had belonged to George Clinton, Governor of New York 1777-'95 and 1801-'4. These papers are being edited by Hugh Hastings, State Historian, and thus far six 8vo volumes have been published.

(6) "The Journals of the Sullivan Expedition."

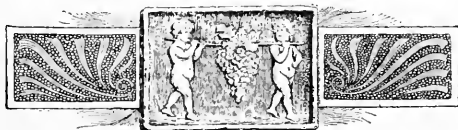
(7) A series of a dozen or more articles written by Col. John Franklin over the pseudonym "Plain Truth," and published in the years 1801-'5.

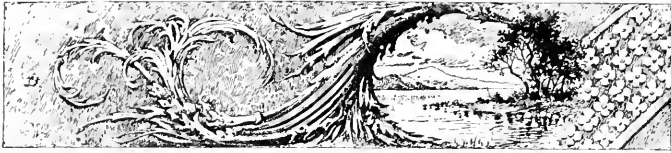
(8) An extended account of the battle of Wyoming and occurrences immediately following; written by Col. John Franklin, and published in 1828 in the *Towanda Republican*.

(9) Over 15,000 pages of newspapers published in Boston, Massachusetts; Hartford, Norwich and New London, Connecticut; New York City; Philadelphia, Wilkes-Barré and Kingston, Pennsylvania, and covering the years from 1753 to 1875. Few things are less valued than newspapers not of the current date—unless they happen to bear a date that is very far from current. In that case they have a curious interest and no little worth. But few people appreciate how much that is of interest and value to the historian may be found in the columns of old newspapers. “Apart even from their value to the historiographer and the antiquary, few relics of the past are more suggestive or interesting than the old newspaper. It is, in mercantile phrase, a book of original entry, showing us the transactions of the time in the light in which they were regarded by the parties engaged in them, and reflecting the state of public sentiment on innumerable topics—moral, religious, political, military and scientific.” A year or two ago a writer in a London periodical said: “One of the functions of a public library is to take care of the printed records of the locality, and there is no better conspectus of local history than a ‘long set’ of the chief newspaper. Even the advertisements become of value in time. Research into the history of towns, and even of villages, has become so popular of late years that we cannot afford to neglect such valuable sources of information.”

On the ceiling of the dome over the reading-room in the splendid National Library at Washington appears, among other inscriptions, this from an unknown author: “We taste the spices of Arabia, yet never feel the scorching sun which brings them forth.” Those who are fond of reading history, but are too ready to criticize unfavorably the work of the historian, should bear in mind this anonymous saying. The writing of history is not easy—for on more than a few points the writer is likely “to displease many and content few;” but harder yet is the labor of gathering material for the work. Tom Moore, the poet, once said that there was no fool’s paradise so beautiful as the conceiving of a poem, and no treadmill so laborious as the writing of it. It is a pleasant thing to be an author—after one’s book is printed!

Dr. Samuel Johnson, in the preface to his dictionary, said: “I look with pleasure on my book, however defective, and deliver it to the world with the spirit of a man that has endeavored well.” The author of this present book would fain make use of those words in offering these results of his labors to the sons and daughters of Wilkes-Barré—both at home and abroad in the world.





CHAPTER II.

THE NORTH BRANCH OF THE SUSQUEHANNA RIVER—THE VALLEY OF WYOMING—LOCATION AND DESCRIPTION— POETRY AND LEGEND.

“Oh! could I flow like thee, and make thy stream
My great example as it is my theme;
Though deep, yet clear, though gentle, yet not dull,
Strong without rage, without o'erflowing, full!”
—Denham's "Cooper's Hill."

“Oh! beautiful vision of Summer delight!
Oh! marvelous sweep of the circling hills!
Where sunshine and shadow contend on the height,
And a deeper green follows the paths of the rills
As they leap to the valley, whose gold and green
Add the finishing charm to the exquisite scene.”
—Susan E. Dickinson.

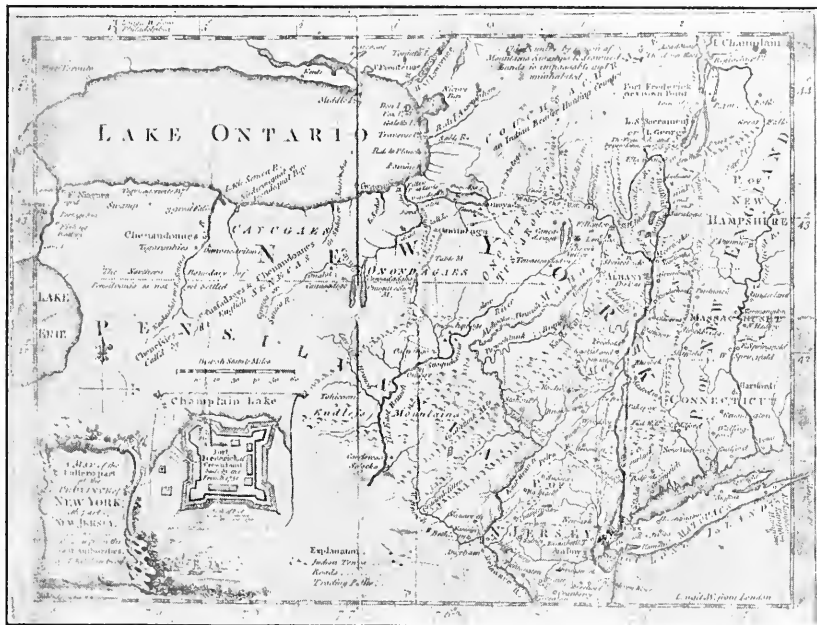
In the northern part of Otsego County, in eastern-central New York, lies Lake Otsego, which, although not so large* as some of the many other lakes lying in that State, is nevertheless much larger than any lake within the bounds of the adjoining State of Pennsylvania. Lake Otsego was not known by this name to the Indians of early days. In Governor Dongan's time they called it "the lake whence the Susquehannah takes its rise." Cadwallader Colden (sometime Surveyor General of New York, and in 1760 and later years Lieutenant Governor) in his "History of the Five Indian Nations," first published in 1727, referred to it in similar terms. In 1745 the Mohawk chief Abraham described to William Johnson certain lands as lying "at the head of Susquehannah Lake." On the reduced reproduction† of a "Map of the Eastern Part of the Province of New York" shown on the following page (this map was first published in 1756 in *The London Magazine*), the lake in question is indicated, but without a name. "In letters written from the lake in 1765 missionaries called it Otsego Lake, which is perhaps the earliest use of the name on record," says Francis W. Halsey in "The Old New York Frontier" (page 22).

In the same county of Otsego, six miles west of the northern end of Lake Otsego, and 1,750 feet above sea-level, lies a smaller body of water, now called Canadurango Lake. On the accompanying map it is noted

* It is nine miles in length, from north to south.

† Photographed from an original copy in possession of Dr. Charles S. Beck, Wilkes-Barré.

as "Caneaderaga Lake"; but on another map published in 1756, and referred to by Mr. Halsey in "The Old New York Frontier" (page 124), it appears as "Canadurango." On a "Chorographical Map of the Province of New York," compiled by order of Maj. Gen. William Tryon, and first published in London January 1, 1779, "Caniaderaga Lake" and "Otsega Lake" are thus indicated. About the year 1822—and without doubt earlier—the first-mentioned lake was sometimes referred to as "Canadarque."* Inasmuch as it lay within the bounds of the



patent obtained in 1755 by David Schuyler it was for many years called "Schuyler's Lake," and in some of the most modern cyclopædias and geographies is so named. Within recent years, however, its ancient name of "Canadurango" has been restored to it.

The two lakes mentioned—whose outflows unite three miles south of Cooperstown, lying at the southern end of Lake Otsego—are the principal sources of the North, or Main, Branch of the Susquehanna River, which, flowing generally in a south-westerly direction to the Pennsylvania State line, receives in its course in New York the Unadilla River and several smaller tributaries. Crossing the Pennsylvania boundary, near the extreme north-east corner of that State, the river flows around the base of a spur of the Allegheny range of mountains, in the townships of Harmony and Willingborough, Susquehanna (formerly a part of Luzerne) County—forming, in this grand sweep, what for many years has been called the Great Bend of the Susquehanna. Re-entering New York the river flows in a north-westerly direction to Binghamton, whence—having received there the waters of the Chenango River—its course is west by south till it again makes an entrance into Pennsylvania in northern-central Bradford County. Then, running

* See *The Susquehanna Democrat* (Wilkes-Barré), November 15, 1822.

about six and a-half miles in a south-westerly direction, it receives its principal affluent, the Chemung, or Tioga, River.*

The peninsula lying between, or at the confluence of, the Susquehanna and the Tioga (it is a broad and nearly level plain, extending northward to the State line) bore in early times the name of Diahoga



TIOGA POINT IN 1900.

or Tyoga†; but for more than a hundred years now the locality has been known as Tioga Point. Near the southern end of this peninsula stands the town of Athens, laid out in May, 1786, under the auspices of the Connecticut Susquehanna Company, and incorporated as a borough in March, 1831.

From Tioga Point the Susquehanna pursues, with many windings, a mean south-easterly course in Pennsylvania as far as the city of Pittston in the north-eastern corner of Luzerne County; receiving on the way numerous small tributaries. Just at the northern boundary of Pittston—having entered Wyoming Valley through a precipitous gap—it is joined by the Lackawanna River, once a limpid stream of considerable volume and value, but now, for the most part, no more than a sluggish, unsightly creek. Three-quarters of a mile below the mouth of the

* The Tioga River rises in the south-eastern part of Tioga County, Pennsylvania. Flowing northward in this county it receives the waters of several creeks and small rivers, and then, crossing the New York State line, it is joined by the Chemung River and flows south-easterly (for a considerable distance in New York, where it is called the Chemung River) to the Susquehanna at Tioga Point. On Lewis Evans' map of Pennsylvania, published in March, 1749 (see Chapter IV), this river is indicated as the "Cayuga Branch" of the Susquehanna—"near as large as Schuylkill [River]." On the map on page 33, and on a "Map of the Province of Pensilvania" first published in 1756 (see Chapter V), "Cayuga Branch" is shown, with the Tioga tributary noted as "Tobiccon." On a map of Pennsylvania and part of New York by Reading Howell, published in 1791 (see Chapter XXIII), "Tyoga River" is thus indicated, both in New York and Pennsylvania.

† On Evans' map of 1749 (see Chapter IV) the Indian town at that point is indicated as "Tobiccon." Evans had visited the locality in 1743.

"Tyoga" is said by some writers to be derived from an Indian word "*Teyaogen*, meaning an interval, or anything in the middle of two other things." Other writers have stated that the parent-word means either "meeting-place" or "the meeting of the waters." Morgan, in his "League of the Iroquois" (edition of 1851, page 48), says that the parent-word is *Tā-yō-ga*, meaning "at the forks."

For further and more interesting details concerning Diahoga and Tioga Point see Chapter IV.

Lackawanna the Susquehanna turns sharply to the south-west, and having flowed about seven miles reaches Wilkes-Barré. Continuing some nine miles farther, in a sinuous course, it rushes over the dam at Nanticoke Falls and leaves the valley, and then flows, generally in a south-westerly direction, to Northumberland in eastern-central Pennsylvania, where it is joined by the West Branch of the Susquehanna (which is more than 200 miles in length). From this point, increasing in width and volume as it receives other affluents, the river flows south, and then in a winding course south-east, 153 miles to its mouth at the head of Chesapeake Bay in Maryland.

From Otsego Lake to Chesapeake Bay the Susquehanna flows a distance of a little more than 400 miles, and in its course passes through many wide-rolling, cultivated fields, tall, beetling cliffs, low-lying, rich meadows, bold, craggy and picturesque mountains and beautiful, productive valleys. From its source to its mouth the scenery along its banks is unsurpassed for variety, charm and grandeur. The North Branch is of no great width, although forty and more years ago it was of much greater width and depth—particularly in north-eastern Pennsylvania—than it is now.* It is a shallow, meandering stream, "that gladdens every eye that once has known it and then comes back to see its face again."

Some distance below Tioga Point the precipitous hills—from 300 to 600 feet in height—which bound the river valley on each side, approach so closely in several places that the river flats are quite narrow and subject to overflow in the annual Spring freshets. Farther on the river valley is broad, and the ancient flood plain is many feet higher than any freshets have been in modern times; then the shores of the river become frequently rugged and mountainous, with only occasional strips of alluvial land. Just above the mouth of the Lackawanna the Susquehanna breaks through the mountain—as previously mentioned—that forms the north-western boundary of Wyoming Valley. At Nanticoke Falls it breaks out through the same mountain, and about eight miles lower down again overcomes it. It is difficult to account for this singular and apparently useless freak of the otherwise dignified and onward Susquehanna. It looks like the mere wantonness of conscious strength—a sort of Sam Patch ambition to show that some things may be done as well as others.

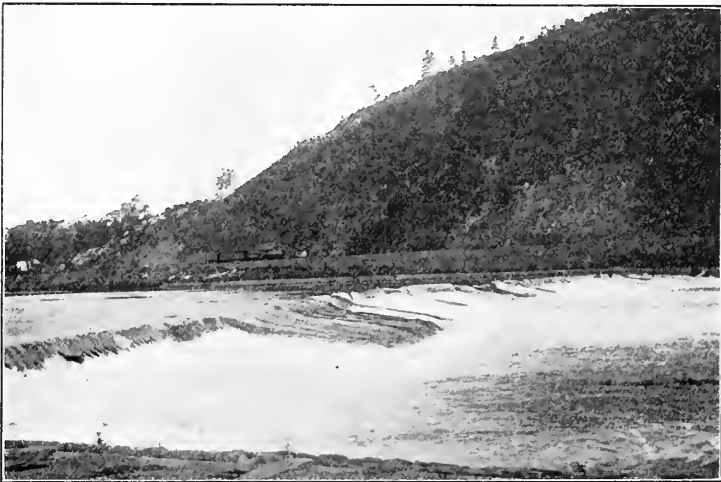
Many green islands stud the Susquehanna throughout its whole length, while here and there gentle rapids, or riffles, and falls of no great height diversify the otherwise unruffled current. The most considerable falls in the North Branch of the river prior to the year 1830 were those at Nanticoke at the lower end of Wyoming Valley, where the river breaks its way through the mountain, as just noted. But these falls had nothing of a cataract character, and in times of high water could easily be passed over by arks and rafts. On the plot of the Manor of Sunbury (referred to on page 51), and on William Scull's maps of Pennsylvania published in 1770 and 1775, these falls are noted

* According to measurements carefully made in September, 1809, the channel of the river was 894 feet in width from the top of the bank at the foot of Northampton Street, Wilkes-Barré, to the top of the opposite bank. As it was then a time of low water, and the elevation of the bank at Northampton Street was twenty-seven feet above the river's surface, it is probable that the stream at that time and place was at least 800 feet in width.

In April, 1902, when the water was not at its lowest level, the width of the stream was measured at the Market Street bridge by an employe of the United States Geological Survey, and was found to be 710 feet

as "Wyoming Falls"; but their name was changed to Nanticoke Falls after the New Englanders had become established in the valley. Along the line of these natural falls the Nanticoke dam was erected in 1830, in conjunction with the North Branch Canal.*

On the drafts of some of the earliest surveys made in Wyoming Valley, and on early manuscript and lithographed maps comprehending north-eastern Pennsylvania (for example, the map by Reading Howell mentioned in the note on page 34), "Wyoming Falls" are indicated at a point in the river a short distance above the mouth of Mill Creek.† Presumably these falls were of a more extensive and formidable character a century and a-quarter ago than they are at this time. They are now—particularly in times of low water—no more than ordinary riffles or rapids, extending the full width of the stream and a short distance in its course, and are caused by the many boulders and irregularly-shaped



NANTICOKE DAM IN 1899, FROM THE WEST SHORE OF THE RIVER.

rocks which lie in the bed of the stream at that point, over which the shallow water swirls and eddies. In times of high water the stream flows much more swiftly there than elsewhere in the vicinity of Wilkes-Barré, while the swirling noticeable at other times is then not so apparent. The head of these riffles or rapids is situated less than half a mile north of the city of Wilkes-Barré, nearly opposite the present Prospect Colliery of the Lehigh Valley Coal Company, or about midway between the bridge of the Wilkes-Barré and Eastern Railroad and that of the Bowman's Creek Branch of the Lehigh Valley Railroad.

On the Wilkes-Barré side of the river, just below where the Dorrance Colliery of the Lehigh Valley Coal Company now stands, there were rapids of moderate extent some twenty-five years ago and more. To the Wilkes-Barréans of those days they were known as "The Riffles." When, at this point, the construction of a fairway—intended to be of material aid to river navigation—was attempted by the Federal Govern-

* See Chapter XLVIII.

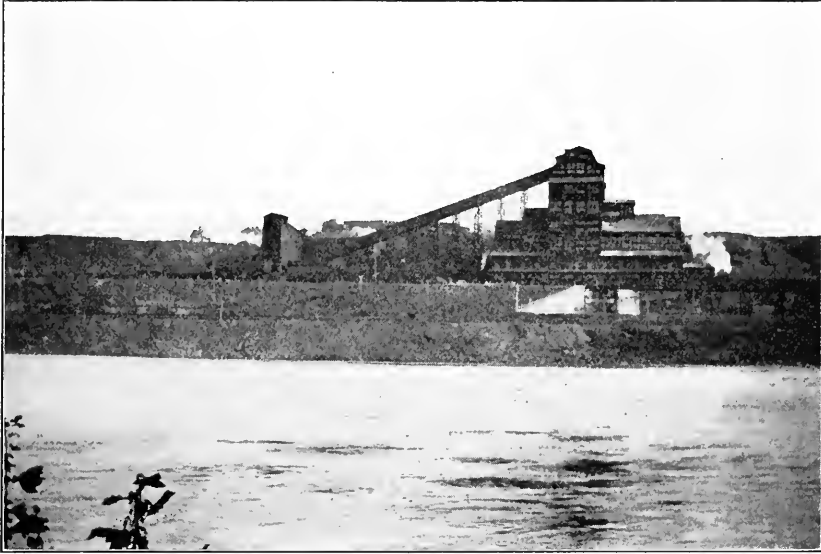
† See Chapter VII for a facsimile of a plot of the Manor of Stoke, made in December, 1768, whereon these falls are noted, but without a name.



VIEW OF THE SUSQUEHANNA FROM THE WILKES-BARRÉ CITY CEMETERY IN 1902.
The "new" island above the North Street bridge, as described on page 37, is here shown.

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ment, by the erection of a line of timber cribs,* the character of "The Riffles" was considerably changed; and within recent years, beginning near the foot of these rapids and extending almost to the North Street bridge, quite a sizable island has gradually risen up from the gravelly bottom of the river. In midsummer, or at other seasons when the stream is unusually low, this island is united to the west, or Kingston, shore by the dwindling away of the current on that side; and all the water that then passes Wilkes-Barré in the river's bed, from North Street bridge to Toby's Eddy (see page 52), comes down through the narrow channel on the Wilkes-Barré side, at "The Riffles."



"WYOMING FALLS," IN TIME OF HIGH WATER, OCTOBER, 1903.

The Susquehanna was noted in earlier days for the clearness and purity of its waters. As late as February, 1860, in a communication to the *Record of the Times* (Wilkes-Barré) relative to the North Branch of the river, Charles Miner, the historian of Wyoming, wrote :

"Is there in the wide world—we make no exception, not one, from Pison to Euphrates—a river or stream purer than the Susquehanna, that flows right by our doors? Is it not so limpid, so clear, that floating down in a skiff or canoe you may see everywhere, however deep, the sands at the bottom and mark the fish as they glide by and play around your boat? Is there in all its extent of 200 miles to Otsego a single stagnant pool? On the contrary, is it not in its utmost length constituted by running brooks—living springs leaping from the mountains, no where on the wide earth surpassed in salubrity?"

In these present days, owing to the diminution of the stream from various causes, the discharge into it not only of sewage matter from many towns, but of "the viscous oozes of the Lackawanna" and vast quantities of turbid and polluted water pumped from the coal-mines and coal-washerries located in and near Wyoming Valley, the North Branch of the Susquehanna, from the head of Wyoming Valley southward for some distance, is no longer the absolutely pure and limpid stream that historians were wont to describe with delight and poets to rhapsodize.

* See Chapter XLVI.

When the Susquehanna River first became known to white men they found that it was called by that name by the Indians who were familiar with it. Ever since then it has been known by the same name—slightly modified in its spelling, however, at different periods, as for example: “Sasquehannock”, “Saosquahanunk”, “Susquehannock”, “Sasquahanu”, “Sasquahanough” and “Sisquehannah.” The name is generally spelled “Susquehannah” on many drafts of surveys and maps, and in official documents and other papers, executed or published between the years 1730 and 1790.

According to Henry R. Schoolcraft* and others who have written about the North American Indians, the Susquehannocks, Minquas, Gandastogué or Andastés were a powerful tribe—“a brave, proud and high-spirited nation”—of aboriginals who, at a very early day, inhabited, principally, the western shore of Chesapeake Bay, near its head, within what is now the State of Maryland. The first of the four names mentioned above was, apparently, an appellation given these Indians by the Virginia tribes; the second, that given them by the Algonkins on the Delaware; while Gandastogué as the French, or Conestoga as the English, wrote it, was their own tribal name, meaning “cabin-pole men”—*natio perticarum*—from *andasta*, “a cabin-pole.”† On this point Prof. A. L. Guss, author of “Early Indian History on the Susquehanna,”‡

says: “We can rest assured that ‘Sasquesahanocks’ [Susquehannocks] is a Tockwock, or Nanticoke, term, and not the term that those ‘gyants’ applied to themselves. There is no subsequent evidence that they called themselves by any such name as Sasquesahanocks, or that they were so called by any other Iroquois tribe, unless it was after they got it from the English.”

Captain John Smith, who visited and circumnavigated Chesapeake Bay in 1608, furnishes in his “Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles” (originally published in London in 1624) the first account of these Indians. He refers to them as the “Sasquesahanocks,” numbering 600 warriors (which would denote a population of about 3,000 souls), and being a “gyant like people” who “spoke in



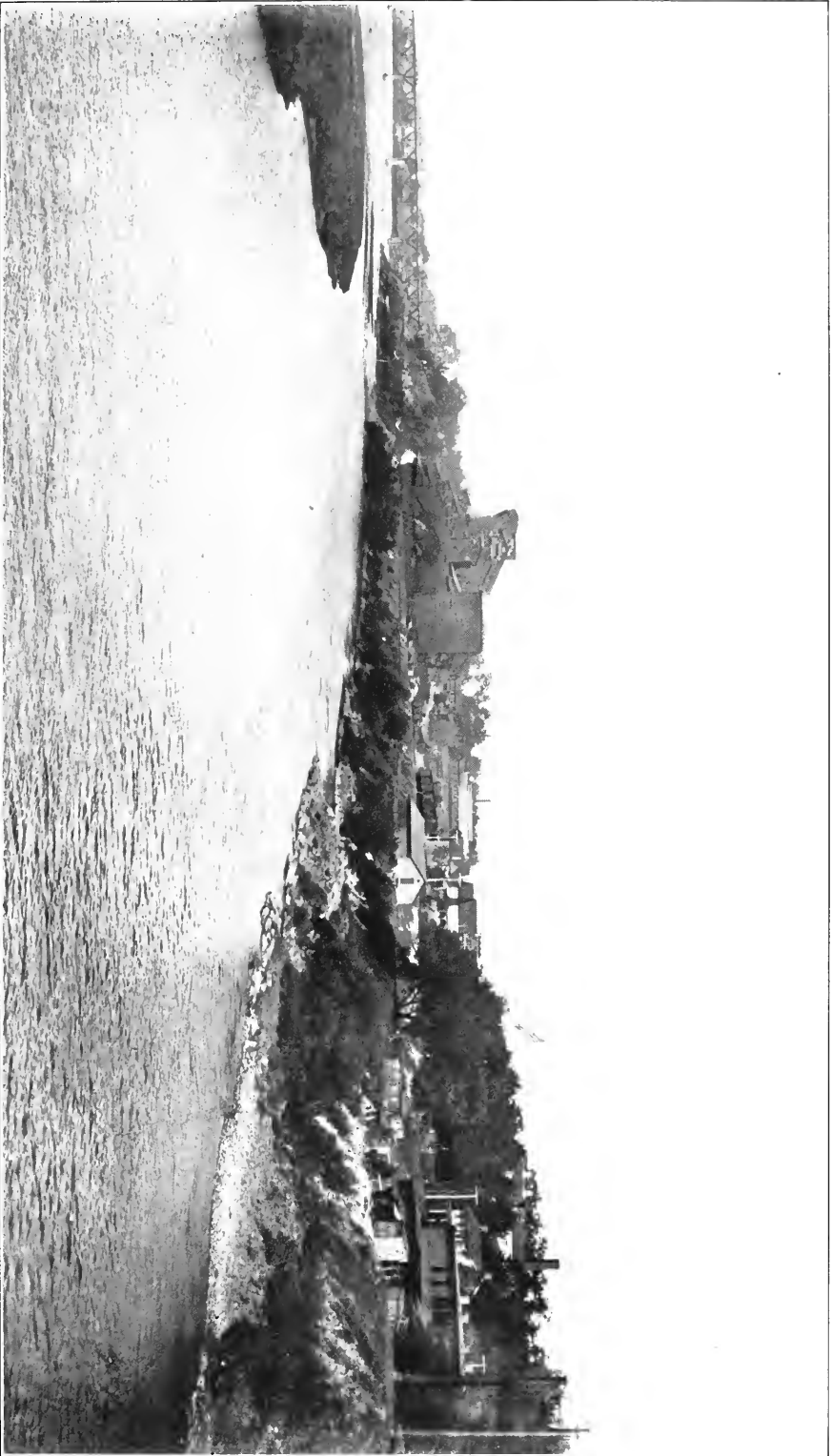
A SUSQUEHANNOCK CHIEF.

From an original sketch by F. O. C. Darley,
in possession of the author.

* See his “History of the Indian Tribes of the United States,” edition of 1857, pages 128, 131, 137 and 142.

† See Larned’s “History for Ready Reference,” I: 105.

‡ See Egle’s “Historical Register,” I: 252-267.



VIEW UP THE SUSQUEHANNA FROM THE NORTH STREET BRIDGE.
From a photograph taken in 1901.

NEW YORK
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1900

a hollow tone with a full enunciation," and who, "when fighting, never fled, but stood like a wall as long as there was one [Indian] remaining." Captain Smith was, without doubt, the first white man that met Indians who resided within the present limits of Pennsylvania.

In 1608 one of the towns of the Susquehannocks was exactly at the mouth of the Susquehanna River, and other of their towns were located at various points up the river for some distance. Professor Guss says that "the chief town of the Susquehannocks was at the time of Smith's exploration probably near the mouth of Conestoga Creek," on the Susquehanna River, within the present limits of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. On a very early map of the Province of Pennsylvania* "Sasquahana Indian Fort" is indicated near the "Great Fall" in the Susquehanna, at no great distance from the river's mouth.

Prior to 1600 the Susquehannocks and the Mohawks came into collision, and the former nearly exterminated the latter in a war that lasted ten years. In 1608 Captain Smith found them still contending with each other, equally resolute and warlike; the Susquehannocks being impregnable in their palisaded towns, and ruling over all the Algonkin tribes. About the year 1630 the Susquehannocks claimed the exclusive right to the country lying between the Susquehanna and Potomac rivers. This was their hunting-ground, and marked the boundary-line between their jurisdiction and that of the Powhatan confederacy of Virginia. Whatever were the local names of the bands occupying the banks of the several intermediate rivers, these bands were merely subordinate to the reigning tribe, primarily located near the mouth and along the shores of the Susquehanna.

It is very probable that the Susquehannocks, or Conestogas, had occupied for many years not only the country about the lower Susquehanna, but that as late as 1534, at least, their territory extended as far north as the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and was contiguous to that of the Iroquois, or Five Nations—later the Six Nations—on the north before the Lenni Lenâpés, or Delawares, began their westward movement.†

The Susquehannocks were, undoubtedly, a branch of the great Huron-Iroquois family. From time immemorial they were friends and allies of the Hurons (a segregated Iroquois tribe), and not over friendly to the Five Nations. In 1647 the Susquehannocks, then able to place in the field 1,300 warriors (who had been trained to the use of fire-arms by three Swedish soldiers), despatched an embassy to Lake Huron with an offer to espouse the quarrel of the Hurons with the Iroquois, and a request that when the Hurons (who were then on the brink of ruin) needed aid they would call on the Susquehannocks. This proposed alliance failed, however.

In 1661 the Susquehannock towns were ravaged by small-pox, and the loss resulting from this scourge was such as to weaken the tribe greatly. In this same year, also, some of the tribe were cut off by the Seneca Indians (one of the tribes of the Iroquois, or Five Nation, confederacy). In 1663 an army of 1,600 Senecas marched against the Susquehannocks and laid siege to a little fort defended by 100 warriors of that tribe, who, confident in their own bravery and of receiving assistance from their brethren, held out manfully. At last, sallying out

* See Egle's "History of Pennsylvania," p. 92.

† See "Report on Indians in the United States at the Eleventh Census (1890)," page 277.

from the fort, they routed the Senecas, killing ten and recovering as many of their own people who had been captured by the Senecas.

Concerning the Susquehannocks George Alsop wrote as follows in 1666, in his "Character of the Province of Maryland":

"They are a people lookt upon by the Christian Inhabitants as the most Noble and Heroic Nation of Indians that dwell upon the Confines of America. Also, are so allowed and lookt upon by the rest of the Indians by a submissive and tributary acknowledgment, being a people cast into the mould of a most large and warlike department, the men being for the most part seven foot high in latitude, and in magnitude and bulk suitable to so high a pitch; their voyce large and hollow, as ascending out of a Cave; their gait and behavior strait, stately and majestick, treading on the Earth with as much pride, contempt and disdain to so sordid a Center as can be imagined from a creature derived from the same mould and Earth.

"These Susquehannock Indians are for the most part great Warriors, and seldom sleep one Summer in the quiet armes of a peaceable Rest, but keep, by their present power as well as by their former conquest, the several Nations of Indians round about them in a forceable obedience and subjection. Their government is an Anarchy. He that fights best carries it. * * * * They now and then feed on the carcasses of their enemies. They intomb the ruines of their deceased conquest in no other Sepulchre than their un sanctified maws.

"They are situated a hundred and odd miles distant from the Christian Plantations of Mary Land, at the head [mouth?] of a river that runs into the Bay of Chesapeake, called by their own name the Susquehannock River, where they remain and inhabit most part of the Summer time, and seldom remove far from it, unless it be to subdue any Forreign Rebellion. About November the best Hunters draw off to several remote places of the Woods, where they know the Deer, Bear and Elk useth. There they build several cottages, where they remain for the space of three months."

The Susquehannocks seem to have been in almost continuous warfare with the Iroquois from the year 1663 until 1675, when the former were completely overthrown. In the year last mentioned a party of about 100 Susquehannocks, having retreated from Pennsylvania into Maryland, became involved there in a war with the colonists and were well-nigh exterminated. The remaining members of the tribe submitted to the Iroquois, who removed some of them from their old position near the mouth of the Susquehanna to one farther up the river—perhaps to or near Tioga Point, previously mentioned. All the rest of the Susquehannocks were forced to dwell at their old town of Conestoga.

At a council held with the Six Nation Indians at Philadelphia, in October, 1736, at which the Hon. Thomas Penn, one of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, was present, the Indians were told:* "The lands on Sasquehannah, we believe, belong to the Six Nations by the conquest of the Indians of that river."

On the first arrival (in 1681) of the English in Pennsylvania messengers from Conestoga came to welcome them with presents of venison, corn and skins; and in June, 1683, the whole tribe—together with the Lenni Lenâpés and other Indian nations—entered into a treaty of friendship (the "Great Treaty") with the first Proprietary, William Penn, under the ancient elm at Shackamaxon on the Delaware, which treaty was "to last as long as the sun should shine or the waters run into rivers."[†] In 1701 Canoodagtoh, styled "King of the Susquehannas," made a treaty at Philadelphia with William Penn, who was preparing to return to England, and in the record of that treaty the Indians are denominated "Minquas, Conestogas or Susquehannas."

"Jealous of their tribal sovereignty, the Susquehannocks added, by intestine wars, to the natural deaths produced by decay and intemperance; and when, like the other tribes, they began to assert their rights and

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IV: 94.

† See "Pennsylvania—Colonial and Federal," I: 286.

sovereignty, and resist the encroachments of Europeans, they had already diminished so much in population that they lacked the ability to maintain their ground. They were outwitted in diplomacy by a civilized nation, and if they did not disappear before the steady progress of arts, industry and genius among the colonists, they were enervated during peace and conquered in war.”*

They still continued to hunt on their old grounds in southern Pennsylvania and in Maryland, and even ventured beyond the Potomac into Virginia. This caused a disagreement between them and the southern Indians, and the loss of their king in a skirmish in the year 1719. In consequence they applied to Governor Keith of Pennsylvania for protection, and in the Spring of 1721 the Governor went to Virginia to consult with the Governor of that Colony as to the best plan for the security or common safety of the Indians. As a result of this interview Governor Keith notified the Six Nations and the Susquehannocks, or Conestogas as they were now generally called, that he would meet their representatives in conference on July 5, 1721, at Conestoga. Thither the Governor journeyed from Philadelphia, accompanied by seventy well-mounted and armed horsemen. In the course of the conference, which lasted several days, the Governor addressed the Conestogas as his “children,” and referred to the Six Nations as their “friends.” He reminded the former that their oppressor, Nathaniel Bacon of Virginia, had fallen a victim to his passions in 1677; that the then Governor of Virginia was their friend, and that he requested them not to cross the Potomac in future—promising that his Indians should not disturb the Conestogas in their hunting-grounds. “I have made this agreement, which you must keep,” said Governor Keith. “It is but a few years since William Penn spoke to your nation in council, which your chiefs must well remember. *Onas*† gave you good counsel, which you must never forget.” A Conestoga chief replying to Governor Keith said: “The roots of the Tree of Friendship are planted deep; the tree top is high; the branches spread in warm weather when the weary Indian sleeps beneath its shade. So is the Indian protected by *Onas* when danger threatens from the deep and dark thicket. We have not forgotten *Onas*; he promised us protection at Shackamaxon.”‡

At a treaty held in 1742 the Conestogas appeared as a tribe, but they were then dwindling away. In 1763 the feeble remnant of the tribe was exterminated by the “Paxtang Boys.”§

Various origins and meanings have been ascribed by historians and etymologists to the name “Susquehannock.” Some of the earliest writers on the subject assumed that the Indians gave their name to the river; but this seems highly improbable, for the word “Susquehannock” describes clearly and appositely the well-known peculiar characteristics of the river upon whose banks this particular tribe of Indians had its home. It was looked upon, and spoken of, as *their* river, and naturally, therefore, to the Indians themselves the name of their river

* Schoolcraft's "History of the Indian Tribes," page 135.

† An Indian word signifying "feather" or "quill." By it William Penn, during his lifetime, was usually designated by the Indians; but later they used the word generally as their name for the Governor of Pennsylvania.

‡ See Hazard's *Pennsylvania Register* (February, 1835), XV: 138.

§ See "The Harvey Book," page 747.

came in time to be applied by other tribes or nations. Heckewelder* states :

"The Indians (Lenâpé) distinguish the river which we call Susquehanna, thus : The North Branch they call *M'chweuwamisipu*, or, to shorten it, *M'chweuwormink*, from which we have called it Wyoming. The word implies : *The river on which are extensive, clear flats*. The Six Nations, according to Pyriæus [a Moravian missionary], call it *Gahonta*, which had the same meaning. The West Branch they call *Quenischachachgekhanne* ; but to shorten it they say *Quenischachachki*. This word implies : *The river which has the long reaches, or straight courses, in it*. From the forks, where now the town of Northumberland stands, downwards, they have a name (this word I have lost) which implies the *Great Bay River*. The word Susquehanna, properly *Sisquehanne*, from *Siska* for mud and *hanne* a stream, was probably at an early time of the settling of this country overheard by some white person, while the Indians were at the time of a flood or freshet remarking : '*Jah! Achsisquehanne*,' or '*Sisquehanna*,' which is *How muddy the stream is!* and therefore taken as the proper name of the river."

Professor Guss, and however, declines to accept this theory and says (see Egle's "Historical Register") : "Heckewelder was long a missionary among the Delawares. He was so prejudiced in their favor that he could 'Delawareize' almost any word." Nevertheless, in 1884 certain Delaware chiefs who, in all probability, had never heard of Heckewelder (who had then been dead for more than sixty years), stated that the name Susquehanna was derived from "*A-theth-qua-nee*" in their language, meaning "the roily river."†

Roberts Vaux, a Philadelphia Quaker, who, at an early date, was a diligent inquirer into matters relating to the Indians, gave "Saosquahanunk" as the original name of the Susquehanna ; its meaning being "a long, crooked river." J. R. Simms, in his "Frontiersmen of New York," originally published in 1845, describes the name Susquehanna as "an aboriginal word said to signify crooked river" ; and J. Fenimore Cooper (whose home was at the source of the Susquehanna) gives that meaning to the river's name in his novel "The Pioneers." John Binns, familiar for a period of many years (beginning in the latter part of the eighteenth century) with the hydrography, history and traditions of the Susquehanna, states in his "Life" : "Susquehanna is the Indian name of the river. The meaning of the word is said to be 'the river with the rocky bottom.' Never was a river more correctly named."

The Rev. W. M. Beauchamp, S. T. D., of Syracuse, New York, who is recognized as one of the leading and most reliable authorities of the present day on the Iroquois and other Indian languages, customs, etc., gives "*Quenischachschgekhanne* as a word from which Heckewelder once thought Susquehanna might have been derived by corruption." This word means "river with long reaches"—a fair equivalent for "long, crooked river," and one giving a more accurate description of the river than the word meaning "muddy stream."

F. W. Halsey says (page 19 of "The Old New York Frontier", previously mentioned) :

"The Iroquois had another name for the Susquehanna, *Ga-wa-no-wa-na-neh*, which means 'great island,' and to which *Gehunda*, the common word for river, was added to get Great Island River. At the mouth of the stream, lying squarely athwart it, is an island perhaps a mile long, that was formerly known as Palmer's Island, but later has

* JOHN G. B. HECKEWELDER, born in England in 1743 ; died at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1823. From 1765 to 1771 he was employed as a teacher at the Moravian missions at Friedenshütten and Sheshequin, in Pennsylvania. He then became an evangelist and was appointed assistant to David Zeisberger, with whom he labored in Ohio. He studied carefully the language, manners and customs of the Indians—particularly the Delawares. In 1810 he returned from Ohio to Bethlehem, where he engaged in literary pursuits until his death. Among the various books concerning the Indians which he published was one (in 1822) bearing this title : "Names which the Leni Lenâpé, or Delaware, Indians gave to Rivers, Streams and Localities within the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia ; with their Significations."

† See "Transactions of the Buffalo (N. Y.) Historical Society" (1885), III : 102, 103.

been called Watson's Island. It lies exactly where lived the Susquehanna Indians. The mainland opposite has been found to be very rich in weapons, domestic utensils, etc., many thousands of specimens having been found. * * * The Susquehanna is remarkable elsewhere for the number and size of its islands, especially in Pennsylvania."

Professor Guss, in his article previously referred to on page 38, says that he knows "of no authority" for the meaning "long, crooked river" applied to the word "Susquehannock" or "Susquehanna"; and that the word signifying "the river with rocks" is of Shawanese origin. As will be shown in the chapter following this, the Shawanese Indians did not become occupants of the Susquehanna River region in north-eastern and eastern-central Pennsylvania until about the years 1725-'28; therefore it is hardly probable that prior to this period a name of Shawanese origin would have been selected by the Susquehannock or any other Indian tribe for this important and well-known river. It was at a still later period than this that the Shawanese, Delawares and other Indians living on the upper branches of the river were referred to as "the Susquehanna Indians."

Professor Guss entertains the opinion that the Susquehannock Indians derived their name from that of the river, and he holds that this name means "brook-stream" or "spring-water-stream"; wherefore the Indians living along, or at the mouth of, this stream were called by other tribes "Susquehannocks, or brook-stream-land-ers, or spring-water-stream-region-people." This may appear to some readers to be a fanciful meaning, but it is not more so than some of the other meanings given to the word. It really accurately describes the character of the river, for, from its source to its mouth, it is fed by a remarkably large number of brooks, creeks and small rivers that have their rise in mountain springs. This fact being generally known to the aboriginals, the tribe or nation living along the shores of this river would, very probably, be referred to by contemporary tribes as the people living in the region of the river fed by spring-water brooks; or, in the picturesque language of the Indians, as "brook-stream-land-ers."

In line, apparently, with the opinion of Professor Guss it is stated in "Bulletin No. 197 of the United States Geological Survey" (page 248), published in 1902, that "Susquehanna is derived from an Indian word, *suckahanne*, meaning 'water'."

It may be that the true meaning of the word "Susquehannock," or "Susquehanna," has vanished, never to be recovered, just as the nation that bore this name long ago disappeared; but, whether this be so or not, the name of that nation will be perpetuated by their noble river, which is a more enduring memorial than the perishable monuments erected by man.

Of the many valleys through which the Susquehanna courses its way seaward the most noted in history, poetry and legend, the richest in material wealth and, in the opinion of many, the most charming and attractive in physical features is Wyoming Valley—"an island of beauty in a sea of billowy mountains." It is situated in Luzerne County, in north-eastern Pennsylvania, and is formed by detached, outlying ranges of the Allegheny mountain-system. Its shape is that of a long oval, or elliptical, basin, a little more than sixteen miles in length from north-east to south-west, with an average breadth of three miles.* Its upper

* See the maps and reports of the United States Geological Survey relating to Pennsylvania, published in 1894. According to these it is 16.1 miles in a bee-line from the face of Campbell's Ledge to Nanticoke Falls.

end lies in latitude $41^{\circ} 21'$ north, and in longitude $75^{\circ} 47'$ west from Greenwich; while its lower end is in latitude $41^{\circ} 13'$ north, and in longitude $76^{\circ} 1'$ west.

Nearly in the center of the valley, chiefly on an oblong plain elevated from twenty-five to thirty-five feet above the surface of the river at its lowest level, lies Wilkes-Barré, the latitude of whose Public Square (almost centrally located in the town) is $41^{\circ} 14' 40.4''$ north, and its longitude $1^{\circ} 10' 4.6''$ east from Washington, or $75^{\circ} 49' 55.4''$ west from Greenwich, as shown by the second geological survey of Pennsylvania, made in 1881. According to the United States survey previously referred to, however, the longitude of Public Square is $75^{\circ} 52' 55''$ west. The elevation of Wilkes-Barré above mean sea-level ranges from 531.5 feet at the base of the monument on the River Common near Northampton Street, or 541 feet at the base of the geological survey monument in Public Square, to 731 feet on the heights in the eastern and south-eastern parts of the town. The low-water level of the Susquehanna at Wilkes-Barré is 506 feet above mean sea-level.*

Wilkes-Barré lies south, $57^{\circ} 50'$ west, 149.8 miles in a bee-line (212 miles by railway) from Albany, New York; north, $70^{\circ} 34'$ west, 107.5 miles in a bee-line (176 miles by railway) from the city of New York; north, $25^{\circ} 8'$ west, 97.9 miles in a bee-line (145 miles by railway) from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and north, $36^{\circ} 59'$ east, 89.3 miles in a bee-line (118 miles by railway) from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

The short mountain-range forming the north-eastern, eastern and south-eastern boundary of Wyoming Valley is known as Wilkes-Barré Mountain, and that forming the north-western, western and south-western boundary is called Shawanese Mountain. The continuation of the Wilkes-Barré range in a north-easterly direction from the head of Wyoming Valley is known by the name of Lackawanna Mountain; while the continuation of Shawanese Mountain beyond and north-eastwardly from the Susquehanna at the head of the valley is called Capouse Mountain. That part of Wilkes-Barré Mountain lying between Laurel Run and Solomon's Creek was called in 1809-'13 (and, perhaps, before those years as well as later) "Bullock's Mountain"—evidently from Nathan Bullock, who, with his family, was an early settler on the mountain.

Paralleling the Wilkes-Barré-Lackawanna range on the south-east, and lying near it, is a much longer and higher, although more broken and irregular, range bearing different names in different localities. At its south-west end, and thence for several miles north-easterly, it is known as Penobscot Mountain; next for some distance it has the name Wyoming Mountain; † then, farther on in a north-easterly direction, its name is Bald, then Jacob's, then Moosic, and then, near the boundary-line of the counties of Lackawanna and Wayne, Cobb's Mountain.

That part of Wyoming Mountain which lies in an easterly and a south-easterly direction from Wilkes-Barré is, in a marked degree, a

* On the records of the Court of Quarter Sessions of Luzerne County an entry was made in 1865 setting forth that at that period the low-water level of the Susquehanna at Wilkes-Barré was 512.9 feet above tide-water. (See Pearce's "Annals of Luzerne County," Appendix, page 561.) It has since been shown, however, that at the time mentioned the true low-water level was only 506.93 feet above tide-water. (See "Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," I: 23.)

† Locally this mountain was often called in earlier years "Five-Mile Mountain", for the reason that its north-western face, near the summit, is, for a considerable stretch, five miles distant from the Susquehanna.



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broad plateau or table-land, having an elevation ranging from 1,500 to 1,800 feet above sea-level, with here and there knobs and short ridges rising up from 100 to 300 feet higher. One of the most elevated of the knobs (2,100 feet above sea-level) is five and a-half miles, "as the crow flies," in a south-easterly direction from the left bank of the river opposite Richard's Island (mentioned on page 52), and about a mile and a-quarter north of Crystal Lake in Bear Creek Township; and at this elevated point the boundary-lines of the borough of Laurel Run and the townships of Hanover, Fairview and Bear Creek meet. South-west of this about one and three-quarters miles is Penobscot Knob—with an elevation of 2,140 feet—which commands a view of nearly the whole of Wyoming Valley and a wide extent of territory besides.

At some distance south-east of the Wyoming-Moosic range, and nearly parallel with it, runs the lofty, desolate and irregular Pocono range. The head-waters of the Lehigh River meander over its top, where lakes, ponds and sphagnous marshes lie embosomed in dense beech forests, and are fringed with laurel thickets, while here and there are large open tracts of territory almost destitute of trees. The spreading branches of Lackawaxen Creek, and the smaller Shohola, drain all the eastern parts of the range into the Delaware River. Lying chiefly in the counties of Carbon, Monroe and Pike, Pennsylvania, the Pocono Mountains form links in the chain of mountains that stretches through the Atlantic States from the Blue Ridge in North Carolina to the Catskills in New York. Writing of the Pocono Mountains in 1839 William L. Stone said ("Poetry and History of Wyoming," page 74):

"When the summit of Pokono is attained, the traveler is upon the top of that wild and desolate table of Pennsylvania, extending for upward of a hundred miles, between and parallel with the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers, and from twenty to thirty-five miles in breadth. Behind him is a noble landscape of wooded hills and cultivated valleys, bounded eastward and south by the Blue Mountains, which form a branching range of the Alleghenies. The Wind Gap is distinctly and beautifully in sight. But facing westwardly, and glancing toward the north and the south, the prospect is as dreary as naked rocks and shrub oaks and stunted pines and a death-like solitude can make it. The general surface is rough and broken, hills rising and valleys sinking by fifties, if not by hundreds, over the whole broad mountain surface. In many places for miles there is no human habitation in view, and no one bright or cheerful spot upon which the eye can repose. The gloom, if not the grandeur, of a large portion of this inhospitable region is increased by the circumstance that it is almost a continuous morass, across which the turnpike is formed by a causeway of logs insufficiently covered with earth, and bearing the appropriate name of a corduroy road."

Parallel with the Pocono range, and from seven to ten miles distant from it, runs the long, regular and well-defined range known as the Kittatinny, or Blue, Mountains. The former name is derived from, or, more probably, is a corruption of, the Indian word *Kau-tat-in-chunk*, signifying "main, or principal, mountain." About twenty miles north of Easton, Pennsylvania, and forty-three miles in a bee-line (seventy-six miles by railway) south-east of Wilkes-Barré, the Delaware River breaks through the Blue Mountains at the celebrated Delaware Water Gap; while some twenty-eight miles to the south-west of the Delaware the Lehigh River breaks through the same mountain range at the Lehigh Gap. Nearly midway between these two gaps is a remarkable depression in the mountain called the Wind Gap—not because it abounds in wind, but because it appears to have been made without the agency of water. It is a deep notch—suddenly reducing the height of the mountain by about two-thirds—towards which the leading roads on both sides

converge, and through which they pass in one great thoroughfare. The Blue Mountains at the Delaware Water Gap are about 1,600 feet high, and the sharp, rocky crest of the range maintains itself in an almost perfectly even, horizontal line at that elevation above tide-water for 180 miles across the State; but the apparent height is diminished going west by the gradual elevation of the country in front of the mountains, which they overlook. The range keeps a nearly straight course south, 25° west, for 104 miles between the Delaware Gap and the gap at Harrisburg.

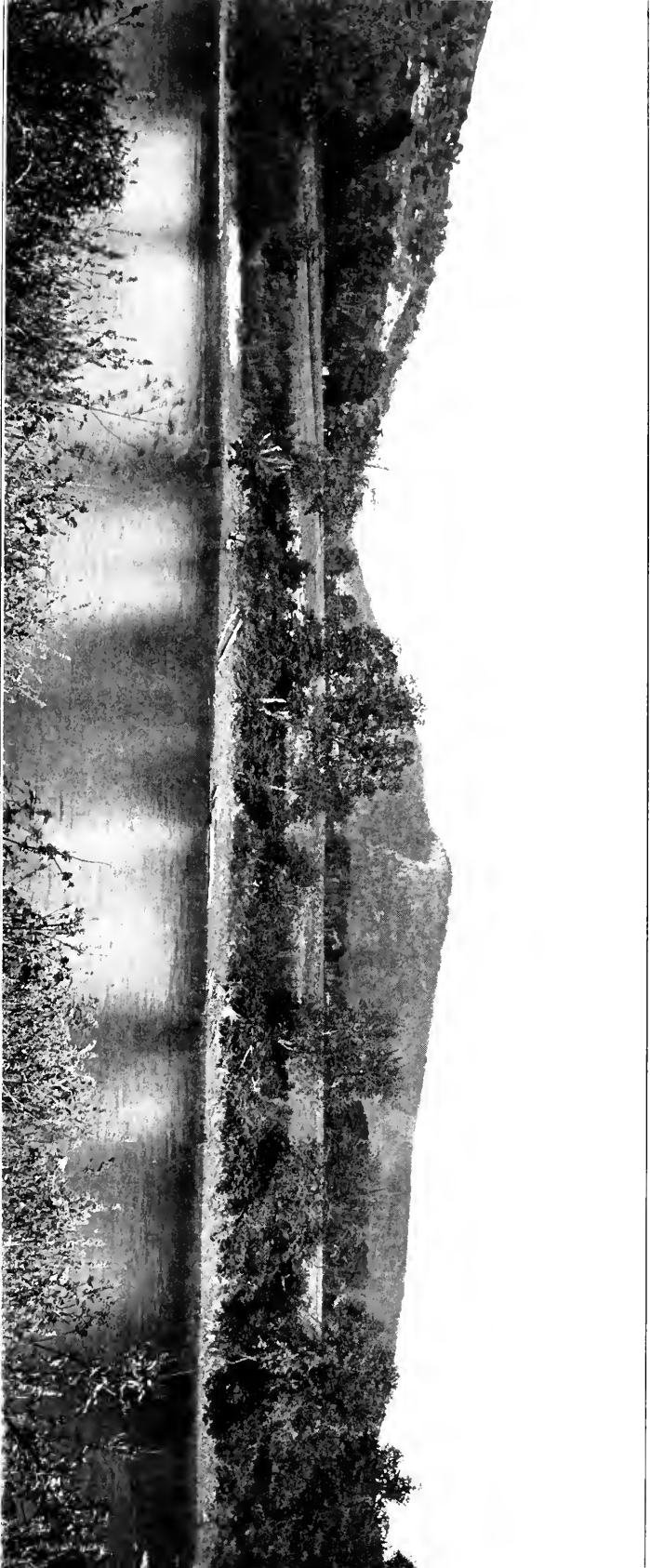
Beyond Shawanese Mountain (the western and north-western boundary of Wyoming Valley as previously mentioned) lie, in confused and jumbled order, high knobs, short ridges and irregular spurs of mountains, ranging in height from 1,100 to 1,500 feet above sea-level, and interspersed with rolling uplands of considerable extent now well cleared and cultivated. This region extends many miles in a north-easterly and south-westerly direction, and stretches westward and north-westward to the bold and impressive North Mountain range—2,200 to 2,400 feet above sea-level—on the border-lines of the counties of Luzerne, Sullivan and Wyoming.

To the early explorers and cartographers of north-eastern Pennsylvania the mountains northward of Wyoming Valley were denominated the "Endless Mountains," while those lying in a north-westerly direction were described as "inaccessible"—situated in a region containing "nothing but mountains which no one can pass."* In this region lie some of the largest and most beautiful lakes in Pennsylvania. Twelve miles north-west from Wilkes-Barré in a bee-line, at an elevation of 1,226 feet above sea-level (according to the United States Geological Survey), is Harvey's Lake, the largest lake within the limits of the State. Fifteen miles due west from it, on North Mountain, 2,266 feet above sea-level, is Lake Ganoga, formerly known, locally, as Long Pond, but upon early maps of this region noted as "Shawanese Lake." Fifteen miles north-west of Lake Ganoga lies Eagles Mere, a beautiful sheet of water formerly called Lewis' Lake. It is larger than Ganoga, but not so large as Harvey's Lake, and its elevation above sea-level is 2,001 feet.

The mountains that form the valley of Wyoming are quite regular in their conformation and appearance, and are almost uniform in height throughout their whole extent. The crest-line of Wilkes-Barré Mountain varies from 1,200 to 1,400 feet above sea-level, while that of Shawanese Mountain varies from 1,000 to 1,625 feet—its average height being about 1,450 feet. The following interesting record of mountain-measurements made from a station on the River Common at the foot of Northampton Street, Wilkes-Barré, in the Summer of 1809, was printed in *The Luzerne Federalist* (Wilkes-Barré) of September 15, 1809, and was reprinted in Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania* (II: 128) September 6, 1828:

"Distance to the top of the mountain south-east of the borough, 4,685 yards. [This was the mountain then known as "Bullock's," and described on page 44.] Perpendicular height of the same, 305 yards. Distance to the top of the mountain north-west of the borough, 5,583 yards. [This was that portion of Shawanese Mountain lying back of the present boroughs of Kingston and Edwardsville.] Perpendicular height of the same, 227 yards. Distance from the top of one mountain to the other, 10,103 yards [5.74+ miles]. Average height of the mountains above low-water mark, 275 yards, or 827½ feet."

* See map on page 33, maps of 1748 and 1749 in Chapter IV, and map of 1756 in Chapter V.



VIEW OF SCOVELL'S ISLAND AND CAMPBELL'S LEDGE.

From a photograph taken on the right bank of the Susquehanna near West Piltson Cemetery in October, 1902

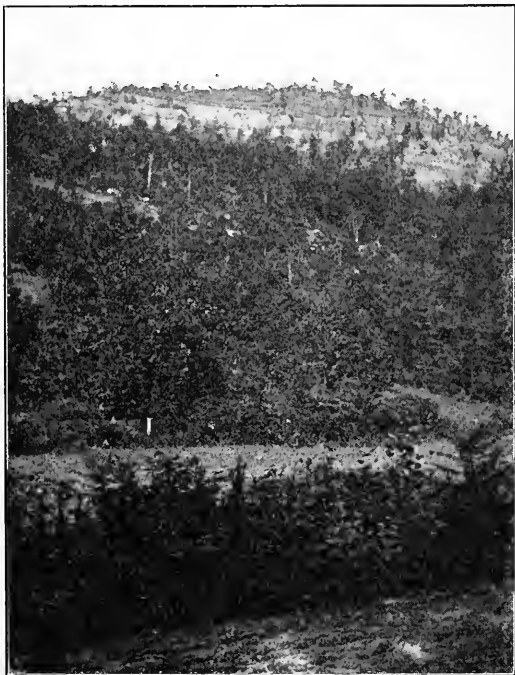
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Large areas of Shawanese Mountain were cleared of timber many years ago, and, in a general way, have been cultivated ever since; but Wilkes-Barré Mountain is still almost entirely covered with a natural growth of brushwood, scrubby thickets and small trees. Owing to the ax of the strenuous wood-chopper in earlier years, and the frequent and extensive forest-fires that have occurred in recent years, as well as to other causes, great changes have taken place with respect to the character of the woodlands on these mountains. In the year 1817 Isaac A. Chapinan wrote concerning them as follows (see Hazard's *Register*, V: 34):

"On the mountains the prevailing timber is oak of various kinds, thinly intermixed with Yellow, Pitch and White Pine, which grow short and scrubby, there being very little of it proper for any other purpose than fuel. On the smaller hills, where the soil is better, the timber is larger and of a better quality, and consists also of a greater variety—such as hickory, lynn or linden, birch of three kinds, two kinds of maple, two of ash, cherry and beech; these being mixed, in every part of the county where they are found, with hemlock, a species of timber improperly called spruce in many parts of the State—being the *Pinus Canadensis* of botanical writers."

Both ranges of the Wyoming Valley mountains are indented by several deep hollows or gaps. For example, in the south-eastern range, or Wilkes-Barré Mountain, are Warrior Gap, Sugar Notch, Solomon's Gap and Laurel Run Gap; and in the north-western range, or Shawanese Mountain, are Mill (formerly Hartsough's) Hollow and Carpenter's (now Shoemaker's) Hollow. Here and there in both ranges are bulging knobs, precipitous ledges and sheer cliffs—wholly or in part barren of trees and undergrowth—from which extended and pleasing prospects of the valleys of Wyoming and Lackawanna may be viewed.

At the head of Wyoming Valley, forming the north-eastern wall of the precipitous gap through which the Susquehanna River enters the valley (see page 34), stands Campbell's Ledge. It is the south-western extremity of Capouse Mountain, mentioned on page 44, and at its highest point is 1,364 feet above sea-level, or some 840 feet above the river's surface. This ledge was formerly called Dial Rock, from the fact that on its face, near the summit, there extends directly north and south a crescent of naked, greenish-grey stone, which can be seen for a long distance if the weather be favorable. Precisely at noon-tide this crescent receives on a cloudless day the full



CAMPBELL'S LEDGE,

From the road near its base, September, 1903.

rays of the sun. Thus the husbandman of early days, toiling either on the broad flats lying near the base of the mountain and extending south and west along the Susquehanna, or elsewhere within sight of the rugged mountain's face, was enabled to determine, easily and cheaply, by the illuminated rock-dial the hour of noonday rest and refreshment. The name Campbell's Ledge is understood, and generally believed, to have been given to this precipice many years ago in honor of the author of "Gertrude of Wyoming"—mentioned hereinafter. There is current, however, a legend that claims a different origin for the name.

"A man named Campbell was pursued by the Indians. He had taken refuge in the ravines of this mountain, where are many fine living springs, and where the thick foliage afforded a safe shelter. But the fierce Red Men are on his track. He is an old enemy, and is singled out for special torture. He knows his fate if taken. He tries every path that winds out into the deeper forest, but without success. He is hemmed in like the roe by the relentless wolves. But he does not hesitate; he springs forward to the verge of the hanging rock. One glance behind him shows that escape is utterly hopeless. The shouts of the savages are heard as they rush upon their prey. With a scream of defiance he leaps into the friendly arms of death."—*Peck's "Wyoming," page 348.*

Not far from the northern end of Campbell's Ledge, alongside the road leading up through the river "narrows," is a little stream that for many years has been a well-known and picturesque landmark in this region, and is called Falling Spring.



FALLING SPRING.

The south-western extremity of Shawanese Mountain, at the point where the Susquehanna breaks out of the valley as described on pages 35 and 36, is a rugged, precipitous ledge bulging out near its summit in a knob-like form. This ledge or cliff is somewhat similar to Campbell's Ledge, but its elevation is only 1,000 feet above sea-level. For many years it has been known as Tillbury's Knob—having received this name from Abraham Tillbury, who dwelt within its shadow a hundred years ago and more.*

Diagonally across the river from Tillbury's Knob is Honey Pot Mountain. This is the north-eastern extremity of Lee's Mountain, which is the continuation below Wyoming Valley of Shawanese Mountain. Honey Pot Mountain was so named about 1773 by Maj. Prince Alden, who owned several hundred acres of land in that locality, and, on his first entrance upon it, discovered a large quantity of the honey of wild bees. In the illustration on page 36 the extreme north-eastern part of Honey Pot is shown; while nearly the whole of it is seen in the "View from Tillbury's Knob" facing this page.

Mount Lookout is a dome-shaped section of Shawanese Mountain, and its extent is well defined by Carpenter's, or Shoemaker's, Hollow

* See "The Harvey Book," pages 94 and 660.



Nantcoke Falls and Mouth of Harvey's Creek.

VIEW FROM TILIBURY'S KNOB, LOOKING DOWN THE SUSQUEHANNA.

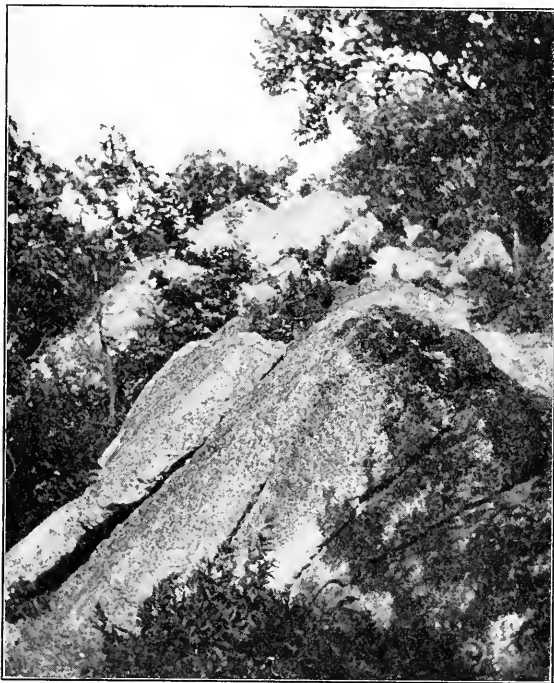
From a photograph taken in 1898 by Harry W. Nesbitt.

Harvey's Landing, 1773-'95.

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and a smaller, nameless gap or hollow a short distance north-eastward. Its highest elevation is 1,526 feet above sea-level, and it overlooks the plain whereon was fought the battle of Wyoming, July 3, 1778.*

On the north-westerly face of Wilkes-Barré Mountain near its crest, 1,300 feet above sea-level and 794 feet above the Susquehanna's low-water level, is Prospect Rock. It is almost due south-east from Public Square, Wilkes-Barré, two and a-quarter miles "as the crow flies," and is a steep ledge—limited in extent and very irregular in its conformation—composed of light grey, almost white, conglomerate.



PROSPECT ROCK IN 1903.

For years it has been the favorite and most accessible point from which to obtain an almost complete view of Wyoming Valley; being readily reached by the road (formerly the Easton and Wilkes-Barré Turnpike) leading over the mountain from the end of Northampton Street, Wilkes-Barré.†

Through the whole length of Wyoming Valley the Susquehanna flows a serpentine course of seventeen and one-half miles—nine and one-half miles from Coxton, at the base of Campbell's Ledge, to Market Street, Wilkes-Barré, and thence eight miles to Nanticoke Falls.

On both sides of the river, for nearly this whole distance, lie rich and fertile alluvial bottom-lands, forming plains or flats; at some points narrow and restricted in breadth, but at others stretching out towards the hills or mountains for at least a mile. In some parts of the valley a large portion of the surface of the plain is elevated about ten feet above the remaining portion, forming a sudden offset or declivity. As you get farther away from the river these bottom-lands gradually undulate, until, at a distance of about a mile—in the middle of the valley, particularly—they rise into the mountains bounding the valley. They contain several thousand acres, nearly all of which are well cultivated, and have been for more than a hundred years. Isaac A. Chapman, writing of them in 1817, said: "They [the flats] spontaneously produce quantities of plums, grapes, many kinds of berries and a great variety of wild flowers."

* See in Chapter XV reproductions of views of and from Mount Lookout.

† For interesting and instructive papers on the geology and palæontology of Wyoming Valley see Johnson's "Historical Record," I: 205, and "Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," II: 239-277; V: 153-204; VI: 27-36; VIII: 25, 42.

These flats or plains are known by different names in different localities. Abraham's Plains—originally so named for an Indian chief, fuller mention of whom will be made in the succeeding chapter—lie on the right bank of the river and extend from near the head of the valley to the bend in the river opposite Ross Street, Wilkes-Barré. They are comprehended within the present limits of the townships of Plymouth, Kingston and Exeter, and, for convenience, have been for a number of years considered as three divisions, or sections, of land, commonly known, respectively, as Upper Kingston Flats, Lower Kingston Flats and Upper Plymouth Flats. Lower Plymouth, or "Shawnee," Flats lie within the limits of the township of Plymouth on the right bank of the river, and extend from a point opposite the central part of the borough of Plymouth south-westward to within about one and a-half miles of Nanticoke Falls. Col. Timothy Pickering—concerning whom much of interest will be found in subsequent chapters—visited Wyoming in August, 1786, and at the time wrote as follows relative to the Plymouth and Kingston flats (see "Life of Timothy Pickering," II: 255):

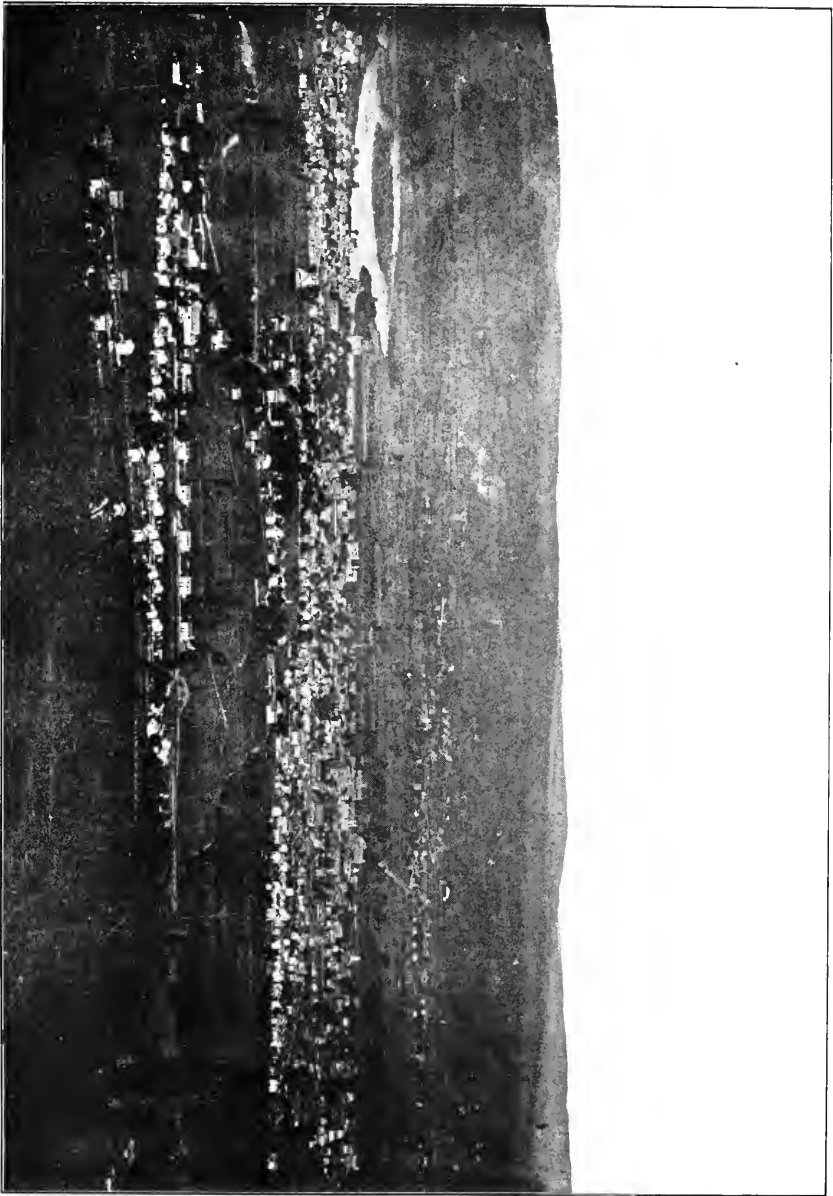
"Leaving Harvey's [the home of Benjamin Harvey, about half-way between Harvey's Creek and the present Avondale] we entered on the Shawnee Plains, the most beautiful tract of land my eyes ever beheld! The soil appears to be inexhaustibly fertile, and, though under very slovenly husbandry, the crops were luxuriant, and the Indian-corn and grass of the richest green. * * * Passing over some commons and rising ground, we then came to another extensive plain [Abraham's], similar to the former, but, on the whole, less beautiful. Neat and industrious husbandmen would make the whole a garden."

Jacob's Plains—originally so named for an Indian chief, to whom further reference will be made in Chapter IV—lie on the left bank of the river within the present limits of Plains Township. Nearly the whole of Jacob's Plains lay within the bounds of the original town, or township, of Wilkes-Barré, prior to the erection of Plains Township in 1851. Wilkes-Barré Flats lie within the limits of the city, below the bend of the river, and extend about a mile to the line of Hanover Township; whence they continue, under the name of Upper Hanover Flats, over one and a-half miles to the mouth of Solomon's, or Buttonwood, Creek. Beyond this, for about three-quarters of a mile, a spur of the Hanover hills supervenes—ending at the river's margin in a low ledge of rocks—and then the Lower Hanover Flats begin and extend to the mouth of Nanticoke Creek.

Several islands, some of them of considerable extent, diversify the Susquehanna within the borders of Wyoming Valley. These islands are largely of the same alluvial and fertile character as the flats and plains previously described, and nearly all of them have been cultivated for many years. At the head of the valley, nearly abreast of the mouth of Lackawanna River, lies Scovell's Island. It received its name from Elisha and Jonathan Scovell (originally of Colchester, Connecticut), who, as early as 1776, were landholders and settlers in Exeter Township, to which this island is adjacent.

Wintermute Island, named for a family bearing that name—of whom more will be said in a subsequent chapter—lies due south-east of Mount Lookout (described on page 48), opposite the battlefield of Wyoming.

Monocanock Island is a long, narrow island opposite the lower end of the borough of Wyoming in Kingston Township, and a short



VIEW OF WILKES-BARRÉ FROM PROSPECT ROCK IN 1874.



distance north-west of the village of Plainsville in Plains Township. By some local writers it has been called "Monocasy" Island; which name is, undoubtedly, a corruption of Monocanock, just as the latter is a corrupted or twisted form of the Indian name—"Manaughanung"—by which the island was known at least as early as the year 1771.* In the minutes of the Compromise Commissioners referred to on page 25 (see also "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII: 486), this island is mentioned as "Kingston Island."

Fish's Island—by some cartographers and local writers erroneously denominated "Fish Island"—lies in the bed of the river at Wilkes-Barré, nearly opposite the junction of Crescent Avenue and Old River Road, one mile due west from Public Square. In the year 1776 or '77 this island was granted by vote of the town of Wilkes-Barré to the Rev. Jacob Johnson, who possessed it until August, 1791, when he conveyed it to Adam Mann. In March, 1796, the latter conveyed it to Putnam Catlin, who continued in possession certainly until 1803. During all those years this island was known as "Wilkes-Barré Island," and was so denominated in the surveys and records of that period.† About 1811 the island seems to have been called "Butler's Island," as is shown by an original manuscript "Map of the Susquehanna Coal Company's Property in Wyoming Valley" drawn in the year mentioned, and now in possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.‡ Some years later the island became known as Fish's Island, and by this name has continued to be called to the present time. It received this name, undoubtedly, from Jabez Fish, an early settler in Wilkes-Barré, who lived for many years on what is now West River Street, below South Street, and owned a broad tract of land extending along the river's margin from West River Street to Old River Road.

Until about twenty-five or thirty years ago this island was considerably smaller than it is now, and at all times of the year (except during the prevalence of river floods or freshets) its boundary and area were completely defined. Owing, however, to alluvial deposits, the diminution of the river's body and to other causes (which are described in Chapter XLVI) the island has in recent years spread out in all directions—particularly towards the right or north bank of the river, which it joins—and is a genuine island now only during times of high water. The former contour of the island, and the results of the gradual accretions of recent years, are well indicated by the various growths of trees and shrubs (in almost concentric circles) which now nearly cover the island.§

A few rods north-west of Fish's Island, where the river makes a sharp turn to the south-west, there was formerly a large island adjacent to the right or Plymouth bank of the river. On the plots of the original surveys (made in 1768) of the manors of Stoke and Sunbury—reduced reproductions of which plots will be found in Chapter VII—this island is indicated, but without a name. But on an original, carefully drawn draft of a survey of Plymouth Township made about 1787, and

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII: 514; also copies of original early surveys in the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

† See "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII: 486; also the minutes of the Compromise Commissioners referred to on page 25.

‡ See Chapter LI for a reduced photo-illustration of this map.

§ See illustrations facing pages 50 and 52.

now in possession of the present writer, this island is noted as "Toby's Island." It is also shown, but without a name, on the manuscript map of 1811 mentioned on page 51. Pearce refers to it as "Park's Island" in his "Annals of Luzerne County" (page 173), published in 1860; but not long after that year the annexation of the island to the Plymouth shore was begun and completed by the same causes that have been gradually producing the changes in Fish's Island, and Toby's, or Park's, Island has not appeared on any recent map. The river, at that particular elbow or corner, has long been known as Toby's Eddy. Sixty years ago and more it was a picturesque locality, often resorted to in Summer-time by swimming and picnic parties. Dr. Peck, writing of it in 1858, said ("Wyoming," pages 425 and 426):

"But alas! progress and civilization have made sad ravages upon this sweet and beautiful spot. The railroad [Lackawanna and Bloomsburg] has utterly ruined its beautiful unity. Its jagged, rocky embankment, running through the center of the little natural paradise, has broken its ancient enchantments and dispelled the bewitching associations which clustered around it. * * What is called Toby's Cave is found in the hill-side west of the Eddy. It is not deep or large, but might once have constituted a place of retreat for old Toby, the Indian, whose haunts were once along the creek to which his name has been given, and who planted corn upon the flats above."

What is, and probably has been for many years, the largest island in Wyoming Valley, is the one whose upper end lies opposite the south-west corner of Wilkes-Barré on the left bank, and the north-west end of Plymouth Borough on the right bank of the river. This island is shown, but without a name, on the plots of the original surveys of the manors of Stoke and Sunbury previously referred to. On the draft of the 1787 survey of Plymouth Township mentioned above this island is called "Fuller's Island," and is noted as containing fifty acres and fifty-seven perches; but on the manuscript map of 1811 mentioned on page 51 it is called "Richard's Island," and under this name it has appeared on recent maps. Further references to this island will be made in the succeeding chapter.

In its course through Wyoming Valley the Susquehanna receives the waters of a number of tributaries besides Lackawanna River. Not one of these is now either as sizable or of as much importance as it was even fifteen or twenty years ago. This is owing to one or more of a variety of causes—as for example, the denuding of the hills and mountains of their forests, the carrying on of coal-mining under or near the beds of the streams, or the deflecting of the waters, in part, from their channels for manufacturing, mining or other purposes. Chapman, in writing of these streams in 1817, said: "All of them are sufficient for mills and abound with fish." It is doubtful if there now flows in any two of them combined—barring Lackawanna River—enough water to run satisfactorily a single mill; and as to fish, they are very few, very small, of little value and only to be found in the head-waters of the streams. Of those thus referred to the principal streams are:

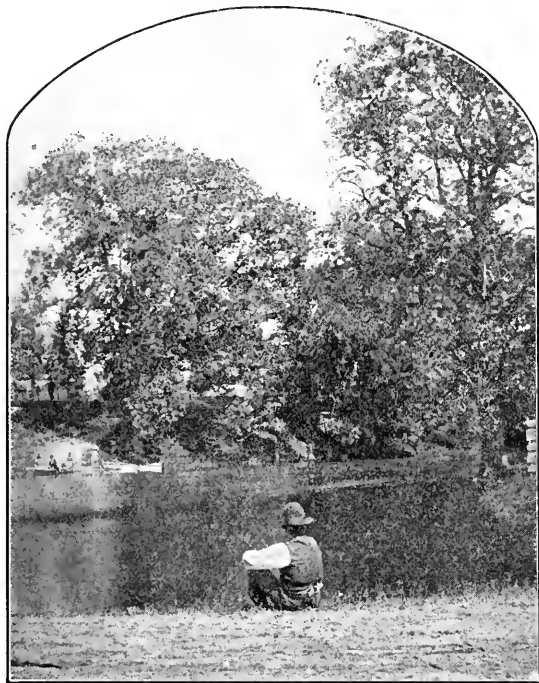
Abraham's Creek—called for the same Indian whose name was originally given, as previously mentioned, to the plains along the right bank of the river. This creek, having its principal source in Dallas Township, Luzerne County, and joined by tributaries rising in the townships of Franklin and Exeter, flows south-easterly into the valley through Carpenter's, or Shoemaker's, Hollow, previously described, and then winds its course nearly south-west across Abraham's Plains to the Susquehanna at Forty Fort, about one and three-quarters miles below



MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Monocanock Island. In recent years the part of this creek that lies in the valley has sometimes been called "Tuttle's Creek," from the fact that from about 1798 to 1839 Henry Tuttle, followed by his son Joseph, owned and operated a grist-mill which stood on the bank of the creek just below what is now known as the "stone-arched bridge," almost on the dividing line between the boroughs of Forty Fort and Wyoming.

Toby's Creek—named for an Indian who lived in the valley at one time, and was well known to the early white settlers. Further mention of him is made in Chapters VII and XIII. Pearce, in his "Annals of Luzerne County" (page 170), says: "Toby's Creek derives its name from Tobyhanna, signifying *alder* stream, from the abundance of alders growing on its banks." This is rather a far-fetched derivation of the name of the Wyoming Valley stream. There is in Monroe County, Pennsylvania, at some distance from Wyoming Valley south-eastward, a stream called Tobyhanna Creek—and it may be an "*alder*



ABRAHAM'S CREEK,
Near the "stone-arched bridge," in 1878.

stream"; but Toby's Creek has no connection with it either in name or in any other respect.



A GLIMPSE OF TOBY'S CREEK.

The chief sources of Toby's Creek are in Dallas Township, previously mentioned, and the main body of the stream flows south-east into Kingston Township, where it is joined, among other branches, by one formed by the overflow from what in early days was known as Beaver Pond.* This pond, which lies in Lehman Township, Luzerne County, was purchased some years ago by the Wilkes-Barré Water Company, a dam was erected at its outlet, and the water from the reservoir thus formed—since known as Huntsville Reservoir—is conveyed in pipes to Wyoming Valley.† Rambling downward, here and there through picturesque bits of country, Toby's Creek enters the valley by way of Mill Hollow (mentioned on page 47), and, flowing south-west, passes through the boroughs of Kingston and Edwardsville into Plymouth Township. There, having been joined by a short branch that flows across the Lower Kingston Flats (partly within the limits of Dorrance-ton Borough) between Kingston Borough and Wilkes-Barré, the stream runs about a quarter of a mile and empties into the Susquehanna at Toby's Eddy, mentioned on page 52.

Harvey's Creek—so named nearly one hundred and thirty years ago for Benjamin Harvey, an early Connecticut settler at Wilkes-Barré, who, in 1773, erected a saw-mill and made other improvements upon a large tract of land that had been granted to him along and near the creek mentioned. At that time the source of this stream was unknown but in 1781 it was discovered by Mr. Harvey to be the large lake now—and since the year 1795, at least—called Harvey's Lake (mentioned on page 46). On the maps of 1748 and 1749 reproduced in Chapter IV this stream is shown, but without a name; on the plot of the Manor of Sunbury referred to on page 51 the stream appears under the name of "Head's Creek"; on the draft of a survey made in May, 1775, by Charles Stewart, Deputy Surveyor of Pennsylvania (an old copy of which is now in possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society), the same stream is noted as "Falls Creek or Harvey's Creek," and on the manuscript map mentioned on page 27 it is called "Harvey's or Falls Creek." From Harvey's Lake this creek runs a zig-zag course—receiving several small tributaries on the way—to a point some twelve miles directly south, near the base of Tillbury's Knob (described on page 48), where it enters the valley, flows a short distance through West Nanticoke and then empties into the Susquehanna at Nanticoke Falls. For many years Harvey's Creek was the most copious and powerful stream of all the Susquehanna's Wyoming Valley tributaries except Lackawanna River. That this was its character at an early day is shown by the following paragraph from a letter‡ to the Connecticut Susquehanna Company written in 1774 by Obadiah Gore, Jr., relative to this creek and the land contiguous to it: "There is no other stream of that bigness for many miles distance except the river." But now, at its mouth and for some distance up stream, the creek is so insignificant that its very rocky bed is more in evidence than its water—particularly during the Summer months. This is due to the fact that the stream, two or three miles back from its mouth, has been dammed in order to furnish the borough of Nanticoke with its water-supply.

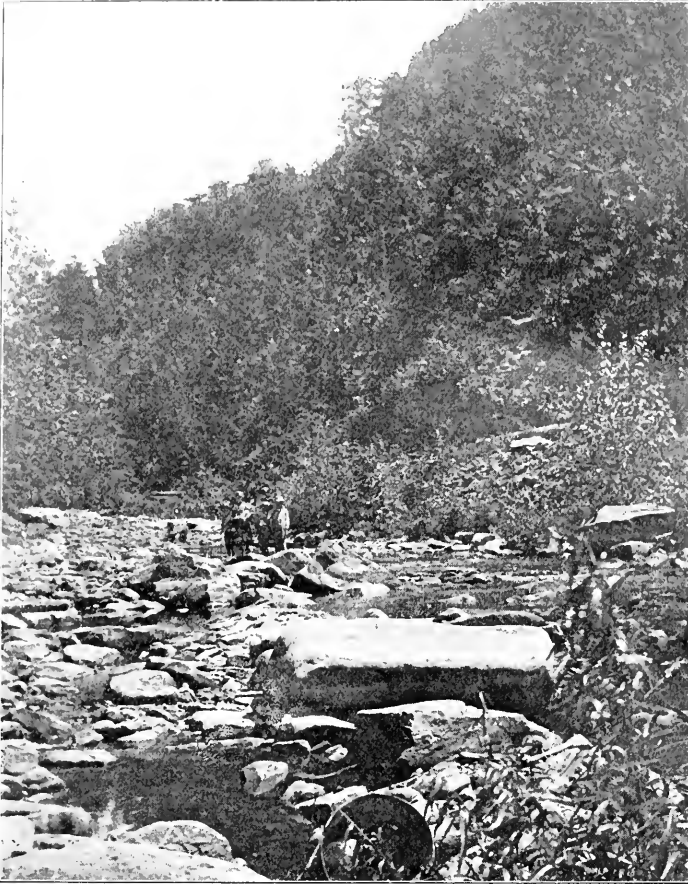
* See original 1787 survey of Plymouth Township previously mentioned.

† See Chapter XXXVII.

‡ See "The Harvey Book," page 623.



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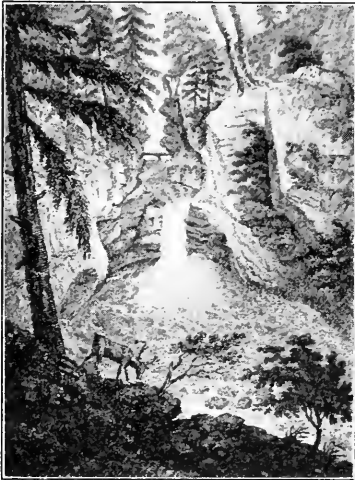


HARVEY'S CREEK,
Near the base of Tillbury's Knob, in 1899.

Nanticoke Creek—in Hanover Township on the south or left side of the river, into which the creek empties nearly a half mile east of Nanticoke Falls. The falls, the creek and the nearby borough of Nanticoke received their common name by reason of the fact that, prior to the first settlements in Wyoming by white men, a band of Nanticoke Indians dwelt for a few years near this particular locality—as will be more fully related in a subsequent chapter. Nanticoke Creek is formed by two branches—one, the eastern branch, rising in the mountains back of the borough of Sugar Notch, flowing into the valley through Warrior Gap, and known in that locality as Warrior Run; the other, the main branch, having its source partly in Newport Township, and joined by the eastern branch about one and a-half miles east of the borough of Nanticoke. Near its mouth the creek is joined by Newport Creek, which flows from the hills of Newport down between the borough of Nanticoke and Honey Pot Mountain to the lowlands. On the plot of the Manor of Stoke previously referred to Nanticoke Creek is set down as “Muddy Run”; but certainly as early as 1776—as is shown by the

Westmoreland records—it had received its present name. On the manuscript map referred to on page 27 Newport Creek is correctly shown, but bearing the name “Nanticoke Creek.”

Solomon's Creek—so called, says Pearce (“Annals,” page 170), “from a Mr. Solomon who settled near its confluence with the Susquehanna in 1774.” This stream has its chief source in Wright Township, Luzerne County, whence it flows through Solomon's Gap, previously mentioned, into Hanover Township. It passes through the borough of Ashley, receiving in its course two or three small tributaries, the principal one of which rises in the uplands of Wilkes-Barré Township. Crossing the Wilkes-Barré-Hanover boundary-line it flows a short distance within the limits of the city of Wilkes-Barré, and then, flowing back into Hanover, pursues a south-westerly course along the margin of the Upper Hanover Flats to the river. From the Wilkes-Barré line to the river the stream has been known for some years as Buttonwood Creek, because there were at one time many buttonwood trees growing along its banks. This stream—from source to mouth—is designated as “Moses' Creek” on the plot



LOWER FALLS.

of the Manor of Stoke previously mentioned; and is indicated by the same name on William Scull's maps of Pennsylvania published in 1770 and 1775. On the manuscript map mentioned on page 27 it is noted as “Moses' or Solomon's Creek.” Why the name “Moses” was given to it we do not know; but in all probability it was named for some Indian chief who dwelt hereabouts in early days, and was known by the name of “Moses” to the traders and surveyors who visited the valley at that period.

The accompanying photo-illustrations of the Lower and Upper Falls of Solomon's Creek are reduced copies of wood-engravings, after drawings by Jacob Cist of Wilkes-Barré, published

in *The Portfolio* of Philadelphia in the year 1809—the one in the November and the other in the December issue of the magazine. In the latter issue there appears, also, the following description (in part) of these falls—written without doubt by Mr. Cist:

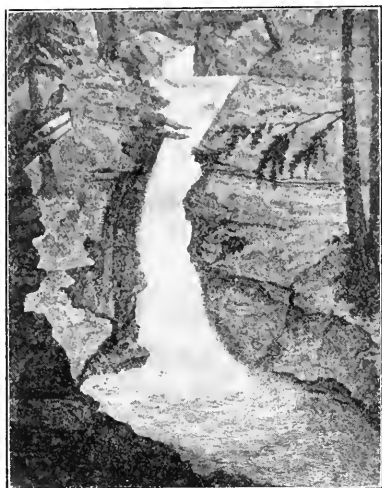
“Among the numerous streams that rush from the mountain into the bosom of the majestic Susquehanna, the beautiful cascade of Solomon's Falls is well calculated to gratify the ardent admirer of the works of Nature. It is situated about three miles from Wilkesbarre, the county-town of Luzerne, Pennsylvania. Surrounded with dark hemlocks, the rocks stained with moss and partially covered with laurel and other evergreens, it forms one of the finest scenes for the pencil of the painter. Dashing, foaming and working its tempestuous way down the mountain's side, it here precipitates itself, in the most romantic and picturesque manner, over a ledge of rocks between fifty and sixty feet high into a natural basin of about twenty-five feet diameter; from which, winding beneath o'erhanging rocks, it passes through a narrow, perpendicular fissure and pours into a second basin, forming the lower fall—from which latter it runs in a rapid and winding course to the river.” * * *



VIEW OF THE UPPER HANOVER FLATS AND OF THE UPPER END OF RICHARDS' ISLAND.

From a photograph taken in 1901 from the west end of the Delaware and Hudson Railroad bridge.

Sharp D. Lewis of Wilkes-Barré, writing of these falls in 1830, said (see Chapman's "Wyoming," Appendix, page 186):



UPPER FALLS.

"In Solomon's Creek, about midway up the mountain and two miles from Wilkes-barre, in what is called Solomon's Gap, is a beautiful cascade, which has long been visited as a great natural curiosity. Its wild and romantic aspect, and the delightful natural scenery around it, have, within a few years, been considerably injured by the erection of a very superior merchant mill immediately below the falls, by Gen. William Ross of Wilkesbarre, who is the proprietor of this valuable water-power."

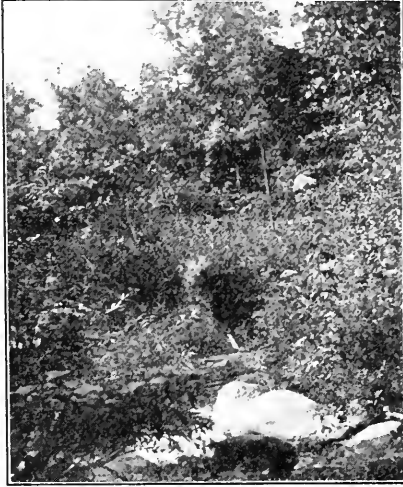
A visitor of to-day to the locality just described would find it difficult to discover many remains or traces of the "picturesque" and "delightful" conditions mentioned as existing there seventy and more years ago; and which, in fact—as the present writer remembers—continued in evidence, to a degree, up to about thirty or thirty-five years ago.

Mill Creek—rising in Jenkins Township, Luzerne County, and flowing from two sources in two branches (one of which is locally known as Gardner's Creek) into Plains Township, where, near the village of Hudson, the branches unite. Flowing in a zig-zag course through the latter township Mill Creek is joined by Laurel Run near the northern boundary of Wilkes-Barré, from which point the creek runs about three-quarters of a mile east to the river. Laurel Run rises in Bear Creek Township and flows into Wilkes-Barré Township, whence, running a north-easterly course between Wyoming Mountain and Wilkes-Barré Mountain, it enters Plains Township, then runs rapidly down into the valley through Laurel Run Gap previously mentioned. Both Mill Creek and Laurel Run were streams of considerable size and importance up to about thirty years ago. Mill Creek was originally known as "Beaver Brook," but on the plot of the Manor of Stoke reproduced in Chapter VII it is noted as Mill Creek.



MILL CREEK NEAR ITS MOUTH,
October, 1903.

On drafts of surveys* made by Charles Stewart for the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania in 1771, in the region through which this creek runs, it is designated "Beaver Brook—now Mill Creek." On William Scull's maps of Pennsylvania published in 1770 and 1775 it is noted as Mill Creek. This name it has borne to the present time without change.

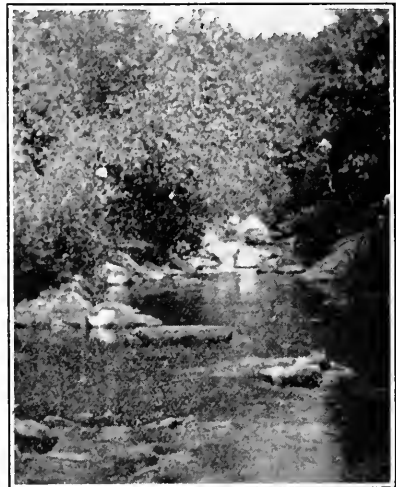


A GLIMPSE OF LAUREL RUN,
August, 1903.

The fact that this stream—as well as the pond mentioned on page 54—once bore the name "Beaver," would indicate that at the time the name was applied it was known that beavers lived and worked in and about those particular bodies of water. The remarkable animals known by this name are now said to be very rare, even in remote parts of the United States and Canada; and, until the year 1901, none had been seen in Pennsylvania—except in captivity—for many years. But in the year mentioned it was discovered that several beavers had settled themselves in a swamp near Stroudsburg, in Monroe County—which, by the way, is

almost on the south-eastern border of the old-time Wyoming region. In consequence of this new "settlement" the Pennsylvania Legislature at its last session passed a law for the protection of beavers.†

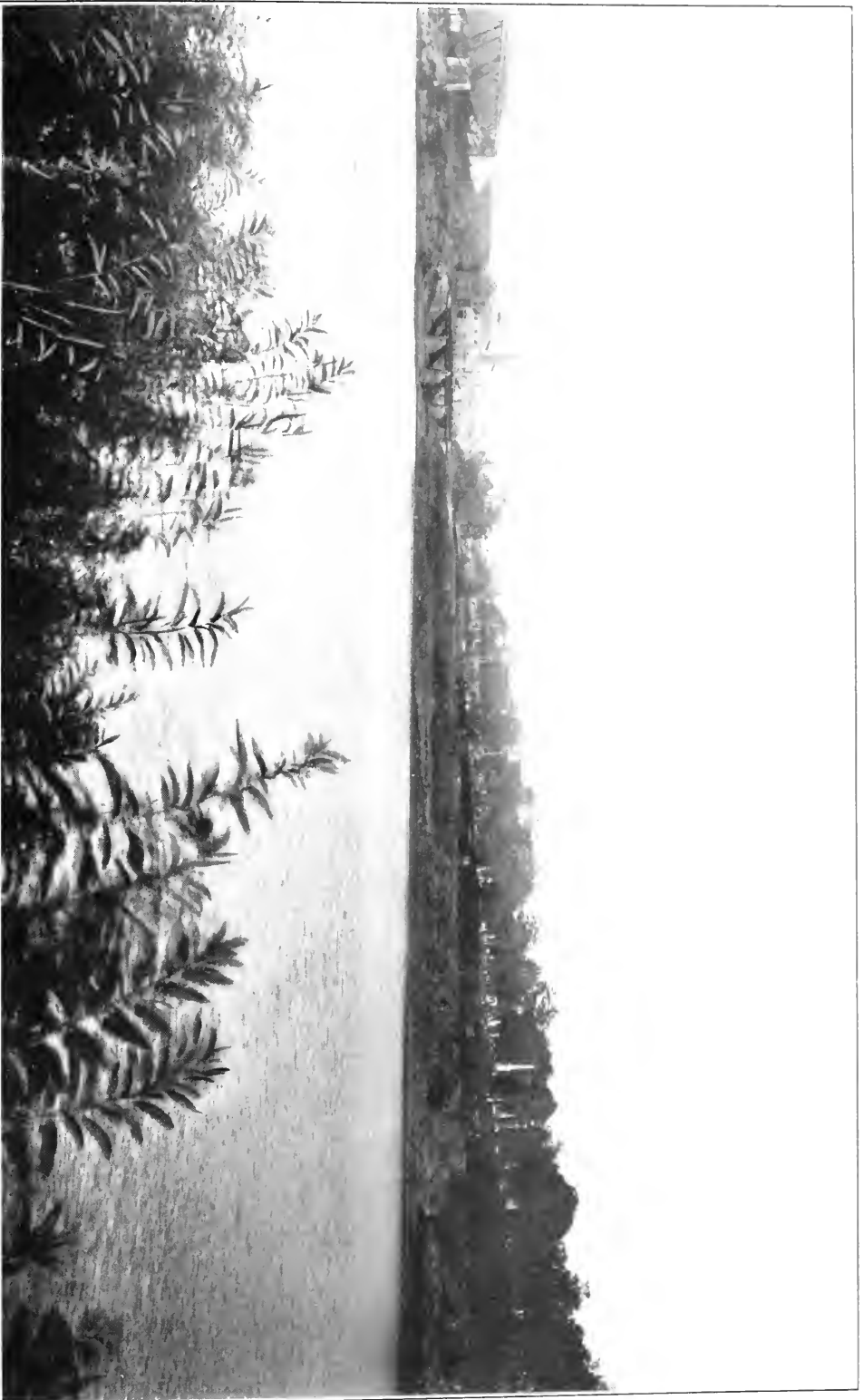
In addition to the streams just described there were in Wyoming Valley, in early days, several other brooks and creeks tributary to the Susquehanna. Of some of these the beds still remain, and along them rivulets run for a few days during seasons of rains and freshets; but of the other streams and their channels every trace has disappeared. Among the latter was a little brook that had its source in several springs lying near the intersection of the present Washington and Jackson streets, Wilkes-Barré. Flowing south to a point a little way above the present West Market Street, between North Baltimore Street and the tracks of the Lehigh Valley Railroad, this brook was joined by



ANOTHER VIEW OF LAUREL RUN.

* See early copies in possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

† It is a well-authenticated fact that in early times the Iroquois Nation once made war against the Illinois Indians, and nearly destroyed that tribe, because they had violated one of the game-laws of the hunting nations in not leaving a certain number of male and female beavers in each pond or stream where they had their habit.



VIEW OF THE MOUTH OF MILL CREEK, HOLLENBACK CEMETERY, ETC.

From a photograph taken in 1901 from the Kingston shore of the river

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another little stream flowing down from near the corner of the present Scott and Bowman streets. At about Market Street the brook flowed into a "bog-pond" or marsh lying along the foot of the heights to the southeast of Public Square. Thence the brook meandered in a south-westerly course down to a point a little below the corner of the present Wood Street and South Main Street; then turned to the north and flowed to about the corner of the present Terrace and West River streets, whence, changing its course slightly, it ran a short distance across the flats and emptied into the river at its elbow, where the swirling waters long bore the name of Fish's Eddy.* The course (across the flats) of this old-time, nameless brook is fairly well shown on the plot of the Manor of Stoke reproduced in Chapter VII, and also on a "Map of the Wyoming and Lackawanna Valleys" facing page 328 of *The American Journal of Science and Arts* for July, 1830 (No. 2 of Vol. XVIII). Henry B. Plumb, referring to this brook, says in his "History of Hanover Township" (page 39):

"It is entirely unknown to the present generation, the sources of it having been cut off by the digging of the canal in 1833, and its bed having been filled in nearly all the way from the canal to the river; but, at and near the river, there is quite a depression where the creek once ran and fell into the larger stream. This creek carried off the water—the surface drainage—from the region now known as 'Moseytown,' and from all the back part of ancient Wilkes-Barré Borough. This creek, or 'small stream,' emptied into the river at the place where the ice-pond† now [1885] is, but its channel then was as deep as the river bed, and passed along the upper side and partly through the present ice-pond, and emptied into the river six or eight rods above the foot of Ross Street. This is about midway between Market Street and the island [Fish's]."

It is impossible now to state with any certainty when the name Wyoming—considered in any one of the various forms in which it has appeared in the past—was first applied to the region just described. According to Heckewelder (mentioned on page 42) the word Wyoming is a corruption of *Maugh-wau-wa-me*, the name given to the valley by the Lenni Lenâpé or Delaware Indians; which name being compounded of the words *maugh-wau*, meaning "large, or extensive," and *wa-me*, signifying "plains, or meadows," may be translated "The Large Plains." Chapman, Stone, Miner, Pearce and other authorities have adopted this explanation of the origin and meaning of the name.‡

Heckewelder says, further, that the Delawares pronounced the first syllable of *Maugh-wau-wa-me* short, and the early Moravian missionaries, catching the sound as nearly as they could, "wrote the name *M'chweu-wa-mi*." This form of the name, however, does not occur anywhere in the records of the many formal and informal transactions that took place between the different Governors of Pennsylvania and the Indians in early times. The first allusion to Wyoming in those records—so far as can now be ascertained—is contained in the minutes of a conference held by Governor Gordon with Indians from the Susquehanna "at the great meeting-house in Philadelphia" in June, 1728, on which occasion Sassoonan, or Allummapees, King of the Delawares, stated that the Monseys, or Minsis, lived "in the Forks of Susquehanna above *Mechayomy* [Wyoming]." In September, 1732, at a conference

* See Miner's "Wyoming," page 343.

† This ice-pond was situated on a small plot of ground in the territory now bounded by West Ross, West River, Terrace and Sheldon streets.

‡ See Isaac A. Chapman's "A Sketch of the History of Wyoming," page 10; W. L. Stone's "Poetry and History of Wyoming," page 80; Charles Miner's "History of Wyoming," page xv; Stewart Pearce's "Annals of Luzerne County," page 159, and *Bulletin of the United States Geological Survey*, No. 197, page 278.

in Philadelphia between the Governor and some Indians from Onondaga, New York, the chief speaker in behalf of the latter requested that they be helped on their "journey homewards with horses, from Tulpehocken [in Berks County] to *Mechayomy*."* In this same year Governor Gordon received information from four Shawanese chiefs relative to the removal in 1728 of certain Shawanese from Pechoquealin on the Delaware River to "*Meheahowming* (Wyoming), by order of the Six Nations."† These recorded forms, "*Mechayomy*" and "*Meheahowming*", resulted, without doubt, from the writers' attempts to spell the name *Maugh-wau-wa-me*, or *Mchwau-wa-mi*, according to their conception of its pronunciation.

In later years other corruptions and pronunciations succeeded those mentioned, and we find, in official and other authentic records, "Weyomin," in the year 1742; "Woyunoth" and "Woyunok" used at an Indian Council at Philadelphia in April, 1743; "Wyomic" and "Wajomick" used at this same period by Moravian missionaries; "Wiöming" on Lotter's map of 1748 and Evans' map of 1749, reproduced in Chapter IV; "Wioming" on Kitchin's map of 1756 (reproduced in Chapter V), on Scull's map of Pennsylvania published in 1759, and even on a map of the United States published in London, England, as late as December, 1783. In numerous official communications that passed between Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania and Conrad Weiser (Indian Agent and Interpreter for the Province) during the years 1753-'55 "Wyomink" was the form generally used by both men; although Weiser sometimes used the form "Wyomock." "Wyoming" is the form used on Scull's maps of Pennsylvania published in 1770 and 1775, by which time—or, in fact, a few years earlier—the spelling and pronunciation of the name had become pretty generally well settled, and have remained so to the present time.

But, for a period of thirty or more years, Wyoming was known to many Indians (particularly the Iroquois) and some white men by another name also—"Skehantowana" or "Skahendowana." In April, 1737, Conrad Weiser referred to a visit that he had made to "*Skehantowana*" a short time previously when returning from a journey to Onondaga. In 1742 Count Nicolaus Ludwig Zinzendorf (of whom much is related in succeeding chapters) wrote in his "Narrative" a brief account of his visit to "*Skahandowana*."‡ In March, 1755, Conrad Weiser wrote Governor Morris relative to the contemplated settlement of New England men at "*Scahantowana*."§ In July, 1755, deputies of the Six Nations in conference with Sir William Johnson said: "The land which reaches down from Oswego to *Schahandowana*, we beg may not be settled by Christians." Conrad Weiser reported to Governor Morris in December, 1755, relative to certain Delaware Indians living at Nescopeck, "half way from Shamokin to *Schandowana* or Wyomick";|| and in the same month the Rev. Gideon Hawley, at Aughquagey [Oquaga, or Ocquaga], New York, wrote to Sir William Johnson concerning a certain Englishman who, shortly before, had gone to "*Scahandowana*, alias Wioming."¶

* See W. C. Reichel's "Memorials of the Moravian Church," I: 69.

† See Pearce's "Annals," page 24.

‡ See Reichel's "Memorials of the Moravian Church," I: 69.

§ See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II: 259.

|| See Reichel's "Memorials," I: 69, 70.

¶ See "Documentary History of the Colony of New York," VII: 47.

Colonel Stone says in his "Poetry and History of Wyoming" (note, page 81): "I have two manuscript letters of Sir William Johnson dated March 23 and 25, 1763, in both of which he writes '*Skahandowana*, or Wyoming'." Referring to this name, Chapman says: "The lower flats of the valley—both Wilkesbarre and Plymouth—probably contained no trees of any consequence. The name *Sgahontowano* ('the large flats') given to the valley by the Six Nations, would indicate this; *gahonto* meaning in their language 'a large piece of ground without trees.'"*

Relative to this seldom-used and less-familiar name of Wyoming, the Rev. Dr. Beauchamp, previously mentioned, has recently given the writer this information:

"*Skehantowana* is Iroquois, variously spelled. Zeisberger (in his Onondaga Lexicon) gives *Gahunta* as 'a field'—*Gahuntowanna* as 'flat country.' Although a notable authority, I rarely depend on him. In Onondaga, *Kahentah* is now 'a field'; in Mohawk, *Kaheanta*; in Cayuga, *Kaheantae*. These differences disappear in combination, and secretaries and interpreters did not always hear or spell alike. Of course there are sometimes several words to express the same thing. Thus *Kwana*, *Io* and *Gowah* all mean 'great'; so that *Skehanowana* and *Skehandowa* are essentially the same. The contracted prefix 's' is locative, and does not materially affect the meaning; it is added or dropped at pleasure. In combinations of nouns and adjectives there is often a contraction, and sometimes the original word is contracted. Thus the Senecas call Elnira [New York] by contraction *Skwedoa*, 'Great Plain', from the longer form once applied to Wyoming, and meaning the same. Among the Iroquois 'd' and 't,' also 'g' and 'k,' are interchangeable.

"The definition of this word as now used in Onondaga would be 'great plain, or field,' from *Skahenta*, or *Kahentah*, 'field,' and either *Gowah*, or *Gwanne*, 'great.' All the other variations depended on the ears and hands of early writers; and from my own experience in taking down Indian words these variations are not surprising. Chapman's explanation is good, but *Gahonto* is simply 'a field,' not a large field."

Reference is made in the preceding chapter to some of the many histories of Wyoming that have been published. In all of them are to be found passages, more or less interesting, describing some of the natural beauties of the valley. But, in addition to the publications mentioned, others issued from the press within the past century and a-quarter have contained many contributions of prose and verse to the collection of descriptive and legendary literature relating to Wyoming; and it is a fact, without much doubt, that up to about fifty years ago poetry and legend had done more than anything else to immortalize the name and the beauty of this valley—for strangers and pilgrims came to it, visited its historic spots, wandered through its woods, floated on the bosom of its river and climbed its mountains quoting Campbell, Halleck and other writers *not* historians.

In the circumstances, therefore, it seems appropriate and desirable to gather into this chapter at this point, and make readily accessible, some extracts from a few of the most interesting poems and descriptive passages referred to; especially in view of the fact that within recent years great changes have taken place in the physical as well as the artificial features of the valley. Villages, towns and cities now crowd upon each other throughout the whole length of the valley, where, less than one hundred years ago, there were only a few hamlets sparsely inhabited. But, although the Genius of Civilization has despoiled Wyoming of many of its natural beauties and charms, still

"From the fair glory of her girdling hills,
To Flora's inmost fane, on fair Wyoming
Lingers a grace of outline fine, which fills
Brimful the sense of beauty!"

* See page 42, quotation from Heckewelder.

Charles Miner, who had come to Wyoming in the year 1800, and who lived here for the greater part of his life thereafter, wrote of the valley in 1845 (see his "History of Wyoming," pages xiii and xiv):

"The valley, itself, is diversified by hill and dale, upland and intervalle. Its character of extreme richness is derived from the extensive flats, or river bottoms, which in some places extend from one to two miles back from the stream, unrivalled in expansive beauty; unsurpassed in luxuriant fertility. Though now generally cleared and cultivated, to protect the soil from floods a fringe of trees is left along each bank of the river—the sycamore, the elm and, more especially, the black-walnut; while here and there, scattered through the fields, a huge shellbark yields its Summer shade to the weary laborer, and its Autumn fruit to the black and gray squirrel or the rival plough-boy.

"Pure streams of water come leaping from the mountains, imparting health and pleasure in their course, and all of them abounding with the delicious trout. Along those brooks and in the swales, scattered through the uplands, grow the wild-plum and the butternut, while, wherever the hand of the white man has spared it, the native grape may be gathered in unlimited profusion. I have seen a grape-vine bending beneath its purple clusters, one branch climbing a butternut tree, loaded with fruit, another branch resting on a wild-plum tree, red with its delicious burden; the while growing in their shade the hazlenut was ripening its rounded kernel.

"Such were common scenes when the white people first came to Wyoming, which seems to have been formed by Nature a perfect Indian paradise. Game of every sort was abundant. The quail whistled in the meadow; the pheasant rustled in its leafy covert; the wild-duck reared her brood and bent the reed in every inlet; the red-deer fed upon the hills, while in the deep forests, within a few hours' walk, was found the stately elk. (Several persons now living delight to relate their hunting prowess in bringing down this noblest of our forest inhabitants.) The river yielded at all seasons a supply of fish—the yellow-perch, the pike, the cat-fish, the bass, the roach and, in the Spring season, myriads of shad."

The Rev. Edmund D. Griffin, a grandson of Col. Zebulon Butler, and at the time of his death in 1830 a member of the faculty of Columbia College, New York, wrote as follows in 1817 (when he was only a youth) after a visit to Wyoming:

"When we had ascended the second mountain we went a short distance from the road upon a ledge of rocks*—and what was it first struck my sight? Was it a darkly frowning wilderness beneath me? Did a rushing, foaming cataract pour its streams along? No! a scene more lovely than imagination ever painted presented itself to my sight—so beautiful, so exquisitely beautiful, that even the magic verse of Campbell did not do it justice. The valley extends far and wide, beautified with cultivated fields, and interspersed with beautiful groves. The Susquehanna meanders through it, now disappearing and losing itself among the trees, now again appearing to sight, till it is at last entirely hidden among the mountains. * * *

"Farewell, Wyoming! perhaps farewell forever, thou that art beautiful enough to be called the elysium of the ancients, or the promised paradise of Mahomet. Thy groves might be the recesses of departed sages; thy forests, those of the forgotten Druids of antiquity; thy cultivated fields, the product of the amusement of those who during life loved rural scenes and employment; thy open areas, the places where the shades of youth exercised themselves in warlike sports; thy Susquehanna, the bathing-place of nymphs and naiads, and thy houses, the dwellings of those who had formerly been discreet housewives."

Prof. Benjamin Silliman of Yale College, who spent a number of days in Wyoming in the Spring of 1830, wrote as follows under date of May 24, 1830:

"It [the valley] is bounded by grand mountain barriers, and watered by a noble river and its tributaries. The first glance of a stranger entering at either end, or crossing the mountain ridges which divide it (like the happy valley of Abyssinia) from the rest of the world, fills him with the peculiar pleasure produced by a fine landscape, combining richness, beauty, variety and grandeur. From Prospect Rock near the rocky summit of the eastern barrier, and from Ross Hill on the west, the valley of Wyoming is seen in one view as a charming whole, and its lofty and well-defined boundaries exclude more distant objects from mingling in the prospect.

"Few landscapes that I have seen can vie with the valley of Wyoming. Excepting some rocky precipices and cliffs, the mountains are wooded from the summit to their base; natural sections furnish avenues for roads, and the rapid Susquehanna rolls its powerful current through a mountain gap on the north-west and immediately receives the Lackawanna, which flows down the narrower valley of the same name. A similar pass

* Prospect Rock, described on page 49.



A VIEW OF WYOMING VALLEY, LOOKING SOUTH-WEST FROM WILKES-BARRE MOUNTAIN AT SUGAR NOTCH, IN HANOVER TOWNSHIP.

1000

between the mountains, on the south, gives the Susquehanna an exit, and at both places a slight obliquity in the position of the observer presents to the eye a seeming lake in the windings of the river, and a barrier of mountains, apparently impassable.

"From the foot of the steep mountain ridges, particularly on the east side, the valley slopes away with broad, sweeping undulations in the surface, forming numerous swelling hills of arable and grazing land; and, as we recede from the hills, the fine flats and meadows covered (as I saw them in May, 1830) with the richest grass and wheat, complete the picture by features of the gentlest and most luxuriant beauty.

"An active and intelligent population fills the country. Their buildings and farms bear witness to their industry and skill. Several villages or clusters of houses give variety to the scene, and Wilkesbarre, a regular and well-built borough having 1,000 or 1,200 inhabitants, with churches, ministers, academy, able teachers and schools, and with many enlightened, moral and cultivated people, furnishes an agreeable resting-place to the traveler. In a word, splendid and beautiful in the scenery of its mountains, rivers, fields and meadows; rich in the most productive agriculture; possessed by the still surviving veterans and by the descendants of a high-minded race of men; full of the most interesting historical associations, and of scenes of warfare, where the precious blood of fathers, husbands and sons so often moistened their own fields, the valley of Wyoming will always remain one of the most attractive regions to every intelligent and patriotic American.

"Mining districts are rarely rich in soil—the sterility of the surface being compensated by the mineral treasures below. Seldom are both advantages combined; we see it occasionally in some of the coal districts of Britain. In this respect the valley of Wyoming is particularly happy. It is rich in soil and in the best agricultural productions. Its extensive meadows are unrivaled in fertility and beauty, and its undulating surface, between the meadows and the mountains, is a fine region for grass and wheat."

In line with the idea set forth in the last paragraph is the following, extracted from a "Report on the Coal Trade" made by a committee of the Pennsylvania Senate March 4, 1834 (see Hazard's *Pennsylvania Register*, XIII: 209):

* * * "The beautiful and fertile valley of Wyoming, one of the most productive and excellent agricultural districts in Pennsylvania. Alike rich in its agricultural productions as abundant in its mineral treasures, the same acre of land may furnish employment for both the agriculturalist and the miner. While the farmer is occupied upon the surface, at the handles of the plough, in preparing the rich soil for its seed; or the field, waving with rich luxuriance, bends before the sickle, the miner, like the antipodes of another region, may be actively engaged in the interior, beneath his feet, in mining and bringing forth the long-hidden treasures of the earth. The different branches of industry, therefore, may here not only be placed side by side, but literally one on top of the other."

The Rev. Nicholas Murray, D. D., was pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Wilkes-Barré from 1829 to 1833, and about that period he wrote in the following terms relative to Wyoming Valley:

"As the traveler reaches the brow of the eastern mountain a scene of surpassing loveliness spreads itself beneath him, and he feels that if peace has not utterly forsaken our world, its residence must be there. The valley seems as if expressly made for the home of the Indian; and for moons beyond the power of his arithmetic to calculate, the red man fished in that river and planted his corn in that rich bottom and sought his game upon the mountains. And before he could be compelled to yield it, he made the white man feel the power of his anger in many a dreadful surprise.

"It has been my lot to wander upon foreign shores. I have gazed upon Italian skies and scenes; I have wandered over the mountains and vales of Switzerland; I have traversed the Rhine, the Rhone, the Clyde; I have gazed upon most of the beautiful scenery of Britain, and yet I turn to Wyoming as unsurpassed in quiet beauty by any vale that I have ever seen.

"A valley from the river shore withdrawn;

* * * * *
So sweet a spot on earth, you might, I ween,
Have guessed some congregation of the elves,
To sport by Summer moon, had shaped it for themselves."

William L. Stone—mentioned on page 19—wrote as follows of Wyoming after his visit here in 1839 (see his "Poetry and History of Wyoming," pages iii, 77 and 367):

"The 'Happy Valley' to which the illustrious author of 'Rasselas' introduces his reader in the opening of that charming fiction, was not much more secluded from the world than is the valley of Wyoming. Situated in the interior of the country, remote

from the great thoroughfares of travel, either for business or in the idle chase of pleasure, and walled on every hand by mountains lofty and wild, and over which long and rugged roads must be traveled to reach it, Wyoming is rarely visited, except from stern necessity. And yet the imagination of Johnson has not pictured so lovely a spot in the vale of Amhara as Wyoming.

"The first glance into the far-famed valley of Wyoming, traveling westwardly, is from the brow of the Pokono mountain range, below which it lies at the depth of 1,000 feet, distinctly defined by the double barrier of nearly parallel mountains, between which it is embosomed. There is a beetling precipice upon the verge of the eastern barrier, called 'Prospect Rock,' from the top of which nearly the entire valley can be surveyed at a single view, forming one of the richest and most beautiful landscapes upon which the eye of man ever rested. Through the center of the valley flows the Susquehanna, the winding course of which can be traced the whole distance. Several green islands slumber sweetly in its embrace, while the sight revels amidst the garniture of fields and woodlands; and to complete the picture, low in the distance may be dimly seen the borough of Wilkesbarré—especially the spires of its churches.

"The hotel at which the traveler rests in Wilkesbarré is upon the margin of the river, the waters of which are remarkably transparent and pure excepting in the seasons of the spring and autumnal floods. * * From the observatory of the hotel a full view of the whole valley is obtained—or rather, in a clear atmosphere, the steep, wild mountains by which the valley is completely shut in, rise on every hand with a distinctness which accurately defines its dimensions; while the valley itself, especially on the western, or opposite, side of the river presents a view of several small towns, or scattered villages, planted along, but back from, the river at the distance of a few miles apart—the whole intervening and contiguous territory being divided into farms and gardens, with fruit and ornamental trees. Comfortable farm-houses are thickly studded over the valley, among which are not a few more ambitious dwellings, denoting by their air, and the disposition of the grounds, both wealth and taste. Midway through the valley winds the river, its banks adorned with graceful and luxuriant foliage, and disclosing at every turn some bright spot of beauty. On the eastern side, in the rear of the borough, and for a few miles north, the dead level of the valley is rendered still more picturesque by being broken into swelling elevations and lesser valleys, adorned in spots with groves and clumps of trees, with the ivy and other creeping parasites, as upon the river brink, clinging to their branches and adding beauty to the graceful foliage. * * * [The mountains] are in general yet as wild as when discovered, and are clothed with pines, dwarf oaks and laurels, interspersed with other descriptions of woods, deciduous and evergreen. * * *

"Wyoming is indeed a lovely spot, which, had Milton seen it before the composition of his immortal epic, might well have suggested some portions of his gorgeous descriptions of Paradise. The lofty and verdant mountains, which shut the valley from the rest of the world, correspond well with the great poet's

* * * * * enclosure green,

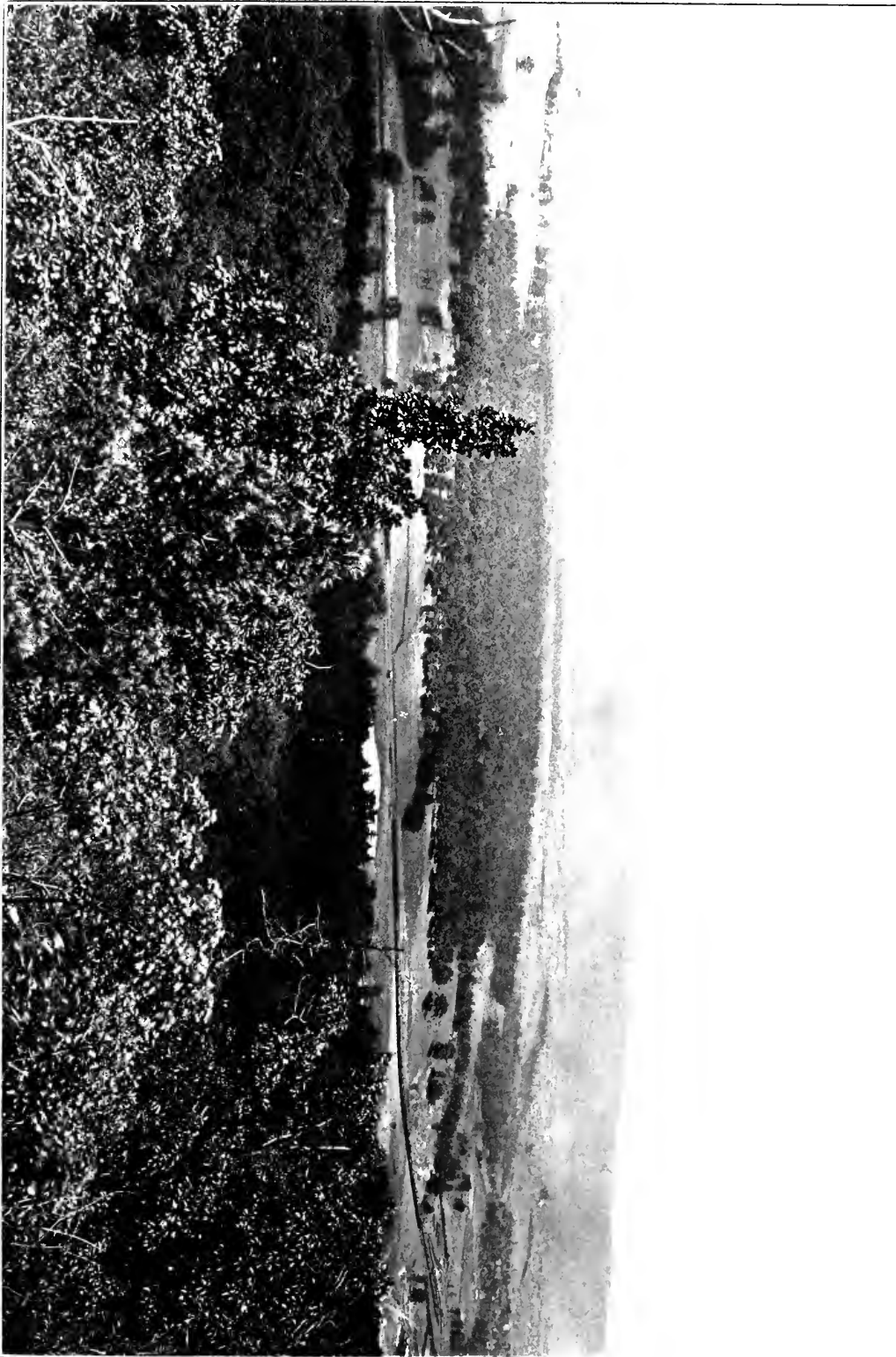
* * * * *
Of a steep wilderness; whose hairy sides
With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,
Access denied; while overhead up grew
Insuperable height of loftiest shade.
Cedar and pine and fir and branching palm,
A sylvan scene; and as the ranks ascend,
Shade above shade, a woody theatre
Of stateliest view.'

"Wyoming is larger, by far, than the Thessalian vale which the poets of old so often sang, though not less beautiful. If its mountain-barriers are not honored by the classic names of Ossa and Olympus, they are much more lofty. Instead of the Peneus, a mightier river rolls its volume through its verdant meadows; and if the gods of the Greek Mythology were wont to honor Tempe with their presence in times of old, they would prove their good taste and their love of the romantic and beautiful in these modern days, by taking an occasional stroll among the cool shades and flowery paths of Wyoming."

Thomas Campbell, the Scottish poet, was the first writer of renown to embalm Wyoming in verse, which he did in his "Gertrude of Wyoming," given to the public early in 1809. The first two of the ninety-two stanzas of this poem are as follows:

I.

"On Susquehannah's side, fair Wyoming!
Although the wild-flower on thy ruin'd wall,
And roofless homes, a sad remembrance bring
Of what thy gentle people did befall,



A VIEW OF WYOMING VALLEY, LOOKING NORTH-WEST FROM WILKES-BARRE MOUNTAIN AT SUGAR NOTCH, IN HANOVER TOWNSHIP.
From a photograph taken in August, 1901.

Yet thou wert once the loveliest land of all
 That see the Atlantic wave their morn restore.
 Sweet land ! may I thy lost delights recall,
 And paint thy *Gertrude* in her bowers of yore,
 Whose beauty was the love of Pennsylvania's shore !

II.

‘Delightful Wyoming ! beneath thy skies
 The happy shepherd swains had naught to do
 But feed their flocks on green declivities,
 Or skim perchance thy lake with light canoe,
 From morn till evening's sweeter pastime grew,
 With timbrel, when beneath the forests brown
 Thy lovely maidens would the dance renew ;
 And aye those sunny mountains half-way down
 Would echo flageolet from some romantic town.’

There is no great scope in the story of this poem, but it contains passages of exquisite grace and tenderness, and others of spirit and grandeur. The Wyoming of Campbell is, and always will be, a creation lovely to the heart and imagination of mankind ; but the poet has given to the world a creation that is only imaginary. His Wyoming is not the Wyoming of prosaic reality, nor is the tale to which he has married it in accordance with the facts of history. As Campbell had never been in America, and his knowledge of Wyoming and its history was—according to his own statements—derived from Adolphus' history, Jefferson's "Notes on Virginia," and other books of a similar character, the poem abounds in improbabilities, misdescriptions and anachronisms that are very glaring to the reader familiar with the real Wyoming and its history.

“And yet, O Wyoming ! Campbell
 Hath linked thy name with fancy's dreams,
 And thrown a magic charm around
 Thy purple hills and winding streams,
 And made thy valley classic ground.”

In 1854 it was proposed by admirers of Campbell to erect a memorial statue to the deceased poet in "Poets' Corner," Westminster Abbey, London. The fee required to be paid to the authorities of the Abbey for this privilege amounted to £200, and it was deemed proper to appeal to the people of the United States to contribute this sum. Relative to this matter *The Evening Post* of New York printed the following in September, 1854 :

“A marble obelisk, inscribed with the poet's name, on some spur of the woodland mountain range which overlooks the vale of Wyoming (the scene of his poem), conspicuous from the banks of the river at a distance either way, would be a far more signal testimony of the esteem in which his writings are held than an effigy in the 'Poets' Corner' of the great monumental church of England.”

The following brief paragraph by Charles Miner on this subject was printed in the *Record of the Times*, Wilkes-Barré, September 27, 1854 :

“Until the monument erected by the ladies of Wyoming, in memory of the heroes who fell in the massacre, is completed and rendered an ornament instead of a dreadful eyesore, it would do us no credit to aid in erecting a monument to Campbell. When *one* is finished, let us unite to honor the author of 'Gertrude' by placing on Prospect Rock a marble obelisk inscribed with the poet's name.”

Alexander Wilson, the celebrated ornithologist, was the next writer of note following Campbell to praise in verse the valley of Wyoming and its noble river. In the Autumn of 1803 he traveled on foot from Philadelphia to Niagara Falls, and later he wrote a poem entitled "The

Foresters," which was descriptive of his journey, and was first published in July, 1809, in *The Portfolio* (previously mentioned). The author refers therein to his first impressions of our historic vale, in the following lines :

"And now Wiomi opens on our view,
 And, far beyond, the Allegheny blue
 Immensely stretch'd ; upon the plain below
 The painted roofs with gaudy colors glow,
 And Susquehanna's glittering stream is seen
 Winding in stately pomp through valleys green.
 Hail, charming river ! pure, transparent flood !
 Unstain'd by noxious swamps or choking mud,
 Thundering through broken rocks in whirling foam,
 Or pleased o'er beds of glittering sand to roam,
 Green be thy banks, sweet forest-wandering stream.
 Still may thy waves with finny treasures teem ;
 The silvery shad and salmon crowd thy shores ;
 Thy tall woods echoing to the sounding oars.
 On thy swol'n bosom floating piles appear,
 Fill'd with the harvests of our rich frontier ;
 Thy pine-crown'd cliffs, thy deep, romantic vales,
 Where wolves now wander and the panther wails,
 In future times (nor distant far the day)
 Shall glow with crowded towns and villas gay.
 Unnumber'd keels thy deepen'd course divide,
 And airy arches pompously bestride ;
 The domes of Science and Religion rise,
 And millions swarm where now a forest lies.
 * * * * *
 By Susquehanna's shores we journey on,
 Hemmed in by mountains over mountains thrown,
 Whose vast declivities rich scenes display
 Of green pines mix'd with yellow foliage gay.
 Each gradual winding opening to the sight
 New towering heaps of more majestic height,
 Grey with projecting rocks, along whose steeps
 The sailing eagle* many a circle sweeps."

In 1826 or '27 Fitz Greene Halleck,† a poet of much geniality and tender feeling, visited Wyoming, "led by his admiration of the poetry of Campbell, the author of 'Gertrude.'" In memory of this visit Halleck wrote his very spirited and entertaining poem "Wyoming," which he handed to his friend and fellow-poet William Cullen Bryant, by whom it was first published in 1827 in *The United States Review* (New York), at that time conducted by Mr. Bryant. Since then this poem has appeared in all editions of the collected writings of Halleck, and is as follows :

I.

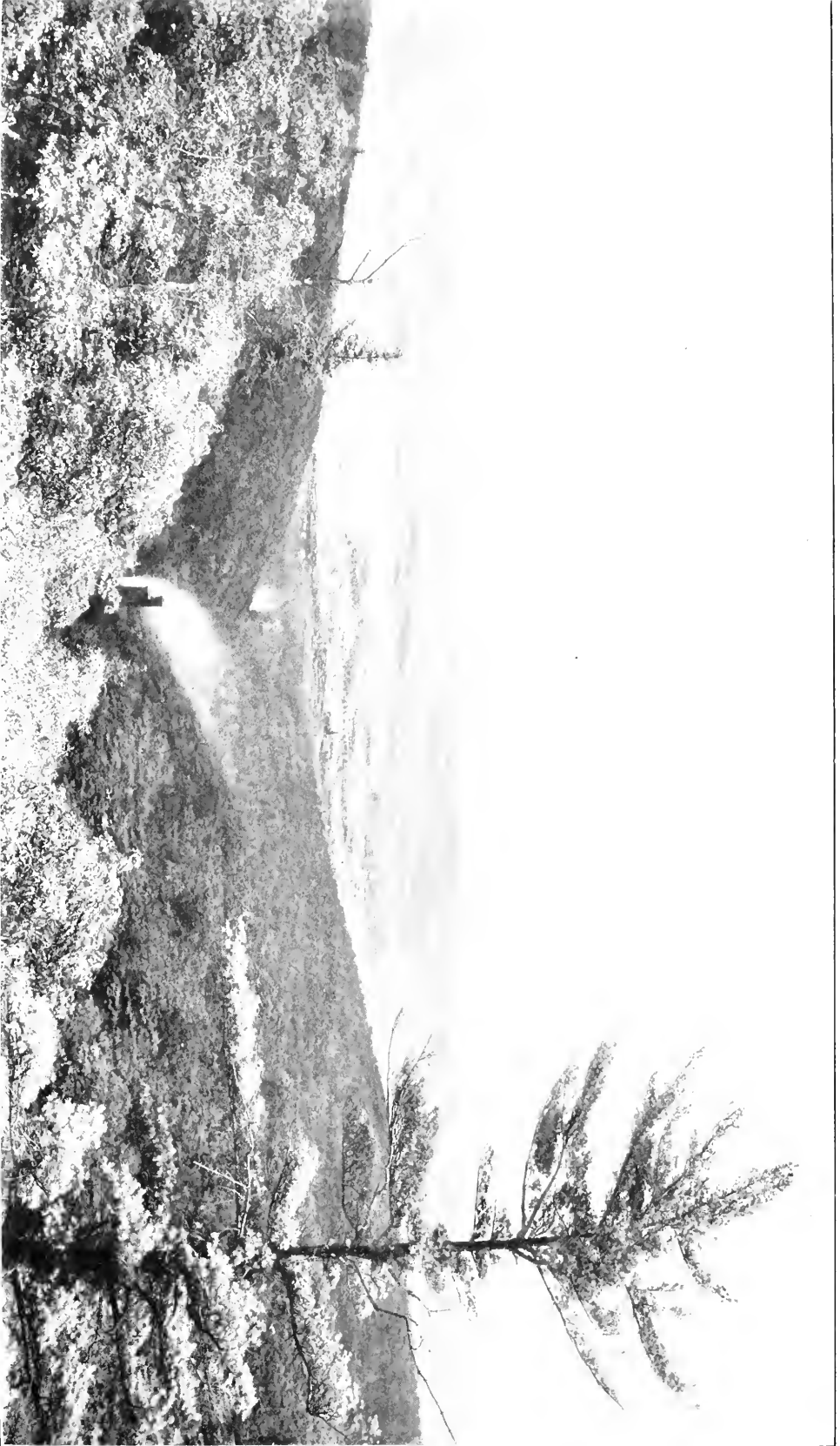
"Thou com'st, in beauty, on my gaze at last,
 'On Susquehanna's side, fair Wyoming !'
 Image of many a dream, in hours long past,
 When life was in its bud and blossoming,
 And waters, gushing from the fountain-spring
 Of pure enthusiast thought, dimmed my young eyes,
 As by the poet borne, on unscen wing,
 I breathed, in fancy, 'neath thy cloudless skies,
 The Summer's air, and heard her echoed harmonies.

II.

"I then but dreamed ; thou art before me now
 In life, a vision of the brain no more.
 I've stood upon the wooded mountain's brow,
 That beetles high thy lovely valley o'er ;

* "The white-headed, or bald, eagle.—A. Wilson."

† Born in Guilford, Connecticut, July 8, 1790 ; died there November 19, 1857.



A VIEW OF WYOMING VALLEY.

From the Lehigh Valley Railroad, near the Summit of Wilkes-Barre Mountain, 1899.

This plate used by courtesy of the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company.

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And now, where winds thy river's greenest shore,
 Within a bower of sycamores am laid ;
 And winds, as soft and sweet as ever bore
 The fragrance of wild flowers through sun and shade,
 Are siuging in the trees, whose low boughs press my head.

III.

"Nature hath made thee lovelier than the power
 Even of Campbell's pen hath pictured ; he
 Had woven, had he gazed one sunny hour
 Upon thy smiling vale, its scenery
 With more of truth, and made each rock and tree
 Known like old friends, and greeted from afar.
 And there are tales of sad reality,
 In the dark legends of thy border war,
 With woes of deeper tint than his own *Gertrude's* are.

IV.

"But where are they, the beings of the mind,
 The bard's creations, moulded not of clay,
 Hearts to strange bliss and suffering assigned—
 Young *Gertrude*, *Albert*, *Waldegrave*—where are they ?
 We need not ask. The people of to-day
 Appear good, honest, quiet men enough,
 And hospitable too—for ready pay ;
 With manners like their roads, a little rough,
 And hands whose grasp is warm and welcoming, though tough.

V.

"Judge HALLENBACH,* who keeps the toll-bridge gate
 And the town records, is the *Albert* now
 Of Wyoming ; like him, in Church and State,
 Her Doric column. And upon his brow
 The thin hairs, white with seventy winters' snow,
 Look patriarchal. *Waldegrave* 'twere in vain
 To point out here, unless in yon scare-crow
 That stands full-uniform'd upon the plain,
 To frighten crows and black-birds from the grain.

VI.

"For he would look particularly droll
 In his 'Iberian boot' and 'Spanish plume,'
 And be the wonder of each Christian soul
 As of the birds that scare-crow and its broom.
 But *Gertrude*, in her loveliness and bloom,
 Hath many a model here ; for woman's eye,
 In court or cottage, wheresoe'er her home,
 Hath a heart-spell too holy and too high
 To be o'erpraised even by her worshipper—Poesy.

VII.

"There's one in the next field—of sweet sixteen—
 Singing and summoning thoughts of beauty born
 In heaven—with her jacket of light green,
 'Love-darting eyes, and tresses like the morn,'
 Without a shoe or stocking—hoeing corn.
 Whether, like *Gertrude*, she oft wanders there,
 With Shakespeare's volume in her bosom borne,
 I think is doubtful. Of the poet-player
 The maiden knows no more than of Cobbett or Voltaire.

VIII.

"There is a woman, widowed, gray and old,
 Who tells you where the foot of Battle stopped
 Upon their day of massacre. She told

* Reference is here made to Judge MATTHIAS HOLLENBACK of Wilkes-Barré. He was never, however, either toll-collector at the Wilkes-Barré bridge or keeper of the town records. He was the first President of the bridge company, and held this office in 1826 and '27. At that time Judge JESSE FELL was Town Clerk of Wilkes-Barré town and township.

Its tale, and pointed to the spot, and wept,
 Whereon her father and five brothers slept,
 Shroudless, the bright-dreamed slumbers of the brave,
 When all the land a funeral mourning kept.
 And there, wild laurels planted on the grave
 By Nature's hand, in air their pale-red blossoms wave.

IX.

"And on the margin of yon orchard hill
 Are marks where time-worn battlements have been,
 And in the tall grass traces linger still
 Of 'arrowy frieze and wedgéd ravelin.'
 Five hundred of her brave that valley green
 Trod on the morn in soldier-spirit gay ;
 But twenty lived to tell the noonday scene—
 And where are now the twenty ? Passed away.
 Has Death no triumph hours, save on the battle-day?"

The following stanzas are from a poem entitled "Wyoming," composed by a now unknown author whose pen-name was "Desmond." The poem was originally published July 24, 1830, in Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania* (VI: 61), and in all probability has been read by few persons of the present day.

"And is this Wyoming? O Wyoming!
 Am I within thy fairy bowers? Are these
 The classic shades mine island bard doth sing
 So sweetly? Was it 'neath those dark green trees
 That *Henry* woo'd his *Gertrude*? Is this breeze,
 That fans my brow with its cool morning wing,
 The same that 'mid the sweeping circle bore
 Dark *Outalissi's* song around yon sunny shore?"

"O vale of bliss! Though bosomed in the wild,
 Deep in the silent west, thou'rt not unsung.
 How oft o'er yon blue sea, while yet a child,
 O'er tales of thee enraptured have I hung,
 And roam'd in fancy these wild shades among ;
 And now I smile to see thee, though exiled.
 Roll up, ye mists of morn ! that I may view
 If of those dewy bowers my childhood's dream be true.

"The same—yet no ! Not even the poet's song,
 Or pencil's skill, can sketch thy waters wide,
 Blue Susquehanna, as thou sweep'st along
 Through those wild woods that wave upon thy side—
 Here dashing o'er the rocks in crested pride,
 There stealing silently the shades among ;
 Here hiding thy bright ripples 'midst the trees,
 There flashing to the sun and foaming to the breeze.

"Genius of Europe! Look'st thou on the Rhine
 With bold-swept lute and wildly beaming eyes?
 Do Thames' bright waters in thy numbers shine
 So oft, so brilliantly? Awake ! Arise !
 The western world unveils its mysteries !
 Come to these forests ! Turn that glance of thine
 On these majestic waters as they gleam !
 What is thy wildest flood to them? A brook—a stream !

"One solitary lute has sung of thee,
 Fair Susquehanna ! While by bright Garonne
 A hundred bards awake their minstrelsy,
 Praising its beauties at the set of sun.
 Yet oh ! through yonder mists nprolling dun,
 How grandly wave your forests to the sky,
 Fresh as when first chaotic glooms uncurl'd,
 And show'd to angels' eyes the new-created world.

"And silent as that world these woods! There wakes
 No shout from far; that early banqueter,
 The bee, to his wild flowers amid the brakes,
 Hums gaily past; the wild birds also stir,
 But still, in yon fair town, the villager
 Is wrapped in sleep; abroad the wild deer takes
 A quiet glance, for in his native woods
 He hears no hunter's step stir on his solitudes.

"Dew-diamonds fall around me from the trees,
 And morning flow'rets peep from forth the maze
 Of the wild woods 'round. But what are these?
 I heed them not. With fix'd glance still I gaze
 On yon bright flood. Alas! far fiercer blaze
 Than now illumes thy wave my fancy sees,
 Fair river! though thus smilingly you flow,
 As if on thy green banks ne'er woke the wail of woe.

"Rush o'er my soul the horrors of that night,
 When on thy blood-stained wave pale look'd the moon!
 * * * * *
 * * * * *
 * * * * *

"Not then, on smiling plains, fair Wyoming,
 Awoke as now the glorious eye of morn;
 But pale forms on thy steep banks weltering—
 Thy homes in ruin—thy green forests torn—
 And here and there some bleeding swimmer borne
 Down the deep stream, all madly buffeting
 For life the wave, yet pausing oft to hear
 If still the cry of blood rang on his tortur'd ear.
 * * * * *

"'Tis past! And ever past be that fell scene!
 Ah! lovely bowers, ye were not made for war!
 Ne'er may your wave reflect a redder sheen
 Than the mild twinkle of the morning star;
 Ne'er on this breeze may harsher music jar
 Than hunters' merry shout from forest green,
 The sheep-bell's distant tinkle on the gale,
 Or, whistling wild at eve, the wish-ton-wish's wail.

"And here, at eve, let sylvan lovers roam,
 Where once disturbed the woods the battle-cry;
 Borne down the wave let the soft flute-note come,
 In sweet accordance with the lover's sigh;
 Or, let some exile lone go musing by
 On the far beauties of his island home;
 Yet turning to find solace in the scene
 For Albion's broomy bourns or Erin's hills of green."

In 1843 Mrs. Lydia Huntley Sigourney,* having visited Wyoming, wrote and published the following poem, which was much admired at the time and appeared in various publications.

"TO THE SUSQUEHANNA,"

On its junction with the Lackawanna.

"Rush on, glad stream, in thy power and pride,
 To claim the hand of thy promised bride,
 For she hastes from the realm of the darkened mine
 To mingle her murmured vows with thine.
 Ye have met! Ye have met! and your shores prolong
 The liquid tone of your nuptial song.

* A well-known American authoress, born at Norwich, Connecticut, September 1, 1791; died at Hartford, Connecticut, June 10, 1865. In 1822 she published a descriptive poem entitled "Traits of the Aborigines of America," and in 1824 a "Sketch of Connecticut Forty Years Since." These were followed by many other poems and essays, and in 1840, having visited Europe, she wrote "Pleasant Memories of Pleasant Lands."

“Methinks ye wed as the white man’s son
 And the child of the Indian king have done.
 I saw the bride as she strove in vain
 To cleanse her brow from the carbon stain ;
 But she brings thee a dowry so rich and true
 That thy love must not shrink from the tawney hue.

“Her birth was rude in a mountain cell,
 And her infant freaks there are none to tell ;
 Yet the path of her beauty was wild and free.
 And in dell and forest she hid from thee ;
 But the day of her fond caprice is o’er,
 And she seeks to part from thy breast no more.

“Pass on, in the joy of thy blended tide,
 Through the land where the blessed Miquon died ;
 No red man’s blood, with its guilty stain,
 Hath cried unto God from that broad domain.
 With the seeds of peace they have sown the soil—
 Bring a harvest of wealth for their hour of toil.

“On, on through the vale where the brave ones sleep,
 Where the waving foliage is rich and deep.
 I have stood on the mountain, and roamed through the glen,
 To the beautiful homes of the Western men ;
 Yet naught in that region of glory could see
 So fair as the vale of Wyoming to me.”

The following verses are from a poem by J. R. Barstow, of Philadelphia, which appeared originally in *The Model American Courier*, and was reprinted in the *Luzerne Democrat* (Wilkes-Barré), February 21, 1849.

“PENNSYLVANIA.”

“A song of home, a song of modern days,
 A tribute to my glorious native land !
 Oh ! would the muse but aid my feeble praise,
 And nerve with honest pride my faltering hand !
 The Keystone of this mighty arch, which holds
 A continent within its vast embrace ;
 Which to the waiting eye of Hope unfolds
 Of Freedom and of Peace the resting place.
 Far in her quiet valleys many a gem
 Of rarest beauty greets the asking eye,
 As emeralds of Nature’s diadem
 Lie shining green beneath the bending sky.
 Fairest of these, and fairer far than all,
 Brightest of scenes whose beauties never pall,
 Queen of the Keystone, on thy mountain throne
 Thou reign’st, Wyoming, by thy grace alone !
 The stranger pausing on the rocky brow
 That far above absorbs the lingering glow
 Of the fast setting sun, will feel the power
 That oft, in such a scene and such an hour,
 Can lend imagination all it needs,
 Filling the heart with Poesy’s bright seeds,
 And, but for Holy Writ, might locate there
 The garden of the lost, primeval pair,
 As if creating Nature, sunk to rest,
 Had laid her fairest offspring on her breast.

* * * * *
 O Susquehanna, on the earth’s green breast
 No brighter river greets the morning ray ;
 No sweeter river, flowing to its rest,
 Adds its fresh tribute to the ocean’s spray.
 I see in many a sorrow-fostered dream
 The mountain-guarded home of other years.
 Thy shelving beach and rock-reflecting stream—
 They stir once more the fountain of my tears.”

* * * * *

Thomas Buchanan Read (born 1822; died 1872), well known as an artist, a sculptor and a poet, but chiefly remembered as the author of "Sheridan's Ride"—that spirited poem, "one of the literary hits made during the American Civil War"—published in 1855 "The New Pastoral," from which the following verses have been extracted:

"Fair Pennsylvania! than thy midland vales,
Lying 'twixt hills of green, and bound afar
By billowy mountains rolling in the blue,
No lovelier landscape meets the traveler's eye.
There Labor sows and reaps his sure reward,
And Peace and Plenty walk amid the glow
And perfume of full garner. I have seen
In lands less free, less fair, but far more known,
The streams which flow through history and wash
The legendary shores, and cleave in twain
Old capitals and towns, dividing oft
Great empires and estates of petty kings
And princes, whose domains full many a field,
Rustling with maize along our native West,
Out-measures and might put to shame! And yet
Nor Rhine, like Bacchus crowned, and reeling through
His hills—nor Danube, marred with tyranny,
His dull waves moaning on Hungarian shores,
Nor rapid Po, his opaque waters pouring
Athwart the fairest, fruitfulest and worst
Enslaved of European lands—nor Seine,
Winding uncertain through inconstant France,
Are half so fair as thy broad stream whose breast
Is gemmed with many isles, and whose proud name
Shall yet become among the names of rivers
A synonym of beauty—Susquehanna!"

The following poem was written in October, 1860, by George Alfred Townsend, well known to readers of the present day as a popular newspaper correspondent and writer of fiction over the pseudonym "Gath."

"WYOMING,"

FROM PROSPECT ROCK.

(During the State Agricultural Fair.)

- "The dream of my childhood lies under my lashes;
Wyoming looks up from her Autumn repose;
I catch the sweet breath of the lingering rose,
And see in the vale where the rivulet flashes.
These meadows are rich with old altars and ashes;
These bright skies are holy, and hymns haunt these hills;
Old tales tinkle up from these myriad rills,
And ghosts wander forth where the withered bough crashes;
Stealthy eyes glare like fiends where the thickets are gloaming,
And the consecrate mountains are rumbling—'Wyoming.'
- "I kneel where the savage looked down in the olden
On glimpses of meadow and wilderness blue,
And swore that the prow of his birchen canoe
Should ripple again where the river was golden;
That the beautiful vale where his fathers were moulding
The stranger should never forever profane,
Though the hatchet should reek with the blood of the slain,
And the stars close their lids the red carnage beholding.
The pale face survives, the red children are roaming,
And the smoke of sweet households curls over Wyoming.
- "I see the lone pine where the 'Shawnee' ascended,
And mark the gray shaft where the martyrs are cherished;
And see the grim ridge where the pioneer perished,
And gaze at the rock where the death-rite was ended.
The homes have been blighted which heroes defended,

But here do the sons of the forefathers dwell,
 And Gertrudes yet wander o'er meadow and dell.
 All romance and song in this Aiden are blended !
 These scenes like a dream on the pilgrim are gleaming,
 And blessed be the eyes which thus worship Wyoming.

"In this stillness ambition its murmuring hushes,
 And piety needs not in anguish to pray,
 For here there is heaven and beauty alway,
 And the clouds, looking down, lose their sadness in flushes.
 The glad Susquehanna sings ever and blushes,
 And ever looks back with a gurgling regret,
 And the tear-sparkling stars most reluctantly set ;
 And the screams of the hawk are as soft as the thrush's ;
 And the mountains, like caskets of azure are gloaming,
 To shut from the world the jewel Wyoming.

"On the massacre-plain mounds of canvas appear,
 And yeomen are clustering, armed for the battle ;
 With the neigh of the steed comes the lowing of cattle,
 And the plowshare flashes in lieu of the spear.
 The valley Gertrudes know never a fear,
 And the Indian Queen sleeps under the river ;
 The arrow is rusting, and rotting the quiver,
 The scalp of the crow and the blood of the deer
 Alone are sought, in the cornfield roaming,
 For the farmer has nestled in sweet Wyoming."

The following stanzas by an unknown author were printed in the
Luzerne Federalist (Wilkes-Barré), November 14, 1806.

"When Nature's God outspread the earth,
 And gave to hills and valleys birth,
 What place was made of greatest worth ?
 Wyoming !

"When Boreas, roaring from the North,
 With Winter arm'd, comes raging forth,
 Thy mountains shield thee from his wrath,
 Wyoming.

"When Summer's sun resumes his sway,
 And beams intolerable day,
 Then through thy vale cool breezes play,
 Wyoming.

"Thy fields are spread with fairest flowers,
 Thy air is cleared with freshest showers,
 And Ceres plenty on thee pours,
 Wyoming.

"When the rude savage from afar
 Pour'd on our land the scourge of war,
 On thee was left the deepest fear,
 Wyoming.

"To tell—it wrings my heart with pain—
 How many heroes press'd the plain,
 How many of thy sons were slain,
 Wyoming.

"But now, thank God ! we hear the sound
 Of peace and industry resound ;
 Thy plains with health and joy are crown'd,
 Wyoming."

The following "Lines, written on revisiting the Susquehanna,"
 were printed in the *Susquehanna Democrat* (Wilkes-Barré), July 24,
 1829.



VIEW DOWN THE VALLEY FROM THE LOWER END OF ROSS HILL.
From a photograph taken in May, 1902.

- “Still rolling on, resistless stream,
 How clear and calm thy waters run !
 Or how, when vex'd, thy billows gleam
 And sparkle in the burning sun,
 And through romantic scenery roam
 While hastening to thy ocean home !
- “The oaks that shade thy smiling face,
 The cultured fields that grace thy banks,
 The scaly brood—the finny race—
 That in thy bosom play their pranks,
 Throw bright enchantment 'round the scene,
 And rouse the poet from his dream.
- “And could thy rippling currents speak
 A language audible to man,
 From thy harsh tongue what strains would break,
 Of deeds too deep for eyes to scan !
 When War stalked forth in open day,
 And thousands sank beneath his sway.
- “Of Indian pow-wows on thy shore,
 Of battle brands and scalping-knives ;
 Of fairest fields drenched with red gore,
 In that wide waste of human lives
 'Ere Freedom's angel from on high
 Waved her white banner through the sky.
- “Yes, on the fair and pleasant site
 Where Wilkesbarre's thriving village stands,
 The red chief, in his hour of might,
 Sent forth his stern and harsh commands
 To fish, to fowl and beasts of prey,
 And tribes of men as wild as they.
- “Nations have risen, flourished and then died ;
 Wooden nutmegs have had their day ;
 And works of art, displayed with pride,
 Have passed from splendor to decay.
 Sweet river, thou still flow'st sublime,
 Unmindful of the shifts of Time.
- “Then still roll on, grand stream, and waft
 To busy marts our choicest wealth ;
 And send by the returning craft
 That best material—save health—
 The *coin*, for which man wastes his strength
 And dies a beggar-wretch at length.”

The following stanzas, originally published in the *Mount Carmel Register*, were reprinted in the *Record of the Times* (Wilkes-Barré), June 21, 1854.

- “There's a rolling stream with a silvery tide,
 And a moss clad valley deep and wide,
 And velvety banks with flowerets gay,
 And rock crags crowned with pine and bay,
 And laurel boughs, rich mantled o'er,
 Where the red man trod in days of yore.
 I love that stream !
- “I've seen that stream in the moon's clear light,
 When silver tipped each dizzy height,
 And gauzy mists like fairies played
 On the mountain's brow in the mellow shade ;
 And the twinkling stars, with diamond gleam,
 Gemmed the mirrored breast of that silver stream.
 I loved that stream !

"I've seen that stream when the demon roar
Of the wild tornado swept its shore ;
When the lightning fell with forked tongue,
And thunder-bolts like hail were flung ;
And the mountain pines from the rocks were reft,
And the billowy foam by the crags was cleft—
And I loved that stream.

"And when dread Winter's hoary chain,
By the breath of Spring was cleft in twain,
And the angry flood with hideous groan
Mocked the growling ice-rift's thunder tone,
I've seen that river's giant tide
Spread desolation far and wide—
Yet I loved that stream.

"On its silvery breast, when the night was young,
With early friends I've floated and sung
To the mellow tones of the breathing flute,
And the ringing viol's thrilling note ;
While the merry jest and repartee
Gave fairy wings to the hours of glee—
And I loved that stream.

"Sweet river ! in memory's fading dream
I see thy bold, majestic stream,
Thy sparkling ripples and glittering spray,
Though I, alas ! am far away.
Thou rollest ever, but I decay,
And soon from hence shall pass away.
Then gladly I'd rest, when my toil is o'er,
'Neath the deep, cool shade on the pebbly shore,
For I love that stream."

The following poem, entitled "Wyoming," was written in 1872 by Miss Susan E. Dickinson, who, at a later period, was for some years a resident of Wyoming Valley and was quite widely known as a newspaper correspondent and a writer of verse.

"Storm has gone by ; the trailing clouds that linger,
Add glory to the October afternoon—
Touched by the artist sun with loving finger,
With gold and rose hues of a dawn of June.

"On the far hill-range purple mists are lying,
Struck through with golden light in wavering gleams ;
On nearer slopes the Autumn woods are dying,
Robed in rich tints that mock the artist's dreams.

"The rare day woos us forth to gather treasure
Of unexpressed delight for heart and brain ;
Each moment brings us some new sense of pleasure,
Or takes away some touch of former pain.

"We trace the mountain road, each turn unfolding
A rarer beauty to the raptured eye ;
Each glen and stream and deep ravine is holding
Its own rich store of Autumn's pageantry.

"Our hearts spring up—the clear brook by us flowing
Voices our gladness with its silver tone.
We find the keen, clear air new life bestowing,
More sweet than Summer's breath o'er roses blown.

"Fain would we linger ; but at last, regaining
The open vale, new joy each spirit thrills.
No Alpine roseate glow, the ice-peaks staining,
Outrivals that which crowns these eastern hills.



A VIEW OF WYOMING VALLEY FROM THE UPPER END OF ROSS HILL, NEAR THE WOODWARD COLLIERY.

From a photograph taken in May, 1902.

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"Above the western slopes the sun, retiring,
Sends ever and anon a surge of gold ;
Now rising, now retreating, now expiring—
How should such scenes be fitly sung or told ?

"O fair vale of Wyoming ! O soft splendor
Of hill and stream and rare, autumnal skies !
One heart will thrill with recollections tender
Of all your beauty, until memory dies !"

Theron G. Osborne, a resident of Wyoming Valley, and an occasional contributor of poetry to the periodical press, is the author of the following pleasing verses—first published in *The Evening Leader* (Wilkes-Barré), August 19, 1895.

"SUSQUEHANNA."

"Flashing love-light from her waters
To her streamlets every one,
Peerless Susquehanna loiters
On her pathway in the sun ;
'Mid her hills of darksome verdure,
And her meadows smiling green,
'Neath the cliffs that she has fashioned—
High, precipitous, serene—
Where the mountain-pine stands sentry,
Firm, though scant his foothold be,
Cleaving skyward, staunchly builded,
True to God and gravity.
'Round her bluffs of furrowed granite,
O'er her fields of pebbles spread—
With the quiet in her bosom
Of the azure overhead—
Loiters on, her love-light flashing
To her streamlets every one,
As she dreams through pool and shallow
In the shimmer of the sun—
Bends and winds and stretches languid,
Like a serpent in the sun."

So much having been published respecting conditions picturesque and matters romantic and fanciful in Wyoming, as well as concerning its historic events, one may readily believe that the name and the fame of the valley are wide-extended. And furthermore, that her name and her fame will live "till time shall be no more"; for the events, the scenes and the legends of Wyoming will never be forgotten while the grand old valley has a name, or as long as she has a descendant to keep her in memory. Her *name* will certainly live, for, through either her loving and loyal descendants or her admirers, it has been conferred upon the next to the newest—but one of the most interesting—of the States of the Union, upon three counties in three different States, upon four townships in as many different States, upon thirteen villages and towns in the same number of States, and upon one village in the Province of Ontario, Canada ; while in the cities of Washington, St. Louis, Scranton and Williamsport, and a score of other cities and towns outside Wyoming Valley, there are streets and avenues bearing the name "Wyoming."

It must be borne in mind that *ours* is the original Wyoming. And it is doubtful if the name of any town or locality in the United States has been put to so many and such varied uses as has the name of this valley. Relative to this the editor of the *Record of the Times* (Wilkes-Barré) printed the following paragraph in his paper in December, 1857 :

"A writer in the *Scranton Republican* very properly protests against giving the name 'Wyoming' to all the oyster-saloons, barber-shops and halls in Scranton. We are glad to see this protest. A beautiful name belonging to this valley has been 'run into the ground'—to use a common expression—by attaching it to counties, hotels and post-offices all over the country."

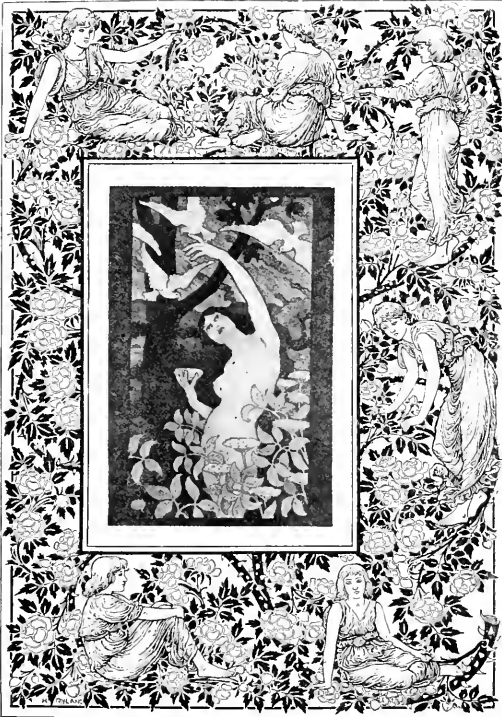
The editor might have added "breweries," "brass-bands" and "canal-boats" to his list, and yet have kept within bounds. Apropos of this, the present writer well remembers that about 1863 (at which period there were very few colored people in Wyoming Valley) a number of colored women in Wilkes-Barré, banded together for some purpose or another, in order to raise funds for their organization arranged to provide a supper for the public's patronage. Outside the hall where the supper was served they hung up a banner bearing this inscription: "Supper by the Daughters of Wyoming!" It seems needless to state that, while it is probable that the supper of the "Daughters of Wyoming" did not receive an overwhelming patronage, yet it is certain that their banner was the subject of a large amount of curious comment.

Within recent years all sorts of things constructed by the hand of man—from ferry-boats to apartment-houses, in the city of New York and elsewhere—have been named "Wyoming"; and quite lately a horse, presented to the President of the United States by admiring friends in the State of Wyoming, was given the same name. As early as 1830 a merchant-vessel bearing the name *Wyoming* was sailing between Philadelphia and certain Mediterranean ports; and in the Spring of 1846 a handsome packet-ship christened *Wyoming*, belonging to the line of boats operated by the Messrs. Cope between Philadelphia and Liverpool, made her first voyage to the latter port.

In 1858 eight "third-class steamers" were being constructed for the United States Government, and in March, 1859, the Navy Department directed that one of the largest of these should be named *Wyoming*. She was built by Merrick and Company of Philadelphia, and was a sloop-of-war of 726 tons, carrying four 32-pounder broadside guns, two 11-inch Dahlgren pivot guns and a complement of 160 officers and men. Her sister-ship was the *Kearsarge*, later to acquire success and fame in naval affairs during the War for the Union. In 1863 there was a rebellion in one of the provinces of Japan, and from their forts and armed boats the rebels fired upon certain alien vessels—among them a steamer bearing the United States flag. The little wooden *Wyoming*, then attached to the Asiatic Fleet, was hurried by her commander (Captain McDougal) to the scene of trouble in Japanese waters, and there, in the Straits of Shimonoséki, July 14, 1863, performed what has been described as "the most gallant action of a single ship under a single commander known in the annals of the United States Navy." "The *Wyoming* fired fifty-five rounds in seventy minutes, and came out of the battle in good fighting trim, though hulled ten times and struck in ten other places." In 1867—still on the Asiatic Station—the *Wyoming*, in connection with the U. S. S. *Hartford*, performed important services at the island of Formosa.

The active life of that old-fashioned war-vessel came to an end a number of years ago, but her name once more appears in the Register of the Navy attached to a steel-sheathed monitor 252 feet in length, of 3,214 tons displacement, with engines of 2,400 horse-power, and carry-

ing six guns in her main battery. This *Wyoming*, although a new vessel, belongs to a class of war-ships that is fast disappearing from the navy lists of the powers. She is one of the last group of "harbor-defense vessels" that is ever likely to be built. She was launched at San Francisco September 8, 1900—the event being made a feature of the semi-centennial celebration of California's admission into the Union. Early in 1903 this latest-born *Wyoming* went into commission.





CHAPTER III.

THE AMERIND PEOPLE—THE MOUND-BUILDERS—THE ABORIGINALS OF NEW YORK AND PENNSYLVANIA.

“Not many generations ago, where you now sit circled with all that exalts and embellishes civilized life, the rank thistle nodded in the wind, and the wild fox dug his hole unscared. Here lived and loved another race of beings. Beneath the same sun that rolls over your heads, the Indian hunter pursued the panting deer; gazing on the same moon that smiles for you, the Indian lover wooed his dusky mate.”

—*Rev. William B. Sprague, S. T. D.*

“Chieftains and their tribes have perished,
Like the thickets where they grew.”

When, in 1492, Christopher Columbus set forth on his voyage of discovery, it was in pursuance of a design (conceived nearly twenty years before) to seek out a new route to India—not a new continent. When land was found (what is now called Watling’s Island, in the Bahamas, was probably the first land sighted by this venturesome voyager) it was believed to be part of India, or, at least, islands adjacent to India; and, fourteen years later, Columbus died still “believing that what he had found was in fact the eastern coasts of Asia.” Because of this belief Columbus and his followers called the native people whom they encountered Indians; and by this name—or, more commonly in later years, American Indians—have all the aboriginals of America (both North and South) been called ever since.

Some five or six years ago, however, a world-famous lexicographer compounded from the words “American” and “Indian” the word “Amerind”—a sort of half-and-half concoction—to denote collectively all the Indians who live or once lived in this hemisphere (including the Eskimos and the Fuegians), as distinguished from the natives of India and neighboring regions; holding that this word designated the aboriginals of the American Continent better than any word or combination of words used, and that it was preferable to “American Indian,” so generally in use, because that term had come to designate to the average man’s mind the red man who inhabited North America alone. This word “Amerind” was early adopted by the well-known explorer and anthropologist Maj. John W. Powell, founder and, until his death, Director of the United States Bureau of Ethnology; and other anthropologists and ethnologists of note and various authors of standing have since made use of the word, believing it to be “correct, convenient and comprehensively expressive”—a pretty good word, in fact (as words of

modern manufacture go), born of a sufficiently ingenious effort to get around and over a large but pardonable mistake made something over 400 years ago by certain men of more enterprise than information. There are scientists, however—"Americanists," they style themselves—who display a fierce animosity against "Amerind," asserting that "it is a hybrid, a mongrel and a monster, and should be abandoned," because it was not coined from Latin or Greek words.



A MODERN "AMERIND"
OF THE UNITED STATES.

To any one familiar with only a title of the present-day American periodical literature, and the publishers' announcements of new works of history, social science and fiction in the English language, it is very evident that interest in the Amerind people—particularly the red men of North America—seems to increase (at least in this country) in the same proportion that the members of the race are diminishing. Signs, too, are not lacking which reveal that there is considerable interest shown in England over certain books that have appeared from time to time on this side of the ocean dealing with the North American Indian as he was when the early English and Dutch colonists were successfully striving to establish homes in this country—notably in central New York. Such books have lately occupied

much space in the review columns of London literary journals.

Archæologists, anthropologists and "Americanists" are devoting much time and patience to a comparative study of North American Indian life, customs and products, particularly with regard to the theory of the ethnic unity of the aboriginal tribes and their distinctive character when compared with other nations. Relative to this interesting and important work much has been published in this country within recent years, not only by societies and individuals, but by our National and State Governments.* This has been done largely with the hope that it would arouse a deeper public interest in the collecting of information concerning a people who not very long ago were masters on this continent, but now are fast disappearing; and whose records and remains will cease to exist with them if an immediate and a determined effort is not made by white men to put the records into some lasting form and to guard the remains against decay and destruction. The North American Indians have no written literature, but they will have one when the enormous number of their legends, myths, songs and ceremonial lore, mnemonically recorded, shall have been written down by white men.

* In an address on "Rare Books Relating to the American Indians," read before the Anthropological Society of the city of Washington in May, 1901, Ainsworth R. Spofford, of the Library of Congress, said that "books and pamphlets relating to the aborigines of both Americas and their islands amount to many thousands of volumes in many languages—Latin, Spanish, French, English, German, Dutch, Italian, Portuguese, Swedish, Russian and native Indian of many varying dialects."

What shall be known of the prehistoric race, or races, of America must be learned largely by means of their remains. It is true that in various parts of the country collections of these remains are being formed; they are carefully preserved, and all the circumstances in relation to them are as carefully ascertained and recorded. In the meantime associations of learned men in many places are devoting their time and means, as previously hinted, in tracing through these objects the story of the people, or peoples, who left no other records. In this way the work in one locality supplements and advances the research in another, and what seems an unsolvable problem in one instance becomes, by reason of examination and comparison, a link in a chain of evidence tending to the corroboration or disproof of some theory or belief. If, therefore, there is any good in American archæology, these relics—the means of its study and elucidation—are of value; and the associations and individuals who intelligently gather them, and render them available for reference and study, are doing a commendable work which is sure to be appreciated and acknowledged. But much more than is now being done along these lines could and should be done.

The time is not far distant when all that has been collected and preserved concerning the aboriginals of North America will be deemed not only interesting, but extremely valuable. Particularly will this be so in Wyoming Valley, whose early history is so intimately connected with the aboriginal inhabitant, whose literature commemorates so many deeds of heroism, trial and adventure growing out of that relation, and where have been found so many evidences of the Indian occupation.

Many and various have been the theories advanced by anthropologists and historians as to the origin of the red men of North America. Assuming them to be non-indigenous, whence came they and how and when? William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, in a letter to a Friend, dated at Philadelphia, August 16, 1683, said on this subject:

“For their original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race; I mean of the stock of the *Ten Tribes*, and that for the following reasons: First, they were to go to a ‘land not *planted or known*,’ which, to be sure, Asia and Africa were, if not Europe; and He that intended that extraordinary judgment upon them might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in itself, from the easternmost parts of Asia to the westernmost of America. In the next place, I find them of like countenance and their children of so lively resemblance, that a man would think himself in Duke’s-place or Berry-street, in London, when he seeth them. But this is not all: they agree in *Rites*; they reckon by *Moons*; they offer their *First Fruits*; they have a kind of *Feast of Tabernacles*; they are said to lay their *Altar* upon *Twelve Stones*; their *Mourning a Year*, *Customs of Women*, with many things that do not now occur.”

Zinzendorf (mentioned on page 60), writing in 1742, stated that the savages of North America “are thought to be partly mixed Scythians, and partly Jews of the Ten Lost Tribes, which thro’ ye great Tartarian wilderness wandered hither by way of hunting, and so they came farther and farther into ye country.”* This theory of the Jewish origin of the red men had been suggested by John Eliot, “the Apostle to the Indians,” before Penn had ever seen an Indian and long before Zinzendorf was born; and the same theory, or idea, was taken up later by many writers in the early days of the American Colonies. In recent years, men who have lived among the Apache Indians have noted social resemblances as well as customs, by which this old theory has been strengthened. However, the “lost Ten Tribes of Israel” have been sought for in almost every quarter of the globe, and their descendants have made their

* See Reichel’s “Memorials of the Moravian Church,” I: 18.

appearance in various localities, according to many investigators—the latest of whom has bestowed the honor upon the Hawaiian Islands.

The traditions of the Lenni Lenâpés, as recorded by Heckewelder, and, in fact, the traditions of all those related tribes (including the Lenâpé) whom we now know by the name of Algonkius, were to the effect that their ancestors had come from the far West, beyond the Mississippi, and that their migrations eastward had occupied many years. On the other hand—according to the statements of many writers—the sacred legends of the Iroquois, or Five, later the Six, Nations, were the reverse. Their ancestors had sprung from the ground itself. In his "History of Wyoming" Charles Miner prints the following "Indian tradition concerning the origin of the Five Nations," as given by Canassatego* a noted Onondaga chief and orator, who, at the period of Zinzendorf's sojourn in this country, was active and prominent in the councils of the Six Nations.

"When our good *Manittâ*† raised *Akanishionegy*‡ out of the great waters, he said to his brethren, how fine a country is this! I will make Red men, the best of men, to enjoy it. Then with five handfuls of red seeds, like the eggs of flies, did he strow the fertile fields of Onondaga. Little worms came out of the seeds and penetrated the earth, when the spirits who had never yet seen the light, entered into and united with them. *Manitta* watered the earth with his rain, the sun warmed it, the worms, with the spirits in them, grew, putting forth little arms and legs, and moved the light earth that covered them. After nine moons they came forth, perfect boys and girls. *Manitta* covered them with his mantle of warm, purple cloud, and nourished them with milk from his fingers' ends. Nine Summers did he nurse them, and nine Summers more did he instruct them how to live. In the meantime he had made for their use trees, plants and animals of various kinds. *Akanishionegy* was covered with woods and filled with creatures.

"Then he assembled his children together and said: 'Ye are Five Nations, for ye sprang each from a different handful of the seed I sowed; but ye are all brethren, and I am your father, for I made ye all. I have nursed and brought you up. Mohocks, I have made you bold and valiant; and see, I give you corn for your food. Oneidas, I have made you patient of pain and of hunger; the nuts and fruits of the trees are yours. Senekas, I have made you industrious and active; beans do I give you for nourishment. Cayugas, I have made you strong, friendly and generous; ground-nuts and every root shall refresh you. Onondagoes, I have made you wise, just and eloquent; squashes and grapes have I given you to eat, and tobacco to smoke in Council. The beasts, birds and fishes have I given to you all in common. As I have loved and taken care of you all, so do you love and take care of one another. Communicate freely to each other the good things I have given you, and learn to imitate each other's virtues. I have made you the best people in the world, and I give you the best country. You will defend it from the invasions of other nations, from the children of other *Manittas*, and keep possession of it for yourselves, while the sun and moon give light and the waters run in the rivers. This you shall do if you observe my words.

"Spirits, I am now about to leave you. The bodies I have given you will in time grow old and wear out, so that you will be weary of them; or from various accidents they may become unfit for your habitation, and you will leave them. I cannot remain here

* CANASSATEGO (whose name appears again in subsequent pages) was not only famous but remarkable as an Iroquois orator and counselor, and his counsels and memory were cherished by the Indians of the Six Nations for a long number of years. Schoolcraft says he was honored and admired by the Indians as an orator, "and, indeed, by the whole world," for his "simple and eloquent mode of expressing aboriginal thought." According to the journal of Witham Marshé, of Maryland, relating to an important Indian conference held at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1744, Canassatego, who was an active participant in the conference, was at that time "a tall, well-made man; had a very full chest and brawny limbs and a manly countenance, mixed with a good-natured smile; was very active and strong and had a surprising liveliness in his speech." He was about sixty years of age at that time.

For thirty years Canassatego was chief spokesman at many important treaties and conferences, and "was the last of the great Iroquois diplomats who yielded not to the allurements of the white man's strong drink; who knew his people, and could hold the conflicting interests of the Six Nations in hand." He died at Onondaga, the Iroquois capital (the present Syracuse, New York), September 6, 1750. (See "Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania," pages 100, 206, 238 and 240.)

† *Manito*, or *Manitou*, the name given among American Indians to a spirit, god or devil. Two spirits are especially spoken of by these names—one, the spirit of good and life; the other, the spirit of evil and death.

‡ The Iroquois called themselves the "*Ho-dé-no-sau-nee*" (the "People of the Long House"), and Morgan says that "among themselves they never had any other name." "*Akanishionegy*," given above, is a corrupted or twisted form of "*Aquanuschioni*," a name by which, says Stone ("Poetry and History of Wyoming," page 92), "the Six Nations have been frequently called by modern writers." "*Aquinoshioni*," "*Acwinoshioni*" and "*Akuinashioni*" are three other such forms, used by Schoolcraft, who says that this name, "under the figure of a long house, or council lodge, is indicative of their [the Iroquois, or Six Nations] confederate character." It is quite possible that all these forms are corruptions of the name "*Hodénosaunee*," made use of by interpreters and others ignorant of the true word.

always to give you new ones. I have great affairs to mind in distant places, and I cannot again attend so long to the nursing of children. I have enabled you, therefore, among yourselves to produce new bodies to supply the place of old ones, that every one of you, when he parts with his old habitation, may in due time find a new one, and never wander longer than he choose under the earth deprived of the light of the sun. Nourish and instruct your children, as I have nourished and instructed you. Be just to all men, and kind to strangers that come among you. So shall you be happy and be loved by all, and I myself will sometimes visit and assist you.'

"Saying this, he wrapped himself in a bright cloud and went like a swift arrow to the sun, where his brethren rejoiced at his return. From thence he often looked at *Akanishionegy*, and, pointing, showed with pleasure to his brothers the country he had formed and the nations he had produced to inhabit it."

The Rev. Jacob Johnson, A. M., a graduate of Yale College, and from 1749 to 1772 pastor of the Congregational Church at Groton, New London County, Connecticut, and later, for a number of years, pastor of the Church in Wilkes-Barré (for a sketch of his life see Chapter XXX), spent considerable time as a missionary among certain of the Iroquois tribes prior to the year 1770. The following communication written by him was printed in the *New London Gazette*, Connecticut, October 20, 1769, and, so far as the present writer can learn, has never been republished until now.

"OF THE DESCENT, TIME AND MANNER OF THE INDIANS COMING INTO AMERICA, ACCORDING TO AN OLD TRADITION OF THEIRS.

"Having more lately come out of the country of the Six Nations of Indians, where I resided some months as their instructor or minister, I had an opportunity to observe their genius, customs, traditions, &c. I shall only take notice of one ancient tradition they have among them, concerning the time and manner of their first coming into this land, which they say was in the days of *Joshua the Robber*, before whose face they fled, and kept on their way (as they were led) till they came to a high mountain from whence they took a prospect and beheld a narrow sea. While they were consulting which way to go, and what to do, there was at length a voice spake unto them from the Great Spirit, saying: 'Look over that narrow sea, and behold a country for you and your children!' Whereupon they came down from the mountain and crossed the sea, and came into this country. This was the first company. Afterwards they were followed by a great many more companies, who came in the same path, till they had filled the country.

"From this brief tradition (which carries the appearance of truth with it) many things may be learned and remarks made, as: *First*. If the Indians came into this country so long ago as the days of Joshua (the Captain of the Jewish hosts) 'tis no wonder they have so little knowledge of their coming; yea! it is more to be wondered at that they have *any*, since they have no writing, that we can learn, among them.

"Again, if they fled before the face of Joshua it does not appear that they are of the seed of the Jews (at least not by the whole blood), but rather descendants from Abraham by Hagar, the Egyptian, and her son Ishmael, who dwelt in Mount Paran, the road Israel came into the Holy Land—of which so much notice is taken in Holy Writ. See and compare Genesis, XXI: 21; Deuteronomy, XXXIII: 2; Habakkuk, III: 3.

"But again, if they fled from the face of Joshua and came hither, then there is a way by land to come here (saving the narrow sea they speak of), lying betwixt the north-eastern parts of Asia, or the north-western parts of Europe; or it may be still nearer by Hudson's Bay.

"Once again, if they came at different times no wonder they are of different tribes and nations; yea! and languages, customs, &c., partly Jewish and partly Heathen. But I pass over many things worthy remark, by which it would appear that the Indians are the seed of Abraham by Ishmael, for whom that great father so earnestly prayed, and at length received an answer. See Genesis, XVII: 20.

"Let us persevere in our prayers, and endeavors to propagate the gospel among them, till the blessing descends from Heaven upon them, and all nations, both Jews and Gentiles, under the whole Heaven.

"The person, genius, life and whole character of the Indian, according to my observation, does most exactly agree to that of Ishmael's; wherefore I must rather think they are descendants from him than from any other nation on earth."

According to this statement the tradition held by the Six Nations concerning their origin was quite similar to the belief of the Algonkins as to their own beginning, but very different from the tradition of the Six Nations as related by Canassatego. As a probable explanation of this it may be stated that, when Mr. Johnson began his ministerial work

in New London County, what is now Montville in that county contained within its limits certain "sequestered lands" occupied by a remnant of the Mohegan tribe of Indians (of the Algonkin family), with all their native and seigniorial rights. Here, for many years, had been the seat of the great sachem Uncas, the faithful ally of the English colonists. It is presumable, therefore, that Mr. Johnson was as familiar with many of the traditions and myths of the Mohegan and allied tribes as he was with those of the Iroquois, and that he chose to adopt the belief, or tradition, of the Algonkins concerning their origin as one referring to the origin of all the North American Indians, irrespective of tribe or nation. Under any circumstances, however, the statement of Mr. Johnson given on the preceding page is interesting.

The Rev. Cotton Mather, the noted Boston minister and writer (1663-1728), who believed in witches, and seemed to have an intimate acquaintance with Lucifer, did some guessing as to the advent of the Indians on the American continent. He said—in one of the 382 books and pamphlets that he published :

"And though we know not when or how the Indians first became inhabitants of this mighty continent, yet we may guess that probably the Devil decoyed these miserable salvages hither, in hopes that the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ would never come here to destroy or disturb his absolute empire over them."

In regard to the creation of human and animal life in the world the Arapaho Indians, who are now located in Oklahoma and Wyoming, say (see "Indians in the United States at the Eleventh Census," page 628) :

"Long ago, before there were any animals, the earth was covered with water, with the exception of one mountain ; and seated on this mountain was an Arapaho, crying and poor and in distress. The gods looked at him and pitied him, and they created three ducks and sent them to him. The Arapaho told the ducks to dive down in the waters and find some dirt. One went down in the deep waters and was gone a long time, but failed. The second went down and was gone a still longer time, and he also came up, having failed. The third then tried it ; he was gone a long time. The waters where he went down had become still and quiet, and the Arapaho believed him to be dead, when he arose to the surface and had a little dirt in his mouth. Suddenly the waters subsided and disappeared, and left the Arapaho the sole possessor of the land. The water had gone so far that it could not be seen from the highest mountains; but it still surrounded the earth, and does so to this day.

"Then the Arapaho made the rivers and the woods, placing a great deal near the streams. The whites were made beyond the ocean. They were then all different people, the same as at the present day. Then the Arapaho created buffaloes, elks, deer, antelopes, wolves, foxes, all the animals that are on the earth, all the birds of the air, all the fishes in the streams, the grasses, fruit, trees, bushes, all that is grown by planting seeds in the ground. This Arapaho was a god. He had a pipe, and he gave it to the people. He showed them how to make bows and arrows, how to make fire by rubbing two sticks, how to talk with their hands—in fact, how to live. His head and his heart were good, and he told all the other people—all the surrounding tribes—to live at peace with the Arapahoes." * * *

Most American Indians have some faint tradition of the deluge—a general deluge, by which the races of men were destroyed.* The event itself is variously related by an Algonkin, an Iroquois, a Cherokee or a Chickasaw. An Iowa tribe gives a most intelligible account of it, while several Alaskan tribes say that the waters were hot. All coincide in the statement that there was a general cataclysm, and that a few persons were saved. George Catlin,† a native of Wilkes-Barré, spent many years among North American Indians studying and writing about their habits of life and their ancient beliefs and customs, and painting hundreds

* See Schoolcraft's "History of the Indian Tribes of the United States," page 571.

† See his portrait and biography in a subsequent chapter.

of portraits of individual Indians and pictures of their every-day life. Mr. Catlin says in his "Last Rambles Amongst the Indians of the Rocky Mountains and the Andes" (Chapter X):

"Of 120 different tribes which I have visited in North, South and Central America, every tribe has related to me, more or less distinctly, their traditions of the deluge, in which one, or three, or eight persons were saved above the waters, on the top of a high mountain; and also their peculiar and respective theories of the Creation. Some of these tribes, living at the base of the Rocky Mountains and in the plains of Venezuela and the Pampa del Sacramento in South America, make annual pilgrimages to the fancied summits where the antediluvian species were saved in canoes or otherwise, and, under the mysterious regulations of their medicine (mystery) men, tender their prayers and sacrifices to the Great Spirit, to insure their exemption from a similar catastrophe. One thing is certain—the Indian traditions everywhere point distinctly at least to one such event, and, amongst the Central and Southern tribes, they as distinctly point to two such catastrophes in which their race was chiefly destroyed; and the rocks of their countries bear evidence yet more conclusive of the same calamities, which probably swept off the populations in the plains and, as their traditions say, left scattered remnants on the summits of the Andes and the Rocky Mountains.

"Indian traditions are generally conflicting, and soon run into fable; but how strong is the unanimous tradition of the aboriginal races of a whole continent of such an event! How strong a corroboration of the Mosaic account, and what an unanswerable proof that the American Indian is an antediluvian race!"

In 1841 Mr. Catlin first published his great work entitled "Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians; Written During Eight Years' (1832-'39) Travel among the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America." Of this book ten editions were published—the last one in 1866—and in it the author says:

"As to the probable origin of the North American Indians, which is one of the first questions that suggests itself to the inquiring mind, and will be perhaps the last to be settled, I shall have little to say in this place, for the reason that so abstruse a subject, and one so barren of positive proof, would require in its discussion too much circumstantial evidence for my allowed limits. * * * Very many people look upon the savages of this vast country as an anomaly in nature, and their existence and origin and locality things that needs must be at once accounted for. * * * It seems natural to inquire at once who these people are and whence they came; but this question is natural only because we are out of nature. To an Indian such a question would seem absurd. * * * I never yet have been made to see the necessity of showing how these people came here, or that they came here at all, which might easily have been done by the way of Behring's Strait from the north of Asia. * * *

"For myself, I am quite satisfied with the fact—which is a thing certain and to be relied on—that this continent was found peopled in every part by savages, and so nearly every island in the South Sea, at a distance of several thousand miles from either continent. * * * The North American Indians, and all the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, speaking some two or three hundred different languages, entirely dissimilar, may have all sprung from one stock. * * * I believe with many others, that the North American Indians are a mixed people; that they have Jewish blood in their veins—though I would not assert, as some have undertaken to prove, that they are Jews, or that they are the lost Ten Tribes of Israel. From the character and conformation of their heads I am compelled to look upon them as an amalgam race, but still savages; and from many of their customs (which seem to me to be peculiarly Jewish), as well as from the character of their heads, I am forced to believe that some part of those ancient tribes who have been dispersed by Christians, in so many ways and in so many different eras, have found their way to this country, where they have entered amongst the native stock and have lived and intermarried with the Indians until their identity has been swallowed up and lost in the greater numbers of their new acquaintance. * * * I am compelled to believe that the continent of America, and each of the other continents, have had their aboriginal stocks, peculiar in color and in character, and that each of these native stocks has undergone repeated mutations (at periods of which history has kept no records) by erratic colonies from abroad that have been engrafted upon them. By this process I believe that the North American Indians, even where we find them in their wildest condition, are several degrees removed from their original character, and that one of their principal alloys has been a part of those dispersed people, who have mingled their blood and their customs with them. * * *

"The first and most striking fact amongst the North American Indians that refers us to the Jews is that of their worshipping in all parts the Great Spirit, or Jehovah, as the Hebrews were ordered to do by divine precept, instead of a plurality of gods, as ancient

pagans and heathens did, and their idols of their own formation. The North American Indians are no where idolaters. They appeal at once to the Great Spirit, and know of no mediator, either personal or symbolical. * * * As the Jews had, they have their high priests and their prophets. Amongst the Indians, as amongst the ancient Hebrews, the women are not allowed to worship with the men, and in all cases also they eat separately. The Indians everywhere, like the Jews, believe that they are the favorite people of the Great Spirit, and they are certainly, like those ancient people, persecuted. * * * In their marriages the Indians, as did the ancient Jews, uniformly buy their wives by giving presents. In their preparations for war, and in peace-making, they are strikingly similar. In their treatment of the sick, burial of the dead and mourning they are also similar. In their bathing and ablutions, at all seasons of the year, as a part of their religious observances—having separate places for men and women to perform these immersions—they resemble again. * * *

“Amongst the list of their customs, however, we meet a number which had their origin, it would seem, in the Jewish ceremonial code, and which are so very peculiar in their forms that it would seem quite improbable, and almost impossible, that two different people should ever have hit upon them alike without some knowledge of each other. These, I consider, go farther than anything else as evidence, and carry, in my mind, conclusive proof that these people are tintured with Jewish blood, even though the Jewish Sabbath has been lost and circumcision probably rejected; and dog’s flesh—which was an abomination to the Jews—continued to be eaten at their feasts by all the tribes of Indians, not because the Jews have been prevailed upon to use it, but because they have survived only, as their blood was mixed with that of the Indians, and the Indians have imposed on that mixed blood the same rules and regulations that governed the members of the tribes in general.

“Many writers are of opinion that the natives of America are all from one stock, and their languages from one root; that that stock is exotic, and that that [parent] language was introduced with it. And the reason assigned for this theory is, that amongst the various tribes there is a reigning similarity in looks, and in their languages a striking resemblance to each other. Now, if all the world were to argue in this way, I should reason just in the other, and pronounce this, though evidence to a certain degree, to be very far from conclusive; inasmuch as it is far easier and more natural for distinct tribes or languages, grouped and used together, to assimilate than to dissimilate—as the pebbles on the sea-shore, that are washed about and jostled together, lose their angles, and incline at last to one rounded and uniform shape. So that if there had been, *ab origine*, a variety of different stocks in America, with different complexions, with different characters and customs, and of different statures, and speaking entirely different tongues (where they have been for a series of centuries living neighbors to each other, moving about and intermarrying), I think we might reasonably look for quite as great a similarity in their personal appearance and languages as we now find. On the other hand, if we are to suppose that they were all from one foreign stock, with but one language, it is a difficult thing to conceive how or in what space of time, or for what purpose, they could have formed so many tongues, and so widely different, as those that are now spoken on the continent. * * *

“I do not believe, with some very learned and distinguished writers, that the languages of the North American Indians can be traced to one root, or to three or four or any number of distinct idioms; nor do I believe all or any one of them will ever be fairly traced to a foreign origin.”

In 1861—twenty years after the first publication of his “Letters and Notes,” from which the foregoing paragraphs have been extracted—Mr. Catlin published his “Life Amongst the Indians”; and seven years later (in 1868) he published the “Last Rambles” previously mentioned. In these two books the author gives his final speculations in relation to the origin of the North American Indians. Years of observation of the red men, aided by extensive reading and association with men learned in the various branches of science, in all parts of the world, had peculiarly fitted Mr. Catlin for discussion as to the ethnology of the Indian. In his earliest works he avoided ethnological discussion, and gave expression to very few speculative theories. He was preëminently an observer and a chronicler, not a discussor of theories. The following paragraphs are from Chapters IX and X of “Last Rambles”:

“The reader has learned, by following me through these two little volumes, that I have, during fourteen years of research—not amongst books and libraries, but in the open air and wilderness—studied the looks and character of the American native races in every latitude, from Behring’s Strait to Terra del Fuego; and here will be learned that, from the immutable, national, physiological traits with which the Almighty

stamps this and every other race. I believe the native tribes of the American continent are all integral parts of one great family, and that He who made man from dust *created these people from the dust of the country in which they live*, and to which dust their bodies are fast returning. I believe *they were created on the ground on which they have been found*, and that the date of their creation is the same as that of the human species on other parts of the globe. I can find nothing in history, sacred or profane, against this. * * *

"The American Indians are as distinct from all the other races of the earth as the other races of the earth are distinct from each other, and, both in North and South and Central America, exhibit but one great original family type, with only the local changes which difference of climate and different modes of life have wrought upon it. * * * Some of those writers who have endeavored to trace the American Indians to an Asiatic or Egyptian origin, have advanced these traditions [relating to a deluge] as evidence in support of their theories—which are as yet but unconfirmed hypotheses; and as there is not yet known to exist (as I have before said) either in the American languages, or in the Mexican or Aztec or other monuments of these people, one single acceptable proof of such an immigration, these traditions are strictly American—indigenous and not exotic. If it were shown that inspired history of the deluge and of the Creation restricted those events to one continent alone, then it might be that the American races came from the Eastern Continent, bringing these traditions with them; but until that is proved the American traditions of the deluge are no evidence whatever of an Eastern origin."

John Ledyard, the noted American traveler of the eighteenth century, was (so far as the present writer can ascertain) the first investigator and writer who, from personal knowledge of and experience with both Siberian Tartars and American Indians, confidently and earnestly declared that the two races were one and the same people.* This declaration was made as early as the year 1787. Ledyard was born in Groton, Connecticut, in 1751,† during the ministry there of the Rev. Jacob Johnson (as mentioned on page 82), and it may be possible that he derived his first ideas as to the eastern origin of the red men from the Groton minister. Ledyard seems to have early made a study of the characteristics and habits of the Mohegan Indians who dwelt in his native county of New London, as well as of the Indians of the Mohegan and other tribes who were his fellow-students in 1772 in the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock's school (afterwards Dartmouth College).

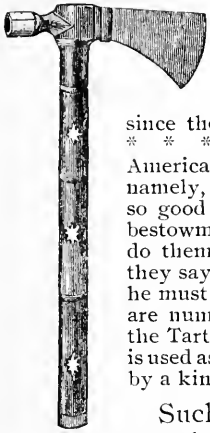
In 1787 Ledyard journeyed from Irkutsk to Yakutsk in Siberia, a distance of over 1,500 miles, and from the journal which he then kept many interesting facts may be gleaned. At Irkutsk he met a French exile who at one time had been an Adjutant at the City of Quebec, Canada, and who was of the opinion that the Tartars in Siberia were "much inferior to the American Indians, both in their understanding and persons." Ledyard wrote :

"Among the Kalmuks I observe the American *moccasin*, the common moccasin, like the Finland moccasin. The houses of the Kalmuks have octagonal sides, with a fire-place in the center and an aperture for smoke; the true American *wigwam*. * * * The Tartars from time immemorial (I mean the Asiatic Tartars) have been a people of a wandering disposition. Their converse has been more among beasts of the forest than among men; and when among men it has only been those of their own nation. They have ever been savages, averse to civilization. * * * I know of no people among whom there is such a uniformity of features (except the Chinese, the Jews and the Negroes) as among the Asiatic Tartars. They are distinguished, indeed, by different tribes; but this is only nominal. Nature has not acknowledged the distinction, but, on the contrary, marked them, wherever found, with the indisputable stamp of Tartars. Whether in Nova Zembla, Mongolia, Greenland or on the banks of the *Mississippi*, they are the same people, forming the most numerous and, if we must except the Chinese, the most ancient nation of the globe. But I, for myself, do not except the Chinese, because I have no doubt of their being of the same family. The Tongusians [wandering Tartars living solely by the chase], the Kuriles and the Nova Zembleans are tattooed. The Mohegan tribe of Indians in America practice tattooing.‡

* See "Life of John Ledyard" by Jared Sparks, pages 327, 359, etc.

† He died at Cairo, Egypt, in November, 1788, in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

‡ So, also, did the Lenâpé, or Delaware, tribe. See page 104.



"I find as yet nothing analogous to the American *calumet*,* except in the use of it. The Tartars here when they smoke the pipe give it round to every one in the company. The form of the pipe is universally the identical form of the Chinese pipe. I expect to find it in America,

since the form of the *pipe on the tomahawk* resembles it. * * * All the Asiatic Tartars, like the aborigines of America, entertain the same general notions of theology, namely, that there is one great and good God, and that He is so good that they have no occasion to address Him for the bestowment of any favors; and, being good, He will certainly do them no injury. But they suffer many calamities; so they say there is another being, the source of evil, and that he must be very powerful because the evils inflicted on them are numerous. The *wampum* so universally in use among the Tartars, apparently as an ornament, I cannot but suspect is used as a substitute for letters in representing their language, by a kind of hieroglyphic record."



Such were some of the observations of this traveler regarding the aboriginals of Siberian Asia. In considering the Kalmuks, Tongusians and Yakuti as descendants of the Mongols he was in accord with other writers; but in classifying all these races with the North American Indians, Greenlanders and Chinese he advanced a novel and bold opinion—but one which now, after the lapse of nearly a century and a-quarter, is firmly held by many anthropologists. After his return from Siberia Ledyard wrote to Thomas Jefferson, and others, on this subject as follows:

"The difference of color in the human species (the observation applies to all but the Negroes, whom I have not visited) originates from natural causes. * * * The Asiatic Indians, called Tartars, and all the Tartars who formed the later armies of Genghis Khan, together with the Chinese, are the same people; and the *American Tartar* is of the same family—the most ancient and numerous people on earth, and the most uniformly alike. * * * I am certain that all the people you call *red* people on the continent of America, and on the continents of Europe and Asia as far south as the southern parts of China, are all one people, by whatever names distinguished; and that the best general name would be *Tartar*. I suspect that all red people are of the same family. I am satisfied that America was peopled from Asia, and had some, if not all, its animals from thence."

On the subject of the difference of color in man Ledyard wrote, at one time, that he considered it to be "not the effect of any design in the Creator, but of causes simple in themselves, which perhaps will soon be well ascertained." Sometime later he wrote: "I am now fully convinced that the difference of color in man is solely the effect of natural causes, and that a mixture by intermarriage and habits would in time make the species in this respect uniform. I have never extended my opinion, and do not now, to the Negroes."

Thomas Pennant, LL. D., F. R. S. (born 1726; died 1798), a celebrated Welsh traveler and writer—some of whose works extorted from Dr. Johnson the remark, "He's the best traveler I ever read, he observes more things than any one else does"—believed that the inhabitants of the American continent were originally derived from eastern Asia. About the time of the death of Ledyard, Pennant wrote as follows concerning certain customs common to the inhabitants of both continents:

"The custom of scalping was a barbarism in use with the Scythians, who carried about with them at all times this savage mark of triumph; they cut a circle round the neck, and stripped off the skin as they would that of an ox. A little image, found among the Kalmuks, of a Tartarian deity, mounted on a horse, and sitting on a human skin,

* A pipe with a stone bowl and reed stem, adorned with feathers, and used as the symbol of peace and hospitality by the Indians of North America. See pages 94 and 104.

with scalps pendant from the breast, fully illustrates the custom of the Scythian progenitors, as described by the Greek historian. This usage, as the Europeans know by horrid experience, is continued to this day in America. The ferocity of the Scythians to their prisoners extended to the remotest part of Asia. The Kamtschadales, even at the time of their discovery by the Russians, put their prisoners to death by the most lingering and excruciating inventions—a practice in full force to this very day among the aboriginal Americans. A race of the Scythians were styled Anthropophagi, from their feeding on human flesh. The people of Nootka Sound still make a repast of their fellow creatures; but what is more wonderful, the savage allies of the British army have been known to throw the mangled limbs of the French prisoners into the horrible cauldron, and devour them with the same relish as those of a quadruped.

"The Scythians were said, for a certain time annually, to transform themselves into wolves, and again to resume the human shape. The new discovered Americans about Nootka Sound disguise themselves in dresses made of the skins of wolves and other wild beasts, and wear even the heads fitted to their own. These habits they use in the chase to circumvent the animals of the field. But would not ignorance or superstition ascribe to a supernatural metamorphosis these temporary expedients to deceive the brute creation? * * * In their march the Kamtschadales never went abreast, but followed one another in the same track. The same custom is exactly observed by the Americans.

"The Tungusi, the most numerous nation resident in Siberia, prick their faces with small punctures, with a needle, in various shapes; then rub charcoal into them, so that the marks become indelible. This custom is still observed in several parts of America. The Indians on the back of Hudson's Bay to this day perform the operation exactly in the same manner, and puncture the skin into various figures, as the natives of New Zealand do at present, and as the ancient Britons did with the herb *glastum*, or woad, and the Virginians, on the first discovery of that country by the English. Herodian delivers down to us this custom of the Britons. He says that they painted their bodies with figures of all sorts of animals, and wore no clothes lest they should hide what was probably intended to render themselves more terrible to their enemies.

"The Tungusi use canoes made of birch bark, distended over ribs of wood and nicely sewed together. The Canadian and many other American nations use no other sort of boats. The paddles of the Tungusi are broad at each end; those of the people near Cook's River and Onalaska are of the same form. In burying of the dead many of the American nations place the corpse at full length, after preparing it according to their customs; others place it in a sitting posture, and lay by it the most valuable clothing, wampum and other matters. The Tartars did the same, and both people agree in covering the whole with earth, so as to form a tumulus, barrow or carnedd.

"In respect to the features and form of the human body, almost every tribe found along the western coast has some similitude to the Tartar nations, and still retain the little eyes, small noses, high cheeks and broad faces. They vary in size from the lusty Kalmuks to the little Nogaïans. The internal Americans, such as the Five Indian Nations, who are tall of body, robust in make and of oblong faces, are derived from a variety among the Tartars themselves. The fine race [tribe] of Tschutski* seem to be the stock from which those Americans are derived. The Tschutski again from that fine race of Tartars the Kabardinski, or inhabitants of Kabarda."

Coming down to more modern times we find that twenty years ago, at least, many noted and conservative anthropologists and archæologists entertained the belief that the earliest men in America came here from Asia. Among those who thus believed was Prof. Daniel G. Brinton,† M. D., LL. D., of Philadelphia, one of the most eminent and authoritative ethnologists of his time. "Who are the Indians?" "When was America peopled?" and "By what route did the first inhabitants come here?" were three extensive and knotty questions which he discussed in a course of lectures prior to 1890. In that year he stated in "Races and Peoples: Lectures on the Science of Ethnography," that, in the earlier lectures referred to, he had marshalled "sufficient arguments to show satisfactorily that America was peopled during, if not before, the great Ice Age; that its first settlers probably came from Europe

* Chuckchee. See page 90.

† DANIEL GARRISON BRINTON, born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, May 13, 1837; graduated from Yale College, 1858; received degree of M. D. from Jefferson Medical College in 1860; from 1867-'87 Editor of *The Medical and Surgical Reporter*; in 1886 became Professor of American Linguistics and Archeology in the University of Pennsylvania—which chair he held until his death, July 31, 1899. He was the author of "The Myths of the New World: a Treatise on the Symbolism and Mythology of the Red Race of America"; "Essays of an Americanist"; "The American Race: a Linguistic Classification and Ethnographic Description of the Native Tribes of North and South America," and many other books, essays and lectures.

by way of a land connection which once existed over the northern Atlantic, and that their long and isolated residence in this continent has molded them all into a singularly homogeneous race, which varies but slightly anywhere on the continent, and has maintained its type unimpaired for countless generations. Never at any time before Columbus was it influenced in blood, language or culture by any other race."

The following paragraphs are from an article entitled "The First Americans," published in *Harper's Magazine*, August, 1882, page 353 :

"When we speak of the discovery of America we always mean the arrival of Europeans, forgetting that there was probably a time when Europe itself was first discovered by Asiatics, and that for those Asiatics it was almost as easy to discover America. * * * Bering Strait is but little wider than the English Channel, and it is as easy to make the passage from Asia to America as from France to England ; and indeed easier for half the year, when Bering Strait is frozen. Besides all this, both geology and botany indicate that the separation between the two continents did not always exist. * * *

"The colonization of America from Asia was thus practicable, at any rate, and that far more easily than any approach from the European side. The simple races on each side of Bering Strait, which now communicate with each other freely, must have done the same from very early times. They needed no consent of sovereigns to do it ; they were not obliged to wait humbly in the antechamber of some king, suing for permission to discover for him another world."

The lack of scientific evidence to demonstrate the possible origin of American races in Asia, led to the sending of an expedition to British Columbia in 1897, under the leadership of Dr. Franz Boas, in charge of the ethnological collections of the American Museum of Natural History, in the city of New York. A large number of articles, either taken from Indian burial-places or obtained from people then living, was brought back by this expedition ; and as a result two other expeditions with similar objects in view were sent out in March, 1898, one of them going to Bering Strait and the other to Mexico, and both of them—as the expedition of the previous year had been—provided for by the liberality of Morris K. Jesup of New York, President of the American Museum of Natural History.

About that time Maj. J. W. Powell, then at the head of the United States Bureau of Ethnology, declared :

"Many attempts have been made to prove that aboriginal America was peopled from Asia by way of Bering Strait, and a vague belief of this nature has spread widely ; but little scientific evidence exists to sustain it. On the other hand, investigations in archaeology have now made it clear that man was distributed throughout the habitable earth at some very remote time or times, in the very lowest stage of human culture, when men employed stone tools and other agencies of industry of a like lowly character ; and that from this rude condition men have advanced in culture everywhere, but some to a much greater degree than others. The linguistic evidence comes in to sustain the conclusions of archaeology, for a study of the languages of the world leads to the conclusion that they were developed in a multiplying of centers ; that languages of distinct stocks increase in number as tribes of lower culture are found, and that probably man was distributed through the world anterior to the development of organized or grammatic speech."

The following extract is from an article published in *Self-Culture* about the time of the return of the first Jesup expedition :

"Though similarity in religious rites and ceremonies, relics of civilization and numerous traditions would seem to indicate relationship with Asiatic peoples, still there are features in Indian physiognomy and physiological structure, as well as mental and moral characteristics, that essentially distinguish him from every other race.

"From the fact that in their physical character, in color, form and features, the aborigines throughout the whole continent present remarkable uniformity, it seems to be sufficient evidence that they had never intermingled with other varieties of the human family. Some, indeed, think the Indian but a mixture of Polynesian, Mongolian and Caucasian types ; or possibly the grafting of other races upon an original American race. Bancroft, in his 'History of the United States' (Vol. II), expresses his opinion on the

origin of the Indian. He discovers a striking resemblance between the Mongolian of Asia and the native of North America, yet he says: 'Nothing is so indelible as speech; sounds that, in ages of unknown antiquity, were spoken among the natives of Hindustan, still live with unchanged meaning in the language which we daily utter. The winged word cleaves its way through time, as well as through space. If the Chinese came to civilize, and came so recently, the shreds of their civilization would be still clinging to their works and their words.'

"So we conclude that if the aborigines did really emigrate from the East, and if there ever existed any vital connection between them and the people of Asia, it was certainly in the far-distant past, into which neither the memory, tradition nor history of man can penetrate."

The results accomplished by the Jesup expeditions of 1897 and 1898 were so important that general attention was drawn to them throughout the scientific world, and the origin of the American aborigines began to be discussed with renewed interest and acuteness. Obviously, scientists were forced to choose between two possibilities in this field of speculation: Man either was developed on this continent independently of the human race elsewhere, or he was an immigrant. The latter view was adopted by the most up-to-date and wide-awake ethnologists, and in the July, 1900, issue of *Knowledge* Lydekker, the well-known English geologist and palæontologist, ably expounded this theory—holding that all the Indians of North and South America, in spite of minor differences, are derived from one stock. He, like many American authorities, asserted his belief that the aborigines of this continent came from Asia and are of Mongolian origin. They were men—not apes—and Mongols when they first appeared in this country.

Early in 1900 Mr. Jesup again provided funds for sending out a party of explorers, to be known as the North Pacific Expedition. This was planned and directed by Dr. Franz Boas, previously mentioned, and its main object was to study the little-known and obscure tribes of north-eastern Asia, and compare their habits and culture with the Indian and Eskimo inhabitants of the extreme north-western part of America. Messrs. Bogoras and Jochelson, members of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, were the leaders, or principals, of this expedition, which spent about two years in the field exploring the Okhotsk Sea and Kamchatka regions, and northern-central Siberia as far as the Lena River—the very territory that, one hundred and fourteen years previously, Ledyard had set out to explore, but only a small part of which he was able to visit and describe. The members of this North Pacific Expedition traveled about 15,000 miles, chiefly over a frozen and trackless territory—horses, dogs, reindeer, rafts and boats being used in their transportation. They brought back a comprehensive and valuable collection of 15,000 or more specimens of various kinds, many of which they obtained from burial-mounds which they explored,* or, by barter, from the different tribes with whom they came in contact. This collection is now in New York, and far surpasses anything of a like character elsewhere in the world.

The explorers visited the Chukchee tribe,† inhabiting the country nearest to the coast line occupied by the Asiatic Eskimos. Their territory is about as large as the German Empire, and the people resemble the American Indian as to stature and general appearance. Their legends and religion are not like those of the Eskimo, but have many

* See foot-note, page 96.

† See page 88.

points in common with those of the Indian. Farther inland, inhabiting a tract of country almost as large as that of the Chuckchees, are the Koryaks and Kereks, with whom the Indian characteristics are still more noticeable than with the people who live nearer to the Bering Sea. They are bronze-colored, have straight noses, are tall and well formed, and their legends, religion and customs are like those of the North American Indian. The Chuvantzis are the farthest inland tribe reached by the explorers. Unlike their neighbors they do not raise cattle or reindeer, and they prefer to walk, no matter how great the distance may be, rather than employ the reindeer. They are morose, brooding and fierce, and exceedingly vindictive. Although they live thousands of miles away from the coast, the explorers, who studied their habits and characteristics, think that they bear a closer resemblance to the American Indians than any of the other tribes.

From the mass of information gathered by these explorers—photographs* and measurements of some 1,500 Siberian natives; war implements, ceremonial objects and household utensils; bones and fossils—astounding similarities have been found as to mode of life and mythology, which go far to point to a common and kindred origin of all the tribes of north-eastern Asia and the Eskimo and Indian tribes of north-western America, which had its rise possibly at a remote time during the land connection between the two shores.

In view of the discoveries made Dr. Boas says it is certain that the customs, traditions, manners and fundamental religious beliefs of the Siberian natives so closely resemble those of the North American Indian of the North Pacific slope as to warrant a conclusion that the same "culture," as it is termed, exists in both peoples. But this "culture," while an important feature of the investigation, does not have any bearing as a matter of scientific proof upon the more important question whether the North American and the North Siberian natives are of the same origin. That may only be obtained by a comparison of the varied data collected. M. Bogoras is of the opinion that he and the other explorers found indisputable evidence of the connection between the North American Indians and the Palæo-Asiatic races on the Bering Sea coast. Concerning the peopling of America, he has formed the hypothesis that this occurred at a period when the Malay archipelago, the Philippines, Formosa and the Japanese Islands either formed a continental peninsula connected with Kamchatka or an unbroken series of islands, and when Asia and Alaska were connected.

In concluding this branch of our subject it may be stated that many anthropologists now believe that the cradle of the human race was south-eastern Asia—that region being the focus from which the earliest streams of emigration radiated.

Prof. F. W. Putnam† declares (and he is supported in his opinion by the testimony of many other scientists) that "we have in this country the conclusive evidence of the existence of man before the time of the glaciers,‡ and, from the primitive conditions of that time, he has lived

* Some of these photographs—of Kalmuk girls in particular—are, seemingly, perfect representations of modern North American Indian squaws.

† Curator of the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Professor of American Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University. He is one of the leading explorers and writers in the line of American archaeology.

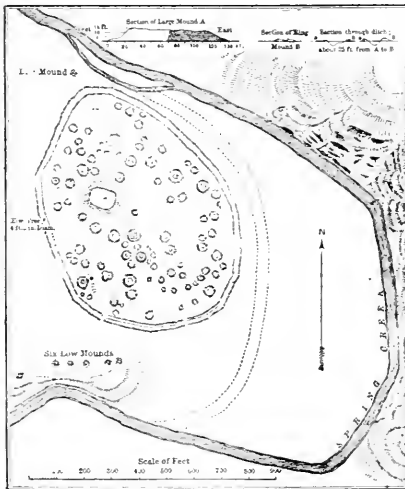
‡ See quotation from Dr. Brinton, page 88.

here and developed through stages which correspond in many particulars to the Homeric Age of Greece." But the *history* of the North American Indian begins with the advent of the white people upon this continent. Back of that time all is speculation and myth, and much that has been written about the pre-Columbian, or pre-historic, period is only a repetition of old legends and traditions. Lewis H. Morgan (referred to on page 107), writing in 1876, stated his belief to be "that there never was a pre-historic American civilization, properly so called, but only an advanced and wonderfully skillful barbarism, or semi-civilization at the utmost." The Europeans found the Indians self-sustaining and self-reliant, with tribal governments, many forms of worship and many superstitions; with ample clothing of skins and furs, and food fairly well supplied—all these conditions being characteristics of an ancient people. But they were wild men and women, to whom the restraints of a foreign control became as bonds of steel.

"It is in evidence that many Indian tribes have become extinct from various causes, especially war, famine and disease, since the European has been on the continent; others were described by the Indians as having become extinct long prior to the white man's arrival. So that by observation and tradition, as well as their own statements, the thought is forced that the Indian nations or tribes or bands were on the decline at the date of the arrival of the whites under Columbus. Still, with all this presumably large aboriginal population in what are now the United States, not a vestige remains to tell of the so-called pre-Columbian men and women except traditions and legends, and now and then a mound, a fort, a pueblo or a grave."†

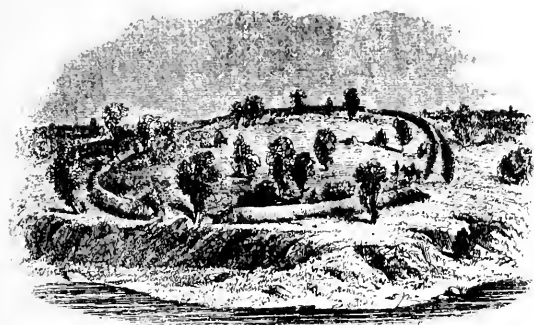
The earthworks or fortifications, stockades and mounds found in New York, Ohio, Tennessee and elsewhere

were erected for residence, defense or burial-places. The earthworks were generally built alongside streams—often on high banks—and were frequently in the vicinity of rich alluvial soil, where corn and other crops were easily raised; the streams supplying fish and mussels, and the forests game in abundance. The accompanying plan is a reduced reproduction of a ground-plan by Professor Putnam of a fortified village on Spring Creek, Tennessee, which was published in 1882. This (as well as the illustration following) will, better than words, give the reader a good idea as to the usual shape of the earthworks referred to



and the character of the locations in which they were most frequently established. It will be observed that in the Putnam plan an "Elm tree, 4 feet and 2 inches in diameter" (which would indicate a tree of great age), is noted as growing in the embankment—the presumption being, of course, that the tree had sprung into life after the earthwork was constructed.

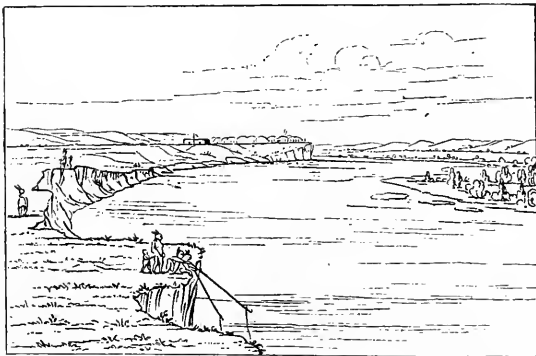
† "Report on Indians in the United States at the Eleventh Census," page 49.



The first illustration shown on this page is a reduced reproduction of a view of an earthwork in the township of Oakfield, Genesee County, New York, as it appeared about the year 1859. In that year E. G. Squier* thus referred to it in his "Ancient Monuments of the United States" (see *Harper's Magazine*, XX: 737):

"It is remarkable as being one of the best preserved and most distinct of any in the State. It is situated upon the western slope of one of the billowy hills which characterize the rolling lands of the West, and between which the streams find their way to the rivers and lakes. The banks of the little stream which washes the work upon the north are steep, but not more than ten feet in height. Upon the brow of the bank, where the stream approaches nearest the work, the intrenchment is interrupted, and the slope toward the water is more gentle than elsewhere—indicating an artificial grade. The embankments will now probably measure six feet in average height. * * * At the sides of the principal gateway leading into the inclosure from the east, according to the statement of an intelligent aged gentleman who was among the earliest settlers in this region, traces of oaken palisades were found, upon excavation, some thirty years ago [circa 1829]. They were, of course, almost entirely decayed. A part of the area is still covered with the original forest, in which are trees of the largest dimensions. An oaken stump which measures upward of two feet in diameter stands upon the embankment."

Some of the most elaborate series of works, as those at Marietta and Circleville, Ohio, have yielded from their deepest recesses articles of European manufacture, showing an origin not farther back than the historic period. But we need not go so far as this to observe the analogies of structure in the earthworks found in the different parts of this country. If we look at Professor Putnam's ground-plan on the preceding page, and compare it with a similar plan of a modern Mandan village (in what is now North Dakota) as given by Prince Maximilien of Wied-Neuwied in his "Voyage in the Interior of North America," published at London in 1843 (see *Harper's Magazine* for August, 1882, page 350), we find their arrangement to be essentially the same. Each is on a promontory, or high bank, protected by the bed of a stream; each is surrounded by an embankment which was once, in all probability, surmounted by a palisade. Within this embankment were the houses, distributed irregularly in Putnam's plan, as will be observed.

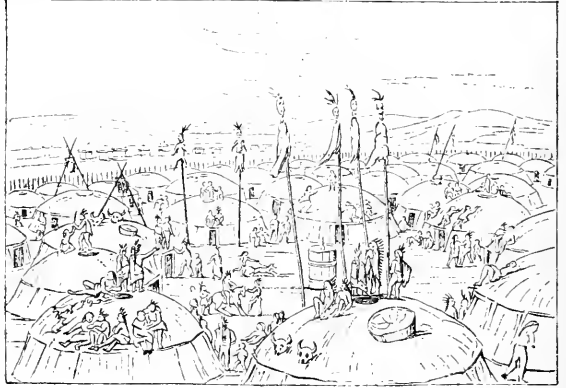


I.

* EPHRAIM GEORGE SQUIER (born at Bethlehem, New York, in 1821; died at Brooklyn in 1888) was an indefatigable explorer, archaeologist and author. For a number of years he was a successful newspaper editor. In 1849 he was appointed United States *chargé d'affaires* to the States of Central America, and while occupying that position carried on extensive geographical and archaeological explorations in those regions. For these researches he received a gold medal from the Geographical Society of France. He published numerous books, pamphlets and magazine articles relating to his explorations.

The accompanying illustrations are reduced reproductions of drawings made by George Catlin for his "Letters and Notes," mentioned on page 84. The original pictures represented by these drawings were painted by Mr. Catlin in the Summer of 1832, during a stay of three months in the principal town of the Mandans 1,800 miles above St. Louis, on the west bank of the Missouri River, near the present town of Mandan, North Dakota. The first picture (I.) gives a distant view of the town, and shows the character of its location, while the

second (II.) is a bird's-eye view of the same town. In 1832 the Mandans numbered, according to Mr. Catlin, 2,000 souls. They occupied two permanent towns, each of which was fortified by a strong palisade of pickets eighteen feet high, and a surrounding ditch. Each town was further protected in front by the river, with a bank forty feet high. The lodges, varying in size from forty to fifty feet in diameter, were circular in form and covered with mud, which had become so compact by long use that men, women and children reclined and played upon the tops of the lodges in pleasant weather.*



II.



HA-NA-TA-NU-MAUK

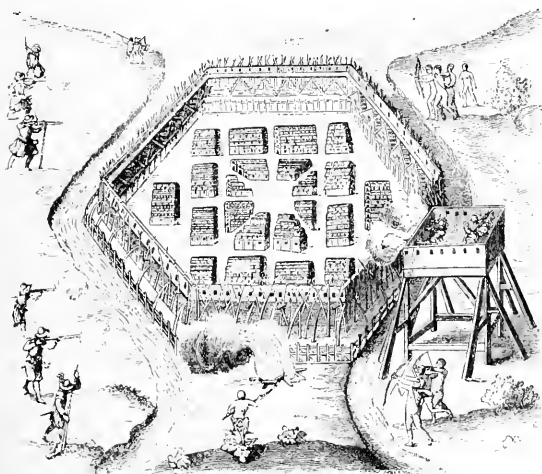
("Wolf Chief"). Head of the Mandan tribe
in 1832.

*The MANDANS, or MIAHTANEES, "People of the Bank," now a feeble tribe of only 247 souls, the remnant of a once powerful nation, have resided on the upper Missouri for a long time. Catlin, in his various works, describes their manners, customs and personal appearance. They were looked upon as the best of the North American Indians when Catlin first wrote about them. They were industrious, well armed, good hunters and brave warriors. In personal appearance they were not surpassed by any nation in the North-west. The men, who wore their hair banged, were tall and well made, with regular features and a mild expression of countenance not usually seen among Indians. Their complexion was a shade lighter than that of other tribes, often approaching very near to some European nations, as the Spaniards. Another peculiarity was that some of them had light hair, and some gray or blue eyes, which are very rarely met with among other tribes. The picture of the head-chief here shown is a reduced copy of a drawing made by Mr. Catlin after a portrait painted by himself in 1832. Mr. Catlin described this chief as "a haughty, austere, overbearing man, respected and feared by his people rather than loved. * * The dress of this chief was one of great extravagance and some beauty, manufactured of skins; and a great number of quills of the raven forming his stylish head-dress. He is represented holding two calumets or pipes of peace."

Mr. Catlin had a theory of the Mandans being Welsh, and of their ancestors coming from across the Atlantic to a southern port, and afterwards migrating to the upper Missouri. However, this idea concerning Welsh Indians was not original with Mr. Catlin. In the seventeenth century John Josselyn, in his "Voyages to New England," mentioned that the customs of the inhabitants resembled those of ancient Britons; and Sir Thomas Herbert, another traveler of the same period, in his "Travels" gave Welsh words in use among these Indians. A century later reports from several traders and others were received of an Indian tribe that possessed manuscript, spoke Welsh and retained ceremonies of Christian worship. Among other information then published was the report of Capt. Abraham Chaplain of Kentucky, that his gar-

tribe that possessed manuscript, spoke Welsh and retained ceremonies of Christian worship. Among other information then published was the report of Capt. Abraham Chaplain of Kentucky, that his gar-

The remains of many earthworks have been discovered, from time to time, in New York State, and much has been written concerning them. The latest publication on the subject is the Rev. Dr. W. M. Beauchamp's "Aboriginal Occupation of New York," issued in February, 1900, as Bulletin No. 32, Vol. VII, of the New York State Museum. The author says that nearly 250 "defensive earthworks and mounds alone are now known" to have existed in New York. "The location of aboriginal dwellings," says Dr. Beauchamp, "depended on a variety of circumstances. In a certain way those nations termed sedentary and agricultural were migratory, moving their towns every ten or twelve years. When the land was worn out, or wood was too far off, the women gave the signal and the town went elsewhere. Sometimes it was but a mile or two, often much more. * * * In times of war defensive positions were chosen on the hills, and these were quite retired if the nation was weak. In such cases a favorite place was on a ridge between two deep ravines. * * * Shallow lakes and bays, or their shallow parts, were preferred to deep water as usually affording the best fishing-grounds, and the fords and rifts of rivers were chosen for the same reason. * * * Ancient earthworks, of which but two or three exist near the Mohawk [River], increase in frequency westward, becoming numerous in the territory of the Onondagas, and of their probable ancestors in Jefferson County. They are often of a generally elliptic or circular form, more or less irregular according to the nature of the ground. Usually there is an outside ditch, and one or more gates. It has now been definitely ascertained that some of these banks, at least, supported palisades. Of course there was no ditch at the gateways. * * * In historic times defensive works were generally of palisades peculiarly arranged with upright and cross timbers. * * * Galleries ran along the intersecting tops of the pickets. These were reached by ladders from within, and were useful in defense."



The accompanying illustration is a reduced facsimile of an engraving in the "Documentary History of New York," representing an Oneidan palisaded fort, or village, which is believed* to have stood on the shore of what is now known as Nichols' Pond, in Madison County, New York, and which was besieged by Champlain in 1615.

Squier, in his "Antiquities of the State of New York," published in 1851, in discussing the question

as to the builders of these old-time earthworks and fortifications, says :

rison, near the Missouri River, had been visited by Indians who conversed in Welsh with some Welshmen in his company. Those Indians were thought to be descendants of a colony said to have been formed by Madoc, son of Owen Gwynedd, on his discovery of America in 1170.

* See *Bulletin of the New York State Museum*, Vol. VII, No. 32, page 88.

"The relics found were identical with those which mark the sites of towns and forts known to have been occupied by the Indians within the historic period. The pottery taken from these sites, and from within the supposed ancient inclosures, is alike in all respects; the pipes and ornaments are undistinguishable, and the indications of aboriginal dwellings are precisely similar and, so far as can be discovered, have equal claim to antiquity. Near many of these works are found cemeteries in which well preserved skeletons are contained, and which, except in the absence of remains of European art, differ in no respect from the cemeteries found in connection with the abandoned modern towns and castles of the Indians. * * * I am aware that the remnants of the Indian stock, which still exist in the State, generally profess total ignorance of these works. I do not, however, attach much importance to this circumstance. When we consider the extreme likelihood of the forgetfulness of ancient practices, in the lapse of 300 years, the lack of knowledge upon this point is the weakest of all negative evidence, not to be weighed against the incontrovertible testimony of the works themselves."

In his "Ancient Monuments," previously referred to, Squier says:

"It may be objected that if the Indians found in occupation of the Atlantic States constructed earthworks of this kind, the facts could not have escaped the notice of the early explorers, and would have been made the subject of remark by them. The omission may be singular, but is not unaccountable. They all speak of the aboriginal defenses as composed of palisades set in the ground. The simple circumstance of the earth having been heaped up around them to lend them greater firmness, may have been regarded as so natural and simple an expedient as to be undeserving of a special mention. * * *

"In respect of the antiquity of these works nothing positive can be affirmed. Many of them are now covered with heavy forests; a circumstance upon which too much importance has been laid, and which in itself may not necessarily be regarded as indicative of great age, for we may plausibly suppose that it was not essential to the purposes of the builders that the forests should be removed. It is not uncommon to find trees of from one to three feet in diameter standing on the embankments and in the trenches, which would certainly carry back the date of their construction several hundred years—perhaps beyond the period of the Discovery in the fifteenth century. There is nothing, however, in this circumstance, nor in any other bearing upon the subject, which would necessarily imply that they were built by tribes anterior to those found in occupation of the country by the whites. Indeed, the weight of evidence is decidedly in favor of the conclusion that most of these works were erected by the Iroquois, or their western neighbors, and do not go back to a very high antiquity."

Dr. Beauchamp—having, during a period of many years, personally examined numerous earthworks and the relics found in and near them—has recently declared that he is "fully in accord" with Squier on the points mentioned hereinbefore; "but," he adds, "the Iroquois, whatever their relations to them, were descendants neither of the so-called *Mound-builders*, nor of any of the earlier visitors in New York. A study of their relics makes this evident."

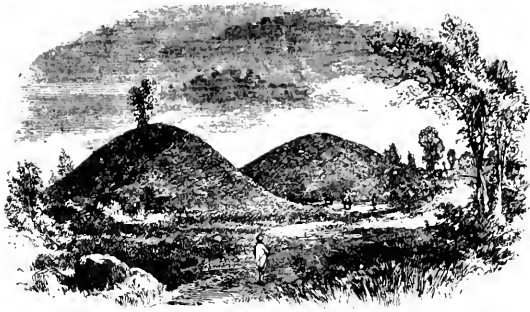
In an article on "Pre-historic Man in America," published in *The Forum* in January, 1890, Maj. J. W. Powell (previously mentioned) said:

"Widely scattered throughout the United States, from sea to sea, artificial mounds are discovered which may be enumerated by the thousands or hundreds of thousands.* They vary greatly in size; some are so small that a half-dozen laborers with shovels might construct one of them in a day, while others cover acres and are scores of feet in height. These mounds were observed by the earliest explorers and pioneers of the country.† They did not attract great attention, however, until the science of archaeology demanded their investigation. Then they were assumed to furnish evidence of a race of people older than the Indian tribes."

* It may be noted here that there were Mound-builders in Siberia at a very early day. Bell, in his "Journey from Petersburg to Peking," gives an account of mounds that he saw in the year 1720 (when making a trans-Siberian journey with a Russian embassy to the Court of China), and which he considered the tombs of ancient heroes. The author says (Vol. I, page 253): "Many persons go from Tomsk [a city in southern-central Siberia] and other parts every Summer to these graves, which they dig up, and find among the ashes of the dead considerable quantities of gold, silver, brass and some precious stones; but particularly hilts of swords and armor. They find, also, ornaments of saddles and bridles, and other trappings for horses; and even the bones of horses, and sometimes those of elephants. Whence it appears that, when any person or general of distinction was interred, all his arms, his favorite horse and servant were buried with him in the same grave. This custom prevails to this day among the Kalmuks and other Tartars, and seems to be of great antiquity."

† The Creek, Choctaw, Cherokee and other southern tribes of Indians, occupying what we now call the "Gulf States," were first visited by Fernando de Soto in 1540, on his famous expedition when he discovered the Mississippi. The narratives of his explorations represent these Indians as cultivating extensive fields of corn, living in well-fortified towns—their houses erected on artificial mounds, and the villages having defenses of embankments of earth. These statements are verified by existing remains.

No other part of the United States has proved such a treasure-house of relics of pre-historic man and the Mound-builders—"whose vast earthworks are still, after a century of study, the perplexity of archæologists"—as southern Ohio; and of this territory the Scioto Valley has been probably the richest area. Many archæologists and anthropologists



Group of Mounds (circa 1840) on the left bank of the Scioto River, six miles south-east of Chillicothe, Ohio.

including Dr. Brinton previously mentioned) favor the theory that the Mound-builders of Ohio were of the same race as the Choctaws, Cherokees and other southern Indian tribes, and were probably their ancestors. The existing remains of the southern tribes referred to certainly compare favorably in size and construction with those left by the mysterious Ohio race, or tribes.* It is clear, also, that the latter had much in common with those well-known tribes of Indians, the Mandans, Onondagas and Oneidas, in their way of disposing and protecting their homes.

Some writers have claimed for the Mound-builders of the Ohio and Upper Mississippi valleys an existence dating fully one thousand years ago; while others have regarded them as a race so remote from the present Indian tribes that there could be nothing in common between them. Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, however, in his comparative study of North American Indian life, published in 1901 under the title "The North Americans of Yesterday," says that the Mound-builders "were only Amerinds whose development took a form that was impressive and lasting." And, to quote further from the *Forum* article of Maj. Powell:

"It is enough to say that the Mound-builders were the Indian tribes discovered by white men. It may well be that some of the mounds were erected by tribes extinct when Columbus first saw these shores, but they were kindred in culture to the peoples that still existed. * * * No ruin has been discovered where evidences of a higher culture are found than exists in modern times at Zuffi, Oraibi or Laguna. The earliest may have been built thousands of years ago, but they were built by the ancestors of existing tribes and their congeners."

Squier, previously mentioned (on page 93), wrote as follows in 1860 concerning the Mound-builders of Ohio†:

"They must have been a numerous, stationary and agricultural people; for a nomadic population would never rear works so extensive, systematic and manifestly of permanent intention; and a population so large as to afford the labor for their construction could not subsist on the precarious and scanty returns of the chase. And if the Mound-builders were a numerous, stationary and agricultural people, it follows almost of necessity that their customs, laws and religion had assumed a fixed and well-defined form. * * * In all these [mentioned] respects their works show them to have been far in advance of the tribes found in occupation of the country at the time of the Discovery. But there is no evidence that their condition was anything more than an approximation to that attained by the ancient Mexicans, Central Americans and Peruvians. * * *

"As regards the antiquity of the works of the Mississippi Valley, nothing can be affirmed with exactness. That many of them are very ancient, dating back by

* See page 100.

† See "Ancient Monuments in the United States," *Harper's Magazine*, XXI: 177 (July, 1860).

thousands of years, seems to be fairly deducible from a variety of circumstances. Not only are they covered by primitive forests of trees, some of which have an antiquity of from 600 to 800 years, but even these forests appear to stand on the debris of others equally venerable, which preceded them, since the era of the mounds."

Gerard Fowke, of Chillicothe, Ohio, an archæologist of experience and standing, has recently said* :

"So far as has yet been discovered, the Mound-builders could not build a stone wall that would stand up. In the absence of springs or streams they could procure water only by excavating a shallow pond ; they could not even wall up a spring when one was convenient. They left not one stone used in building that shows any mark of a dressing tool. Their mounds and embankments were built by bringing loads of earth, never larger than one person could easily carry, in baskets or skins, as is proved by the hundreds of lens-shaped masses observable in the larger mounds. They had not the slightest knowledge of the economic use of metals—treating what little they had as a sort of malleable stone ; even galena, which it seems impossible they could have used without discovering its low melting point, was always worked, if worked at all, as a piece of slate or other ornamental stone would be.

"They left nothing to indicate that any system of written language existed among them, the few 'hieroglyphics' on the 'inscribed tablets' having no more significance than the modern carving by a boy on the smooth bark of the beech, or else being deliberate frauds—generally the latter in the case of the more elaborate specimens. They had not a single beast of burden, unless we accept the 'proof' offered by a New York author that they harnessed up mastodons and worked them. Beyond peddling from tribe to tribe a few ornaments or other small articles that a man could easily carry, or transport in a canoe, they had no trade or commerce. * * * * Again it is stated that 'the great magnitude of the works show a numerous population distributed over a wide area, but all subject to one great central power, with kings and chiefs and high priests and laws and established religious systems and despotic power and servile obedience.' If the assumption upon which all this is based were correct—namely, that the various works scattered through the Mississippi Valley were occupied at one time by one people—there would be some probability of its truth ; but the little that is definitely known points the other way—to distinct races of Mound-builders at widely separated periods of time."

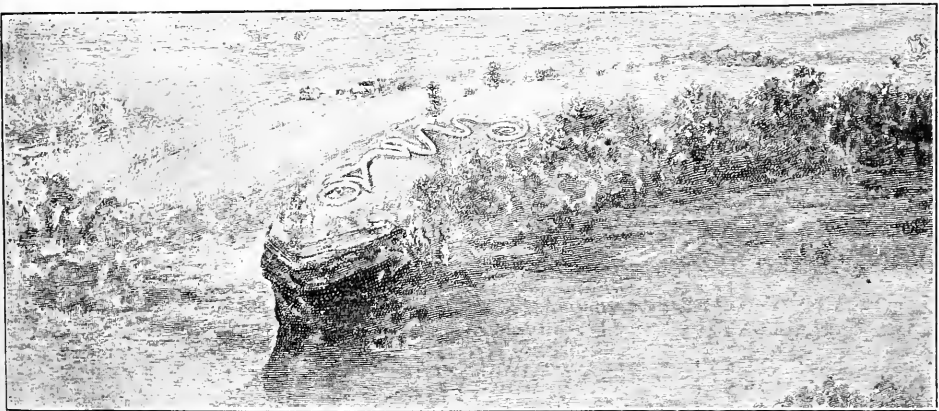
Nearly all the large mounds in Ohio have been carefully explored by archæologists and others. The last one to be opened and leveled to the ground was known as "the Great Adena Mound," and was situated just north of Chillicothe. It was one of the largest known in Ohio, being originally twenty-six feet in height and 175 feet in diameter, and was located on the estate purchased over a hundred years ago by Gov. Thomas Worthington of Ohio. In 1809 Jacob Cist of Wilkes-Barré visited this mound and made a drawing of its outlines, or ground-plan, which, together with a brief description of the same written by Mr. Cist, was published under the title, "Ruins of an Ancient Work on the Scioto," in the November, 1809, number of *The Portfolio*. Neither Governor Worthington nor any of his descendants would ever allow this mound to be disturbed ; but a few years ago the property passed out of the family's hands, and its exploration was at once arranged for by the Ohio State Historical and Archæological Society.

The work of removing the earth composing this mound occupied a force of laborers for several weeks in the Summer of 1901 ; but the operations were rich in results. Twenty-four skeletons were exhumed, together with numberless implements and ornaments of rare workmanship. Perhaps the most interesting find in the entire mound was almost at the exact center of the base. Here a carefully constructed mausoleum of logs was found, and in it the skeleton of an adult in a fine state of preservation. It was evidently that of the chieftan in whose honor the mound was begun, for with the skeleton were found a necklace made of bears' claws, a number of awls and spear heads of slate and horn, and a remarkable pipe eight inches in length and beautifully

* See the *New York Tribune*, December 20, 1903.

carved. Two other large mausoleums had been constructed on the base line a short distance from the center. In one of these was found the body of a child, about twelve years old. About the loins had been wrapped bands of cloth, much of which was, when discovered, still in fine condition; and then, over all, was wound sheet after sheet of birch bark, held in place by splints of wood. The third mausoleum was V-shaped, and in this was found the skeleton of an adult that had on its arms a number of bracelets of beaten copper. Lying on the arm bones was a long, narrow gorget, held to the arm by one of the bracelets. Over the head of the skeleton of a child was a curious head-dress made of strips of mica about an inch in width, perforated at the ends with small holes. The mica composing this is believed to have been brought from North Carolina, as in that State is the nearest known locality where the same grade of mica is found.

The most unique of the many remarkable Ohio mounds with which archæologists, early and recent, have been familiar, is the one known everywhere as the "Serpent Mound." It is located in what for the past sixteen years has been called Serpent Mound Park, in Adams County, on the southern border of Ohio. This park is owned and carefully conserved by the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Along the eastern bank of Brush Creek—the western boundary of the park—a huge serpent, formed of yellow clay, stretches in graceful folds. It measures 1,254 feet in length, from four to five feet in height, with an average width of twenty feet. In front of its wide-extended jaws lies an oval mound, called "the egg," its major axis being one hundred and twenty feet and its minor axis sixty feet in length. The whole structure presents a strange and weird appearance—fairly indicated by the accompanying illustration, reproduced from *The Four-Track News* (New York) of January, 1904, by courtesy of the publisher.



Nearly fifty years ago E. G. Squier wrote* of this mound :

"It is unquestionably, in many respects, the most extraordinary and interesting monument of antiquity yet discovered in the United States. * * * It cannot be supposed to be the offspring of an idle fancy or a savage whim. In its position, and the harmony and elaboration of structure, it bears the evidences of design; and it seems to have been begun and finished in accordance with a matured plan, and not to have been the result of successive and unmeaning combinations."

* In "Ancient Monuments in the United States."

For a very full and interesting account (with many illustrations) of the "Serpent Mound," and other pre-historic remains in the Ohio Valley, the reader is referred to two articles by Prof. F. W. Putnam (previously mentioned) in *The Century Magazine*, XVII: 698, 871 (March and April, 1890).

The oldest tribe or nation of Indians within the present limits of the United States (excluding Alaska and the Island possessions), of which there is a distinct tradition, was the Alleghan, Allegewi or Taligewi. Its name is perpetuated in that of the principal mountain-chain or system traversing the country—the Allegheny. This "semi-civilized" tribe, or, perhaps, confederacy, had the seat of its power, at a very early period, in the valley of the Ohio River and its confluent streams, and there are evidences that the ancient Alleghans and their allies and confederates lived in fixed towns, cultivated the soil and, without much doubt, were the Mound-builders. According to Indian tradition the Alleghans, driven from their ancient seats by a combination against them of the Lenni Lenâpés (Delawares) and the Mengwes, or Mingoes (Iroquois), fled southward.*

"About the period 1500-1600 those related tribes whom we now know by the name of Algonkins [or Algonquins] occupied the Atlantic coast from the Savannah River on the south to the Strait of Belle Isle on the north. The whole of Newfoundland was in their possession; in Labrador they were neighbors to the Eskimos; their northernmost branch dwelt along the southern shores of Hudson Bay, and followed the streams which flow into it from the west. * * * East of the Alleghenies, in the valleys of the Delaware, the Potomac and the Hudson, over the barren hills of New England and Nova Scotia, and throughout the swamps and forests of Virginia and the Carolinas, their osier cabins and palisadoed strongholds, their maize fields and workshops of stone implements were numerously located."†

There has been some difficulty in properly locating the tribe from which the Algonkin family has taken its name, but it is generally believed that it had its seat somewhere in Canada, between the St. Lawrence River and Hudson Bay. Tradition points to that region, and there the language of the Algonkin stock is found in its purest and most archaic form. The majority of the members of this original tribe apparently divided at a very early day into two branches, the one following the Atlantic coast southward, and the other the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes westward. At the period previously mentioned (1500-1600) the Algonkins composed the largest family of North American Indians, and the area occupied by them was more extensive than that of any other linguistic stock. In New England they were known as Abnakis, Pequots, Narragansetts, etc.; on the Hudson, as Mahikans, Mohicans or Mohegans; on the Delaware, as Lenni Lenâpés; in Maryland, as Nanticokes; in Virginia, as Powhatans, while the most southern representatives of this family, or stock, were the Shawanoes, Shawanese or Shawnees, who once lived on the Tennessee River, and were closely related to the Mahikans of New York.

* See pages 97 and 102; also, Heckewelder's "Tradition of the Lenâpé Migration," in "Pennsylvania—Colonial and Federal," I: 27.

† Daniel G. Brinton, in "The Lenâpé and their Legends" (1885).

Most of the tribes mentioned were agricultural, raising maize, beans, squashes and tobacco; but they were nomadic—shifting from place to place as the hunting and fishing, upon which they chiefly depended, required—although during the greater part of the year they occupied fixed residences in villages or towns. "They were," says Brinton, "skillful in chipping and polishing stone, and they had a definite, even rigid, social organization. Their mythology was extensive, and its legends, as well as the history of their ancestors, were retained in memory by a system of ideographic writing, of which a number of specimens have been preserved. Their intellectual capacities were strong, and the distinguished characters that arose among them displayed in their dealings of war or peace with the Europeans an ability, a bravery and a sense of right on a par with the famed heroes of antiquity." Schoolcraft says*: "The Algonquin language has been more cultivated than any of the North American tongues. Containing no sounds of difficult utterance, capable of an easy and clear expression, and with a copious vocabulary, it has been the favorite medium of communication on the frontiers from the earliest times. The French at an early period made themselves masters of it; and, from its general use, it has been sometimes called the court language of the Indian. In its various ethnological forms, as spoken by the Delaware, Mohican, Shawnee * * * and by many other tribes, it has been familiar to the English colonists from the respective eras of the settlement of Virginia, New York and New England." Etymologists tell us that there are 131 words of Algonkin derivation in the English language—incorporated therein before the Algonkins were compelled to "move on" from their ancient territory towards the setting sun. Some of these words are: "Chipmunk," "hickory," "hominy," "menhaden," "moccasin," "moose," "mugwump," "musquash," "pemmican," "persimmon," "pappoose," "pone," "porgy," "possum," "powwow," "raccoon," "samp," "skunk," "squash," "squaw," "succotash," "Tammany," "tautog," "terrapin," "toboggan," "tomahawk," "totem," "wigwam," "woodchuck."

All the Algonkin tribes who dwelt north of the Potomac, on the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay, and in the basins of the Delaware and Hudson rivers, claimed near kinship and an identical origin, and were at times united into a loose, defensive confederacy. The members of this confederacy were: (1) the Mahikans, or Mohegans (sometimes called "River Indians"), of the Hudson, who occupied the valley of that river to the falls above the present city of Albany, and were the most northern tribe of the Algonkin family in New York, but who finally (about 1630) retired over the Highlands east of them into the valley of the Housatonic†; (2) the various New Jersey tribes—Sankhikans, Raritans, Hackinsacks, Navisinks and others, some of whom were branches, clans or sub-tribes of the great Lenâpé tribe‡; (3) the Lenâpés proper, or Lenni Lenâpés, or Delawares, on the Delaware River and its branches; (4) the Nanticokes, occupying all the territory between Chesapeake

* "History of the Indian Tribes of the United States" (edition of 1857), page 673.

† "Evidently, most of the tribes of Massachusetts and Connecticut were comparatively recent offshoots of the parent stem on the Hudson—supposing the course of migration had been eastward."—*Brinton*.

‡ Many families of this tribe chose to live by themselves, fixing their abodes in villages and taking a name from their location. Each of these bands had a chief, who, however, was in a measure subordinate to the chief of one of the sub-tribes or to the head-chief of the tribe. See page 103, *post*; also, *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Second Series, V: 81.

Bay and the Atlantic Ocean except the southern extremity, which appears to have been under the control of the Powhatan tribe of Virginia; (5) the small tribe called the Conoys, Kanawhas or Ganaweses, whose towns were on the tributaries of the Potomac and Patuxent rivers.

Of all the Algonkin stock the Delawares were for many generations the most numerous and powerful. The proper tribal name of these Indians was and is Lenâpé ("â" as in far, "é" as "a" in mate). They called themselves Lenni Lenâpé, meaning "true, or manly, men."* Heckewelder,† in one of his books, states that he well remembers "when they thought the whites had given them the name of 'Delawares' in derision; but they were reconciled to it on being told that it was the name of a great white chief, Lord de La Warre. As they are fond of being named after distinguished men, they were rather pleased, considering it as a compliment." According to their tradition, as preserved in the writings of Heckewelder, they resided at a very early day in a far western part of the American continent. Having determined to migrate eastward, they set forth in a body on a journey that lasted several years. In due time they came to the river now known as the Mississippi, where they fell in with the Mengwes (later known as the Iroquois), who had likewise migrated from a distant region. It was then that the Lenâpés and Mengwes combined to make war, successfully, on the Alleghians—as previously mentioned. This war lasted many years, during which the Lenâpés lost a great number of their warriors. Eventually, the conquerors divided the country between themselves—the Mengwes making choice of the lands in the vicinity of the great lakes, and on their tributary streams, and the Lenâpés taking possession of the country to the south. The two nations resided peaceably in this country for a long period of time, when some of the most enterprising hunters and warriors of the Lenâpés journeyed to and crossed the swamps and mountains far to the eastward, and continued to advance until they had come to the shore of the ocean. Then they discovered the great rivers, many years later named the Delaware, Hudson, Susquehanna and Potomac. After a long absence these explorers returned to their nation and reported what they had seen; whereupon the Lenâpés began to emigrate to the new territory, but at first only in small bands. They settled along the rivers mentioned, making the Delaware the center of their possessions.

At a much later date, according to the traditions common to all the Algonkin tribes, special dignity and authority were assigned the Lenâpés. Forty tribes, it is said, looked up to them with respect, and they took first place as the "grandfathers" of the family, while the other tribes were called "children," "nephews" and "grandchildren." A Lenâpé tradition‡ sets forth that, many hundred years before white men came to America, a treaty of friendship was made by the Lenâpés with other Indian nations, and in memory of this event there was presented to the chief of the Lenâpés a wampum belt with a copper heart in the center of it. This remarkable belt was seen and acknowledged by

* See "Report on Indians in the United States at the Eleventh Census," page 297; "Transactions of the Buffalo (N. Y.) Historical Society," 111: 102, 103; Schoolcraft's "History of the Indian Tribes of the United States," page 177.

† See pages 42, 81 and 100, *ante*.

‡ See "Report on Indians in the United States at the Eleventh Census," page 298.

William Penn, afterwards by various British generals, later by General Washington, and from that time down to about the year 1841 by every Indian tribe in the North and East. It was understood to be still in existence as late as 1858. In presenting this belt at a grand council the Lenâpé chief would always hold it out and ask if any one could detect any change in the heart. Thereupon it would be passed from one chief to another and from one brave to another, and then returned, and each chief would respond that the heart had remained unchangeable and true; although the sinews that held the wampum might have become rotten from age and had to be replaced with new ones, and although a wampum might have fallen off—whereby a figure in the belt was changed—the *heart* was always just the same. After exhorting for a time on the subject they would renew their bonds of friendship, smoke the pipe of peace and depart.

When first discovered by the whites the Lenâpés were living on the banks of the Delaware in detached bands under separate sachems. On a map published at Amsterdam in 1659 they are represented as occupying the valley of the Delaware from its source to its mouth, extending westward to the Minquas, or Susquehannocks,* and eastward, under the names of various local and totemic clans or bands,† across the entire area of New Jersey to the Hudson. The nation was divided into three sub-tribes or clans, as follows: (1) The Minsi, Munsee, Mousey or Minisink, "the People of the Stony Lands," whose totemic device was the Wolf; (2) the Unami, Wonamey or Wanamie, "the Down-river People," whose totemic device was the Turtle, or Tortoise; (3) the Unalachtigo, "the Tide-water People," whose totemic device was the Turkey.

The Minsis lived in the mountainous region at the head-waters of the Delaware, above the "Forks," or junction of the Lehigh River. "That they were the most vigorous and war-like of the Lenâpé is indicated by many evidences; and they were probably the strongest in numbers. From their holds in the mountains they reached north-eastward to the banks of the Hudson, and on that river joined hands with the Mohegans, another tribe of the Algonkin family." The territory of the Unamis lay on the right bank of the Delaware, and extended from the Lehigh Valley southward. To this, the "Turtle" clan, the Lenâpés ascribed the greatest dignity, "for they shared with peoples of the Old World the myth that a great tortoise, first of all created beings, bore the earth upon its back. Thus, by their totem, the Unamis had precedence, and in time of peace their sachem or chief, wearing a diamond-marked wampum belt, was chief of the whole tribe." The Unalachtigos had their principal seat on the affluents of the Delaware, near where the city of Wilmington now stands.

The Rev. John Campanius, in his "History of New Sweden,"‡ writing of the Lenâpés about the year 1645, says:

* See page 38.

† See foot-note, page 101.

‡ "New Sweden," which comprehended certain parts of the present States of Delaware and Pennsylvania, was the first permanent settlement by white men on the Delaware Bay and River on either side. This Swedish colony had a lifetime of but seventeen years—1638 to 1655; "yet it was of large importance, because it was the actual and systematic beginning of the life of white people on the west bank of the Delaware. Out of it came the first planting of Pennsylvania. A year before William Penn was born the Swedes had already begun the settlement of the State which was to bear his name." Campanius, the author mentioned above, was minister of the Church in New Sweden from 1643 to 1648, when he returned to Sweden. September 4, 1648, at what is now Tinicum, Delaware County, he dedicated the first house for Christian worship erected within the present limits of Pennsylvania.

"They make their bows with the limb of a tree, of about a man's length, and their bow-strings out of the sinews of animals; they make their arrows out of a reed, a yard and a-half long, and at one end they fix in a piece of hard wood of about a quarter's length, at the end of which they make a hole to fix in the head of the arrow, which is made of black flint-stone, or of hard bone or horn, or the teeth of large fishes or animals, which they fasten in with fish glue in such a manner that the water cannot penetrate; at the other end of the arrow they put feathers. They can also tan and prepare the skins of animals, which they paint afterwards in their own way. They make much use of painted feathers, with which they adorn their skins and bed-covers, binding them with a kind of network, which is very handsome, and fastens the feathers very well. With these they make light and warm clothing for themselves; with the leaves of Indian corn and reeds they make purses, mats and baskets, and everything else that they want. * * * They make very handsome and strong mats of fine roots, which they paint with all kinds of figures; they hang their walls with these mats, and make excellent bed-clothes out of them. The women spin



LENÂPÉ INDIAN FAMILY.
From Campanius' "New Sweden."

thread and yarn out of nettles, hemp and some plants unknown to us. Governor Printz* had a complete set of clothes, with coat, breeches and belt, made by these barbarians with their wampum, which was curiously wrought with figures of all kinds of animals. * * *

"They make tobacco-pipes out of reeds about a man's length; the bowl is made of horn, and to contain a great quantity of tobacco. They generally present these pipes to their good friends when they come to visit them at their houses and wish them to stay some time longer; then the friends cannot go away without having first smoked out of the pipe.† They make them, otherwise, of red, yellow and blue clay, of which there is a great quantity in the country; also of white, gray, green, brown, black and blue stones, which are so soft that they can be cut with a knife. * * * Their boats are made of the bark of cedar and birch trees, bound together and lashed very strongly. They carry them along wherever they go, and when they come to some creek that they want to get over they launch them and go whither they please. They also used to make boats out of cedar trees, which they burnt inside and then scraped off the coals [charred wood] with sharp stones, bones or mussel-shells."

Charles Thomson (for fifteen years Secretary of the Colonial Congress), who, about the years 1756-'60, had unusual opportunities‡ for studying the institutions, manners, etc., of the Lenâpés, left among his manuscripts a fragmentary "Essay upon Indian Affairs"—written about 1763—from which the following paragraphs have been taken:

"They [the Lenâpés] were perfect strangers to the use of iron. The instruments with which they dug up the ground were of wood, or a stone fastened to a handle of wood. Their hatchets for cutting were of stone, sharpened to an edge by rubbing, and fastened to a wooden handle. Their arrows were pointed with flint or bones. What clothing they wore was of the skins of animals took in hunting, and their ornaments were principally of feathers. They all painted or daubed their faces with red. The men suffered only a tuft of hair to grow on the crown of the head; the rest, whether on the head or face, they prevented from growing by constantly plucking it out by the roots, so that they always appeared as if they were bald and beardless. Many were in the practice of marking their faces, arms and breasts by pricking the skin with thorns and rubbing the parts with a fine powder made of coal [charcoal], which, penetrating the punctures, left an indelible stain or mark, which remained as long as they lived. The punctures were made in figures, according to their several fancies.

* Lieut. Col. JOHN PRINTZ, Governor of New Sweden from 1643 to 1653.

† See page 87.

‡ See Chapter V, *post*.

"The only part of their bodies which they covered was from the waist half-way down the thighs, and their feet they guarded with a kind of shoe made of the hide of buffalo, or of deerskin, laced tight over the instep and up to the ankles with thongs. It was and still continues to be a common practice among the men to slit their ears, putting something into the hole to prevent its closing, and then by hanging weights to the lower part, to stretch it out so that it hangs down the cheek like a large ring.* They had no knowledge of the use of silver or gold, though some of these metals were found among the southern Indians."

The tools of the Lenâpés were rude and poor—strictly those of the stone age (for they had no knowledge of any metal save a little copper for ornament), yet they handled their tools with great skill and neatness. They were adepts in dressing the skins of animals, especially the deer. "They made earthenware vessels, baking them hard and black. Soapstone they hollowed out for pots and pans, while other household vessels were made of wood. The large wild gourd, the calabash—one of the few contributions to the use of the white people—served them as bucket and dipper. * * * Near their villages, in the alluvial bottom lands, or in spaces in the woods cleared by fire, the women raised the family crops, planting the maize, our 'Indian corn,' when 'the oak leaf was the size of a squirrel's ear,' and raising also beans, pumpkins and a few other vegetables."† Thomson says they raised "the very prolific and nutritious sweet potato, which might be kept during winter in kilns dug under the lodge fire-place." Zeisberger describes the women as going into the woods in February to boil the maple sap and make sugar, and this process is declared by some writers to be an Indian discovery.

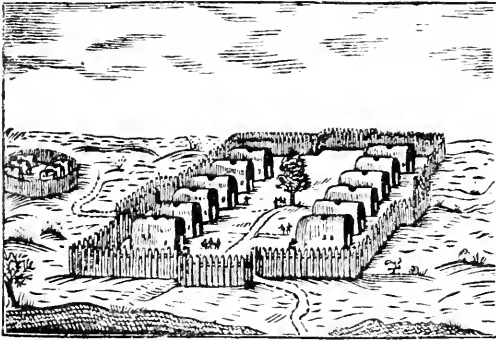
"The Lenâpé could not have been a large tribe. Within the limits of Pennsylvania they numbered perhaps 2,000 people. It cannot now be said with confidence that they had any central or fixed 'town.' They had places to which they resorted, such as rivers and creeks in which they fished; mountains where they hunted, or cleared spaces where they planted; but they had no buildings more substantial than the simple hut, or lodge, commonly known to the whites as the *wigwam*, in which they sheltered themselves. Its frame was formed of sapling trees, and was covered by the bark of larger ones. Each hut was for a single family, differing in this respect from the houses of the Iroquois. Sometimes the Lenâpé huts might be placed in groups, forming a village, and surrounded by a palisade of driven stakes, for defense against enemies, but all such frail structures decayed and disappeared almost as soon as their occupants quitted them. * * *



* It seems that the Shawanese Indians (concerning whom much is related in subsequent chapters) also, at one time, practised this custom of ear slitting. The accompanying illustration is a reduced facsimile of a drawing by George Catlin, originally published in his "Letters and Notes" mentioned on page 84. The Indian here represented was Lay-lâw-she-kaw ("He Who Goes up the River"), a Shawanese chief, whose portrait was painted by Catlin in 1831. The chief was then an aged man, with white hair, and was the head of his tribe, at that time settled on the Kansas River.

Catlin refers to this chief and his elongated ears in the following words: "A very aged but extraordinary man, with a fine and intelligent head, and his ears slit and stretched down to his shoulders—a custom highly valued in this tribe—which is done by severing the rim of the ear with a knife, and stretching it down by wearing a heavy weight attached to it at times, to elongate it as much as possible, making a large orifice, through which, on parades, etc., they often pass a bunch of arrows or quills and wear them as ornaments. In this instance (which was not an unusual one) the rims of the ears were so extended that they touched the shoulders, making a ring through which the whole hand could easily be passed."

† "Pennsylvania—Colonial and Federal," I: 9.



LENÂPÉ PALISADED VILLAGE.
From Campanius' "New Sweden."

"One fact not yet considered influenced the life of the Indians of Pennsylvania to a degree which we can understand only with an effort. They had, with the sole exception of the dog—a half-wild creature—no domestic animal. The horse they had never seen—nor the cow. They had not the llama of South America, the camel, the elephant or any other of the beasts of burden so useful in the Old World. They had, therefore, no means of movement or transportation but those which their own bodily vigor supplied. On land they walked or ran, on the water they paddled their canoes. By their marches on the chase or in war they had worn paths, or 'trails,' which may yet be traced here and there, over hill and mountain; but it is most probable that, living near many streams of water, they made large use of these as highways of travel. * * *

"The Lenâpé were straight, of middle height, their color a reddish brown. Penn speaks of them as 'generally tall, straight, well built and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin.' Their complexion he called 'black,' but said it was artificially produced by the free use of bear-grease, and exposure to sun and weather. They married young, the men, he says, usually at seventeen, the women at thirteen or fourteen; but their families were seldom large, and the increase of the tribe must have been slow. Polygamy existed, but was not common."*

In the preceding pages (in particular, pages 39, 40, 81 and 100) mention is frequently made of the Mengwes, Mingoes,† Iroquois or Five—later the Six—Nations, and a brief account is given of the overthrow and expulsion of the Alleghians by the Mengwes and Lenni Lenâpés. With reference to the time of the occurrence of this event Horatio Hale says in "The Iroquois Book of Rites" that it is variously estimated; but "the most probable conjecture places it at a period about 1,000 years before the present day"—and it was the termination of a desperate warfare that had "lasted about one hundred years."

It was apparently soon after this that the Mengwes and Lenni Lenâpés scattered themselves over the wide region south and south-east of the Great Lakes, thus left open to their occupancy. A tradition of the former nation points to the vicinity of Montreal, on the north bank of the St. Lawrence River, as their early, or perhaps first, home in this newly acquired territory, whence they gradually moved south-westward along the shores of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie.

* "Pennsylvania—Colonial and Federal," I: 7, 11, 12.

† "The name 'Mingo,' or 'Mengwe,' by which the Iroquois were known to the Delawares and the other southern Algonkians, is said to be a contraction of the Lenâpé word *Mahongwi*, meaning 'the People of the Springs.' The Iroquois possessed the head-waters of the rivers which flowed through the country of the Delawares."—*H. Hale*, in "The Iroquois Book of Rites."
The Iroquois were also called at an early day "Maquas" and "Massawomacs." (See "Report on Indians at the Eleventh Census," pages 30 and 642; also, see foot-notes, pages 110 and 112. *post.*)

According to Morgan,* in his "League of the Iroquois" (edition of 1851, page 4), the remote origin of the Mengwes, and their history anterior to about the year 1609 (the era of the discoveries in this country by the Dutch), "are both enshrouded with obscurity. Tradition interposes its feeble light to extricate, from a confusion which Time has wrought, some of the leading events which preceded and marked their political organization. It informs us that prior to their occupation of New York they resided * * upon the north bank of the St. Lawrence, where they lived in subjection to the Adirondacks, a branch of the Algonkin race, then in possession of the whole country north of that river. * * * Having been in a struggle for independence with the Adirondacks, they were overpowered and vanquished by the latter and compelled to retire from the country to escape extermination." Their first settlements in the territory now comprehended within the limits of the State of New York are believed to have been on the Seneca River in northern-central New York. At that time they formed only one body or nation and were but few in number. Subsequently they divided into bands—each of which assumed or acquired a distinctive name—and spread abroad to found new villages.

They had become the acknowledged masters of the country east of the Mississippi at the time of the European discovery of this continent, and were then known as the Iroquois. As to the origin and proper meaning of the word Iroquois, Hale says ("Book of Rites") that "according to Bruyas the word *garokwa* meant 'a pipe,' and also 'a piece of tobacco'—and, in its verbal form, 'to smoke.' * * In the indeterminate form the verb becomes *ierokwa*, which is certainly very near to Iroquois. It might be rendered 'they who smoke,' or 'they who use tobacco,' or briefly, 'the Tobacco People.' The Iroquois were well known for their cultivation of this plant, of which they had a choice variety."

The Iroquois—"an island in the great ocean of the Algonkin tribes"—first appear *in history* as occupying a portion of the area of the present State of New York—the same territory, between the Hudson and the Genesee rivers, upon which they continued to reside until near the close of the eighteenth century. To the north-west, in the adjoining part of Canada, were their kinsmen the Hurons,† or Wyandots, including the tribe called by the French "*Tionontates*" ("Tobacco Nation"), noted like the Iroquois for the excellent tobacco which they raised and sold. To the south-west, along the south-eastern shore of Lake Erie, were the Eries, or "Cat Nation" (as they were denominated by the early Jesuits), also kinsmen of the Iroquois; and westward, along the south-western shore of Lake Ontario and the north-eastern shore of Lake Erie, dwelt the Neutral Nation, so called from their neutrality in the war between the Hurons and the Iroquois. They had their council-fires along the

* LEWIS H. MORGAN was born at Aurora, N. Y., in 1818, and died at Rochester, N. Y., in 1881. He was graduated at Union College, became a lawyer, and served several terms in the New York Legislature. He often visited the New York Indians on their reservations, and was adopted by the Senecas. He wrote many books on aboriginal life in America, but his "League of the Iroquois" is the best-known. * This book was originally published in one volume at Rochester in 1851, and in spite of the fact that it soon passed out of print, and that such competent critics as the late John Fiske pronounced it "the most complete and trustworthy description of the civilization of the North American Indians that has yet appeared," the work was never reprinted until 1902, when a very handsome edition in two volumes was published in New York.

Francis W. Halsey (referred to on page 32, *ante*) said of this book on its republication: "It treats of a large subject in our history in a way that is final, and the charm of its author's style pervades every page of it. Many other men have written about this ancient people, but none of the books approaches Morgan's in originality of presentation, exhaustive knowledge or interesting descriptions."

† See page 39.

* See his "Ancient Society" in this library.

Niagara River—principally on its western side. Far to the south of the Iroquois, on the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania and Maryland, were the Andastés or Susquehannocks,* and in Virginia and North Carolina, the Tuscarora and other tribes.

Subsequently to their establishment in New York, but many years prior to the era of the Dutch discoveries, the five nations (Mohawk, Onondaga, Seneca, Oneida and Cayuga) into which the Iroquois had become subdivided were united in a league. Morgan states that "the epoch of its establishment cannot now be decisively ascertained;" but he thinks that, without doubt, the formation took place at least a century before the Dutch discovery. To-day the majority of writers on this subject hold the opinion that the Iroquois League, or Confederacy, was organized about the middle of the fifteenth century—not many years before the discovery of this country by Columbus, and between 500 and 600 years after the overthrow of the Alleghans, as previously described.

According to the traditions of the Iroquois the founder of their League was Hi-a-wat-ha (*Da-ga-no-we-da*),† the hero of Iroquois legend. He was an Onondagan chief—"the incarnation of Wisdom, whose power was equal to his intelligence"—and he had long beheld with grief the evils which afflicted not only his own nation, but all the other tribes about them, through the continual wars in which they were engaged, and the misgovernment and miseries at home which these wars produced. With much meditation he had elaborated in his mind the scheme of a vast confederation which would ensure universal peace.

"The project of a league," says Morgan, "originated with the Onondagas, among whom it was first suggested as a means to enable them more effectually to resist the pressure of contiguous nations." Traditions all refer to the northern shore of Onondaga Lake as the place where the first council-fire was kindled, around which the chiefs and wise men of the five nations assembled in general congress to agree upon the terms and principles of the compact by which their future destinies were to be linked together, and where, after a debate of many days, the establishment of the Iroquois Confederacy was effected. The nations who constituted the Confederacy were the *Ga-ne-a-ga-o-no* ("People Possessors of the Flint"), or Mohawks, the *O-nun-da-ga-o-no* ("People on the Hills"), or Onondagas, the *Nun-da-wa-o-no* ("Great Hill People"), or Senecas, the *O-na-yote-ka-o-no* ("Granite People"),‡ or Oneidas, and the *Gwe-u-gweh-o-no* ("People at the Mucky Land"), or Cayugas.

Morgan says, ("League of the Iroquois") :

"After the formation of the League the Iroquois called themselves *Ho-dé-no-sau-nee*,§ which signifies 'the People of the Long House.' It grew out of the circumstance that they likened their Confederacy to a long house—having partitions and separate fires, after their ancient methods of building houses—within which the several nations were sheltered under a common roof. * * * Upon an extended examination of their institutions it will become apparent that the League was established upon the principles, and was designed to be but an elaboration, of the family relationship. * * *

"The system under which they confederated was not of gradual construction, under the suggestions of necessity, but was the result of one protracted effort of legislation.

* See pages 38 and 39.

† Longfellow's famous and charming poem, "The Song of Hiawatha," was based on a distortion of the legend of Hi-a-wat-ha, as transposed from the original Iroquois tale. The poet placed the scene of Hi-a-wat-ha's sojourn upon earth in "the land of the Ojibways" and "the land of the Decotahs," among the "great lakes of the Northland," instead of in northern-central New York; and thus a genuine personality—"a grave Iroquois lawgiver and reformer of the fifteenth century—has become, in modern literature, an Ojibway demigod, son of the West Wind and companion of the tricky Paupukkeewis."

‡ "The People of the Stone," says Dr. Beauchamp.

§ See note (†), page 81, *ante*.

The nations were at the time separate and hostile bands although of generic origin, and were drawn together in council to deliberate upon the plan of a league. * * * The traditions further inform us that the Confederacy as framed by this council, with its laws, rules, inter-relationships of the people and mode of administration, has come down through many generations to the present age, with scarcely a change—except the addition of an inferior class of rulers (called chiefs in contradistinction to the sachems), and a modification of the law in relation to marriage.”

Hale says (“Book of Rites”):

“In the mere plan of a confederation there was nothing new. There are probably few, if any, Indian tribes which have not, at one time or another, been members of a league or confederacy. It may almost be said to be their normal condition. But the plan which Hiawatha had evolved differed from all others in two particulars. The system which he devised was to be not a loose and transitory league, but a permanent government. While each nation was to retain its own council and its management of local affairs, the general control was to be lodged in a federal senate, composed of representatives elected by each nation, holding office during good behavior, and acknowledged as ruling chiefs throughout the whole confederacy.

“Still further, and more remarkably, the confederation was not to be a limited one. It was to be indefinitely expansible. The avowed design of its proposer was to abolish war altogether. He wished the federation to extend until the tribes of men should be included in it, and peace should everywhere reign. Such is the positive testimony of the Iroquois themselves; and their statement, as will be seen, is supported by historical evidence. * * * His conceptions were beyond his time, and beyond ours; but their effect, within a limited sphere, was very great. For more than three centuries the bond which he devised held together the Iroquois nations in perfect amity. It proved, moreover, as he intended, elastic. The territory of the Iroquois constantly extending as their united strength made itself felt, became the ‘GREAT ASYLUM’ of the Indian tribes.”

Benson J. Lossing, the American historian, in an article entitled “Our Barbarian Brethren” (see *Harper’s Magazine*, XL: 804), says:

“The Iroquois Confederacy was a marvel, all things considered. * * * It was composed of five large families bearing the dignity of nations. These were subdivided into tribes or smaller families, each having its totem or heraldic insignia. * * * By common consent A-to-tar-ho [“*To-do-da-ho*”], a chief of the Onondagas, who was eminent for his wisdom and valor, was chosen to be its first President. He was then living in grim seclusion in a swamp. He was an object of veneration and awe, and when a delegation of Mohawks went to offer him the symbol of supreme power, they found him seated in the deep shadows smoking his pipe, but unapproachable, because he was entirely clothed with hissing serpents! Here is the old story of Medusa’s snaky tresses, invented in the forests of the new-found world, and forming a part of the traditionary history of the Iroquois Confederacy.

“The chief features of this remarkable League were the principles of tribal union through the totemic system, military glory and domination, and a practical example of an almost pure democracy most remarkably developed. Each canton or nation was a distinct republic, entirely independent of the others in what may be termed the domestic concerns of the State; but each was bound to the others of the League by ties of honor and general interest. Each had an equal voice in the General Council, or Congress, and possessed a sort of veto power which was a guaranty against despotism. * * * The military organization of the League seems to have been not only independent of the civil authority, but dominant of it. The military leaders were called chiefs. They derived their authority from the people, who recognized and rewarded their ability as warriors.”

In the early days of the Iroquois Confederacy its members were commonly known to other Indians by the general name of “Mingoes” *—regardless of their tribal names and distinctions—and their Confederacy soon came to be called the “Five Nations.” They rose rapidly in power and influence. One of the first results of their federal system was a universal spirit of aggression—a thirst for military glory and political



A-to-tar-ho.

* In 1779, 1782 and 1832 certain Iroquois Indians—few in number—living on a branch of the Scioto River were officially denominated “Mingoes.”

aggrandizement, which made the old forests of America resound with human conflicts from New England to the Mississippi, and from the northern confines of the Great Lakes to the Tennessee and the hills of Carolina. The Five Nations never subjugated the Indians east of the Connecticut River, however.

The Five Nations were, indeed, entitled to respect, not only because of their fighting powers, but for their intelligence and long start toward civilization. They were by far the most advanced of the North American Indians. DeWitt Clinton denominated them "the Romans of the Western World."

"This empire of the Iroquois belongs not to remote antiquity, but is one of yesterday. When we have gone back 400 years everything beyond is shrouded in the dim twilight of Indian legend and scattered lore. In the centuries before our Revolutionary War this people had made a great deal of forgotten history on our continent. Among Indian races they had been supreme. They were master spirits, and the imperial nature of their ambition quite rivals that of many white races. With their seat of authority established in central New York they were masters of a domain which now forms many States. The territory over which they exercised their sway might well have been called an empire. Indeed, there was nothing boastful or unwarranted in their assumption of imperial rank for the chief man whom they chose to preside over them.

"The war-cry of this people was heard on the shores of the Mississippi and in Mexico. They went south as far as Georgia. When Capt. John Smith met some of the Mohawks paddling about Chesapeake Bay, other Indians told him that the Mohawks made war on all the world.* North of the Aztec monarchy no people ever built up on this continent so powerful a political organization. It is believed that the conquests of the Iroquois reached to further limits than those of Greece, and that Rome herself did not much surpass them territorially.

"Theirs was not an Empire of the mind like Greece, of law and gold like Rome, but one purely of the sword, or the bow and arrow and the tomahawk. It was purely because of their genius for war that the Iroquois were able to raise themselves to their proud eminence. That genius acted in a land which had been built for empire. Morgan well pointed out that a great source of their strength lay in the lands which were their home, which were the highest on the continent, between the Atlantic and the Mississippi. There, in central New York, were the headwaters of great rivers—the Hudson, the St. Lawrence, the Susquehanna, the Ohio—which marked the highways along which they could descend to the conquest of inferior races far to the south and west. Long before the white man had made New York State a seat of civilization this dusky warrior race had marked out our territory as a land of empire."†

About the year 1600 the five nations of the Iroquois Confederacy were distributed throughout northern New York as follows: The Mohawks (or *Caniengas*, as Hale says "they should properly be called")‡ possessed the Mohawk River, a small part of the territory south of it and nearly all the region in the north-east corner of the State to the St. Lawrence River—including what is now known as the Adirondack region. "They covered Lake George and Lake Champlain with their flotillas of large canoes, managed with the boldness and skill which, hereditary in their descendants, make them still the best boatmen of the North American rivers." Lake Otsego and Canadurango Lake (mentioned on page 32) lay within the Mohawk territory.

At this time the Mahikans, or Mohegans (referred to on page 101), were located south of the Mohawks, while west of them the Oneidas held a strip of territory, about thirty miles in width, extending from the present northern boundaries of the counties of Delaware and Broome north to the St. Lawrence—including the Chenango River and the small river and part of the lake which now bear the name Oneida.

* See pages 38 and 39.

† FRANCIS W. HALSEY, in *The New York Times Saturday Review*, June 7, 1902.

‡ They were also called "Maquas." The word *maqua* has been translated as "bear" and as "man-eater." See further, foot-notes on pages 106 and 112.

West of the Oneidas the imperious Onondagas, the central and, in some respects, the ruling nation of the League, possessed the region extending from the present counties of Tioga and Broome northward to the south-eastern and eastern shores of Lake Ontario and a short stretch of the St. Lawrence River. The territory of the Onondagas was smaller in extent than that of the Oneidas, and included within its limits the three lakes Skanateles, Onondaga and Otisco and part of Oneida Lake.

Still proceeding westward, the lines of trail and river led to the long and winding reaches of Cayuga Lake, about which were clustered the towns of the people who gave their name to the lake.* The smallest of the five territories was that possessed by the Cayugas. It comprehended parts of the present counties of Tompkins, Seneca, Cayuga and Wayne, and was bounded on the north by Lake Ontario. The Cayugas had several names when first known.

Beyond the Cayuga territory, over the wide expanse of hills and dales surrounding the lakes Seneca, Keuka and Canandaigua, were scattered the populous villages of the Senecas ("more correctly called *Sonontowanas*, or Mountaineers," says Hale).† Their territory extended westward to the Genesee River, and was bounded on the north by Lake Ontario, and on the south by the region occupied by the Gachoi, or Gachos. West of the Senecas at this period were the Neutrals, and south-west were the Eries, mentioned on page 107. "When first known the Senecas lived entirely in what is now known as Ontario County and in a small part of Monroe County, occupying several villages and having two conspicuous divisions. Tradition points to Yates County for their origin, and it is probable that forts in that direction may have been occupied by part of the nation."‡

Jeffries says in his work on the human race that "the Five Nations, at the landing of the Pilgrims, constituted a rising power in America; and had not New England been settled by Europeans it is most likely that the Iroquois would have exterminated the inferior tribes of red men."

"To this Indian league," writes Morgan, "France must chiefly ascribe the final overthrow of her magnificent schemes of colonization

*The Indian name for this lake was *Gwe-u-gweth*, "the Lake at the Mucky Land."

†O. H. MARSHALL (in "Historical Writings," page 231) says: "The name 'Senecas' first appears on a Dutch map of 1616. * * * How this name originated is *veraxa questio* among Indo-antiquarians and etymologists. The least plausible supposition is, that the name has any reference to the moralist Seneca. Some have supposed it to be a corruption of the Dutch term for vermilion, or cinnabar, under the assumption that the Senecas, being the most warlike of the Five Nations, used that pigment more than others, and thus gave origin to the name. This hypothesis is supported by no authority."

Schoolcraft (in his "History of the Indian Tribes," page 326) says: "The word Seneka, or Seneca, has been a puzzle to inquirers. How a Roman proper name should have become the distinctive cognomen for a tribe of American Indians, it is not easy to say. The French, who first encountered them in western New York, termed them, agreeably to their system of bestowing nicknames, '*Tsonontowans*'; that is, 'Rattlesnakes.' * * * The Senecas call themselves '*Nundowa*,' or 'People of the Hill,' from an eminence at the head of Canandaigua Lake, which is the locality of a popular allegory."

Dr. Beauchamp (previously mentioned), in an article on Indian names, published in the *Syracuse Journal* in 1896, wrote: "The name of the Senecas is an old one (although not their own), first appearing on the Dutch maps of 1614-16, and having been given them by the Algonkin tribes near the coast. These spoke a radically different language. In their tongue *Sin-ne* meant 'to eat,' and the form is still found in the Ojibwa—as in *W'e-sin-ne*, 'we eat.' It was variously spelled by the Dutch, the most common form being 'Sinneke,' or 'Sinneque,' and the spelling hardly suggests to the eye the Latin form so easily derived from it by the ear."

"Mr. Hale says that *Sinako* means 'stone snakes' in the Delaware, and that Mr. Squier was told that, as applied to this nation, their enemies, it meant 'mountain snakes.' This does not seem as well supported as the other, and the more reasonable interpretation is thought to be 'the devourers, or eaters, of men,' actually or figuratively. All the early Iroquois had a terrible reputation in this way. Literally they were devourers of their enemies."

Says Heckewelder—quoting the Rev. C. Pylæus: "The Five Nations formerly did eat human flesh. '*Eto nacht ochquari*,' said they, in devouring the whole body of a French soldier; which, being interpreted, is, 'human flesh tastes like bear's meat.'"—Hayden's "*The Wyoming Massacre*," page 33.

On the map on page 33, *ante*, and on the map of Pennsylvania in Chapter V (both of which were published in 1756), it will be noticed that the territory at that time occupied by the Senecas is indicated in these words: "Chenessies, Canasadages and Chenandoanes, called by the English *SENECAS*."

in the northern part of America." To insure their well-being in Canada the French took the part of the Algonkins, and consequently were led into conflict with the Five Nations. It was thus that came about the first recorded battle of whites and Indians, on the site of Ticonderoga, at the lower end of Lake Champlain, in New York, a description of which we owe to Champlain. It took place July 30, 1609, more than eleven years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock."

The introduction of gunpowder into America revolutionized the entire Indian mode of life. Learning the importance and use of fire-arms—cumbersome arquebuses and matchlocks—from the Dutch and in the hands of Champlain's followers, the Five Nations seized upon these new weapons as rapidly as they could acquire them from the Dutch, with whom they had made an important treaty near Fort Orange—later, Albany—about 1614. With the possession of fire-arms began not only the rapid elevation, but absolute supremacy, of the Five Nations over other Indian nations. Thus rendered formidable they fearlessly extended the range of their triumphs. Within little more than fifty years all western New York, northern Ohio and much of Pennsylvania and Canada were theirs. They had changed the map.

"They made war or peace with equal facility, holding with a death grasp to their old ideas and traditions, conquering and absorbing tribes, and getting the control and government of the country from the Carolinas on the south to the lakes on the north and the Mississippi on the west. The Mohawk* war-whoop was the terror of aboriginal life, and the signal-fires of the Iroquois League, illuminating the hills and valleys of the Atlantic coast, meant danger to the outlying tribes. Their phenomenal fighting capacity, coupled with the rapidity of movement and power of concentration of their fighting men, gave the impression of a vast number of warriors."—*Thomas Donaldson, in "Report on Indians at the Eleventh Census," page 447.*

In 1643 the Five Nations expelled the Neuter Nation from the Niagara peninsula, and established a permanent settlement at the mouth of that river. In 1654 they nearly exterminated the Eries—adopting into their Confederacy many of the survivors of the disrupted tribe. Ambition now stimulated every canton, or nation, of the Confederacy, and when, in 1664, New Netherland was surrendered by the Dutch to the Duke of York, and became the Province of New York, the council-fire of the Iroquois League, at Onondaga, burned still brighter and more fiercely. By the terms of this surrender the good will of the Five Nations was secured to the English. Unaided by this influence New

* As previously noted (on pages 106 and 110) the Mohawks and the Iroquois were indiscriminately called "Maquas" by certain tribes of hostile Indians. This was no doubt due to the fact that the Mohawks were for many years more widely known as fierce and indomitable foes than any of the other nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. In this respect they were predominant; and therefore it naturally followed that, by those far removed from the seat of power of the Confederacy, the name of a well-known section, or nation, of the latter should be applied to the entire body.

Dr. Beauchamp stated (in the article mentioned in the note on page 111): "The early Dutch and English traders and colonists took the names of the interior tribes from the Algonkins, whom they first met along the coast. Thus the Mohawks were called by names which they themselves could not pronounce, their being no 'M' or other labial sound in the Iroquois dialects. The Dutch thus termed them 'Maguas,' or 'Maquas' ('Bears'), and this was gradually modified into Mohawks—also expressive of 'man-eaters.' Roger Williams says that the *Maquanogs*, or man-eaters, that live two or three hundred miles west from us, make a delicious monstrous dish of the heads and brains of their enemies." * * * By the two early Algonkin names [Sinneke and Maqua], different in sound but similar in meaning, the Dutch and English long designated all the Iroquois—the Maquas, or Mohawks, being one part, and the Sinnekes comprising all the rest."

Schoolcraft says ("History of the Indian Tribes," page 209): "The warlike Mohawks were the most prominent tribe in the Confederacy at the time of the discovery of the Hudson."

York, as well as the northern and central English colonies, could not have protected so wide a frontier without extraneous aid.

About the year 1670, after they had finally completed the dispersion and subjugation of the Adirondacks and Hurons, the Five Nations acquired possession of the whole country between the lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario, and of the north bank of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Ottawa River near Montreal. They also, about this time, became the terror of the New England tribes, who had been practically subjugated by the English. As to the warfare successfully carried on by the Five Nations against the Susquehannocks for several years prior to 1675, reference has already been made (on pages 39 and 40). In 1680 the Senecas, with 600 warriors, invaded the country of the Illinois Indians, upon the borders of the Mississippi, while La Salle was preparing to descend that river to the sea. At various times, both before and after this period, the Five Nations turned their warfare against the Cherokees upon the Tennessee River, and the Catawbias in South Carolina.

About the time William Penn landed in Pennsylvania (October, 1682), the once proud and powerful Lenni Lenâpés, who had then come to be called the Delawares, had been subjugated and "made women" by the Five Nations. It is well known that, according to this Indian form of expression, the Delawares were thenceforth prohibited from making war, and were placed under the sovereignty of their conquerors, who did not even allow sales of land—although the land might have been for some time in the actual possession of the Delawares—to be valid without their (the Five Nations) approbation. William Penn and his descendants, accordingly, always purchased the right of possession from the Delawares, and that of sovereignty from the Five Nations. It was with the Unami and the Unalachtigo clans of the Delaware nation that Penn held in 1683 his "Great Treaty" (referred to on page 40), which, says Voltaire, "was the only treaty ever made without an oath, and the only one kept inviolate."*

From the foregoing it will be observed that for nearly a hundred years prior to 1700 the Five Nations were involved in an almost uninterrupted warfare. At the close of that period they had subdued and were holding in nominal subjection all the principal Indian nations occupying the territories which are now embraced in the States of New York, Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the northern and western parts of Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, northern Tennessee, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, a portion of the New England States and the principal part of Upper Canada. "Over these nations the haughty and imperious Iroquois exercised a constant supervision. If any of them became involved in domestic difficulties, a delegation of chiefs went among them and restored tranquillity, prescribing at the same time their future conduct." Upon the Algonkins the Five Nations looked down "with the most inveterate contempt."

During King William's War (which was waged for several years in a desultory manner between the English Colonies in America and the Five Nations on one side, and the French and Indians of Canada on the other, and which was ended by the treaty of peace at Ryswick in the Autumn of 1697) the French had found themselves so severely

* See on page 130 a photo-illustration of a wampum belt used at that treaty.

taxed to resist the Five Nations, that the conclusion of the treaty of peace was most welcome news. Cadwallader Colden, in his "History of the Five Indian Nations"—previously mentioned, on page 32—says (page 202): "Nothing could be more terrible to Canada than the last war with the Five Nations. While this war lasted the inhabitants ate their bread with fear and trembling. No man was sure, when out of his house, of ever returning to it again. While they labored in the fields they were under perpetual apprehensions of being seized or killed or carried to the Indian country, there to end their days in cruel torments. They, many times, were forced to neglect both seed-time and harvest. In short, all trade and business was often at an entire stand, while fear, despair and misery appeared on the faces of the poor inhabitants."

"The Iroquois, in their best days, were the noblest and most interesting of all Indians who have lived on this continent north of Mexico. They were truly the men whom a name they bore described, a word signifying men who surpassed all others.* They alone founded political institutions and gained political supremacy. With European civilization unknown to them, they had given birth to self-government in America. They founded independence; effected a union of States; carried their arms far beyond their own borders; made their conquests permanent; conquered peoples becoming tributary States much after the manner of those which Rome conquered 2,000 years ago, or those which England subdues in our day. In diplomacy they matched the white man from Europe; they had self-control, knowledge of human nature, tact and sagacity, and they often became the arbiters in disputes between other peoples. * * Convinced that they were born free, they bore themselves always with the pride which sprang from that consciousness. * * In war genius they have been equalled by no race of red men. The forts which they erected around their villages were essentially impregnable. An overwhelming force alone could enter them; artillery alone could destroy them. It was virtually an empire that they reared, and this empire of the sword, like the Empire of Rome, meant peace within its borders. Before the Europeans came there had, unquestionably, for some generations, been peace among them. It was an ideal and an idyllic state of aboriginal life, all of which was to be overthrown by the white man when he arrived, bearing in one hand fire-arms, and in the other fire-water."—*Francis W. Halsey, in "The Old New York Frontier," page 11.*

"As in old Rome the soldiers were honored above all other men, so they were among the Iroquois; and the warriors, under their chiefs, were all-powerful in public affairs. * * The Iroquois was only a barbarian more advanced toward civilization than the rest of his dusky brethren on the continent. He was superstitious and cruel. So

were the men and women of all the other American nations. They all believed in witches, as firmly as did Cotton Mather and a majority of civilized men and women in his day, in the light of Christianity; and they punished them in human form as fiercely and piously as did the magistrates of Henry VIII, or the rulers and gospel-ministers of Salem in later times.

"The 'medicine men' and 'prophets' were as acute deceivers, and as despot and absurd in social life, as were the priests and oracles and conjurers of the Civilized Man in another hemisphere. They tortured their captive enemies, in revenge for kindred slain, with almost as exquisite



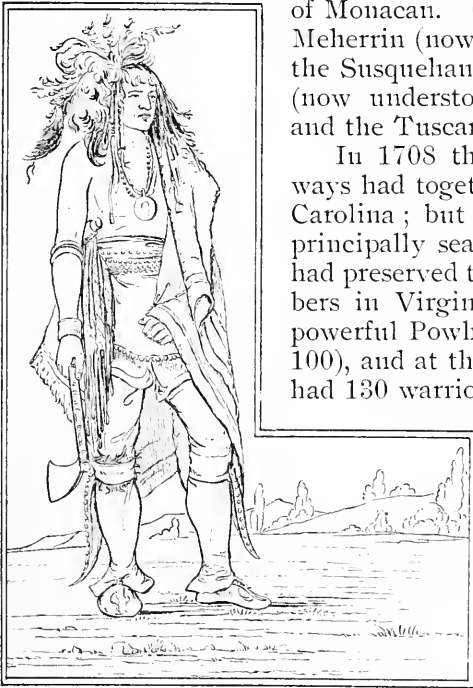
INDIANS TORTURING A FEMALE CAPTIVE.

After a painting by Capt. S. Eastman, U. S. A.
(1856.)

* Schoolcraft, following Cadwallader Colden, says the Iroquois "by a hyperbole are also called *Ongwi Honwi*, 'a people surpassing others.'"

a refinement of cruelty as did the ministers of the Holy Inquisition of Civilized Man the enemies of their opinions ; and they lighted fires around their more eminent prisoners of war, in token of their power, as bright and hot as those kindled by enlightened Englishmen around Joan of Arc as a sorceress, or Bishops Latimer and Ridley as unbelievers in an utter absurdity.”—*Benson J. Lossing, in "Our Barbarian Brethren," previously mentioned.*

At an early day there were located in what is now the south-eastern part of the United States certain tribes who were believed to belong to the Iroquoian family of aboriginals. They are known in history as the “Iroquois tribes of the South,” or “Southern Iroquois,” and they occupied, principally, the territory along the Chowan River and its tributary streams in Virginia and North Carolina. So far as known these tribes—with the one exception hereinafter noted—had no connection at any time with the Iroquois Confederacy. One, and perhaps more, of these tribes was known, particularly in Virginia, under the name of Monacan. Other tribes were the Chowan, the Meherrin (now said to have been identified with the Susquehannocks), the Nottoway, the Tutelo (now understood to have been a Siouan tribe) and the Tuscarora.



NOT-TO-WAY (“THE THINKER”),
a “Southern Iroquois” chief.†

In 1708 the Chowans, Tuteloes and Nottoways had together ninety-five warriors in North Carolina ; but the Tuteloes and Nottoways were principally seated in Virginia. The last-named had preserved their independence and their numbers in Virginia later, even, than the one-time powerful Powhatans (referred to on pages 39 and 100), and at the end of the seventeenth century had 130 warriors.

They do not appear to have migrated from their original seats in a body. In the year 1822 they are said to have been reduced to twenty-seven souls in Southampton County, Virginia,* and were still in possession of 7,000 acres of land there which had been at an early date reserved for them.

The Tuscaroras, or *Dus-ga-o-weh-o-no* (“Shirt-wearing People”), were by far the most powerful nation in North Carolina

in historic times prior to 1700. Their principal seats in 1708 were on the rivers Neuse and Taw, or Tar, and they had about 1,200 warriors in fifteen towns. In 1711 the Tuscaroras attacked the English colonists,

* See “Report on Indians at the Eleventh Census,” pages 7 and 14.

† This is a reduced facsimile of an outline drawing made by George Catlin from a portrait painted by himself at or near Fort Snelling, Minnesota, in 1831. Relative to Not-to-way Mr. Catlin wrote: “A temperate and an excellent man, and was handsomely dressed for his picture. I had much conversation with him, and became very much attached to him. He seemed to be quite ignorant of the early history of his tribe, as well as of the position and condition of its few scattered remnants who are yet in existence. He told me * * * that, though he was an Iroquois—which he was proud to acknowledge to me, as I was to make him live after he was dead—he wished it to be generally thought that he was a Chippeway.” * * * The Chippewas, or Ojibways (of the Algonkian family), had migrated from the East to the banks of the Mississippi River late in the sixteenth or early in the seventeenth century. Later they ranged over the territory now comprehended in the States of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, and became very numerous and powerful. At various periods remnants of other tribes merged into the Chippewa tribe, and it is very probable that some of Chief Not-to-way’s ancestors had belonged to the disrupted and dispersed Nottoway tribe of Virginia and North Carolina.

massacring 130 in a single day, and a fierce war ensued. In the Autumn of 1712 all the white inhabitants south and south-west of Chowan River were obliged to live in forts. In their warfare the Tuscaroras expected assistance from the Five Nations; but this could not have been given without involving the Confederacy in a war with the English—and so the Tuscaroras were left to their own resources. A force, consisting chiefly of "Southern" Indians, was sent by the Government of South Carolina to assist in the overthrow of the Tuscaroras, which was effectually accomplished. More than 600 Tuscarora prisoners were taken, who were given into the hands of the "Southern" Indians, carried to South Carolina and sold as slaves. The eastern Tuscaroras—dwelling chiefly along the Tar—immediately sued for peace, and about the year 1714 the great body of the Tuscarora nation who were free removed to the territory of the Five Nations in the Province of New York. There, having been granted by the Oneidas land and the right of settlement within the bounds of the Oneida canton, they were admitted about the year 1715* into the Iroquois Confederacy, as the sixth nation.

They were admitted on the ground of a common generic origin; retaining their own hereditary chiefs, but without enlarging the original framework of the Confederacy. They were never received into an equal alliance with the other nations, although they had authority to be represented and enjoy *nominal* equality in the Council of Sachems of the Confederacy. "The accession of the Tuscaroras," wrote Schoolcraft, "however it might have pleased the cantonal government, could have added but little to the efficiency of a people who had, from the earliest times, been the terror of the Indian tribes."

For some years following the admission of the Tuscaroras to their League the Iroquois continued to be commonly called the "Five Nations,"† but in the course of time they began to refer to themselves as, and to be called by others, the "SIX NATIONS."

"The uncertainty and doubt surrounding most North American Indian history are partially removed from the Six Nations. They, of all American Indians, have best preserved their traditions. Besides, their system was so complete, and their government so unique and so well fitted to the people, that from the earliest European arrival they have been constantly written about. Their small numbers, compared with the enormous country they occupied and the government they originated, with their deeds of daring, will always excite surprise. Their League, tribal and individual characteristics and personal strength of will, together with their great courage and prowess, account for their success in war and the methods which brought comfort and peace."—*Thomas Donaldson, in "Report on Indians at the Eleventh Census," page 447.*

The Mohawks, Onondagas and Senecas were looked upon by the Six Nations as the "elder brothers" of their Confederacy, and were addressed as "fathers" by the Oneidas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras, who were styled the "younger brothers" and were addressed as "children." The historic center of the Confederacy was in what is now Onondaga County, New York—although not always in the same locality, it being

* See "Documentary History of the State of New York," I: 26; Morgan's "League of the Iroquois;" Larned's "History for Ready Reference," I: 92, and "Report on Indians at the Eleventh Census," page 461.

† In evidence of this see the Indian deed of July, 1754, in Chapter IV.

moved from place to place as necessity or convenience required. It was known as Onondaga Castle, and from 1756 to 1779, at least, was located half a mile south of the present village of Onondaga Valley, distant only a few miles from the present city of Syracuse, and six miles south of Onondaga Lake. This particular Onondaga Castle was a stockade, 150 feet square, with block-houses on two corners, built in 1756 by Sir William Johnson for the Onondagas. It was destroyed in April, 1779, by a force of American soldiers under command of Colonel Van Schaick—the Indians occupying it having first been killed or put to flight.

Highways running south, east and west led from Onondaga—one of the principal ones leading south to Tioga Point (see page 34). Also, upon the banks of the Susquehanna and its branches in New York, and upon the banks of the Chemung and its tributaries, which have their sources near the Genesee, were trails which converged upon Tioga Point. There all these became gathered into one trail, which, descending the North Branch of the Susquehanna for a short distance, branched into two great trails which led southward through Pennsylvania into Maryland and Virginia. "For centuries upon centuries," says Morgan, "and by race after race, these old and deeply worn trails had been trod by the red man."

At Onondaga was located the Council-house, "Long House"* or what might be called the "Federal Capitol" of the Six Nations. In 1764 the "Long House" was a building nearly eighty feet long, and contained four fire-places.† Here the "Great Council-fire" burned, and here general congresses were held and the policy of the Confederacy was agreed upon. According to Morgan ("League of the Iroquois") when the League was instituted fifty permanent, or hereditary, sachemships were created, with appropriate names, or titles.‡ In the sachems who held these titles were vested the supreme powers of the Confederacy; and, united, these sachems formed the Great Council of the League, the ruling body, in which resided the legislative, executive and judicial authority. As a safeguard against contention and fraud, each sachem was "raised up" and invested with his title by the Great Council, with suitable forms and ceremonies. Nine of the sachemships were assigned to the Mohawk nation, nine to the Oneida, fourteen to the Onondaga, ten to the Cayuga and eight to the Seneca. This same system and form of government still prevails in the League of the Six Nations as it exists to-day, the Tuscaroras never having been granted any sachemships.

The union in one council of the cantons, or nations, each possessing equal powers, was the cause of their triumph over hostile tribes, who acknowledged no government but that of opinion, and followed no policy but that actuated by revenge or undefinable impulse. All the weighty concerns of the Six Nations were the subject of full deliberation, in open council; and their diplomatic negotiations were managed with consummate skill. When the question of peace or war was decided, the councillors united in chanting hymns of praise, or warlike choruses, which gave expression to the public feeling and, at the same time, imparted a kind of natural sanctity to the act.

* See note (‡) page 81; also page 108.

† See "Life of Samuel Kirkland," in Sparks' "American Biography," XV: 163.

‡ Some of the whimsical names which the founders of the Confederacy bestowed upon the sachemships were (translated into English): "War-Club-on-the-Ground," "At-the-Great-River," "Falling-Day," "Dragging-His-Horns," "A-Man-with-the-Headache," "On-the-Watch" and "Wearing-a-Hatchet-in-His-Belt."—*Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1855*, P. II, p. 130.

Colden wrote that he was at a loss which most to admire in the Iroquois, "their military ardor, their political policy or their eloquence in council." DeWitt Clinton, in an address on the "Eloquence of the Six Nations," delivered before the New York Historical Society in 1811,* said:

"The Confederates [Six Nations] were as celebrated for their eloquence as for their military skill and political wisdom, * * * and there is little doubt but that oratory was studied with as much care and application among the Confederates as it was in the stormy democracies of the Eastern Hemisphere. * * * The most remarkable difference existed between the Confederates and the other Indian nations with respect to eloquence. You may search in vain in the records and writings of the past, or in events of the present times, for a single model of eloquence among the Algonkins, the Abenakis, the Delawares, the Shawanese or any other nation of Indians except the Iroquois. The few scintillations of intellectual light—the faint glimmerings of genius—which are sometimes to be found in their speeches, are evidently derivative, and borrowed from the Confederates. Considering the interpreters who have undertaken to give the meaning of Indian speeches, it is not a little surprising that some of them should approach so near perfection. The major part of the interpreters were illiterate persons, sent among them to conciliate their favor by making [presents of] useful or ornamental implements; or they were prisoners who learned the Indian language during their captivity."

The Six Nations appreciated the worth of their women, and the matrons were given a high place in their councils and possessed a substantial veto as to peace or war. In 1789, at Albany, "Good Peter," in his speech for the Cayugas and Senecas to the Governor of New York and the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, said:† "Our ancestors considered it a great transgression to reject the counsel of their women, particularly of the governesses. Our ancestors considered them mistresses of the soil. Our ancestors said: 'Who bring us forth? Who cultivate our lands? Who kindle our fires and boil our pots but the women?' * * * The women say: 'Let not the traditions of the fathers with respect to women be disregarded; let them not be despised; God is their maker!' * * * The governesses beg leave to speak with that freedom allowable to woman and agreeable to the spirit of our ancestors. They exhort the great chief to put forth his strength and preserve their peace, for they are the life of the nation." When the Senecas at Big Tree, in 1797, refused to negotiate with Thomas Morris, and "Red Jacket," with undue haste, had declared the council-fire covered up, the women and the warriors interposed and consummated a treaty.

In the military department chiefs were elected for special causes, nor did they hesitate in extreme cases to depose the civil sachem to give greater force to battle action. The military service was not conscriptive, but voluntary, although every man was subject to military duty, and to shirk it brought disgrace.‡

"The Iroquois were universally lighter in complexion than any other American Indians, and the Mohawks and Oneidas were the lightest of all. So marked was this peculiarity, taken together with their superior civilization, that some of the early writers—mainly Jesuit Fathers—considered them a different race from the common aborigines. A noted student of Indian life and character, Professor Donaldson, explains it on purely physical grounds, which is doubtless the true view. He says that for generations—even before the white man was known on these shores—the Iroquois had lived in comfortable habitations, tilled the soil, raised grain and fruits, and, generally speaking, had much

* See "Library of American Literature," IV: 254.

† "Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1885," Part II, page 190.

‡ "Report on Indians at the Eleventh Census," page 463.

better shelter, better cookery, better sanitary arrangements, and altogether more of the good things of life than any other Indians. This mode of living had tended to 'bleach out' their complexions and endow them with other physical advantages."*

"It would be a gross error to suppose the Six Nations—who had conquered, and held in vassalage, so extensive an empire—were a rude rabble of ignorant Indians. Letters and the arts of civilized life they had not; nor had Attila or Ghengis Khan. But they were profoundly versed in all the wiles of diplomacy, the subtlest stratagems of war, and all the arts of savage government, which they made subservient to the gratification of an ambition as lofty and insatiable as that of the greatest conquerors, civilized or barbarian, we read of in story."†

The following paragraphs—relating more particularly to the Six Nations—are from a letter written in February, 1771, by Sir William Johnson‡ to Dr. Arthur Lee of Virginia, "on the customs, manners and languages of the Indians."§

* * "The Mohocks [Mohawks], who have long lived within our settlements, * * though greatly reduced in number are still the acknowledged Head of that alliance [the "Confederacy of the Six Nations"]; but in their present state they have less intercourse with the Indians and more with us than formerly—besides which they are at present members of the Church of England. Most of them read, and several write, very well. When, therefore, they subscribe an ordinary deed they frequently make use of a cross—after the example of the illiterate amongst us—and sometimes their names. But in things of much consequence they usually delineate a steel, such as is used to strike fire out of flint; which, being the symbol of their nation, this steel they call '*Canniah*' and themselves '*Canniungaes*.'|| But from hence little can be deduced, as they had not the use of any instrument in that form before their commerce with the whites.

"The Oneidas inhabit the country a little beyond the settlements. * * Some efforts have been made to civilize and Christianize them—but a great part are still in the primitive way. Being also reduced in numbers, and their political system much changed, their intercourse with the more remote Indians is lessened, and their knowledge of ancient usages decayed. They have in use as a symbol a *tree*, by which they would express stability. But their true symbol is a stone, called '*Onoya*'; and they call themselves '*Onoyuts*'.

"The Onondagas, whose residences are forty miles farther, are somewhat better versed in the customs of their ancestors. They call themselves 'People of the Great Mountain.'¶ * * * The Cayugas have for their symbol a *pipe*. The Senecas are the most numerous and most distant of the Six Nations. They have several towns and symbols, from which, however, little can be understood. * * *

"There is in every nation a sachem, or chief, who appears to have some authority over the rest; and it is greatest among the most distant nations. But in most of those bordering on our settlements his authority is scarcely discernible—he seldom assuming any power before his people. And indeed this humility is judged the best policy, for, wanting coercive power, their commands would perhaps occasion assassination, which sometimes happens. The sachems of each tribe are usually chosen in a public assembly of the chiefs and warriors, whenever a vacancy happens by death or otherwise. They are generally chosen for their sense and bravery, from among the oldest warriors, and are approved of by all the tribe—on which they are saluted sachems. There are, however, several exceptions, for some families have a kind of inheritance in the office, and are called to this station in their infancy.

"The Chief Sachem—by some called the King—is so either by inheritance or by a kind of tacit consent, the consequence of his superior abilities and influence. The duration of his authority depends much on his own wisdom, the number and consequence of his relations, and the strength of his particular tribe. Military services are the chief recommendations to this rank. It appears pretty clearly that heretofore the chief of a nation had, in some small degree, the authority of a sovereign. This is now the fact among the most remote Indians. But as, since the introduction of fire-arms, they no longer fight in close bodies, but every man is his own general, I am inclined to think this has lessened the power of a chief. The chief of a whole nation has the custody of the

* Augustus C. Buell's "Sir William Johnson," page 50.

† Miner's "History of Wyoming," page 35.

‡ See Chapter IV for portrait and sketch of his life.

§ See "Documentary History of the State of New York," IV : 270, 271.

|| See page 110.

¶ See page 108.

belts of wampum, &c., which are as records of public transactions. He prompts the speakers at all treaties, and proposes affairs of consequence. * * *

"All their deliberations are conducted with extraordinary regularity and decorum. They never interrupt him who is speaking, nor use harsh language—whatever may be their thoughts. * * * On their hunts, as on all other occasions, they are strict observers of *meum* and *tuum*; and this from principle—holding theft in contempt, so that they are rarely guilty of it, though tempted by articles of much value. Neither do the strong attempt to seize the prey of the weak. And I must do them the justice to say that unless heated by liquor, or influenced by revenge, their ideas of right and wrong, and their practices in consequence of them, would, if more known, do them much honor. It is true that, having been often deceived by us in the purchase of lands, in trade and other transactions, many of them begin now to act the same part. But this reflects most on those who set them the example. * * *

"Their language, though not very wordy, is extremely emphatical, and their style adorned with noble images and strong metaphors and equal in allegory to many of the eastern nations. * * * It is curious to observe that they have various modes of speech and phrases peculiar to each age and sex, which they strictly observe. For instance, a man says, when he is hungry, '*Cadagcariax*,' which is expressive both of his want and of the animal food he requires to supply it; whilst a child says, in the same circumstances, '*Caulsore*,' that is, 'I require spoon-meat.' * * *

"The figures which they affix to deeds* have led some to imagine that they had characters or an alphabet. The case is this: Every nation is divided into a certain number of tribes, of which some have three, as the Turtle, Bear and Wolf; to which others add the Snake, Deer, &c. Each of these tribes forms a little community within the nation, and as the nation has its peculiar symbol, so each tribe has the peculiar badge from whence it is denominated; and a sachem of each tribe being a necessary party to a fair conveyance, such sachem affixes the mark of the tribe thereto—which is not that of a particular family (unless the whole tribe is so deemed), but rather as the public seal of a corporation."

Concerning the Mohawks Zinzendorf wrote as follows, in his "Account of his Experience among the Indians", in 1742†: "The Maquas are most part of them Christians so called, having been converted by the English missionaries, and have lost all their credit with the others because they have guzzled away all their land to the Christians. And with this nation we have not hitherto so much as spoken, since we fear nothing so much as when such sort of people do endeavor to belong to us. And we have esteemed it a very great Grace of our Savior that, although these are as it were the next neighbors of the heathen to our congregations [at Shecomeco, New York, and its dependencies], yet we have had no manner of fellowship with them."

The Mohawks were the keepers of the eastern door of the "Long House," and their business was to transmit messages from without to the Grand Council of the League, and also to guard against the encroachments and invasions of enemies along the eastern bounds of the Confederacy. The title of the hereditary sachem of the Mohawks who "watched the door" was "*Dogacoga*."

"'A Mohawk! a Mohawk!' was a cry of heart-withering terror; and when, in Queen Anne's reign, there arose a band of ruthless and bloody ruffians in London, who seized and wantonly maimed their victims, to designate them as supremely savage they were called 'Mohawks'!" ‡

* See photo-illustration of deed in Chapter IV.

† See Reichel's "Memorials of the Moravian Church," I: 120.

‡ Hayden's "The Massacre of Wyoming," page 32.

One of the "new inventions" of the London "Mohawks" was to roll persons down Snow Hill in a tub; another was to overturn coaches on rubbish heaps. A vivid picture of the misdoings in the streets of London by these and other brawlers is given in *The Spectator*, No. 324. The following lines are from "Plot Upon Plot," published in London about 1713.

"You sent your Mohocks next abroad,
With razors armed, and knives;
Who on night-walkers made inroad,
And scared our maids and wives;
They scared the watch, and windows broke."

Relative to the Senecas Zinzendorf stated, in his "Account" previously referred to: "The third nation are the Senekas, who have been converted by the French missionaries some time ago, when they had to do with them; and of these I have observed that their Christian knowledge is nothing more than this, that they believe that our dear Savior was born at Bethlehem in France, and that the English have crucified him. Upon which account they are very much offended with the English; and one sees them make crosses, and such like ceremonies. This is all I could find among them; and when any of them comes to Philadelphia, they go to the Popish Chapel to Mass."

"The very name of Seneca had a terror with Indians of other nations. At the South and West, and among the nations of Canada, the Seneca war-whoop would almost conquer of itself. Even as late as the War of 1812 the Indians of Canada were struck with terror when they learned that they must encounter the Senecas in battle. * * * The Senecas were a very martial and warlike nation. They were sternly independent, and sometimes took up arms when the other tribes sat smoking in quiet on their mats. The Senecas adhered with dogged obstinacy to the French in the rapid decline of their ascendancy on this continent."*

The Senecas were the keepers of the western door of the "Long House," and they performed duties similar to those of the Mohawks at the eastern door. The title of the Seneca sachem whose particular duty it was to watch the western door was *Donehogáweh* ("Open Door").†

In 1763 the Senecas, alone of the Six Nations, were in alliance with Pontiac, and played a conspicuous part with the great Ottawa in his plan of surprising a cordon of posts in the Lake country, and extirpating "the dogs in red clothing" that guarded them. Gen. Sir Jeffrey Amherst was bitterly incensed at this conduct of the Senecas, and proposed to take a large force of regular and Provincial troops and "wipe forever from the face of the earth that faithless, cruel tribe, who have [had] already too long debauched the good name of the Iroquois Confederacy by pretending to belong to it." General Amherst objected to any further negotiation with the Senecas. "They were, he said, destitute of honor, faithless, treacherous, and a race of natural-born criminals and murderers. They cumbered the ground. He could make no use of them but exterminate them as a warning example to all other Indians. * * * No male Seneca capable of bearing arms should be spared. * * * The women and children should be taken prisoners and afterwards distributed among other tribes. The Seneca nation as an organized tribe must disappear."

Sir William Johnson vigorously opposed this policy. "The Senecas, on their part, hearing of General Amherst's project, sued in the most abject manner for peace. * * * Upon this, Amherst relented. They gave up to him nineteen of the 'instigators,' and after hanging two of the worst of them at Onondaga Castle, by way of an 'object-lesson,' the General abandoned his declared intention of 'exterminating the tribe.' * * * The hanging of the two sub-chiefs of the Senecas by General Amherst was the first exhibition the Indians had seen of the Anglo-Saxon mode of punishing murderers. In order to make the spectacle

* Turner's "History of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase" (Rochester, 1852).

† See pages 123 and 135.

more impressive, the General ordered the bodies of the culprits to be sunk in Onondaga Lake with stones tied about their necks, as food for the fishes. And he forbade any mourning or funeral rites for them in the tribe.*

"The Second Nation" [of the Confederacy], wrote Zinzendorf in 1742, "and which properly governs the rest, is the nation of the Onondagoes. Those are Philosophers, and such as among us are called Deists. They are brave, honest people who keep their word; and their general weakness is that they delight in Heroick Deeds. * * * Their government is very equitable and fatherlike, but whoever will not stoop to them they are ready to root out. On the other hand, they carry themselves very civil and orderly towards the Europeans." In the latter part of the eighteenth century the Onondagas had become, according to a statement made by DeWitt Clinton in 1811, "the most drunken and profligate of the Six Nations"; but early in the next century, through the efforts of "Handsome Lake," the Seneca "prophet," they had been led "to abstain entirely from spirituous liquors, and to observe the laws of morality in other respects."

In order that many matters merely touched on in some of the succeeding chapters may be more clearly and completely understood by the reader, it is deemed advisable to conclude this chapter with a brief descriptive review of the characteristics, customs and habits of

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS GENERALLY.

The matter† thus presented deals with conditions and describes usages which prevailed, more particularly, among the Indians of New York and Pennsylvania during the period of time comprehending the beginning, and the progress towards permanency, of the early settlements by white people in Wyoming Valley; to which is added a brief account of the present-day Indians in the United States.

The North American Indians with whom European settlers first came in contact were divided into families or tribes, each distinguished by an armorial bearing called a *totem*, which was a representation of some animal or bird, as a deer, a bear, a tortoise, an eagle or a snipe.‡ The village (or "town," as it was called by some tribes) was (and is) the unit of organization in almost all the tribes. With the sedentary Indians the village was of a permanent character. Lodges, wigwams or tepees composed the village of the nomadic Indians—together with their live-stock and other property. A wigwam was constructed of twenty or thirty poles, each about twenty-five feet in length, which, being erected with their butts arranged in circular or other form and their tops united, were covered with bark, skins sewed together after having been dressed, or by any other material available. There was an aperture, closed with a flap, in the side of the wigwam for the ingress and egress of the occupants, and another aperture at the top, or apex, through which smoke from the open fire in the center of the wigwam could escape. The wigwams

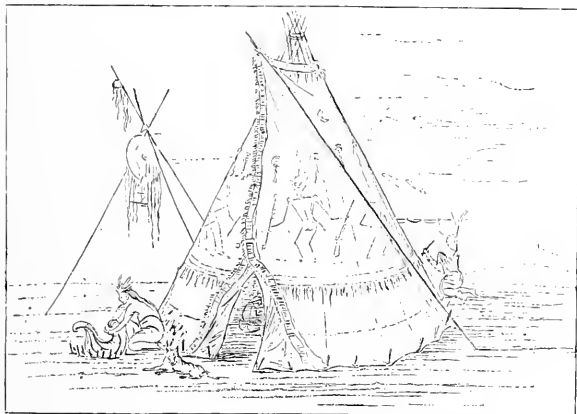
* Buell's "Sir William Johnson," pages 227-230.

† Drawn largely from Lossing's "Our Barbarian Brethren," Catlin's "Letters and Notes" and "Last Rambles," "Report on Indians in the United States at the Eleventh Census," Stone's "Poetry and History of Wyoming," "Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1855," and the "Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for 1902."

‡ See pages 103 and 120.

were taken down easily in a few minutes and readily transported elsewhere by the Indian women, or squaws, whenever a change of location was to be made.

The accompanying illustration is a reduced facsimile of a drawing made by George Catlin, showing a wigwam made of twenty-five dressed buffalo skins elaborately garnished and painted. The poles supporting it were of pine, thirty in number, each twenty-five feet long, and, according to Mr. Catlin, had been "some hundred years, perhaps, in use." This wigwam was purchased from Indians in the West in 1832 by Mr. Catlin, and taken by him to Europe for exhibition. It was brought back to this country some years later, and is now in the National Museum at Washington.



The Algonkins lived in wigwams, and they moved frequently. The Iroquois lived in cabins, well constructed, with upright walls covered with bark. In peace the nomadic village was placed in a favorite retreat, and here the Indians remained until war or the seasons forced them to remove. As a rule, the bands of a tribe had their well-defined camping grounds, which were sacred to them. A tribe seldom, if ever, camped or lived in a compact mass. The villages were frequently remote from each other, and in war were signaled by fires or alarmed by runners. The individual Indian was (and is) merged in the village. From the camp or the village the warrior set out to acquire new honors or to meet death. To it he returned alive or his story came with the survivors. This Indian village life, the growth of centuries, is at this day partially perpetuated on the Indian reservations in this country, for the love of it is one of the chief causes of the Indian's resistance to the white man's customs. The Indian does not like to live isolated.

With the exception of the Iroquois Confederacy there was no semblance of a national government among the Indians. A mixture of the patriarchal and despotic appeared everywhere. All political power was vested in the civil head of a family or tribe as executive, and it was absolute in his hands while he exercised it. He was sometimes an hereditary leader, but more often owed his elevation to his prowess in war, or his merits as an orator or statesman. Public opinion alone sustained him. It elevated him, and it might depose him. He was called Inca, Sagamore, Sachem, or whatever else, in various languages, denoted his official dignity—like that of King, Emperor, Tsar, Shah, or Sultan. Gen. Ely S. Parker ("*Donehogdweh*"),* well known in his lifetime as an intelligent, well-informed Seneca Indian and a sachem of the Six Nations, wrote in 1884: "The words 'sachem,' 'sagamore,' 'chief,' 'king,' 'queen,' 'princess,' &c., have been promiscuously and interchangeably used by

* See pages 121 and 135.

every writer on Indians ever since their discovery. * * * The use of the term 'sagamore' is confined almost wholly to New England, and it has been applied promiscuously to heads of bands, large and small, and sometimes to mere heads of families. To use other terms, such as 'king,' 'prince' or 'princess,' is preposterous and presumptuous, considering the total absence among these people of paraphernalia, belongings and dignity of royalty."

The head-chief or sachem of a tribe, or nation, was at the head of a sort of republican government, and was only the executive of the people's will as determined in council or congress; yet in those councils he was umpire, and from his decision there was no appeal. While a sachem or chief was in power the tribe or nation confided in his wisdom, and there was seldom any transgression of the laws promulgated by him. He had absolute control of all military expeditions, and withersoever the chief or leader of the warriors was sent by him, the fighting men followed.

In the public assemblies the greatest decorum prevailed, and, contrary to the habit of civilized Parliaments and Congresses, every speaker was always listened to with the most respectful attention. Reference has already been made (on page 118) to the remarkable oratorical powers of the Iroquois. Eloquence in public speaking was a talent which the more intelligent Indians in every tribe generally earnestly cultivated; and for the display of this eloquence many opportunities were afforded at the conferences, councils, congresses and treaties held by the Indians among themselves and with the white people. The sachems and chiefs prepared themselves for oratory, by previous reflection and arrangement of topics and method of expression, as carefully as ever did the most polished speaker in the Senate or Council of a civilized people. Their scope of thought was as boundless as the land over which they roamed, and their expressions were as free and lofty as those of any civilized men. Their language being too limited to allow a wealth of diction, they made up in ideas—in the shape of metaphors furnished by all nature around them—what they lacked in words. Pierre François Charlevoix, the French Jesuit traveler and writer (1682-1761), said in his "Journal of a Voyage to North America":

"The beauty of their [the Indians] imagination equals its vivacity, which appears in all their discourses. They are very quick at repartee, and their harangues are full of shining passages which would have been applauded at Rome or Athens. Their eloquence has a strength, nature and pathos which no art can give, and which the Greeks admired in the barbarians."

"An Indian council is one of the most imposing spectacles in savage life," wrote Horatio Hale about 1845. "It is one of the few occasions in which the warrior exercises his right of suffrage, his influence and his talents in a civil capacity, and the meeting is conducted with all the gravity and all the ceremonies and ostentation with which it is possible to invest it. The matters to be considered, as well as all the details, are well digested beforehand, so that the utmost decorum must prevail, and the decision be unanimous. The chiefs and sages—the leaders and orators—occupy the most conspicuous seats; behind them are arranged the younger braves, and still farther in the rear appear the women and the youth as spectators. All are equally attentive. A dead silence reigns throughout the assemblage. The great pipe, gaudily adorned with paint and feathers, is lighted and passed from mouth to mouth,

commencing with the chief highest in rank, and proceeding by regular gradation to the inferior order of braves. If two or three nations be represented, the pipe is passed from one party to the other, and salutations are courteously exchanged before the business of the council is opened by the respective speakers. Whatever jealousy or party spirit may exist in the tribe is carefully excluded from this dignified assemblage, whose orderly conduct and close attention to the proper subject before them might be imitated with profit by some of the most enlightened bodies in Christendom."

It is a curious fact that while the American Indian of earlier days possessed oratorical gifts in a large measure, his musical talents were meager—at least from the white man's point of view. The so-called musical instruments of the Indians were (and are) of the crudest and most primitive form—the principal one being the tambour, or drum. This was formerly rudely made by straining a piece of raw hide over a hoop, or over the head of a sort of keg, generally made by cutting away all the inner portion of a section of a log of wood, leaving only a shell. Besides the drum they used several kinds of whistles and rattles—the latter being usually made of tortoise shells dried and beautifully polished, and containing several small pebbles.

We are told by well-informed writers on the subject that the music of the Indians is solely and simply vocal. They know no other way of expressing emotion in melodic form. Their songs are compositions which have in them nothing borrowed from instruments and nothing of artificial instigation; while a large proportion of them are entirely without words—syllables being used to carry the tones. There are, of course, songs which have fragments of words; but these are quite distinct from the syllables which are used solely for musical purposes. Catlin says, in his "Letters and Notes" previously mentioned:

"It has been said by some travelers that the Indian has neither harmony nor melody in his music, but I am unwilling to subscribe to such an assertion, although I grant that for the most part of their vocal exercises there is a total absence of what the musical world would call melody; their songs being made up chiefly of a sort of violent chant of harsh and jarring gutturals, of yelps and barks and screams, which are given out in perfect time, not only with 'method (but with harmony) in their madness.'"

"But there are times * * when the Indian lies down by his fireside, with his drum in his hand, which he lightly and almost imperceptibly touches over, as he accompanies it with his stifled voice of dulcet sounds that might come from the most tender and delicate female. These quiet and tender songs are very different from those which are sung at their dances, in full chorus and with violent gesticulations, and many of them seem to be quite rich in plaintive expression and melody, though barren of change and variety."

Both songs and the musical instruments previously mentioned were used in connection with the numerous dances by which the Indians amused themselves, celebrated some important event or performed certain rites of worship or devotion. Some of these dances were the "Welcome Dance," the "Calumet Dance," the "Buffalo Dance," the "Bear Dance," the "Ghost Dance," the "Green Corn Dance," the "Snake Dance" the "Feather Dance," the "War Dance", and the "Scalp Dance."

The "War Dance" was one of the most exciting and spirited of the dances, and was performed by the warriors, or braves, before starting out on the war-path, and quite often after their return, when they boasted how they had met the enemy, taken their scalps, etc. This dance, as performed by the Delawares, was often given in time of peace, and was considered very beautiful. It always took place in the daytime, and the

warriors all appeared in full war-outfit with paint, feathers and weapons, and some with animals' horns fastened to their heads. In time of war a scalp would be fastened to a pole, and the dance would take place around the pole. The musicians, standing on the outside of the circle of warriors, would beat quicker time than for other dances, and would sing their war-songs, which would be answered by the braves with cries of approval and war-whoops. The dancers seemed to move with great caution and care, with very wild expressions in their eyes, and looking and watching as if expecting an approach of the enemy at any moment. Then they would make sudden springs to the right or left, or backward or forward, strike at an invisible foe or dodge an imaginary blow, and then, suddenly, as if the foe were conquered, resume a slow and cautious march, all the while going around the pole. The action of the dancers was guided, or governed, by the war-song, for they acted out what was sung. In time of peace, instead of a pole with a scalp on it a fire would be built in the center of the ring; but in other respects the dance would be the same.*



A "SCALP DANCE," AS SEEN IN 1832.

The foregoing illustration is a reduced facsimile of a drawing made by George Catlin for his "Letters and Notes." It illustrates a "Scalp Dance" witnessed by him in 1832 at the mouth of Teton River. The following is Mr. Catlin's description of the dance :

"This barbarous and exciting scene is the Indian mode of celebrating a victory, and is given fifteen nights in succession when a war-party returns from battle bringing home with them the scalps from the heads of their enemies. This dance is danced at a late hour in the night, by the light of torches, and a number of young women are selected to aid (though they do not actually join in the dance) by stepping into the center of the ring and holding up the scalps that have recently been taken, whilst the warriors dance (or rather jump) around in a circle, brandishing their weapons, vaunting forth the most extravagant boasts of their wonderful prowess in war, and barking and yelping in the most frightful manner—all jumping on both feet at the same time, with a simultaneous stamp and blow and thrust of their weapons as if they were actually cutting and carving each other to pieces. During these frantic leaps and yelps and thrusts every man distorts his face to the utmost of his muscles, darting his glaring eye-balls about and snapping his teeth as if he were in the heat of battle. No description that can be written could ever convey more than a feeble outline of the frightful effects of these scenes enacted in the

* "Report on Indians in the United States at the Eleventh Census," page 300.

dead of night, under the glaring light of blazing flambeaux; nor could all the years allotted to mortal man in the least obliterate or deface the vivid impress that one scene of this kind would leave upon his memory."

Brief mention is made earlier in this chapter* of the Indian calumet, or pipe, and later, of the "Calumet Dance." The calumet was sometimes looked upon as a sacred object. Its stem was painted in different colors and decorated usually with the war-eagle's quills, but often with the heads, tails and wings of beautifully plumaged birds. Rogers, in his "Account of North America" (1766), says:

"The use of the calumet is to smoke either tobacco, or some bark, leaf or herb which they [the Indians] often use instead of it, when they enter into an alliance, or any serious occasion, or solemn engagements—this being among them the most sacred oath that can be taken; the violation of which is esteemed most infamous, and deserving of severe punishment from Heaven. When they treat of war the whole pipe and all its ornaments are red; sometimes it is only red on one side, and by the disposition of the feathers, &c., one acquainted with their customs will know at first sight what the nation who presents it intends or desires. Smoking the calumet is also a religious ceremony on some occasions, and in all treaties is considered as a witness between the parties, or rather as an instrument by which they invoke the sun and moon to witness their sincerity, and to be, as it were, a guarantee of the treaty between them."

Catlin says that the "Calumet Dance," or "Pipe of Peace Dance," was given at the conclusion of a treaty of peace, after smoking through the sacred stem of the special pipe. The dance was also often given out of regard for a brave, and was looked upon as the highest compliment that could be paid to his courage and bravery.

"It is a notable fact that the Indian tribes of north-eastern America, belonging to the Iroquoian and Algonkian families, who, at the first coming of the white colonists occupied the eastern portions of what are now the United States and Canada, and who are often styled savages, had two inventions or usages which are ordinarily deemed the special concomitants of an advanced civilization. These were a monetary currency and the use of a form of script for conveying intelligence and recording facts. * * * In a paper which was read before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at Montreal in August, 1884, and was published in the *Popular Science Monthly* for January, 1886, I produced the evidence which seemed to me to show that the shell money of North America was derived from the ancient tortoise-shell money of China. This shell money preceded the metallic coins commonly known as *cash*—which are circular discs of copper, perforated in the center, and usually strung on a string. These came into use more than 2,000 years before the Christian era. The shell money which preceded the copper *cash* has been traced eastwardly * * * to the coasts of California and Oregon, where it is in use among the Indians to this day, and whence it has apparently made its way across the continent to the eastern coast."†

This shell money, known to us as *wampum*, consisted of a certain kind of beads, some made of the white and some of the black or colored parts of marine shells. They were formed in the shape of cylinders, each about one-fourth of an inch long and one-eighth of an inch in diameter, were highly polished and were perforated lengthwise with a small hole through which the Indians strung them together with strips of deerskin, or thread made from filaments of slippery-elm bark or flax. As the fabrication of wampum was free to all persons, every one was

* See pages 94 and 104.

† Horatio Hale, in *Popular Science Monthly*, L.: 481 (1897).

director of his own mint, and, verifying the words of the Book of Proverbs—"the hand of the diligent maketh rich"—he who most assiduously sought the simple bullion from which wampum was coined was in the way of becoming the wealthiest of his race. But, although any one was entirely free to manufacture for himself as much wampum as he pleased, the difficulties of the process seem to have prevented men from thus becoming rich by their own handiwork. The rich men were those who accumulated wampum through trade and war, so that generally the possession of an unusual quantity of it betokened some real ability or bravery.

Wampum was called by the Dutch settlers "*sewant*." Adriaen Van der Donck, in his "Description of the New Netherlands" (1653), says that the species of sewant were black and white; "but the black is worth more by one-half than the white. The black is made from conch-shells which are to be taken from the sea, or which are cast ashore from the sea twice a year. They strike off the thin parts of these shells and preserve the pillars or standards, which they grind smooth and even, and reduce the same according to their thickness, and drill a hole through every piece, and string the same on strings, and afterwards sell their strings in that manner. This is the only moneyed medium among the natives with which any traffic can be driven. Many thousand strings are exchanged every year near the seashore, where the wampum is only made, and where the peltries are brought for sale." In Smith's "History of New Jersey" (1876) we are told that the white wampum was fabricated from the inside lining or layer of the great conchs, and the black or purple from the inside portion of the shell of the clam or mussel—"from the Indian name of which last shell-fish the term '*wampum*' was derived."

The beads were bored by means of a flint awl, many of which are still to be found in the shell heaps along the New England coast. After the coming of the English iron awls were substituted, but even then the process of manufacture must have been extremely tedious. It is said that by a day's hard labor it was barely possible for a man to produce wampum having a money value equivalent to fifteen cents in present-day money. Whether the work was done by the men or the women cannot be known, but it may well have been shared by both.

Dr. Beauchamp says* that "while shell beads were probably of early manufacture along the seashore—being made and used by the Algonkins—they were very little known in the interior and west of the Hudson before the seventeenth century. Accordingly we find few traditions of their origin among the river and shore Indians, while their use among the Iroquois was so sudden and conspicuous an event as to make a great and lasting impression. According to them the origin of wampum was coeval with that of their League. Hiawatha decreed and regulated its use."†

In *The New England Magazine* for February, 1903, Frederic A. Ogg says:

"If one wished to indicate the most obvious characteristic of the Indians of the Atlantic seaboard, at the time of the English settlement in New England, he could not

* In "Wampum and Shell Articles," published in Bulletin No. 41, Vol. 8 (March, 1901), of the New York State Museum.

† Dr. Beauchamp is one of those who hold that the Iroquois League was organized by Hiawatha as late as about the year 1600. See *ut supra*, pages 338 and 421; also, page 108, *ante*.

perhaps make better selection than their general eagerness to possess and display large quantities of wampum. It meant all to the Indian that money does to us, and infinitely more. Not merely did it serve him as a medium of exchange and a standard of values, but worn as an ornament it was his badge of wealth and position, in the hands of the chiefs his record-book and ledger, and through the favor of the Great Spirit its possession became in no small degree the passport to the happy hunting-grounds of the future world. The use of wampum constituted a bond of union among the Indians such as was scarcely supplied by language, religion or racial customs."

The colonists never came to regard wampum as anything more than a convenience for the prosecution of trade with the Indians. Nevertheless they were forced sometimes to use it in their dealings with each other, and even in the payment of their taxes. When so employed, however, it was not regarded as any form of money, but, as the Rhode Island Colonial Records for 1662 say, "It is but a commodity, and it is unreasonable that it should be forced upon any man." In 1627 Isaac De Razier, Secretary of the New Netherlands, while in command of a trading vessel took £50 worth of wampum from New Amsterdam to Plymouth; and in 1630 the maiden voyage of the *Blessing of the Bay*—the first ship built in New England, by Winthrop—was despatched to the Dutch on Long Island to obtain a stock of Indian money.

The use of wampum, as money, among the settlers in the northern Colonies was at its height about 1640. At that time, despite the suspicions of many with regard to wampum and their reluctance to accept it, it was by far the nearest approach to a universal currency that the colonists had. In 1648 Massachusetts ordered that wampum, if good, should be legal tender to the amount of forty shillings. In 1658 the Sheriff of New Netherlands, acting as commissary, was selling goods in small quantities for wampum. In 1666 Connecticut made a grant of "fifty fathoms of wampum." Rhode Island recognized it officially as late as 1670. By proclamation of the Governor and Council of the New Netherlands in 1673 the value of this Indian money was fixed at the rate of six white or three black (instead of eight white or four black, which had been the rate) to one stiver—twenty stivers being equal to one guilder, which at that time was worth six pence currency, or four pence sterling. As late as the beginning of the eighteenth century wampum was used in the payment of ferriage between the city of New York and Brooklyn. It was used in southern Connecticut as late as 1704, and in the backwoods regions of the northern and middle Colonies well down into the eighteenth century.

It is the belief of Dr. Beauchamp and other investigators that the ancient, or primitive, wampum always consisted of *strings* of beads, but that about the beginning of the Dutch settlement and trade in this country wampum *belts* of different widths and lengths, and wrought in a variety of designs, began to make their appearance. In the language of an early writer some of these belts, "by a proper arrangement of the beads of different colors, were figured like carpeting with different figures, according to the various uses for which they were designed. They were made use of by the Indians in their treaties and intercourse with each other, and served to assist their memory and preserve the remembrance of transactions. When different tribes or nations made peace or alliance with each other they exchanged belts of one sort; when they excited each other to war they used another sort. Hence the belts were distinguished by the names of 'peace-belts' and 'war-belts.' Every message sent from one tribe to another was accompanied

by a string or strings or a belt of wampum, and the string or belt was smaller or greater according to the importance of the subject."

The original purpose of wampum belts was probably exclusively mnemonic. In an account of a conference at Montreal in 1756 it is said in a note :

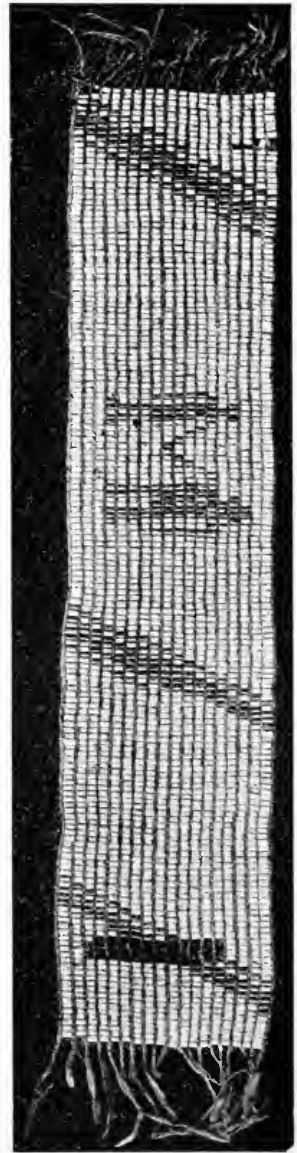
"These belts and strings of wampum are the universal agent among Indians, serving as money, jewelry, ornaments, annals and for registers. 'Tis the bond of nations and individuals—an inviolable and sacred pledge which guarantees messages, promises and treaties. As writing is not in use among them, they make a local memoir by means of these belts, each of which signifies a particular affair or a circumstance of affairs. The chiefs of the villages are the depositories of them, and communicate them to the young people, who thus learn the history and engagements of their nation."

George Henry Loskiel, in his "History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians in North America" (Livonia, 1788), says :

"At certain seasons they [the chiefs] meet to study their [belts of wampum] meaning, and to renew the ideas of which they were an emblem or confirmation. On such occasions they sit down around the chest, take out one string or belt after the other, handing it about to every person present ; and, that they may all comprehend its meaning, repeat the words pronounced on its delivery in their whole convention. By these means they are enabled to remember the promises reciprocally made by the different parties. And it is their custom to admit even the young boys, who are related to their chiefs, to their assemblies. They become early acquainted with all the affairs of the State, and thus the contents of their documents are transmitted to posterity, and cannot easily be forgotten."

Strings of wampum served as credentials for messengers and ambassadors to and from Indians. They were looked upon as letters of introduction—certificates of authority—and, armed with such credentials, the bearer would be listened to by any chief or council. Then, too, it was considered that with all important speeches delivered at councils presents should be given. The following paragraph, from the journal of Witham Marshe—mentioned in the foot-note on page 81—describes the manner in which belts and strings were sometimes delivered and received in councils :

"Whilst Mr. Jenings delivered his speech, he gave the interpreter a string and two belts of wampum, which were by him presented to the Sachem Canassatego ; and the Indians thereupon gave the cry of approbation. By this we were sure the speech was well approved by the Indians. This cry is usually made on presenting wampum to the Indians in a treaty, and is performed thus : The grand chief and speaker amongst them pronounces the word *'jo-hah !'* with a loud voice, singly ; then all the others join in this sound, *'woh !'* dwelling some little while upon it, and keeping exact time with each



THE "PENN" BELT.*

(By courtesy of the publishers of "Pennsylvania—Colonial and Federal.")

* A photo-illustration of the wampum belt delivered by the Lenni Lenapé sachems to William Penn at the "Great Treaty" of 1683, mentioned on pages 40 and 113. The original belt is now in possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, to which it was presented in 1857 by a great-grandson of William Penn. It is a moderate-sized belt, composed of about 3,000 white and purple beads arranged in eighteen rows.

other, and immediately, with a sharp noise and force, utter this sound—'wough!' This is performed in great order, and with the utmost ceremony and decorum, and with the Indians is like our English 'huzza!'"

Dr. Beauchamp says this sound may still be recognized in meetings of Six Nation Indians in New York.

The following, written by Horatio Hale* and published in 1846 in his book entitled "The Wilderness and the War Path," is an interesting description of a council held at North Bend, Ohio, by and between Brig. Gen. George Rogers Clark† and others (commissioners in behalf of the United States) and the Shawanese Indians. It sets forth how wampum belts were sometimes presented and *rejected*.

* * * "It was an alarming evidence of the temper now prevailing among them, and of the brooding storm that filled their minds, that no propriety of demeanor marked the entrance of the savages into the council-room. The usual formalities were forgotten, or purposely dispensed with, and an insulting levity substituted in its place. The chiefs and braves stalked in, with an appearance of light regard, and seated themselves promiscuously on the floor in front of the commissioners. An air of insolence marked all their movements, and showed an intention to dictate terms, or to fix a quarrel upon the Americans. A dead silence rested over the group; it was the silence of dread, distrust and watchfulness, not of respect. The eyes of the savage band gloated upon the banquet of blood that seemed already spread out before them; the pillage of the fort and the bleeding scalps of the Americans were almost within their grasp; while that gallant little band saw the portentous nature of the crisis, and stood ready to sell their lives as dearly as possible.

"The commissioners, without noticing the disorderly conduct of the other party, or appearing to have discovered their meditated treachery, opened the council in due form. They lighted the peace-pipe, and after drawing a few whiffs, passed it to the chiefs, who received it. Colonel Clark then rose to explain the purpose for which the treaty was ordered. With an unembarrassed air, with the tone of one accustomed to command and the easy assurance of perfect security and self-possession, he stated that the commissioners had been sent to offer peace to the Shawanese, and that the President had no wish to continue the war; he had no resentment to gratify, and if the red men desired peace they could have it on liberal terms. 'If such be the will of the Shawanese,' he concluded, 'let some of the wise men speak.'

"A chief arose, drew up his tall person to its full height, and assuming a haughty attitude, threw his eyes contemptuously over the commissioners and their small retinue as if to measure their insignificance in comparison with his own numerous train; and then, stalking to the table, threw upon it two belts of wampum of different colors—the war and peace belts. 'We come,' he exclaimed, 'to offer you two pieces of wampum. They are of two different colors; you know what they mean; you can take which you like!' And turning upon his heel, resumed his seat. The chiefs drew themselves up in the consciousness of having hurled defiance in the teeth of the white men. They had offered an insult to the renowned leader of the 'Long Knives,' to which they knew it would be hard for him to submit, while they did not suppose he would dare to resent it. The council-pipe was laid aside. Those fierce, wild men gazed intently at Clark. The Americans saw that the crisis had arrived; they could no longer doubt that the Indians understood the advantage they possessed, and were disposed to use it, and a common sense of danger caused each eye to turn on the leading commissioner. He sat undisturbed and apparently careless until the chief who had thrown the belts upon the table had taken his seat; then, with a small cane which he held in his hand, he reached, as if playfully, toward the war-belt, entangled the end of the stick in it, drew it toward him, and then, with a twitch of the cane, threw the belt into the midst of the chiefs. The effect was electric. Every man in council, of each party, sprang to his feet; the savages

* HORATIO HALE, whose name is frequently mentioned in the preceding pages, was born at Newport, New Hampshire, May 3, 1817, and died at Clinton, Ontario, December 28, 1896. He was graduated at Harvard University in 1837. In 1846 he published, under the title "Ethnology and Philology," what is described as "the greatest mass of philological data ever accumulated by a single individual." From 1846 to 1855 he pursued important ethnological studies in Europe, and in 1856 located in Canada West, where he practised law and continued his scientific researches until his death. He was elected a member of many scientific and historical societies in America and Europe. He was the author of "The Iroquois Book of Rites" (1883), "Indian Migrations as Evidenced by Language" (1883), etc.

† GEORGE ROGERS CLARK was born in Albemarle County, Virginia, November 19, 1752, and died near Louisville, Kentucky, February 13, 1818. His name is prominently and permanently identified with the conquest of the country north-west of the Ohio River (1778-1783). In January, 1777, he was appointed and commissioned Lieutenant Colonel by the Governor of Virginia; promoted Colonel December 14, 1778, and promoted Brigadier General in 1781. In November, 1782, at the head of 1,000 men he marched against the Indians on the Miami River and completely subdued them. In 1785 he was appointed a commissioner to treat with certain Indian tribes, and in 1786 he acted as one of the United States Commissioners to negotiate a treaty with the Shawanese. In later years he performed other public services in connection with Indian affairs in the West.

with a loud exclamation of astonishment, 'Hugh!' the Americans in expectation of a hopeless conflict against overwhelming numbers. Every hand grasped a weapon.

"Clark alone was unawed. The expression of his countenance changed to a ferocious sternness and his eyes flashed, but otherwise he was unmoved. A bitter smile was slightly perceptible on his compressed lips as he gazed upon that savage band, whose hundred eyes were bent fiercely in horrid exultation upon him as they stood like a pack of wolves at bay, thirsting for blood and ready to rush upon him whenever one bolder than the rest should commence the attack. It was one of those moments of indecision, when the slightest weight thrown into either scale will make it preponderate; a moment in which a bold man, conversant with the secret springs of human action, may seize upon the minds of all around him, and sway them at his will. Such a man was the intrepid Virginian. He spoke, and there was no man bold enough to gainsay him. Raising his arm, and waiving his hand toward the door, he exclaimed: 'Dogs, you may go!' The Indians hesitated for a moment, and then rushed tumultuously out of the council-room.

"The decision of Clark on that occasion saved himself and comrades from massacre. The plan of the savages had been artfully laid; he had read it in their features and conduct as plainly as if it had been written on a scroll before him. He met it in a manner unexpected. He confounded the Indians, and before the broken thread of their scheme of treachery could be reunited they were panic-stricken. The cool contempt with which their first insult was thrown back into their teeth surprised them, and they were foiled by the self-possession of one man. They had no Tecumseh among them, no master spirit to change their plan so as to adopt a new exigency, and those braves who, in many battles, had shown themselves to be men of true valor, quailed before the moral superiority which assumed the vantage ground of a position they could not comprehend and therefore feared to assail."

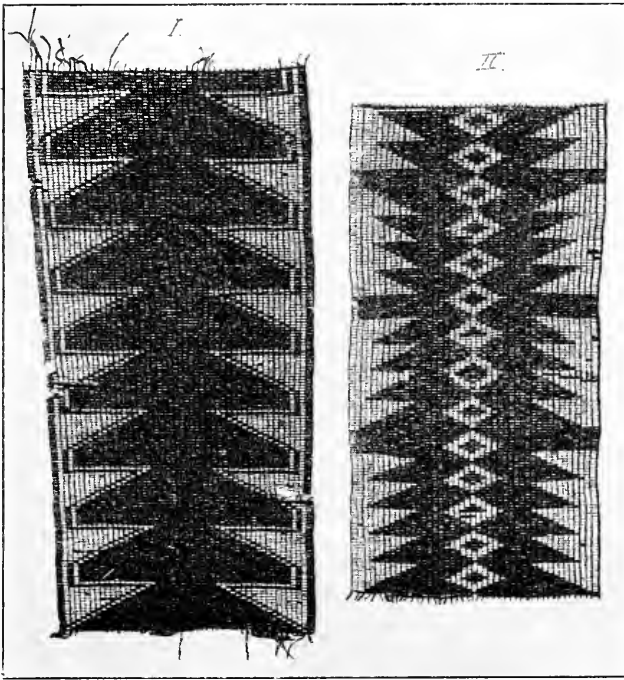
For use in their intercourse with the Indians the Moravian missionaries were generally well provided with wampum. In March, 1749, one of the Brethren wrote from New York to another: "Brother Boemper will bring the wampum you wrote for, along. I have procured of the wampum-maker 1,000 white @ £1, 5s., and 1,000 black @ £2, 5s." In a letter to Sir William Johnson in August, 1756, Lieutenant Governor Denny of Pennsylvania wrote: "Indian business has increased so much of late that the Secretary [of the Supreme Executive Council of the Province] tells me he has no wampum; which obliges me to request you to furnish the belts and strings necessary in this present business [a conference with the Indians to be held at Easton, Pennsylvania]." Belts and strings of wampum continued to be given and exchanged at Indian treaties and conferences for some time after the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Morgan, in his "Ancient Society," says: "They dye the wampum of various colors and shades, and mix and dispose them with great ingenuity and order, so as to be significant among themselves of almost everything they please; so that by these their words are kept and their thoughts communicated to one another as ours by writing. * * * A strand of wampum consisting of purple and white shells, or a belt woven with figures formed by beads of different colors, operated on the principle of associating a particular fact with a particular string or figure, thus giving a serial arrangement to the fact, as well as fidelity to the memory." "The color of belts and strings of wampum," writes Dr. Beauchamp, "was of importance. White was generally an emblem of something good, and black of affairs of a more serious nature—but this was not invariable. Black wampum, being double the value of the white, was often used to signify affairs of great importance. Several writers of the eighteenth century speak of the practice of coloring belts red when the affair concerned war. This was not the only tint employed. In 1757 at a council in Pittsburg a Wyandot 'spoke again upon a belt of black and white wampum, the white painted green.'"

Loskiel says: "Neither the color nor the other qualities of wampum are a matter of indifference, but have an immediate reference to

those things which they are meant to confirm. The brown or deep violet, called black by the Indians, always means something of a severe or doubtful import; but the white is the color of peace." According to Mrs. Harriet Maxwell Converse* a string of white beads served its bearer as a flag of truce or safe conduct in time of war. Even the prisoner tied to the stake must be released to the person who should throw a string of white wampum around his neck.

"When tipped with a red feather such a string became a formal request for an armistice, and the combatant who kept it bound himself thereby to suspend hostilities until a joint council could be held. If the



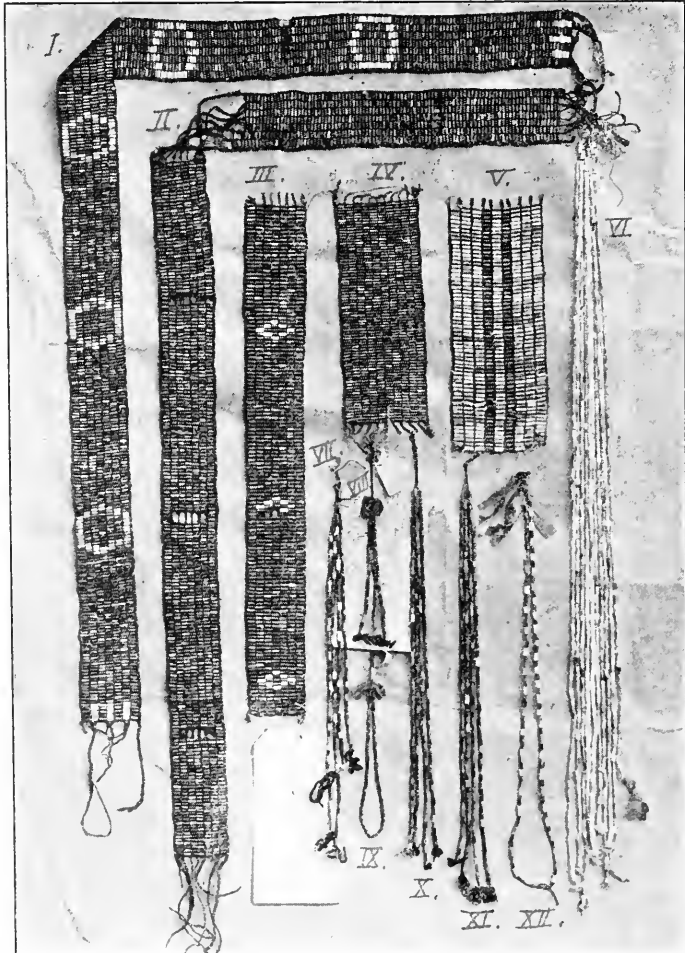
A.

messenger conveyed a string of the black wampum painted in red dots, it threatened war; if he were intrusted with black beads covered with white clay, he bore notice of the death of a chief. Five strings a foot long, of black and white alternating, constituted a petition for forgiveness in case of murder, and were sent to the relatives of a murdered man, upon whom it was incumbent to revenge his death unless given satisfaction. If they 'held' the wampum it implied forgiveness for the 'blood lost'; if, on the contrary, they returned it, vengeance was inevitable, and the victim willingly surrendered himself to his fate—death."

*Mrs. CONVERSE'S grandfather was adopted by the Seneca Indians in 1792 and her father in 1804. She was adopted by the family of the noted Seneca chief "Red Jacket" in 1880, and in 1892 she was formally elected a member of the Seneca tribe. She kept up her connection with the tribe—annually visiting their reservation in New York State—until her death at her home in the city of New York in November, 1903. During the last years of her life she was known as "The Great White Mother" of the Six Nations. She had some reputation as a writer, but a more extended and distinctive one as an authority upon matters pertaining to the Iroquois Indians.

Through the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Beauchamp—whose name is so frequently mentioned in the preceding pages—we are able to present the photo-reproductions of wampum belts and strings shown in plates “A” and “B” on this and the preceding page.

In plate “A” “I” is the remnant of an Onondaga belt of fifty rows of beads. It is fourteen and three-fourths inches wide, about thirty-five inches long, contains over 12,000 beads and is the widest belt on record. Concerning it Dr. Beauchamp writes: “Fanciful names have been given it, which amount to nothing. It has been described as ‘the second



B.

belt used by the principal chief of the Six Nations—very old.’ The fact is that it is of white man’s beads, and the principal chief rarely if ever saw it. The pattern is decidedly modern, as well as the material. It is made on very small buckskin thongs, with a hard, red thread of two strands, apparently flax. It seems to represent an alliance actual or proposed, and to be of the variety termed ‘chain’ belts.” Mr. Donald-

son (mentioned on page 112) calls this belt the "wing or dust fan of the Presidentia of the Six Nations"; also, "the wing mat used by the headman to shield him from the dust while presiding at the council."

"I" in plate "A" is a companion belt to "I," made like it, but with a different figure, and is the next widest belt known. It is thirteen and one-half inches wide and contains forty-five rows of beads. Dr. Beauchamp further describes it as having "a series of dark points inclosing open white diamonds, signifying nations or towns. It is properly a 'chain' belt showing a completed covenant." Mr. Donaldson describes this as belonging to "the Presidentia of the Iroquois, about 1540"; also, as "the mat of the *To-do-da-ho*."* In 1898 certain Onondaga Indians described this belt as "representing a superior man—*To-do-da-ho*. That is a carpet for him to sit [upon]. You clean the carpet for him to sit and nothing evil can fall on the carpet."

In plate "B" "I" is a belt of purple beads, two inches wide, thirty-eight inches long exclusive of the fringes of buckskin thongs, and contains 370 beads in seven rows. There are three rows of five white beads each at the ends of the belt, and five open hexagons of white beads at equal intervals in the body of the belt. These hexagons represent the Five Nations. Some of the beads bear traces of red paint, which is evidence that the belt was once used as a "war-belt," and might have been sent to or by the Five Nations. In the latter case the proposal of war was rejected, and the belt was returned. Mr. Donaldson (previously mentioned) states† that it is claimed that this belt bears "date about 1608, when Champlain joined the Algonkins against the Iroquois." The belt was for many years prior to his death in the custody of Gen. Ely S. Parker ("*Donehogáweh*")—"the last watcher of the west door of the Confederacy of the Iroquois."‡ From his heirs Mrs. Converse (previously mentioned) obtained it for the New York State Museum, and she described it as a "Five council-fires, or death belt, of the Five Iroquois Nations. It signified death or war against some other nation. It was always held by the keeper of the west door. When it was sent to the east door, the Hudson River, it was held in the council of war of each of the nations—Cayugas, Oneidas, Onondagas, Senecas and Mohawks, till returned by the latter, which signal was that the war must begin at once."

Dr. Beauchamp writes that a belt recently held by the Onondagas is almost the exact counterpart of this. In both the hexagons represent the nations, and the belts could be transformed into war-belts by the use of red paint. It was customary for any of the Five Nations to propose war by a belt, or even to carry on a war alone, but a general war could be decided on only by the Grand Council at Onondaga. War-belts might call this Council together, but they only proposed war.

"II" in plate "B" is a "condolence belt" which at one time belonged to the celebrated half-breed Seneca war-chief "Cornplanter." It is of purple beads, is about thirty-six inches long, less than two inches wide and contains 328 beads in seven rows.

"III" is a mutilated Five Nation belt. It was originally two feet long, nearly two inches wide, and made of purple beads—with five open diamonds in white beads—on fine buckskin thongs. The portion shown

* See page 109, *ante*.

† "Report on Indians at the Eleventh Census," p. 472.

‡ See pages 121 and 123.

is 16.63 inches long. This belt was for many years in possession of Mary Jameson, or Jenison, the celebrated white woman captive, and was obtained from her descendants by Mrs. Converse.

"IV" is a fragment, seven inches long and two and three-fourths inches wide, of a purple belt without figures. The original belt was given to Chief "Cornplanter" upon the occasion of the making of a treaty with him. When the Chief died in 1836 the belt was cut into pieces and divided among his heirs.

"V" is a portion of an "alliance belt" in possession of Dr. Beauchamp and obtained by him from an Indian woman. It is three inches wide and sixty-five beads long, and has seven rows of white and two rows of darker colored beads.

"VI" is a bunch of strings of white wampum used for a religious council, and is owned by Dr. Beauchamp. Each string is two feet long and contains 110 beads.

"VIII" represents three small strings of purple beads united at one end. Used in announcing the death of a member of the "Grand Council." It was the custom among the Five Nations, when a principal chief or a war-chief of one of the nations died, to send a runner with the proper wampum to the other nations. The runner went through each village calling "*kwoé*," three times at intervals if the dead man had been a principal chief, once if he had been a war-chief.

"IX" is a string having the ends tied to form a circle. This was used in announcing the death of a war-chief—in the manner above described.

"XII" is a string of fine purple and white beads, used either for council purposes or ornament.

In "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII : 97, there is an interesting description of certain wampum belts which were sent in April, 1758, to Delaware, Shawanese and other Indians on the Ohio River by Teedyuscung, "King" of the Delawares, who was then temporarily located near Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

The Spaniards brought the modern horse to America. Some of the horses escaped in the southwest and ran wild in bands or herds, and in time the Indians captured and made use of many of them. In the course of years horses came into general use among Indians in all parts of the country. Prior to this time, however, whenever the Indian had occasion to go from one place to another he was compelled to travel afoot, unless a stream or other body of water lay in his course, when he made use of the bark canoe or dugout. As a rule the Indian was a skillful canoe man; but Catlin wrote that "in the Indian country [meaning



the then western territory of the United States] the squaws are much superior to the men in paddling canoes." Often a canoe would be managed by two women, who would manipulate the paddles with great dexterity and power. Sometimes, when a long canoe journey was to be made on a lake or a large, freely-

flowing river, the Indians would supplement the paddle-propelling power of their bark with a small sail, made of skins sewed together, or a blanket, held up either by a squaw or by a rudely contrived mast.

That the North American Indians were seafaring men prior to the advent of the Europeans there is no evidence. They were not met with at sea or at any distance from the coast by the Europeans. They were land-lovers, and held to the earth. The forests and plains had more charms for them than the roar of breakers and the crash of waves. Nor were they a pastoral people. They never tamed either the bison, or buffalo, or the stately elk for labor or for food; nor did they shear a fleece from the great-horned sheep of the Rocky Mountains. The cow, the ass, the goat, the common sheep and swine—as well as the horse—were all unknown to the Indians of pre-Columbian days. From the warm South, where clothing was unnecessary and as such was never worn, to the cold North where the skins of fur-bearing animals kept him warm in Winter, the Indian everywhere, like Primitive Man, was a hunter and fisher and depended chiefly upon the precarious winnings of the chase, or the hook and line or spear, for subsistence. Nearly all the Indians living along the sea-coasts and the large lakes and rivers were abundant users of fish.*

The cultivation of corn, pumpkins and beans, the gathering of potatoes, the curing of the tobacco-plant (in the region of Virginia and the Carolinas) and the grinding of grain into flour were labors despised



INDIAN WOMAN SPEARING FISH FROM A CANOE.

by the men as forming a sort of degrading slavery. In this they were as proud as the old Roman citizens whose business was war. These toils were laid by the Indians upon their women, who were also beasts of burden in marches, carrying on their backs their domestic utensils, and their babies ("*papooses*") strapped in cases hanging from their shoulders. Parkman, in describing the Huron Indian woman, wrote :

* In official reports prepared by Government statisticians in 1822, and published, it was set forth that in those sections of the country where fish constituted an article of diet among the Indians, the number of persons in each family was about six; while "in other tribes, where this article is wanting, the average number in a family is about five."

"In March and April she gathered the year's supply of firewood. Then came sowing, tilling and harvesting, curing fish, dressing skins, making cordage and clothing, preparing food. On the march it was she who bore the burden, for, in the words of Champlain, 'their women were their mules.' The natural effect followed. In every town were shriveled hags, hideous and despised, who in vindictiveness, ferocity and cruelty far exceeded the men. To the men fell the task of building the houses and making weapons, pipes and canoes. For the rest, their home-life was a life of leisure and amusement. The Summer, Autumn and early Winter were their seasons of serious employment—of war, hunting (in which they were aided by a wolfish breed of dogs unable to bark), fishing and trade."

Boys and girls played alike together until they had attained the age of about ten years, when there was a separation. Then the girls romped about the tepees, or were instructed to some extent by their mothers in the simple methods of cooking and taking care of their homes practised by them; while the boys gathered on the banks of a neighboring stream and sported in the water or threw spears and shot arrows at a mark.

At the age of fifteen a girl had considerable to say in family affairs, and was permitted to vote upon questions of importance. She was not compelled

to work unless the task met with her approval. Indeed, until her marriage, the maiden had almost unlimited liberty. Having reached the period of young-womanhood the prettiest procurable costumes were given to her. Her moccasins and leggings of deerskin were sometimes marvels of workmanship. Her hair, parted in the middle, was combed straight back, and the part was painted—at least among certain tribes—invariably a bright yellow. At one time the women wore necklaces of bears' teeth and claws and elks' teeth, which were much esteemed; but later, beads of European manufacture took their place.

In the general appearance and habits of the North American Indian—in his physiognomy, his mental characteristics and his physical make-up—there is much

to indicate the wide differences that exist between him and the white man. His high cheek-bones and broad face; his heavy, dark eyes; his jet-black hair, lank and incapable of curling because of its peculiar structure; his taciturnity in society, and his stoicism in all emergencies of mental excitement and physical suffering—all these are peculiar to the red man. Many writers hold that the Indian of earlier days was gifted



Indian woman pounding corn with a stone pestle suspended by a thong from the branch of a tree.

(From an old engraving)



A typical Indian woman of modern times.

with a better and more symmetrical physique and greater "staying power" than the white man. On this subject Catlin, writing in 1840, said :

"Although the Indians of North America, where dissipation and disease have not got amongst them, undoubtedly are a longer lived and healthier race, and capable of enduring far more bodily privation and pain than civilized people can endure, yet I do not believe that the differences are constitutional, or anything more than the results of different circumstances and a different education. As an evidence in support of this assertion I will allude to the hundreds of men whom I have seen and traveled with who have been for several years together in the Rocky Mountains, in the employment of the fur companies, where they have lived exactly upon the Indian system—continually exposed to the open air and the weather and to all the disappointments and privations peculiar to that mode of life ; and I am bound to say that I never saw a more hardy and healthy race of men in my life, whilst they remain in the country, nor any who fall to pieces quicker when they get back to a confined and dissipated life—which they easily fall into when they return to their own country."

When the eminent American painter Benjamin West* visited Rome in 1760, and there gazed for the first time on the famous "Apollo Belvedere"—an ancient work of art "in which are combined the highest intellect with the most consummate physical beauty"—the then young artist exclaimed, "My God! how like a young Mohawk Indian!" When, many years later, George Catlin first saw this same statue, he, captivated by the grace, dignity and apparent vitality displayed in it, was startled into making an exclamation quite similar to the one West had made. Catlin was an avowed lover of the American Indian, and, as previously mentioned, had visited various tribes and come in contact with many Indians—good, bad and indifferent.

West, also, during his life in Philadelphia (1756-'57), saw many Six Nation, Delaware and other Indians, who came there frequently to attend conferences and for other purposes.

"Art may mourn when these people are swept from the earth," wrote Catlin in 1868, "and the artists of future ages may look in vain for another race so picturesque in their costumes, their weapons, their colors, their manly games and their chase, and so well adapted to that talent which alone is able to throw a speaking charm into marble or to spread it upon canvas. The native grace, simplicity and dignity of these natural people so much resemble the ancient marbles that one is irresistibly led to believe that the Grecian sculptors had similar models



THE "APOLLO BELVEDERE."

* BENJAMIN WEST was born near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, October 10, 1738, of Quaker parentage. At the age of seven years he surprised his family and friends by his skill in drawing. At the age of sixteen he began to paint portraits in his native village, and at eighteen he opened a studio in Philadelphia. Later he went to New York City, where, in 1760, he was aided by some generous friends to go abroad. At Rome, as the first American artist ever seen in Italy, he attracted much attention. During a sojourn of three years in Italy he was elected a member of the Academies of Florence, Bologna and Parma. In 1763, at the age of twenty-five years, he left Italy for England, intending to return to America ; but he was induced to remain in London, and there he lived and painted until his death, March 11, 1820. He attained very great contemporary fame, and in 1792 succeeded Sir Joshua Reynolds as President of the British Royal Academy.

A number of West's most noted paintings are at present owned in this country. His "Death of General Wolfe" (now in the British Museum, London), painted in the costume of the period, against the advice of nearly all the most distinguished painters then living, effected a revolution in the historic art of Great Britain. For a photo-illustration of this painting see Chapter X, *post*.

to study from. And their costumes and weapons—the toga, the tunic and manteau (of skins), the bow, the shield and the lance, so precisely similar to those of ancient times—convince us that a second (and last) strictly classic era is passing from the world.”

Of Indians who lived in this country during the eighteenth century, authentic portraits are now very scarce, and of the few in existence it is almost impossible to procure photo-reproductions for publication. Therefore, in order to give the reader as good an idea as possible of the typical red man of earlier times—of the days of West and of Catlin, for example—we have procured reproductions of genuine portraits of three



"LITTLE WOUND."

An Oglala Sioux Chief.†

noted Indians of the nineteenth century. They will be found on this and the following page,* and may be compared with the picture of the "Apollo Belvedere" herewith shown.

In stature the members of some Indian tribes (prior to the days of their decadence) were considerably above the ordinary height of man, while in other tribes the height—particularly of the men—averaged or fell below that of civilized men. They were lighter in their limbs than white men, as well as less in girth—being almost entirely free from corpulency or useless flesh. Although generally narrow across the shoulders, and less powerful with the arms than well-developed white men, yet they were by no means effeminate or lacking in brachial strength. Their bones were lighter, their skulls thinner and

their muscles less hard—excepting in the legs and feet—than those of their civilized neighbors.

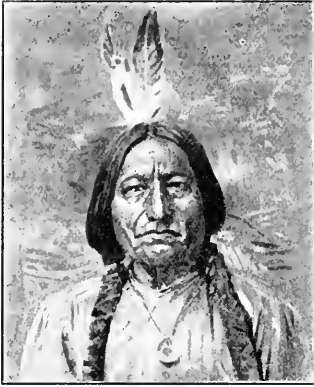
Catlin says: "Of muscular strength in the legs I have met many of the most extraordinary instances in the Indian country that ever I

* Also, see Chapter XXV for a portrait of the famous Seneca chief "Red Jacket."

† At the Pan-American Exposition held in Buffalo, New York, in 1901, one of the most interesting and instructive exhibits was the "Indian Congress," comprising a large number of genuine, full-blooded Indians gathered together from their various reservations. They were dressed in their native costumes, lived in wigwams, and, for the entertainment of visitors to their temporary village, enacted incidents and scenes from Indian life. Several of the members of this "Congress" were chiefs who in times past had been prominent as leaders in Indian wars and outbreaks on the frontiers of this country. Two of these chiefs were "Red Cloud" and "Little Wound" (pictured above). Both were Oglala Sioux, and were brought to Buffalo from Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota.

In December, 1890, there was an Indian uprising at Pine Ridge, due to excitement brought about by the belief in the coming of an Indian Messiah, and owing to the suppression by United States troops of the "Ghost Dance." A few days later came the battle of Wounded Knee, in which two officers and thirty-five men of the regular army and 145 Indians were killed. Two days afterwards the Sioux, under the leadership of "Little Wound," surrounded Col. J. W. Forsyth and a squadron of the 7th Cavalry in White Clay Canyon, and held them there until they were rescued by a squadron of the 9th Cavalry commanded by Maj. Guy V. Henry.

"Little Wound," at the time of his sojourn in Buffalo, was a very aged man, and was called the "Patriarch of the Congress." Shortly before the close of the Exposition he died there. A full-length portrait of "Little Wound," made in 1890, may be seen in the "Report on Indians at the Eleventh Census," page 54-B.



"SITTING BULL."*

After a portrait painted by G. Gaul
in 1890.

should take a stone-mason for the upper part of the figure, and a Comanche or a Blackfoot Indian from the waist downward to the feet."

There are general and striking characteristics in the facial outlines of the full-blooded North American Indian. His nose is usually prominent and aquiline, and the whole face, if divested of paint and copper-color, would seem to approach in appearance and character the European cast. Catlin wrote that many travelers thought the eyes of the Indians were smaller than those of Europeans. "I myself have been struck," said he, "as most travelers no doubt have, with

have seen in my life, and I have watched and studied such for hours together (with utter surprise and admiration) in the violent exertions of their dances, where they leap and jump with every nerve strung and every muscle swelled, till their legs will often look like bundles of ropes rather than masses of human flesh. * * * He who would see the Indian in a condition to judge of his muscles must see him in motion; and he who would get a perfect study for a Hercules or an Atlas



GERONIMO IN 1901.†

By courtesy of the Editor of *The Metropolitan Magazine*.

* "SITTING BULL," for many years principal chief of the Dakota-Sioux, and "the most famous Indian warrior of his time," was born about 1837. Having been driven from their reservation in the Black Hills by gold-miners in 1876, "Sitting Bull" and his followers refused to be transported to Indian Territory, and took up arms against the whites and friendly Indians. June 25, 1876, they defeated and slaughtered on the banks of the Little Big Horn River, in Montana, Gen. George A. Custer and 203 men of the 7th U. S. Cavalry (forming the entire command), who were the advance party of the force under Gen. A. H. Terry then in pursuit of the hostile Indians. "Sitting Bull," with part of his band, made his escape into British territory, where he remained until 1880, when, on promise of a pardon, he surrendered himself to the United States authorities. Subsequently he was required to make his home on Standing Rock Reservation in South Dakota.

In July and August, 1888, when Government commissioners were attempting to induce the Sioux to sell their lands in South Dakota, in order that the same might be opened up to settlement, "Sitting Bull" influenced his tribe to refuse to relinquish the lands which they occupied. In 1890, when the "Messiah" craze (referred to in the note on the preceding page) broke out, "Sitting Bull" proclaimed himself "High Priest." He had always exerted a baneful influence over his followers, and they now fell easy victims to his subtlety—believing blindly in the absurdities he preached regarding the Indian millennium. General Ruger, U. S. A., commanding the Department of Dakota, having ordered the arrest of "Sitting Bull," it was accomplished by several Indian policemen December 15, 1890; but almost immediately afterwards, while refusing to go with his captors and calling upon his followers to rescue him, "Sitting Bull" was shot dead in front of his house by one of the policemen, who, at almost the same moment, fell mortally wounded by a shot from one of the followers of the dead chief. (For the "True Story of the Death of Sitting Bull," see *The Cosmopolitan Magazine*, XX: 493.)

† GERONIMO, an Apache chief, has been for some years a prisoner of war on the Fort Sill Military Reservation, Oklahoma Territory. For a long time he led a band of Apaches—"the worst for lawlessness that ever infested the Western country"—in many raids upon white settlements. He and his followers were chased for many months by troopers of the regular army under the command of some of the most noted officers in the annals of Indian warfare. From the present limits of Oklahoma almost to the waters of the Pacific Ocean these Apaches, who had continually harassed the frontier settlers, were followed, and only surrendered when worn out from lack of food and the terrible privations of such a chase. Geronimo's captor was Capt. Henry W. Lawton, 4th U. S. Cavalry, who lost his life in the Philippines in December, 1899—being then a Brigadier General, U. S. V.

The Apaches have for a long time been considered "the most blood-thirsty, relentless and murderous Indians in the United States;" and it is stated that "in war their women are as cruel as the men."

Geronimo was a member of the "Indian Congress" mentioned in the note on page 140. With his seamed and scarred "baked apple" face, and only one eye (the other having been destroyed in battle) he presented a most forbidding appearance—in no wise resembling the "Apollo Belvedere"! In 1903 he

the want of expansion and apparent smallness of the Indians' eyes, which I have found upon examination to be principally the effect of continual exposure to the rays of the sun and to the wind, without the shields that are used by the civilized world; and also when indoors being subjected generally to the smoke that almost continually hangs about their wigwams."

To quote further from Catlin (referring to the period 1829-'38): "The teeth of the Indians are generally regular and sound, and wonderfully preserved to old age—owing, no doubt, to the fact that they live without the spices of life, without saccharine and without salt. Their teeth although sound are not white, having a yellowish cast. Beards they generally have not, esteeming them great vulgarities and using every possible means to eradicate them whenever they are so unfortunate as to be annoyed with them. From the best information that I could obtain amongst forty-eight tribes that I have visited, I feel authorized to say that amongst the wild tribes—where they have made no efforts to imitate white men—the proportion at least of eighteen out of twenty [men] are by nature entirely without the appearance of a beard; and of the very few who have beards by nature, nineteen out of twenty eradicate them by plucking them out several times in succession, precisely at the age of puberty, whereby the growth is successfully arrested. Occasionally an Indian may be seen who omitted to destroy his beard in early manhood, and he subjects his chin to the repeated pains of extracting his beard, which he is performing with a pair of clam-shells or other tweezers nearly every day of his life. * * * Wherever there is a cross of the blood with the European or African—which is frequently the case along the frontier—a proportionate beard is the result, and it is allowed to grow, or is plucked out with much toil and with great pain." The eyebrows were also sometimes removed, although in certain cases a fine, delicate, sharply defined line was left, which was formed by pulling the hairs from the upper and lower edges, leaving the center.

The hair of the head—unless removed in the manner hereinafter described—was usually parted in the middle, and was always worn long, either covering the shoulders or done up in two braids which were drawn forward and allowed to hang on the breast.* The ends of these braids were wrapped in deer skin, otter skin or cloth, and occasionally single feathers, or ornaments made by combining feathers of different colors and sizes, were braided in. As late, at least, as the middle of the eighteenth century several North American tribes—among them the "French Mohawks" and the Lenâpés—pulled out all the hairs of the head except a tuft on the crown.† Catlin, writing in 1844,‡ said: "The Ioways, like three other tribes in America, observe a mode of dressing the head which renders their appearance peculiarly pleasing and effective. They shave the hair from the whole head, except a small patch left on the top of the head, called the *scalp-lock*, to which they attach a beautiful red crest, made of the hair of the deer's tail dyed red and horse hair; and rising out of this crest, which has much the appearance of a Grecian helmet, the war-eagle's quill completing the head-

claimed to have "got religion," and was publicly baptized in Medicine Creek near Fort Sill and subsequently was received into the Reformed Church. A few weeks ago his fifth and last wife died at Fort Sill. Geronimo is said to be ninety-three years old.

* See portraits of "Little Wound" and "Sitting Bull."

† See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II: 459; also, the last paragraph on page 104, *ante*.

‡ See "Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution," 1885, Part II, page 147.

dress of the warrior. They boast of this mode of shaving their heads to the part that is desired for the scalp-lock, saying that they point out to their enemies (who may kill them in battle) where to cut with the scalping-knife, that they may not lose time in hunting out the scalp-lock! That part of the head which is shaved is generally rounded to an extravagant degree."

The various designs and colors used in face and body painting and marking* among the North American Indians varied from tribe to tribe. Red, black, green and white were the colors most in vogue. Ethnologists have discovered that contrary to the old view, the Indian painted or tattooed his face or body, not through a savage love of bright colors, but because each and every design and color had a meaning and significance in certain respects similar to the heraldry of the Middle Ages. Certain colors denoted hatred, revenge, and contempt of death. A tribe having declared war against a neighboring tribe, the fighting men began their warlike preparations by painting their faces. One brave would paint twelve red spots and eight black lines on his face to show that he had, in former engagements, been wounded twelve times and that he knew no fear. Another would daub red over his forehead, signifying that he proposed to create a scene of blood whenever the war-party should reach the enemy's country. In more recent times it has been noticed that serious Indian outbreaks and uprisings have always been preceded for months by an epidemic of face-painting among the turbulent tribesmen. Sometimes, when a tribe has been powerless to make war, the members of it have vented their resentment by painting their faces in flaming colors and striking designs, indicating their true feelings towards those whom they hated but were too weak to oppose.

In the "*Midewiwan*," or "Society of the *Medewin*," or "Grand Medicine Society"† of the Ojibwa, or Chippewa,‡ Indians—a secret cult bearing in some respects a very striking resemblance to Free Masonry—face painting plays an important and conspicuous part. Each degree in this society has its proper and distinct set of facial designs and colors, which it is unlawful for any to wear save those who have taken the degree in question. These designs and colors have a secret and mystical significance and purport, as entirely unknown to the squaws and Indians who are not members of the "*Midewiwan*" as they are to the white people.

The head-dresses—particularly the "war-bonnets"—of Indian men were generally highly ornamented. The head-band was often trimmed with shells and dyed porcupine quills, while the bulk of the "bonnet" was made of the plumage of birds.§ The Iroquois warrior, however, generally wore only a single feather from the wing of a white heron. Of the skin of the deer, dressed and smoked, they made soft moccasins, or shoes, which they sometimes highly ornamented with pigments or the stained quills of the porcupine. "In illustration of Indian tenacity in holding to old customs, an



* See last paragraph on page 86 and also on page 104.

† For some interesting references to this secret religious society see "Report on Indians at the Eleventh Census," page 346.

‡ An Algonkian tribe, at one time very numerous and inhabiting the region along the shores of the lakes Huron, Michigan and Superior. Many of the tribe now reside in Minnesota and Canada.

§ See illustrations on pages 79 and 94.

Indian and his moccasins are yet almost inseparable companions. He seems born in them; he walks and sleeps in them, and he is buried in them. An Indian may be habited in a dress suit, but the chances are that his feet are covered with moccasins. In the army he dresses in uniform, but almost always insists on the moccasins. At the training and industrial schools it is with difficulty that he can be induced to discard them.* Another part of the costume consisted of "leather stockings," or leggings, of dressed deerskin, which were ornamented generally by fringes of the same material. The man's leggings were made the length of his legs; the woman's reached only to her knees, below which they were fastened by garters. In both cases the leggings covered the tops of the moccasins. In Winter the men wore war-shirts or mantles made of the skins of beasts, such as the bear, the wolf and the panther. These were sometimes ornamented with the feathers of the eagle or the claws of the bear. Necklaces of bears' claws were also worn by the warriors.†

Before the middle of the seventeenth century the weapons and accoutrements used by the Indian in the chase or in war were few and simple. A hatchet of hard stone; a knife of the same material, or of bone, for taking off the scalp of an enemy, and for various other purposes; a spear, formed of a short, slender pole of tough wood, either burned at the end and sharpened, or having a flint point or head attached to it; a bow and arrows and a huge and sometimes fancifully wrought war-club made up the list. The last-mentioned weapon was made of a piece of hard wood, at the end of which an oval-shaped stone or pebble of good size was fastened with wet raw-hide, which, drying and shrinking, held the stone firmly in place. The handle of the club was also



Group of arrow-heads,
or "points."
One-half the size of
the originals.

sometimes covered with raw-hide. The arrow was the Indian's chief weapon, and in its use he was very expert. The shaft was made of light, tough wood and was headed with flint, which, as necessities required, was wrought into a variety of forms—as shown by the accompanying illustration. The butt of the shaft was fletched with small birds' feathers. The arrows were carried in quivers,‡ in form and method not unlike those used by the barbarians of the Old World—the ancestors of civilized nations. So important a character was the professional arrow-maker among the Indians that he was exempted from all public duty and the toils of the chase. In showing this sort of consideration for their arrow-makers the Indians did exactly what was done by all Europeans, who, from earliest known times down to

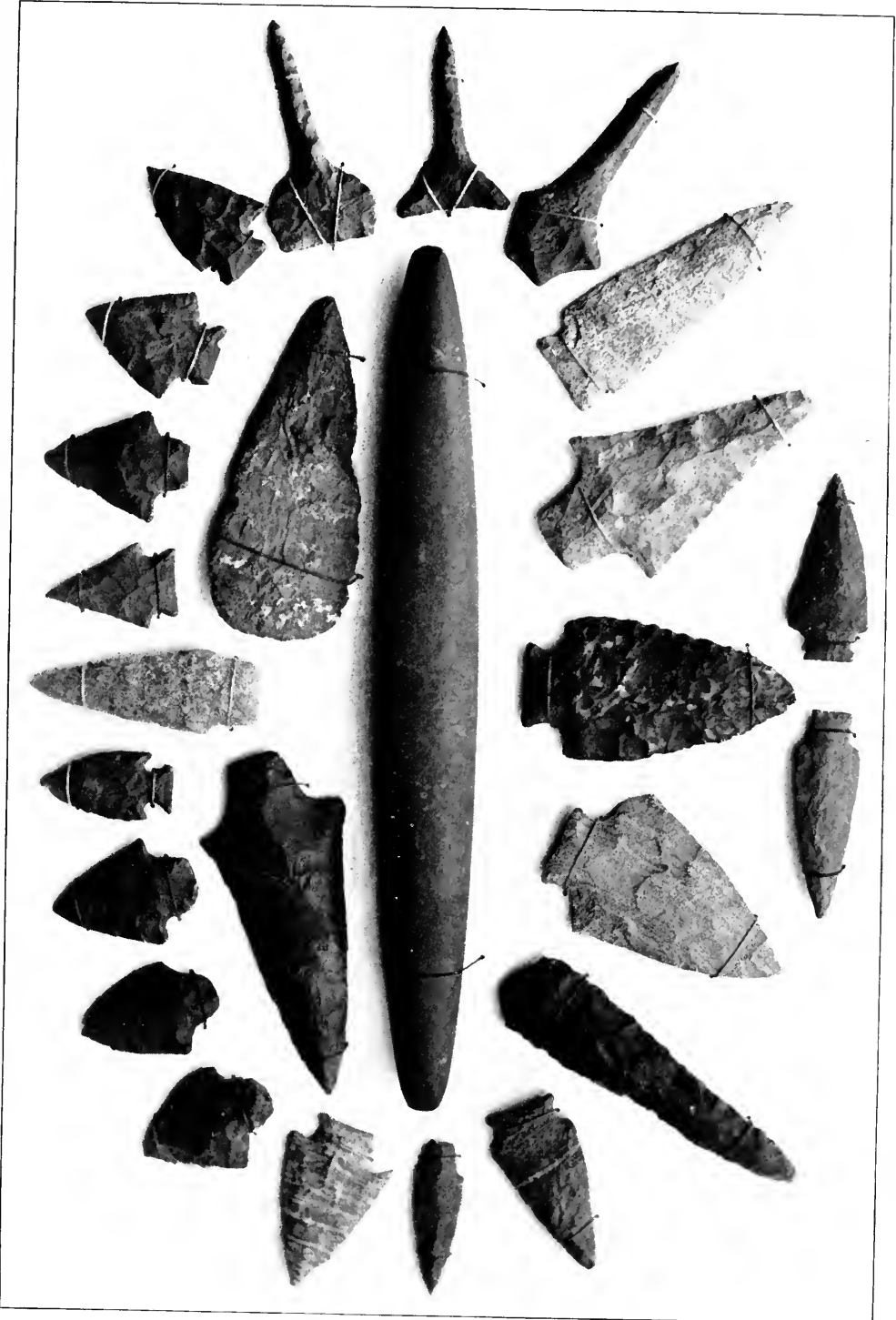
the invention of fire-arms, treated their bowyers and fletchers, or arrow-smiths, as persons of importance.

During the past one hundred years thousands of Indian arrow-heads have been found in the Wyoming region—chiefly scattered over the lowlands near the Susquehanna—where they had lain undisturbed for many years from the time they were shot away by the Indians in war and in the chase. Even at this late day fine specimens are often washed

* "Report on Indians at the Eleventh Census," page 53.

† See illustration on page 38.

‡ See page 104.



INDIAN ARROW- AND SPEAR-HEADS AND A PESTLE.

Photo-reproduction (one-half of the actual size) from the "Christopher Wren Collection," Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.
By courtesy of the Society.



out of the ground by the river at the time of a freshet, or at other times are turned up by the farmer's plough. When one realizes—from a knowledge of the number of these flint implements now in existence, and from a consideration of other matters—how undoubtedly great was the whole number of arrow-heads in use during, say, a period of fifty years immediately preceding the introduction of fire-arms among the Indians, the conclusion is irresistible that in every tribe there must have been skillful workmen who were kept constantly employed in supplying the large demand for these necessary implements. This work was certainly not easy, and could not be done by men selected at random, for it required time, patience, skill and considerable intelligence. Catlin, in his "Last Rambles," previously referred to, gives the following interesting account of the manufacture of flint arrow-heads as he saw it carried on in 1855 by Apache Indians west of the Rocky Mountains.

"Their flint arrow and spear-heads, as well as their bows of bone and sinew, are equal, if not superior, to the manufactures of any of the tribes existing. * * Like most of the tribes west of and in the Rocky Mountains, they manufacture the blades of their spears and points for their arrows of flints, and also of obsidian, which is scattered over those volcanic regions west of the mountains; and, like the other tribes, they guard as a profound secret the mode by which the flints and obsidian are broken into the shapes they require. Their mode is very simple, and evidently the only mode by which those delicate fractures and peculiar shapes can possibly be produced; for civilized artisans have tried in various parts of the world, and with the best of tools, without success in copying them.

"Every tribe has its *factory* in which these arrow-heads are made, and in those only certain adepts are able or allowed to make them for the use of the tribe. Erratic bowlders of flint are collected (and sometimes brought an immense distance), and broken with a sort of sledge-hammer made of a rounded pebble of horn-stone, set in a twisted with the holding the stone and forming a handle. The flint, at the indiscriminate blows of the sledge, is broken into a hundred pieces, and such flakes are selected as, from the angles of their fractures and their thicknesses, will answer as the basis of an arrow-head; and in the hands of the artisan they are shaped into the beautiful forms and proportions which are desired, and which are now to be seen in most of our museums.

"The master workman, seated on the ground, lays one of these flakes on the palm of his left hand, holding it firmly down with two or more fingers of the same hand, and with his right hand places his chisel (or punch)—held between the thumb and two forefingers—on the point that is to be broken off; and a co-operator (a striker) sitting in front of him, with a mallet of very hard wood, strikes the chisel on the upper end, flaking the flint off on the under side below each projecting point that is struck. The flint is then turned and chipped in the same manner from the opposite side, and so turned and chipped until the required shape and dimensions are obtained—all the fractures being made upon the palm of the hand. * * * The yielding elasticity of the hand enables the chips to come off without breaking the body of the flint, which would be the case if it were broken on a hard substance.

"These people have no metallic instruments to work with, and the instruments which they use * * I found to be made of the incisors of the sperm-whale or the sealion, which are often stranded on the coast of the Pacific. The chisel or punch is about six or seven inches in length and one inch in diameter, with one rounded side and two plane sides. * * The operation [of flaking the flint] is very curious, both the holder and the striker singing, and the strokes of the mallet being given exactly in time with the music, and with a sharp and rebounding blow—in which, the Indians tell us, is the great *medicine* (mystery) of the operation."^{*}

From statements made to the first white men with whom the North American Indians came in contact, the normal condition of those Indians prior to the advent of the Europeans was war, cruel and bloody. War fitted the nature of the Indian, was his occupation by design and gave him fame. His heroes were warriors, and so tradition and fact encouraged him to follow war as a profession as well as a recreation. The early Indian wars were generally for encroachments on fish and game preserves, or "hunting-grounds"; and when the several tribes fought with

* For an interesting illustrated article relative to Indian arrow and spear-heads, their manufacture, etc., see "The Stone Age" in "Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical Society," VIII: 93—being a paper read before the Society by Christopher Wren, Esq., of Plymouth, Pa.

each other they fought to exterminate—using with savage cunning and brutality the rude but effective weapons with which they were provided. The bad side of the old-time Indian was that he was undoubtedly horribly cruel in warfare. He was cowardly, too, because he fought behind rocks and bushes, and usually began his wars against the whites by the murder of women and children. He was at all times treacherous, and fought like a wild animal, stealthily creeping and crawling up to his prey; but when cornered, fighting like a devil incarnate. Indians who were brutally brave in battle were at other times arrant cowards. The Europeans initiated the Indians in the use of fire-arms, and taught them by example the use and value of cunning and deceit in transactions with men; but they did not find it necessary either to demonstrate to the Indians that there is such an art as War, or to instruct them in the brutalities of that art.

“Still, along the Indian trail to oblivion, the white man, in many cases, has been as brutal and fiendish as the Indian, and with less excuse, for one is civilized and the other wild and untutored. There has been up to within a few years past but little humanity, charity or justice in much of the white man’s treatment of the American Indian. No apology can be offered for it; no excuse, save the domination for a time of the brute in our superior white race and the attempt to out-Herod Herod—for at times Indians have been wantonly murdered or used like beasts.”

“From the very first settlement on the Atlantic coast,” wrote Catlin in “Last Rambles,” “there has been a continued series of Indian wars. In every war the whites have been victorious, and every war has ended in ‘surrender of Indian territory.’ Every battle which the whites have lost has been a ‘massacre,’ and every battle by the Indians lost a ‘glorious victory.’ And yet, to their immortal honor, * * * they never fought a battle with civilized men excepting on their own ground.”

War by one tribe of Indians against another—particularly among the Algonkian tribes—was declared by the people, usually at the instigation of their “war-captains”—“valorous braves,” says Dr. Brinton, “of any birth or family, who had distinguished themselves by personal prowess.” In early times the Indians went out on the “war-path” generally in parties of forty or fifty warriors or “braves.” Sometimes a dozen went forth, like knights-errant, to seek renown in combat. They were skillful in stratagem and, as previously stated, seldom met an enemy in open fight. Ambush and secret attacks were their favorite methods of gaining an advantage.

“To win by crafty device, by sudden surprise and by unlooked-for perfidy, and to strike terror by ferocious cruelty, were principles of war grained in the very nature of the American savage. For the most part, Indian war was an ingenious system of assassination. A company of braves painted, as the first Dutch parson at Albany expressed it, to ‘look like the Devil himself,’ and carrying no rations but a slender supply of meal of parched maize, would creep for days through swamps and thickets, stepping each in the track of his predecessor, to surprise and put to fire and hatchet some unsuspecting hamlet of peaceful settlers. If compelled to fight with armed troops, it was not in pitched battle, but rather by ambuscade and perhaps with feigned retreat. The more ingenious the trick, the greater the glory. Piskaret, the Alonkin, whose very name was a terror to the Five Nations, approached alone a

village of the Iroquois, with his snow-shoes reversed, and then, hiding in a wood-pile, entered the cabins night after night and killed some of the enemy, returning each time to his place of concealment in the midst of enraged foes who sent runners out to find him.”*

Often the members of a tribe journeyed, either on land or on water, hundreds of miles for the purpose of engaging an enemy in battle. “An Indian considers a hundred miles but a short distance to march, when the purpose he has in view is to glut his vengeance,” wrote Schoolcraft fifty years ago. When they went out formally to make war upon another tribe the Indians marched abreast, or side by side.† At other times, when they had no unfriendly or hostile intentions, or when they were out to prey upon the white settlers, it was their custom always to march in single file, as previously mentioned.

Reference has already been made (on page 125) to the war-dances and war-songs that were generally danced and sung by the braves previously to setting forth on the war-path or engaging in battle. At the instant of rushing into battle the warriors always sounded their frightful war-whoop, as the signal of attack. It was a shrill-sounded note, on a high key, given out with a gradual swell, and shaken by a rapid vibration of the four fingers of the right hand over the mouth. This yell, or whoop, was not allowed to be given among the Indians except in battle, or in the war or other dances. Its sound always inspired terror in the white people who heard it, not because of anything especially terrifying in the yell itself, but because of associations connected with it.

If an Indian met with death while away from his camp or village on an expedition, or in battle, the surviving members of his band always took steps as soon as possible to bury his body on or near the spot where he had died, and then to conceal the place of burial as completely as circumstances would permit.

When an Indian had killed an enemy, whether from an ambush or in open battle, his first effort was to secure his victim’s scalp. Sometimes scalps were taken from the heads of persons who had been only wounded or stunned, and who ultimately recovered from the effects of the wound or blow as well as the scalping. Again, Indians have been known to take the scalp from the body of a former foe accidentally found dead and buried. An account of an instance of this character, that occurred in Pennsylvania in 1755 during the French and English War, will be found in the “Pennsylvania Archives,” First Series, II : 459. Paxinos, a Shawanese chief living in Wyoming Valley, and friendly to the English, was in the neighborhood of Shamokin on the Susquehanna with several of his tribe. While there a fight occurred some six miles farther down the river, between white settlers and certain “French” Indians from New York who were out on the war-path. The next day Paxinos and other Indians went to the scene of the fight, where they found the dead bodies of several white men. “Following the tracks of the Indians into the woods Paxinos discovered a sapling cut down, and near by a grub [root?] twisted. These marks betokened something, and upon search they found a parcel of leaves raked together ; upon removing which they found a fresh made grave in which lay an

*“Indian War in the Colonies.” By Edward Eggleston, in *The Century Magazine*, XXVI : 709 (September, 1883).

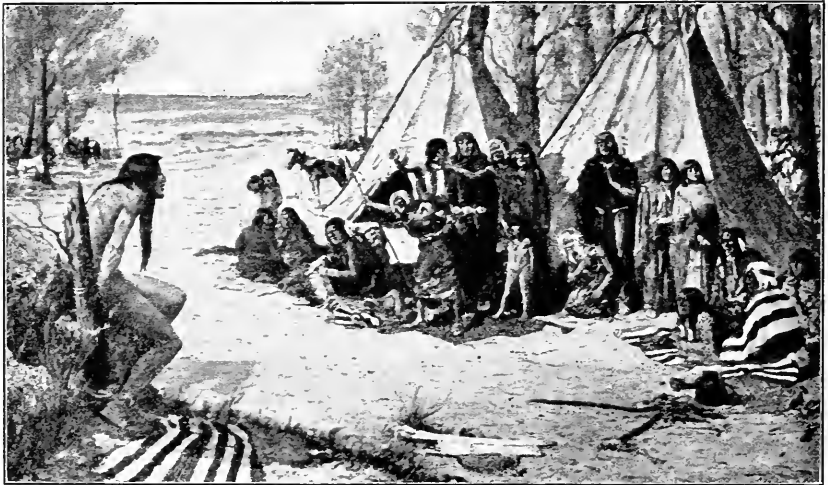
† See “Pennsylvania Archives,” First Series, II : 746.

Indian who had been shot. * * They discovered him to be a French Mohawk Indian, and they *stripped and scalped* him."

The following paragraphs referring to scalping and scalps are from Catlin's "Letters and Notes" (I : 238).

"The taking of the scalp is a custom practised by all the North American Indians—which is done, when an enemy is killed in battle, by thrusting the left hand into the hair on the crown of the head and passing the knife around it through the skin, tearing off a piece of the skin with the hair as large as the palm of the hand, or larger, which is dried and often curiously ornamented, and preserved and valued as a trophy. The most usual way of preparing and dressing the scalp is that of stretching it on a little hoop at the end of a stick two or three feet long. Scalping is an operation not calculated of itself to take life, as it only removes the skin without injuring the bone of the head; and, necessarily, to be a genuine scalp, must contain and show the crown or center of the head—that part of the skin which lies directly over what phrenologists call the 'bump of self-esteem,' where the hair divides and radiates from the center.

* * * "The scalp, then, is a patch of the skin taken from the head of an enemy killed in battle, and preserved and highly appreciated as the record of a death produced by the hand of the individual who possesses it. * * It will be easily seen that the Indian has no business or inclination to take it from the head of the living—which I venture to say is never done in North America unless it be, as it sometimes has happened, where a man falls in the heat of battle, stunned by the blow of a weapon or a gun-shot, and the Indian, rushing over his body, snatches off his scalp, supposing him to be dead. * * The scalp must be from the head of an enemy also, or it subjects its possessor to disgrace and infamy. There may be many instances where an Indian is justified, in the estimation of his tribe, in taking the life of one of his own people, and their laws are such as oftentimes make it his imperative duty; and yet no circumstance, however aggravating, will justify him in, or release him from the disgrace of, taking the scalp. * * *
* * "Besides taking the scalp the victor, generally, if he has time to do it without endangering his own scalp, cuts off and brings home the rest of the [victim's] hair, which his wife will divide into a great many small locks, and with them fringe off the seams of his shirt and his leggings."



"THE CAPTIVE."

From a painting by W. P. Saurwen.

When a war-party turned homeward from a successful expedition, one of their number was selected to bear a pole upon which were suspended the scalps taken from the enemy. Having reached home either the War Dance or the Scalp Dance, previously described, took place.

When, in time of war, an Indian was taken prisoner by a hostile tribe, he was usually tortured and then put to death on the spot. Some-

times, but not often, his captors carried him back with them to their village, there to be humiliated, tormented and deprived of his life in the most public and cruel manner. There was continual exposure to suffering at the hands of enemies; and so, from earliest childhood, the Indian was taught—as were the ancient Romans—never to betray weakness before an enemy, and never to utter a word or exhibit any emotion in public when enduring the sharpest suffering. His muscles were steeled against pain, and made absolutely the slaves of his will. It was considered a mark of weakness or cowardice for an Indian to allow his countenance to be changed by surprise or suffering. This was an accepted maxim from Patagonia to the Arctic seas. Stoicism, or imperturbability, was a necessary habit of the barbarian life.

“Not only men, but sometimes women, and in rarer instances, even children, were subjected to long-drawn deviltries of torment that cause the wildest imaginings of mediæval theologians and poets to seem tame. The Indian warrior deemed cruelty a virtue, and sometimes trained himself in boyhood for a warrior's career by exercising his inhumanity on the animals captured in the chase. On his own part, the brave was prepared to suffer the most extreme torments with the sublimest fortitude, provoking his enemies and inflicting on himself additional torture by way of ostentation. The women evinced as much fortitude in suffering and as much ferocity in inflicting pain as the men. This superfluous diabolism of savage nature vented itself on the dead by ghastly and grotesque mutilations. The frequent cannibalism in the northern tribes arose, no doubt, from a fondness for punishing an enemy after death, though it had a religious significance in some tribes, and was often a resort to satisfy hunger in war time. A Mohegan is said to have broiled and eaten a piece of Philip's* body, probably with some notion of increasing his own strength. Acts of cruelty to the living and outrages on the dead were meant, like the painting of the warrior's face, to excite the enemy's fear, and consequently may be said to have had a legitimate place in Indian warfare.”†

The Indians had a strong aversion to negroes, and generally killed them as soon as they fell into their hands. When white people were taken prisoners by the Indians they were almost invariably pinioned and compelled to march off with their captors, and were required to carry any plunder that might have been gathered up by the latter. When the party encamped over night the prisoners were usually tied to two poles or posts stuck into the ground and often painted red.‡ On the march—which was always a hurried one—the cruelty of the Indians towards their captives was chiefly exercised upon the children and such aged, infirm and corpulent persons as could not bear the hardships of a journey through the wilderness. An infant, when it became troublesome, had its brains dashed out against the next tree or stone. Sometimes, to torment the wretched mother, they would whip and beat the child till almost dead, or hold it under water till its breath was about gone, and then throw it to her to be comforted and quieted. If the mother could not readily still the child's weeping, a tomahawk was buried in its skull. An adult captive, almost worn-out with the burden laid upon his shoulders, would be disposed of in the same way. Famine was a common attendant on these hurried marches. The Indians, when they killed any game, devoured it all at one sitting, and then, girding themselves tightly around the waist, traveled without sustenance until chance threw more in their way. The captives, unused to such anaconda-like repasts and abstinences, could not well support either the surfeits of the former or the cravings of the latter.

* Philip, otherwise "*Metacum*," chief sachem of the Wampanoag tribe of Indians in New England. He was the son and successor of *Massasoit*, and is known in history as "King Philip—the most wily and sagacious Indian of his time" (1675).

† "Indian War in the Colonies." By Edward Eggleston, in *The Century Magazine*, XXVI: 709.

‡ See "The Journal of Christian Fr. Post" (1758).

Added to all these circumstances were restless anxieties of mind ; retrospections of past scenes of pleasure ; remembrances of dear and distant friends ; bereavements experienced at the beginning or during the progress of the captivity ; daily apprehensions of death either by famine or savage captors, and the more obvious hardships of traveling barefooted and half naked across pathless deserts, over craggy mountains and through dismal swamps, exposed by day and night in Winter to frost, snow or rain, and in Summer to various bodily discomforts.

Arriving at the Indian town or encampment to which the war-party belonged, each prisoner was required to run the gantlet. This took place in the open, in the midst of the assembled members of the tribe or band, each one of whom—even to the children—endeavored, with a switch or club or something equally as effective, to smartly strike the prisoner as he scurried through the narrow, living lane in an effort to reach the shelter of one of the cabins or wigwams of the village, where, for a time at least, he would be entitled to protection and permitted to receive necessary food and drink. Female prisoners were never required to run the gantlet.

In the treatment of prisoners in many tribes they were in the habit of inflicting the most appalling tortures. Hot stones were applied to the soles of the feet ; needles were run into the eyes (this cruelty being generally performed by the women) ; arrows were shot into the body, pulled out and then slot again—this usually by the children. These tortures were continued for two or three days, provided the victim could be kept alive so long. If a captive proved refractory, or was known to have been instrumental to the death of an Indian, or was related to any one who had been, he was tortured with a lingering punishment, generally at the stake, while the other captives looked on with fear and trembling. Sometimes a fire would be kindled and a threatening given out against one or more—though there was no intention to sacrifice them, but only to make sport of their terrors. The young Indians often took advantage of the absence of their elders to treat the captives inhumanly, and when inquiry was made into the matter the sufferers either remained silent, or treated the incident lightly, in order to prevent worse treatment in the future.

If a captive should appear sad and dejected, he was sure to meet with insult ; but if he could sing and dance and laugh with his captors he was caressed as a brother. Some captives were given over to Indians to be adopted into their families, to take the places of members who had died or been killed ; others were hired out by their Indian captors and owners to service, or were sold outright as slaves, among the Canadians. A sale among the French in Canada was to a captive the most happy event that could happen—next to his escape from captivity and safe return home to family and friends.

“Among the customs, or, indeed, common laws, of the Indian tribes, one of the most remarkable and interesting was the adoption of prisoners. This right belonged more particularly to the females than to the warriors, and well was it for the prisoners that the election depended rather upon the voice of the mother than on that of the father, as innumerable lives were thus spared that otherwise would have been immolated by the warriors.” If an Indian had lost a relative a prisoner, bought for a gun, a hatchet or a few skins, must supply the place of the deceased,

and be the father, brother or son of the purchaser ; and the captive who could accommodate himself to the new conditions—who assumed a cheerful aspect, entered into the mode of life of the Indians, learned their language and, in brief, acted as if he actually considered himself adopted—was treated with the same kindness that would have been shown the individual in whose place he was substituted, and all hardships not incident to the Indian mode of life were removed. But, if this change of relation operated as an amelioration of conditions in the life of the prisoner, it rendered ransom extremely difficult in all cases, and in some instances precluded it altogether.

It is a remarkable fact, well proved by many historical instances, that, during the wars—particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—between the whites and the Indians, no woman held captive by the latter was ever treated by them with immodesty or indecency. Defenceless, helpless women—at their homes as well as in captivity—were subjected by Indians to fiendish mental and physical tortures, and sometimes were put to death and scalped ; but no instance is known of a violation of the chastity of any of the women ever held as captives by Indians. It was a happy circumstance for such captives that, in the midst of all their distresses, they had no reason to fear from a savage foe the perpetration of a crime which has too frequently disgraced not only the personal but the national character of those who make large pretences to civilization and humanity.

Charlevoix, in his early account of the Indians of Canada, wrote : “There is no example that any have ever taken the least liberty with the French women, even when they were their prisoners.” Mary Rowlandson, who was captured at Lancaster, Massachusetts, in 1675, has this passage in her narrative : “I have been in the midst of these roaring lions and savage bears—that feared neither God nor man nor the devil—by day and night, alone and in company, sleeping all sorts together, and yet not one of them ever offered me the least abuse of unchastity in word or action.” Elizabeth Hanson, who was taken prisoner from Dover, New Hampshire, in 1724, testifies in her narrative that “the Indians are very civil toward their captive women, not offering any incivility by any indecent carriage.” William Fleming, who was taken prisoner in Pennsylvania in 1755, said the Indians told him that “he need not be afraid of their abusing his wife, for they would not do it for fear of offending their god—for the man that affronts his god will surely be killed when he goes to war.” Fleming further said that “one of the Indians gave his wife a shift and petticoat which he had among his plunder, and though he was alone with her, yet he turned his back and went to some distance while she put them on.”

Dr. Charles A. Eastman, a genuine Sioux Indian, a graduate of Dartmouth College and a gentleman of intelligence and culture, said not long since that “the North American Indian is the most picturesque and interesting uncivilized man who has ever lived.” This is without doubt a fact ; but furthermore “*he is an enigma*”—as was stated more than a hundred years ago, in a report to *L'Académie Française* written by a competent and famous investigator. And, in the sense that whatsoever is puzzling and inexplicable is enigmatic, the Indian, an enigma at first, is a much greater enigma the more his life and character are examined. The truth of this statement will be made very apparent to

any one who will dip into some of the numerous books and essays relating to North American Indians which are referred to in the forepart of this chapter.

For a generation or more there has been a disposition among some writers, and a very general tendency among professional soldiers and "Indian-fighters," to reject the old traditions and beliefs regarding "the noble red men of the forest"—that is, the red men more particularly who dwelt on this continent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and in the meantime the people generally have become familiar with the adage (originated, it is said, by a distinguished General in the United States Army) that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian." We ought to be reminded, however, that the bad Indian of to-day is in part the creation of the white man, whose vices have degraded him and whose greed has impoverished him. The white man early initiated the Indian into the mystery of drunkenness, for it is nowhere recorded that the latter had an intoxicant prior to the time the Europeans first met him. Cursing and swearing were among the first things learned from the white man, whose peculiarly vicious expressions were at the same time adopted; for, relying upon his own language, the Indian could not indulge in the practice of profanity. Smallpox and certain other loathsome diseases were also the white man's contribution to his red brother's ills. Then, thirty-five or forty years ago, "the dirt, disease and dishonesty of the alcoholic civilization of the West" of that period did their work, and so the reservation Indian of our time is in a transition stage. He has lost, or is losing, his own virtues, and has not yet acquired those of the white man. The old-fashioned, wild, pagan Indian, before he was tamed, was far superior to the "blanket" Indian of to-day as a type of the American aboriginal.

Palfrey maintains in his "History of New England"—and some subsequent writers agree with him—that the Indians, being "a cowardly lot," were paralyzed into comparative inactivity by the evident superiority of the whites. This view of the case does not seem to be borne out by the facts of recorded history, and the majority of those writers, early and late, who had personal knowledge of the Indians did not look at the matter in this light.

One of the distinguished national traits of the American Indian, that stamped his character as so mentally superior to that of the African and some other races, was his inalienable and uncompromising tenacity of unbounded freedom in all matters and under all circumstances. And so it was that, inured from infancy to the severest vicissitudes, and fortified by savage maxims from age to age, the Indian was not possessed of very lively sensibilities, and acts of harshness, cruelty and injustice—inroads and impositions upon his right of freedom—only served to infuriate and embitter him. "The Indian, of necessity, had to give way to the progress of the age. His game preserves—the vast area of land over which the buffalo roamed—began to feel the influence of a nation's growth. Game became scarce, and then Indian food and clothing were more difficult to obtain. The Indian, a wild man pure and simple—ingenious, it is true, and, for his surroundings and conditions, more so than most white men—could not (and does not) realize the necessity for change. * * * He was a good man until something he did not like or understand occurred, and then the wild man became a live child of the

plains. He roamed as free as air, and without restraint. The inclosures of civilized life were the end of his old methods and customs, and the smoke of the settler's cabin the doom of his freedom. He met what to him was death, with bloody and fierce resistance." But yet, claims Catlin, the Indians were a people not only human by nature, but *humane*, and "they evinced a degree of submission and forbearance that would be a virtue and an honor for any race."

At the beginning they were a hospitable and kindly race, who would have scorned to attack strangers. The leading authorities point out that nearly all the European adventurers, who sailed along the eastern coast of North America during the first century after Columbus, reported the natives as peaceable and kind when not misused. Ponce de Leon, on his first visit to Florida, was hospitably received by the red men. It was only on his second visit, when the atrocious treatment of the natives of Cuba by the Spaniards had become known on the neighboring mainland, that he and his followers were set upon and driven from the peninsula. It is well known that the French—who were more just, sympathetic and politic in their attitude toward the aborigines than were the English—had but little trouble with the red men in Canada; while, for more than seventy years after William Penn concluded his "Great Treaty" with the Indians at Shackamaxon, not a war-whoop was sounded in Pennsylvania. In a word, the animosity and cruelty exhibited by Indians toward white men during most of the last one hundred and fifty years is the outcome of desperation, the natural, inevitable result of the faithless and cruel treatment received by them at the hands of the greater part of the English colonists, and of their descendants, the citizens of the United States.*

In the judgment of the present writer the most intelligent and best-informed men and women—both of past and present times—who have written honestly and with understanding and discernment about the North American Indian, have concurred in the opinion that, before he had come much in contact with the white man, he was brave, industrious and strictly honest. Lying was so despised that habitual caution in speech has always been the Indian's rule. He was faithful in friendship and to family and tribal ties; self-respecting, hospitable, light-hearted and mirth-loving. Heckewelder (mentioned on page 42) viewed the Indians in a very favorable light. He gives, in his various publications, instances of kindness so disinterested and of generosity so noble and chivalrous, on the part of the uncorrupted Indians, as to excite our admiration and win our applause. When we read his descriptions of the sincerity and lasting nature of their friendship, their simple-hearted hospitality and their commanding greatness of mind, we are compelled, despite our horror at their cruelties and repugnance to their savage mode of life, to deplore their hard fate and pity their misfortunes.

Turner, in his "Pioneer History of the Holland Purchase of Western New York" (Buffalo, 1849), wrote:

"Nowhere in a long career of discovery, of enterprise and extension of empire, have Europeans found natives of the soil with as many of the noblest attributes of humanity—moral and physical elements which, if they could not have been blended with ours, could have maintained a separate existence and been fostered by the proximity of civilization and the arts. Everywhere when first approached by our race, they welcomed

* Lieut. Gen. W. T. SHERMAN, U. S. A., in an official communication made in August, 1868, said: "The co-existence of two races such as ours and the Indian in the same district of country is a simple impossibility, without a constant state of war."—*Harper's Magazine*, N. L.: 735.

us and made demonstrations of friendship and peace. Savage as they were usually called, savage as they may have been in their assaults and wars upon each other, there is no act of theirs recorded in the history of our early settlements and colonization of this new world, of wrong or outrage, that was not provoked by assault, treachery or deception—breaches of the hospitality which they had extended to us as strangers in a bare and foreign land. Whatever of savage character they may have possessed, so far as our race was concerned, it was dormant until aroused to action by assault, or treachery of intruders upon their soil, whom they had met and treated as friends."

George Catlin, some years after his death, was charged by the writer of a Government report* with having "permitted his sympathy for the Indian to warp his judgment." "Mr. Catlin," said the writer, "saw but the man. He queried not at policies. His plea was humanity. His creed never changed. * * * No one has had the courage as yet to publicly defend *all the acts of the nation* against the Indian. It would be a bold act in any person to even attempt it. But Mr. Catlin took the *sentimental* side of the Indian question in the matter of state policy until the day of his death. His creed was theory or opinion deduced from a most delightful eight years with the Indians."

Because of the length of time spent by Mr. Catlin among the Indians, carefully observing and endeavoring to understand their customs of life and traits of character; because he had come in contact with so many Indians (forty-eight tribes, as previously mentioned) in almost all parts of this continent; because he was a native of, and spent several years of his early manhood in, Wyoming Valley (where he learned well the story of Indian customs and cruelties that had been practised in this region in the lifetime of many of his friends and relatives, and upon the persons of some of them), and because he was an intelligent, honorable, God-fearing man, the present writer is firm in the belief that the "creed," or "theory," or "opinion," of George Catlin—as well as the vast amount of information obtained and recorded by him—regarding the North American Indians, was and is of value. Although we have already quoted many paragraphs from the writings of Mr. Catlin, we will here introduce a portion of his "Indian Creed" written in 1868:†

"I have had some unfriendly denunciations by the press, and by those critics I have been reproachfully designated the 'Indian-loving Catlin.' What of this? What have I to answer? Have I any apology to make for loving the Indians? The Indians have always loved me, and why should I not love the Indians?

"I love the people who have always made me welcome to the best they had.

"I love a people who are honest without laws, who have no jails and no poor-houses.

"I love a people who keep the Commandments without ever having read them or heard them preached from the pulpit.

"I love a people who never swear, who never take the name of God in vain.

"I love a people who love their neighbors as they love themselves.

"I love a people who worship God without a Bible, for I believe that God loves them also.

"I love the people whose religion is all the same, and who are free from religious animosities.

"I love a people who have never raised a hand against me, or stolen my property, where there was no law to punish them for either.

"I love the people who never have fought a battle with white men except on their own ground.

"I love and don't fear mankind where God has made and left them, for they are children.

"I love a people who live and keep what is their own without locks and keys.

"I love all people who do the best they can—and, oh! how I love a people who don't live for the love of money.

* * * I was luckily born in time to see these people in their native dignity and beauty and independence, and to be a living witness to the cruelties with which they have

* "Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, to July, 1885," II: 737-739.

† See his "Last Rambles," referred to on pages 84 and 85, *ante*.

been treated worse than dogs, and now to be treated worse than wolves. And in my former publications I have predicted just what is now taking place—that in their thrown and hunted down condition the future 'gallopers' across the Plains and Rocky Mountains would see here and there the scattered and starving and begging and haggard remnants of these once proud and handsome people, [and would] represent them in their entailed misery and wretchedness as 'the Sioux,' 'the Cheyennes,' 'the Osages,' etc., and me, of course, as a liar." * * *

Catlin was not the only man of his time who wrote and spoke enthusiastically and eulogistically of the Indian. Many other Americans of that period, and some of earlier as well as later times—and nearly all of them men of knowledge and ability—raised their voices and wielded their pens in behalf of the Indian. We would like to introduce here a number of extracts from some of the eloquent tributes and appeals referred to, but lack of space prohibits the insertion of more than the two following—which are from addresses delivered in the year preceding that in which Catlin began his work among the Indians. The following is from an address entitled "Character and Fate of the American Indians," delivered by the Hon. Joseph Story* before the Essex (Massachusetts) Historical Society, September 18, 1828.

"In the fate of the aborigines of our country—the American Indians—there is, my friends, much to awaken our sympathy, and much to disturb the sobriety of our judgments; much which may be urged to excuse their own atrocities; much in their characters which betrays us into an involuntary admiration. What can be more melancholy than their history? Two centuries ago the smoke of their wigwams and the fires of their councils rose in every valley from Hudson's Bay to the farthest Florida—from the ocean to the Mississippi and the lakes. The shouts of victory and the war-dance rang through the mountains and the glades. The thick arrows and the deadly tomahawk whistled through the forests, and the hunter's trace and the dark encampment startled the wild beasts in their lairs. The warriors stood forth in their glory. The young listened to the songs of other days. The mothers played with their infants, and gazed on the scene with warm hopes of the future. The aged sat down, but they wept not. They would soon be at rest in fairer regions—where the Great Spirit dwelt—in a home prepared for the brave beyond the western skies. Braver men never lived; truer men never drew the bow. They had courage and fortitude and sagacity and perseverance beyond most of the human race. They shrank from no dangers, and they feared no hardships. If they had the vices of savage life, they had the virtues also. They were true to their country, their friends and their homes. If they forgave not injury, neither did they forget kindness. If their vengeance was terrible, their fidelity and generosity were unconquerable also. Their love, like their hate, stopped not on this side of the grave.

"But where are they? Where are the villages and warriors and youth? The sachems and the tribes? The hunters and their families? They have perished! They are consumed! The wasting pestilence has not alone done the mighty work. No! nor famine nor war! There has been a mightier power, a moral canker, which hath eaten into their heart-cores—a plague, which the touch of the white man communicated—a poison, which betrayed them into a lingering ruin. The winds of the Atlantic fan not a single region which they may now call their own. Already the last feeble remnants of the race are preparing for their journey beyond the Mississippi. I see them leave their miserable homes—the aged, the helpless, the women and the warriors—few and faint, yet fearless still.' The ashes are cold on their native hearths. The smoke no longer curls round their lowly cabins. They move on with a slow, unsteady step. The white man is upon their heels, for terror or despatch; but they heed him not. They turn to take a last look of their deserted villages. They cast a last glance upon the graves of their fathers. They shed no tears; they utter no cries; they heave no groans. There is something in their hearts which passes speech. There is something in their looks—not of vengeance or submission, but of hard necessity, which stifles both; which chokes all utterance; which has no aim or method. It is courage absorbed in despair! They linger but for a moment. Their look is onward. They have passed the fatal stream. * * * They know and feel that there is for them still one remove farther—not distant nor unseen. It is to the general burial-ground of their race."

* JOSEPH STORY was born at Marblehead, Massachusetts, September 18, 1779, and died September 10, 1845. He was graduated at Harvard University in 1798, and was admitted to the bar in 1801. From 1811 until his death he was an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1829 he became Professor of Law at Harvard. He was the author of "Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States," "Equity Jurisprudence," "The Conflict of Laws," and other important works.

The following paragraphs are from an address entitled "Aboriginals of New England," delivered by the Rev. William B. Sprague, S. T. D.*

* * * "Here the wigwam blaze beamed on the tender and helpless, the council-fire glared on the wise and daring. Now they dipped their noble limbs in your sedgy lakes, and now they paddled the light canoe along your rocky shores. Here they warred. The echoing whoop, the bloody grapple, the defying death-song—all were here; and when the tiger strife was over, here curled the smoke of peace. Here, too, they worshipped; and from many a dark bosom went up a pure prayer to the Great Spirit. He had not written His laws for them on tables of stone, but He had traced them on the tables of their hearts. The poor child of Nature knew not the God of Revelation, but the God of the Universe he acknowledged in everything around. He beheld him in the star that sank in beauty behind his lonely dwelling; in the sacred orb that flamed on him from his midday throne; in the flower that snapped in the morning breeze; in the lofty pine that defied a thousand whirlwinds; in the timid warbler that never left its native grove; in the fearless eagle whose untired pinion was wet in the clouds; in the worm that crawled at his foot, and in his own matchless form, glowing with a spark of that light to whose mysterious source he bent in humble, though blind, adoration.

"And all this has passed away. Across the ocean came a pilgrim bark bearing the seeds of life and death. The former were sown for you; the latter sprang up in the path of the simple native. Two hundred years have changed the character of a great continent, and blotted forever from its face a whole, peculiar people. Art has usurped the bowers of Nature, and the anointed children of education have been too powerful for the tribes of the ignorant. Here and there a stricken few remain, but how unlike their bold, untamable progenitors! The Indian of falcon glance and lion bearing, the theme of the touching ballad, the hero of the pathetic tale, is gone; and his degraded offspring crawl upon the soil, where he walked in majesty, to remind us how miserable is man when the foot of the conqueror is on his neck.

"As a race they have withered from the land. Their arrows are broken, their springs are dried up, their cabins are in the dust. Their council-fire has long since gone out on the shore, and their war-cry is fast dying to the untrodden west. Slowly and sadly they climb the distant mountains and read their doom in the setting sun. They are shrinking before the mighty tide which is pressing them away; they must soon hear the roar of the last wave which will settle over them forever. Ages hence the inquisitive white man, as he stands by some growing city, will ponder on the structure of their disturbed remains and wonder to what manner of persons they belonged. They will live only in the songs and chronicles of their exterminators. Let these be faithful to their rude virtues as men, and pay due tribute to their unhappy fate as a people."

When the Confederation of the American Colonies was formed in September, 1774, the Indians of the country became a charge, and under the control, of the Continental Congress; and in June, 1775, three departments of Indian affairs were created by the Congress. The first, known as the Northern Department, embraced the Indians of the Six Nations and all Indians northward of them; the Southern Department included the Cherokees (then and for a long time previously settled in Georgia) and all Indians south of them, while the Middle Department included all the Indian nations inhabiting the country lying between the other two departments. The affairs of each department were attended to by a board of commissioners, who were empowered to make treaties and were supplied with money for the purchase of presents to be made and for other expenses. This system was adopted and put into operation, not for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the Indians, but simply in order that peace with them might be preserved during an anticipated period of trouble between the Colonies and the mother country.

In March, 1778, the Continental Congress first authorized the employment of Indians in the army, "if General Washington thinks it prudent and proper;" and later in the same year the first formal treaty was made between the United States and an Indian tribe—the Delawares. The treaty system thus inaugurated—by and between the

* WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE was born in October, 1795. From 1829 to 1869 he was pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, Albany, New York. In 1828 he received the degree of S. T. D. from Columbia College. He was the author of more than one hundred published sermons, memoirs, addresses and essays.

United States (by its commissioners) and the various Indian tribes as *separate and independent nations*—continued until the year 1869, resulting in about 380 treaties and almost endless confusion. Then Congress ordered that the making of such treaties should be stopped, and thenceforward the Indians of the United States (with the exception of those in Alaska) have been regarded and treated as “wards of the Nation.” Indirectly at first, and then directly, the affairs of the Indians were under the supervision and management of the Department of War from 1787 till 1849, when the Bureau of Indian Affairs was transferred to the Department of the Interior, where it is now known as the “Office of Indian Affairs,” is presided over by a “Commissioner” (who is subordinate to the Secretary of the Interior), and “has charge of the Indian tribes of the United States (exclusive of Alaska), their lands, moneys, schools, purchase of supplies, and general welfare.”

Since the year 1794, by means of treaties, purchases and executive orders made in pursuance of Acts of Congress, reservations in various parts of the United States have been from time to time erected for the use and occupancy of particular tribes or nations of Indians, and they have been required to live thereon. These reservations, as they exist now, are domains ranging in area from 350 to 9,442,240 acres within the bounds of certain States and Territories. When occupied they are under the absolute control of United States Indian Agents, who are supervised and directed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. For a good many years—particularly during the time that the Department of War had the supervision of Indian affairs—many of the Indian Agents were United States Army officers, drawn from the active as well as the retired list of the Army. But the reservation system—even with trained military officers as Agents—did not, of course, put a stop to Indian outbreaks, and whenever they occurred the strong military arm of the Government was used to quell them and to punish with severity the lawless and refractory “wards of the Nation.” Finally, in December, 1869, President Grant, in his annual message to Congress, wrote :

“From the foundation of the Government to the present time the management of the original inhabitants of this continent, the Indians, has been a subject of embarrassment and expense, and has been attended with continuous robberies, murders and wars. From my own experience, upon the frontier and in Indian countries, I do not hold *either legislation or the conduct of the whites who come most in contact with the Indians blameless for these hostilities.* * * * I have adopted a new policy towards these wards of the Nation (they cannot be regarded in any other light than as wards), with fair results so far as tried, and which I hope will be attended ultimately with great success.”

The policy of President Grant became known as the “peace policy,” and in it he was aided by the representatives of various religious denominations. The entire Indian population was apportioned out, and a large number of Indian Agents having been named by eleven different religious bodies were duly appointed by the President.

In January, 1882, Gen. W. T. Sherman wrote as follows to Col. R. I. Dodge :

“In the treatment by the National Government of the Indians, the military and civil officers of the Government have generally been diametrically opposed. The former (the military) believing the Indians to be as children, needing counsel, advice and example, coupled with a force which commands respect and obedience from a sense of fear. The latter (the civilian), trusting mostly to moral suasion and religious instruction. The absolute proof produced by you that the Indian has a strong religious bias, but is absolutely devoid of a moral sense as connected with religion, more than ever convinces me that *the military authorities of the United States are better qualified to guide the*

*steps of the Indian towards that conclusion which we all desire—self-support and peaceful relations with his neighbors—than the civilian agents, most of whom are members of some one of our Christian Churches.***

Time demonstrated that the civilizing of the Indian is one thing, the christianizing another, and that civilization and christianization did not seem to work well when taught and enforced by the denominational Agents. Therefore, after a few years of trial this policy was abandoned, and since then Agents have been appointed by the President without regard to the recommendations of religious bodies.

According to a decision of a Judge of the United States District Court for Nebraska, rendered in 1879, the "Indian is a *person* within the meaning of the laws of the United States; * * * and Indians possess the inherent right of expatriation as well as the more fortunate white race, and have the inalienable right to 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' so long as they obey the laws." This decision was never reversed, but still by law and Government practice the Indian continued to be looked upon as "a ward of the Nation" and so treated. The United States Courts early decided that the Indian was not the owner of the soil he occupied, and that he was incompetent to transfer any rights to that soil.

When the reservation system was first introduced, and for some years thereafter, each of the reservations was for the exclusive use, *in common*, of the members of the particular tribe or tribes assigned to it; or, in other words, definite areas of the lands comprising the reservation were not allotted to the Indians in severalty. From time to time, however—particularly in very recent years—millions of acres lying within the bounds of various reservations have been allotted to the Indians occupying the same; and when further allotments, for which arrangements are now under way, shall have been made, about two-thirds of the Indians in the United States (exclusive of Alaska) will have been provided for in this manner.

Under the reservation system nothing on the reservation is the subject of taxation, and the nonallotted Indians are not citizens; but Congress can at any time, by an Act, declare all Indians in the United States citizens of the country. In 1891 the Indians who were not citizens were the nonallotted reservation Indians, the Six Nations of New York and the "Five Civilized Tribes" of Indian Territory—to whom further reference will be made later. Since 1891 many of these Indians have become citizens by operation of law, as previously noted. The allotting of definite areas of reservation lands wipes out the reservation, of course, and confers upon the Indian allottees citizenship in the particular State or Territory in which the lands lie.

For many years rations and clothing were gratuitously and indiscriminately issued by the Government at regular stated times to the Indians on the reservations—with few exceptions; but this system is being gradually abolished. By those who have given attention to the subject it has been realized for some years that, in the Indian's progress towards self-support, the first, and perhaps the principal, obstacle has been the prevailing ration system. It has been justly condemned as encouraging idleness, with its attendant vices, and as foreign in its results to the very purpose for which it was designed. At the same

* See "Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1885," Part II, page 740.

time, while an evil, it was admitted to be a necessary evil, but to be endured only while the Indian was learning the art of self-support, or was being put in a way where, by the exercise of ordinary industry, he could support himself. The continuance of the practice of indiscriminately issuing rations to all alike, without regard to their worldly conditions, was earnestly opposed about four years ago, and it was then determined by the Government authorities "that only the old and helpless should be supported, while the able-bodied, if not already self-supporting, should be given the opportunity to work and should then be required to take care of themselves."

In 1894 an intelligent, educated, Christian Apache Indian of full-blood delivered an address in Wilkes-Barré on the present-day Indians. He argued that the reservation idea was all wrong. "Do not waste time and money on reservations," he said, "which only multiply and perpetuate pauperism. Give the Indian freely of your civilization, and the problem is solved. The reservation idea is not common sense; it is a theory, and you cannot solve the Indian question on theory. The Indian should not be treated as a different being from the white man, but just like the white man and along side of him. The reservation is a promoter of idleness, and it fosters beggary and ruin." Ten years later, in March, 1904, the President of the United States received a delegation of Oglala Sioux Indians, visiting Washington from their reservation in South Dakota. The Indians on this reservation own about 40,000 ponies, and it is said that they are more addicted to horse-racing and gambling than they are to agriculture. The President informed the delegation that it is now the determined policy of the Government to take care of the older Indians, but that the younger members of all the tribes soon would have to look out for themselves, as other citizens of the United States do. Idleness and laziness would not be tolerated, and they must learn to cultivate industry and self-reliance. Tribal relations are to be broken up and each Indian made independent in the same way as white citizens.

In 1890 there were on various reservations 133,417 Indians actually under the charge of the Indian Office; and to 57,960 of these subsistence was regularly issued by the Government. Rations are now drawn regularly by probably 40,000 Indians—among them being a large number who are too old or too feeble to work, and who have been deserted by their young relatives. The reservation system and the ration scheme are doomed!

From the first settlement of this country much zeal and disinterested philanthropy have been exercised in attempts to convert the Indians to Christianity, and induce them to adopt the manners and customs of civilized men. Also, at an early day, efforts were begun here and there in the different Colonies to educate the Indians in schools and colleges. The work, both of christianizing and educating the Indians, has been continued up to the present time, and has gradually and constantly grown in extent and importance. It must be admitted, however, that the results desired and expected in the earlier days of this work by its supporters and laborers were not reached, except in a small proportion of cases. Only here and there, in the long line of Indians who received the benefits of religious and scholastic training in those days, could be found one who—like Samp-

son Occum, for instance—made good use of his acquirements and was of benefit to his fellow men.

Apaumet was a Mohegan, who was carefully educated at Princeton College, where he was named John Calvin. He acquired a good knowledge of the classics and of English literature, of which, as he had a retentive memory, he was on occasions not a little vain. He returned to his tribe on the Housatonic and accompanied them to the banks of the Oneida in western New York, where, as he was neither a hunter nor a fisherman, he became a schoolmaster. Being disappointed with civilization and disheartened by the life he led, he attempted to drown his sorrows in the intoxicating bowl. Often, while inebriated, he would recite some of the finest passages of Homer. He said that his knowledge was useless to him because he had no letters to write and no accounts to keep; and that his study of history had taught him that his people were savages and he himself a lettered savage, alike unfit for Indian or civilized life.

In July, 1787, John Ledyard*—then in far-off Siberia—wrote in his journal as follows: "In the United States of America, as in Russia, we have made an effort to convert our Tartars to think and act like us; but to what effect? Among us Sampson Occum was pushed the farthest within the pale of civilization. * * * The Marquis de Lafayette had a young American Tartar, of the Onondaga tribe, who came to see him, and the Marquis at much expense equipped him in rich Indian dresses. After staying some time he fled, and sought his own elysium in the bosom of his native forests. When I was at school at Mount Ida [Dartmouth College] many Indians were there, most of whom gave promise of being civilized, and some were sent forth to preach; but as far as I myself observed, and have been since informed, they all returned to the homes and customs of their fathers, and followed the inclinations which Nature had so deeply enstamped on their characters."

Only a few weeks before Ledyard wrote the foregoing lines, the following stanzas were printed in *The Pennsylvania Packet*, a Philadelphia newspaper. So far as the present writer is aware, they have never been republished until now.

"THE INDIAN STUDENT; OR, FORCE OF NATURE."

"From Susquehanna's utmost springs
(Where savage tribes pursue their game),
His blanket tied with yellow strings,
A shepherd of the forest came.

"From long debate the Council rose,
And, viewing Shalum's tricks with joy,
To Harvard's Hall—o'er wastes of snows—
They sent the tawny-colored boy.

"Awhile he writ, awhile he read,
Awhile he learned their grammar rules—
An Indian savage, so well bred,
Great credit promis'd to the schools.

"Some thought he would in law excel,
Some said in physick he would shine,
And one, that knew him passing well,
Beheld in him a sound divine.

"The tedious hours of study spent,
The heavy-moulded lecture done,
He to the woods a-hunting went,
But sighed to see the setting sun.

* See page 86.

“ ‘And why,’ he cried, ‘did I forsake
My native wood for gloomy walls ;
The silver stream, the limpid lake,
For musty books and college halls !’

“ ‘Where Nature’s ancient forests grow,
And mingled laurel never fades,
My heart is fixed, and I must go
To die among my native shades.’

“ He spoke, and to the western springs
(His gown discharg’d, his money spent,
His blanket tied with yellow strings)
The shepherd of the forest went !”

In 1775 the Continental Congress made a spasmodic effort in the direction of the education of Indian children. Treaty agreements with the various Indian tribes, relative to the education of their children, began to be made as early as 1794, and continued to be made down to only a few years ago. The actual work of Indian education, however, was practically in the hands of various religious denominations until July, 1870, when Congress appropriated \$100,000. for Indian schools. Since then the work of education has been conducted by means of schools located on and off the various Indian reservations, and known as (1) nonreservation boarding-schools, (2) reservation boarding-schools and (3) day-schools. The first class, not being on the reservations, are usually located near the centers of civilization, and are, as a rule, large institutions. Reservation boarding-schools are the home schools of the Indians, in which their children are collected from the reservations. Day-schools are near the camps of the Indians, and within easy reach of their homes. Various Churches also maintain in the Indian country denominational schools whose educational methods are valuable aids to the work done by the Government.

Prior to 1878, when a contract was made with Hampton Institute, Virginia, for the education of certain Indian pupils, all the efforts of the Government were directed to the education of Indians on their reservations. In 1879 the old United States Army barracks at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, were turned over for Indian school purposes, and the first non-reservation school was established. There are now twenty-five of these schools, the one at Carlisle being the largest. The latter is admirably equipped, and from 1,000 to 1,200 boys and girls, representing more than eighty Indian tribes, are enrolled in the school and receive practical instruction in farming, gardening, dairying and the everyday affairs of life (by means of the outing system), in addition to instruction in the school-room and shops. At Hampton the average number of Indian youth enrolled as students is from 140 to 150, representing more than twenty tribes. The literary training and the industrial work at this school are well correlated, and both are of the most practical and effective character. Of the second class of schools—reservation boarding-schools—there are ninety now being conducted, only five of which were in operation prior to 1870. The number of day-schools now in operation is 134—making the total number of Indian schools in the country 249, with an average enrolment of 24,757 pupils. The cost of maintaining these schools for the year ended June 30, 1902, was \$3,437,785.

While many of the students who return from the schools to their homes seemingly relapse into their old ways, the majority profit by the

training they have received. There are some Indian Agents, however, who seem to be of the opinion that all "Indian education is a failure." Representative of those who thus believe is the Agent of Ponca Agency in Oklahoma, who, in his annual report for 1902 to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, said :

"Under the rules governing the management of Indian schools we are compelled to send many of the children to the higher or nonreservation schools, which is, in my opinion, in most cases useless, as very few Indians possess the necessary receptive faculties to be benefited by higher education. The children should and can receive sufficient education, both literary and industrial, at the reservation boarding-school to serve them for all practical purposes. To continue the education further is, in about nine cases out of every ten, a waste of effort and money. I have yet to see a single Indian educated for any profession or trade who is able to compete with white people in his line. As he cannot compete, he must of necessity return to his reservation on completion of his school life ; and as his education has tended rather to unfit than to fit him for making a living on his allotment, he must inevitably become an idler and so degenerate.

* * "Hardly any of the young Indians—those who have graduated from the non-reservation schools, as well as those who have attended for a number of years—do any work at all. It can be set down as a perfectly safe rule that, as a class, the young educated Indians are *the most worthless ones* in the whole tribe. Nearly all of the work done by these tribes [at the Ponca Agency] is that performed by the middle-aged, able-bodied ones, who cannot write or speak English. When an educated Indian, after coming from the schools, is urged to strike out for himself and work his own land, he usually gives the excuse that he has nothing with which to work—neither money, implements nor stock of any kind, and therefore cannot accomplish anything."

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in an official letter to Indian Agents early in 1902, wrote :

"The returned male student far too frequently goes back to the reservation and falls into the old custom of letting his hair grow long. He also paints profusely and adopts all the old habits and customs which his education in our industrial schools has tried to eradicate. The fault does not lie so much with the schools as with the conditions found on the reservations. * * * On many of the reservations the Indians of both sexes paint, claiming that it keeps the skin warm in Winter and cool in Summer, but instead this paint melts when the Indian perspires and runs down into the eyes. The use of this paint leads to many diseases of the eyes among those Indians who paint. * * * You are therefore directed to induce your male Indians to cut their hair, and both sexes to stop painting. * * The wearing of citizens' clothing, instead of the Indian costume and blanket, should be encouraged. Indian dances and so-called Indian feasts should be prohibited. In many cases these dances and feasts are simply subterfuges to cover degrading acts and to disguise immoral purposes."

In February, 1902, in a letter to the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs wrote :

"Dances that are degrading and so-called religious rites that are immoral, though gradually disappearing, still prevail. It is these and similar practices, and the customs that are incident to them, that the Indian must relinquish if he is to succeed. * * * The Indian must work out his own salvation. To do that he must learn to labor. He must put aside all savage ways that are inimical to that. He must adapt himself to the ways of the civilization around him, and cease to be a mere curiosity and a show. * * It is not that long hair, paint, blankets, etc., are objectionable in themselves—that is largely a question of taste—but that they are a badge of servitude to savage ways and traditions which are effectual barriers to the uplifting of the race. * * * It is a familiar saying that error lies at two extremes and truth in the middle, and a striking illustration of the truth of this is found in the Indian question. At one extreme there is a cold brutality which recognizes the dead Indian as the only good Indian, and at the other a sickly sentimentalism that crowns the Indian with a halo and looks up to him as a persecuted saint. Between the two will be found the true friends of the Indian, who, looking upon him as he really is and recognizing his inevitable absorption by a stronger race, are endeavoring in a practical way to fit him under new conditions for the struggle of life."

In October, 1680, a great comet appeared in the heavens, and a sachem of one of the New Jersey tribes of Indians, who was observed to be looking with solemn attention at the wonderful object, was asked what he thought it portended. He gravely answered: "It signifies that we Indians shall melt away like the snow in Spring, and this country be inhabited by another people."

In the judgment of the best authorities* "it is not probable that the present [1890] area of the United States since the white man came has contained at one time more than 500,000 Indians. High estimates were made in early days, but the average even then was about 1,000,000." In the Summer of 1774 Governor Hutchinson of Massachusetts, who was supposed to be well informed as to the condition of affairs in the American Colonies, was in London, where, in an audience with the King, he stated that it looked "as if in a few years the Indians would be extinct in all parts of the Continent—owing in part to their being dispirited at their low, despicable condition among the Europeans, who have taken possession of their country and treat them as an inferior race of beings; but [owing] more to their immoderate use of spirituous liquors."

In June, 1822, the Rev. Jedediah Morse, Special Indian Commissioner of the United States, made a detailed report relative to the Indians then within the limits of the United States together with what is now the State of Texas. The report gives the names of 230 tribes, with a total population of 471,417. The censuses prior to 1850 did not include Indians, and they were not stated in the total of population. In 1853, under the Seventh Census (1850), it was reported that there were 400,764 Indians in the country—but accuracy was not claimed by the framers of this report, as, confessedly, there were a good many "estimates" included in the report. The census of 1870 showed a total of 313,712 civilized and uncivilized Indians, exclusive of those in Alaska; and that of 1890 a total of 248,253. Both of these totals included the "Five Civilized Tribes" of Indian Territory—the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks and Seminoles, numbering 50,055 souls in 1890.

The Indians of the "Five Civilized Tribes," or Nations, are not taxed and are not under the control of the Indian Office. They are fairly industrious, entirely self-supporting, and a law-abiding people, living on patented lands, with a large surplus of cash each year from payments made by the United States Government, and the results from an almost primitive system of agriculture. They have large herds of cattle, horses and some sheep. They have several large towns and villages, composed of substantially-built brick, frame and log houses. No liquor is allowed to be sold in the Territory. Ninety per cent. of the "Five Tribes" practise the white man's ways and have his customs. They wear citizens' clothing. Now and then a man can be found with an Indian pipe, and sometimes one wears moccasins, and shawls as well as blankets are worn. Some individuals of the tribes are still classed as "old-time" Indians and maintain a sturdy adherence to the old Indian faith. Medicine men are still to be found among them. The number of Church communicants among the "Five Tribes" is large, although there are still some pagans remaining. As a whole their condition is not the civilization of the Anglo-Saxon. A large number of each Nation are quarter and half-breeds—in fact, are white men in features—and the majority of them still use the Indian language. Each Nation is governed by a "Principal Chief," and has an elective legislature, elective courts, officers and police.

According to the Eleventh Census (1890) there were then in the State of New York 726 civilized and self-supporting Indians of various

* See "Report on Indians in the United States at the Eleventh Census," page 57.

tribes, living off reservations, taxed, and counted in the general census; also, 5,309 Indians of the Six Nations occupying seven reservations, comprehending 87,327 acres of the lands they originally occupied. In 1902 these last-mentioned Indians numbered 5,272. Many of them are pagans—that is, they hold to the beliefs of their fathers and are opposed to the white man and his methods. They are self-sustaining and much farther advanced in civilization than any other reservation Indians in the United States, and as much as an average number of white people in many localities. On all their reservations crimes are few, and quarrelling, resulting in personal assault, is infrequent.

At the Eleventh Census there were living in various parts of Pennsylvania 983 civilized, self-supporting and taxed Indians (not including the pupils in the Carlisle school or in Lincoln Institution, Philadelphia, who were enumerated with the populations of the respective reservations to which they belonged); also, eleven Onondaga Indians and eighty-seven Senecas—representing twenty-four families—residing on the Cornplanter Reservation in Warren County. This reservation is the property of the heirs of Chief "Cornplanter"* (referred

* JOHN O'BAIL, or *Gyant-wa-hia* ("The Cornplanter"), the half-breed son of an old Indian trader named Abiel, or O'Bail, and a woman of the Seneca tribe, was born in New York about the year 1733. Before the age of nineteen or twenty he began to evince superior sagacity and unusual bravery, and in 1753 was selected by Sir William Johnson to serve as his orderly. In the Summer of 1760, in the campaign against the French, resulting in the surrender of Montreal, Sir William Johnson commanded a "brigade" of Indians. The "western regiment" of this "brigade" was composed of 700 Iroquois—mainly Senecas and Cayugas—led by the redoubtable chief of the Senecas, Hi-o-ka-to, aided by Capt. Jean Montour and the young "Cornplanter." In 1765 "Cornplanter," already acknowledged to be a "great war-chief," dwelt at Old Castle Town, at the foot of Seneca Lake, near the present site of Geneva, New York. Ezra Buell, a surveyor, visited this town in 1765, and in his "Narrative" (see Buell's "Sir William Johnson," page 239) thus refers to the Seneca chief: "Cornplanter's wife is a white woman, young and neat. He does not allow her to work, but keeps two or three squaws to be servants for her. He is a fine, stalwart fellow, very sensible; keeps open house for his friends, and is true to the King as steel."

During the Revolutionary War "Cornplanter" was in league with and fought on the side of the British. Immediately on the close of hostilities, being deserted by his British allies, he became convinced that he had been on the wrong side in the contest, and that the true policy for his tribe and race was to accept the situation and make friends with the victors. In October, 1784, "Cornplanter," then chief of the Senecas located on the Allegheny River, was present at the treaty held at Fort Stanwix, between the United States commissioners and the Six Nations, and it was mainly through "Cornplanter's" efforts that the Indians were induced to sign the agreement by which the Six Nations were to relinquish a large part of the territory they claimed to own; to restore all prisoners in their possession, and to perform other obligations. In December, 1790, a delegation of Senecas headed by "Cornplanter"—who was then the head-chief of his nation—visited Philadelphia for the purpose of laying some grievances before Congress and asking for aid in introducing agriculture and the arts of civilized life among the Senecas. The Rev. Samuel Kirkland, who, as their adviser and counsellor, was with this delegation during their stay of several weeks at the capital, was instrumental during that time in converting the chief to the Christian faith. In his journal Mr. Kirkland wrote (see Sparks' "American Biography," XV: 303): "I think I never enjoyed more agreeable society with any Indian than Captain Abiel ["Cornplanter"] has afforded me. He seems raised up by Providence for the good of his nation. He exhibits uncommon genius, possesses a very strong and distinguishing mind and will bear the most mental application of any Indian I was ever acquainted with. * * * He is an exception in regard to sobriety and temperance to the generality of Indians, never having been once intoxicated during the whole course of his life."

During the troubles with the Indians in the years 1790-94 "Cornplanter" maintained his allegiance to the United States most faithfully, and rendered valuable assistance to the General Government and in the protection of the western frontiers of Pennsylvania. For these services he received permission from the authorities of this State to select from its unappropriated territory 1,500 acres of land for himself and his posterity. For his own occupancy he selected a tract of land two miles long and one-half mile wide on the west bank of the Allegheny River (and including two islands in the river), in the north-east corner of what is now Warren County. The remainder of the lands selected by him lay in what is now Venango County, Pennsylvania, and included the site of the present Oil City. All these lands were patented to "Cornplanter" by the Commonwealth in March, 1796. Upon the smaller of the two tracts (the one first mentioned, and now known as the Cornplanter Reservation) the famous chief located with his family in 1797, and here he lived until his death in 1836, at the age of about one hundred and three years.

In April, 1822, "Cornplanter" addressed a letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania, in which he complained that the whites had broken the treaty of Fort Stanwix by destroying all the wolves, by stealing his melons and vines, by destroying the pine trees and by bringing among the Indians great quantities of whisky, by which his people became drunken. He also protested against being compelled by the authorities of Warren County to pay taxes on his land, and in conclusion requested that a commissioner might be sent to the Allegheny to inquire into his situation and "to instruct the white people how they should conduct themselves towards the Indians."

"Cornplanter" was a half-brother of "Handsome Lake," mentioned on page 122. For a number of years "Cornplanter" and the famous Seneca chief and orator, "Red Jacket," were strong rivals. It is stated in "Chambers' Encyclopedia" (edition of 1897, I: 225) that "Cornplanter" * * * is said to have been the earliest temperance lecturer in America." In 1806 the Legislature of Pennsylvania authorized the erection of a monument to the memory of the old chieftain, which was done at a cost of \$550, "and now marks the grave of one of the bravest, noblest and truest specimens of the aboriginal race."

In 1903 Prof. Frederick Starr (see page 166) originated "The Cornplanter Medal," a silver medal—named in honor of the great Seneca chief—to be annually presented to that person in the United States who during the year shall have most distinguished himself in research work among the American Indians.

to on page 135), and consequently is not mentioned by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in his annual reports. The conditions of the Indians on this reservation are similar to those of the Six Nations who occupy the Allegany Reservation in Cattaraugus County, New York (immediately adjoining Warren County, Pennsylvania), and they are duly considered and treated of in the official reports relative to that reservation. The "Cornplanter" Senecas belong to the Seneca nation, voting with them for officers annually, and having a representative in the nation's council. They own a common interest in all the Seneca lands in New York, and share in the annuities that are paid. They have been admitted to the privileges of citizenship in Pennsylvania.

It is a common belief, among those who have not given the subject any special attention, that there are now very few Indians—particularly uncivilized ones—existing in this country; and that the few who are here are either cooped up on reservations or traveling with "Wild West" shows or taking a college course. The report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year ended June 30, 1902 (the latest report now available), shows that there were then 270,238 *untaxed* Indians in the United States exclusive of Alaska and the Cornplanter Reservation in Pennsylvania. Of this number 84,500 were members of the "Five Civilized Tribes" (including some 21,000 persons of negro descent), and 5,272 of the Six Nations, as previously noted. These 270,238 "wards of the Nation" were located in twenty-seven different States and Territories, and all of them, with the exception of 21,673, occupied reservations. Twenty-seven of these reservations were "allotted," and 132 of them (comprehending 75,148,643 acres of land) were wholly or in part "unallotted." Of the 185,738 Indians exclusive of the "Five Civilized Tribes" there were 102,300 who wore citizens' dress wholly, and 41,844 who wore it in part; and there were 47,081 who could read, and 62,616 who could use English enough for ordinary purposes.

When we call to mind the ravages of disease, exposure, starvation and the white man, and then consider the number of Indians now here, in comparison with the number at the advent of the European on this continent, the Indian would seem to be a startling example of the survival of the fittest. It must be noted, however, that of those who are now classified in the reports and censuses of the Government as Indians the majority are unquestionably *not full-bloods*. The increasing value of the reservations, the distribution by the National Government of great sums of money to certain tribes, the development of excellent educational institutions for the exclusive benefit of Indian children—these, as well as other advantages, have had the effect to draw into tribal relationship thousands whose claims to such relationship depend upon very small strains of Indian blood.

In several of the "Five Civilized Tribes" the title Indian includes Indians by blood, Indians by intermarriage and *freedmen*. The "Five Tribes," except the Seminole, all owned slaves prior to and during the Civil War. In 1860 the total number of slaves thus held was 7,369. These were freed by the Proclamation of Emancipation, which, however, was not enforced and confirmed among the "Five Tribes" until the adoption of the treaty of 1866, and then only after much protest. These freedmen were then admitted to full citizenship in some of the tribes—particularly in the Creek Nation—and are entitled to share

in the distribution of the lands and moneys of those tribes. Since the war there has been a very large increase in the negro population of Indian Territory by immigration from the old slave States adjacent. The negroes—both the new-comers and the natives of the Territory—have intermarried with the members of all the tribes except the Choctaw—in which tribe any Indian who marries a negro is punished by death. In some parts of Indian Territory occupied by the “Five Tribes” the negroes predominate, the whites come next, and the red men are often pointed out as exceptions—rarities, one might almost say. And yet legally and technically a large proportion of these white men and negroes are Indians, and are called such. Some years ago a prominent lawyer of Missouri went down into Indian Territory to transact some business with one of the tribes. When he returned home, after having driven a hard bargain for his clients, he commented on the people he had dealt with in these words: “Indians! Those fellows are not Indians. They are mighty smart Yankees, tanned a little.”

In many other tribes throughout the country the intermarriage of Indians with whites and negroes has been going on for a long time, and in this way the Indian race is gradually losing its identity. When the reservation system shall have been abolished, and tribal relations brought to an end, the red men will begin to scatter, and the effect will be a general and rapid mixing up of the races. There are some scientists, however, who believe that the different white races of the United States are slowly converging to the type of the North American Indian, and that the Indians, as a race, will never become extinct, but will increase in numbers and be once more dominant when the physical forces now in operation shall have changed the white man into the Indian.

The notion that Caucasian settlers will be gradually Indianized in America and Africanized in Africa is an old one, and has been actively discussed at various times. Some seven years ago Prof. Frederick Starr of Chicago University, who is well known as a student of anthropology, made some careful investigations among the Pennsylvania Germans and summarized the results of his work in the statement that these people “are steadily approaching the physical type of the American Indian.” Professor Starr measured the heads, heights, finger reaches and lengths of legs and arms of hundreds of school-children in Allentown, Pennsylvania. Then he went to Kutztown—the heart of Pennsylvania “Dutchdom”—and at the county fair collected photographs of great numbers of the “Pennsylvania Dutch” country people. Comparing these with the prevailing types of the German Palatinate of to-day he found that the “Pennsylvania Dutch” head had grown larger, the cheek bones higher and the eyes and hair darker, as a result of the American environment. A number of the photographs showed a striking similarity to the dominant features of the Indian face. Furthermore, he found that the “Dutch” of Pennsylvania have grown in stature over their compatriots in Europe, and they have a distinct tendency towards the strong, bony lankness of the American Indian. The American environment is what has produced the physical unity of appearance among the Indians, says Professor Starr, and if it is capable of producing a common type from the different peoples who first came to the country many hundreds of years ago, why may it not work a similar change in people

of different nationalities who came after them and in the wake of Columbus?

Many people, other than the Indians themselves, sincerely regret that the American aboriginals are surely although slowly becoming extinct, either by amalgamation with other races or by death. They apprehend that the Amerind people having built no temples, reared no monuments of stone, iron or bronze and having no literature will be forgotten. In their opinion, "such has been the Indian's life, such the result, that if the entire remaining Indians were instantly and completely wiped from the face of the earth they would leave no monuments, no buildings, no written language save one, no literature, no inventions, nothing in the arts or sciences, and absolutely nothing for the benefit of mankind." But, if the theories and deductions of Professor Starr are to be relied upon, the Amerind people will not only continue to exist and be remembered, but will be increased and strengthened by large numbers of the Indianized Americans of modern times—particularly the "Pennsylvania Dutch"! In any event, how can the red man be forgotten? He will be remembered in the coming centuries from the fact that he has impressed himself upon the laws of this country, and has indelibly stamped by characteristic names—either of his own giving or drawn from his vocabulary by the whites—so many of our States, Territories and towns, bays, lakes and rivers.

Fifty-one years ago, in reply to a generally expressed opinion that the red man was rapidly disappearing and would soon be forgotten, Mrs. Sigourney (mentioned on page 69) wrote the following stanzas :

"Ye say that all have pass'd away—
That noble race and brave—
That their light canoes have vanish'd
From off the crested wave ;
That, mid the forest where they roam'd,
There rings no hunter's shout.
But their name is on your waters—
Ye may not wash it out !

"'Tis where Ontario's billow
Like ocean's surge is curl'd,
Where strong Niagara's thunders wake
The echo of the world ;
Where red Missouri bringeth
Rich tribute from the west,
And Rappahannock sweetly sleeps
On green Virginia's breast.

"Ye say their cone-like cabins,
That cluster'd o'er the vale,
Have disappeared as wither'd leaves
Before the Autumn's gale.
But their memory liveth on your hills,
Their baptism on your shore,
Your everlasting rivers speak
Their dialect of yore.

"Old Massachusetts wears it
Within her lordly crown,
And broad Ohio bears it
Amid her young renown ;
Connecticut hath wreath'd it
Where her quiet foliage waves,
And bold Kentucky breathes it hoarse
Through all her ancient caves.

“Wachusets hides its lingering voice
 Within his rocky heart,
And Allegheny graves its tone
 Throughout his lofty chart ;
Monadnock, on his forehead hoar,
 Doth seal the sacred trust—
Your mountains build their monument,
 Though ye destroy their dust.”





CHAPTER IV.

EARLY INDIAN SETTLEMENTS IN WYOMING—EARLIEST VISITS OF WHITE
MEN—MORAVIAN MISSIONARIES ON THE SUSQUEHANNA—
CONNECTICUT LAND COMPANIES ORGANIZED—
THE "WYOMING REGION" PUR-
CHASED FROM THE
SIX NATIONS.

"Here let me rest, by fair Wyoming's side,
Where Susquehanna's placid waters glide;
While sparkling streams, 'mid meadows rolling free,
Pay willing tribute to the distant sea."

—*Rev. Joshua Peterkin, D. D.*

Chapman states in his "Sketch of the History of Wyoming"* that Count Zinzendorf, who visited the valley in 1742, "is believed to have been the first white person that ever visited Wyoming." Stone and Miner, writing years later than Chapman, adopted and gave expression to this view in their respective histories. At a still later date Pearce wrote that "the impression that the Count Zinzendorf was the first white man who ever visited the Wyoming Valley" was probably a mistake, and suggested that Conrad Weiser, the Indian agent and interpreter, had visited the valley some years previously to the coming of Zinzendorf. It is now known that Weiser was here more than once prior to 1742—as will be more fully shown hereinafter.

"In the year when Elizabeth of England died (1603) no white man, it is safe to say, had ever seen the region which we call Pennsylvania. * * Neither John Smith nor Henry Hudson entered Pennsylvania. They approached or reached the open doorway, but did not come inside. The actual visit of a white man was not made for six years after Hudson's call at the Capes. Apparently the first of white pioneers in Pennsylvania was a Frenchman, who came from Canada, Étienne Brulé [Stephen Bruehle], a follower of Champlain, the first Governor of New France. He was Champlain's interpreter and guide—"the dauntless woodsman, pioneer of pioneers," Parkman calls him."†

In September, 1615, when Champlain was preparing to join with the Hurons in the expedition against the palisaded village pictured on page 95, Brulé set out with a party of twelve Hurons from Upper Canada for the towns of the Carantouanis, to secure their co-operation against the common enemy. These people were allies of the Hurons

* See page 19, *ante*.

† "Pennsylvania—Colonial and Federal," I: 1, 35.

and are mentioned in the description of Champlain's map as "a nation to the south of the Antouhonorons in a very beautiful and rich country, where they are strongly lodged and are friends with all the other nations except the Antouhonorons, from whom they are only three days distant." The Antouhonorons, says Dr. Beauchamp, were the Upper Iroquois, or, perhaps more strictly, the Senecas; although the Dutch, at the time of their discoveries, called all the Upper Iroquois Senecas. On the maps of 1614 and 1616 the Carantonanis appear as the Gachoi, or Gachooos, mentioned on page 111, and they occupied the territory now comprehended in the counties of Chemung and Tioga, New York. Immediately to the south of these at the period mentioned were the Capitanasses, within the present limits of Pennsylvania.

Brulé, with his little band of Hurons, crossed from Lake Ontario to the Susquehanna, defeated on the way a small war-party of Iroquois and entered in triumph Carantouan, the chief town of the Carantouanis. This town was palisaded, and could send out when necessary 800 warriors—which would indicate a total population of about 4,000 souls. Brulé secured here a force of 500 Carantouanis, and they set out to join Champlain and the Hurons; but as they marched slowly they reached the Iroquoian town only to find that Champlain had attacked it with his force, had failed, had himself been wounded and had retreated to Canada. Brulé and the allies therefore returned to Carantouan, and here the former remained the rest of the Autumn and all Winter "for lack of company and escort home."

While thus waiting Brulé explored the country and visited the tribes adjacent to that region, and early in the Spring of 1616 descended the Susquehanna River to at least the present Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary. Thence he returned through the same region (the valley of the Susquehanna), if not precisely by the same route, to Carantouan, and later rejoined Champlain—in whose "Voyages" Brulé's adventures on the Susquehanna were subsequently recorded. It may be well to note here the ultimate fate—as recorded by Sagard in his "History of Canada"—of this the first known white man to visit the valley of Wyoming. In 1623 he was living in Quebec, leading a very dissolute life among the Indians. Later he went over to the English, and in 1629 was sent by them with a message to the Hurons. The latter provoked at his conduct, put him to death and devoured him!

The Rev. David Craft, D. D., formerly of Wyalusing, Pennsylvania, and now of Angelica, New York, and Gen. John S. Clark of Auburn, New York, who have given a great deal of time to the study of aboriginal remains in the valley of the upper Susquehanna, and elsewhere, are positive that the Carantouan of Brulé was situated on a high hill, in the shape of a sugar-loaf, near the present village of Waverly, New York. This hill, which is level on top and has an area of eleven acres, is crossed by the New York-Pennsylvania boundary-line, and is now popularly known as "Spanish Hill." Evidences of a palisade, an embankment and a ditch were apparent here in 1795—as noted by the Duke de la Rochefoucault in his "Travels Through the United States in 1795-'97." There was an Indian burial-ground at the foot of the hill. "Spanish Hill," or Carantouan, is situated about six miles north of Tioga Point, mentioned on page 34, and 101 miles north-west of Wilkes-Barré—following the windings of the river.

Dr. Beauchamp states (*Bulletin of the New York State Museum*, No. 32, pages 12 and 15) that at about the year 1600 "the Susquehanna River was held in Pennsylvania by the Iroquois family. Of these the Gachoi, or Gachos, alone had land in New York, nor did they live there long. Their Iroquois foes gave them scant room in New York, but they were in close alliance with others of the family in Pennsylvania. Below them were the Capitanasses and the Minquas; the latter being the Andastés. Collectively and later, all these were known to the English as Susquehannas or Conestogas."*

Dr. Craft holds that from time immemorial until they were overthrown by the Iroquois (in 1675, as noted on page 40) the Huron-Iroquois Andastés were in possession of the valley of the Susquehanna in what is now Pennsylvania. Further, that the nation was composed of ten tribes, living in forty palisaded villages, of which the uppermost, the most populous and the strongest fortified was what Brulé and Champlain called Carantouan. Their second town was Osculni (meaning "The Fierce"), which stood on a bluff at the upper side of Sugar Creek, just where it empties into the Susquehanna, near the present borough of Towanda, in Bradford County. Here the path, or trail, leading from the West Branch of the Susquehanna, joined the great Warrior Path which ran along the North Branch of the river. Their third town was Gahontoto (signifying "where there is an island," or "The Island Town"), and was situated on a bluff on the north side of Wyalusing Creek (in what is now Bradford County) at its junction with the Susquehanna. The site of this town lies north-west of Wilkes-Barré, thirty-six miles in a bee-line, or, following the windings of the river, 58 miles. The fourth town of this nation, so far as known, was Onachsae (signifying "A Cave"), situated south-east of Gahontoto, twelve miles in a bee-line, on a bluff on the north side of Meshoppen Creek at its junction with the river, in what is now Wyoming County.

Nothing is known concerning these towns, and others inhabited by the Susquehanna Indians, except what has been learned from tradition (and that is not much), from the meager information communicated by Brulé to Champlain and recorded by the latter in his "Voyages," and from a careful examination (made at an earlier day than the present) of the determined sites of these towns, and a study of the relics found there. All these towns had long been deserted by their original occupants when the white men—the recorders of history—began their settlements in the Wyoming region; and neither the Indians then dwelling in, nor those from time to time frequenting, this region knew anything definite concerning the earlier inhabitants. Chapman, speaking of them generally in his "Wyoming" (page 6), refers to them as aboriginals "of whom very little is now [1818] known, but of whom relics have been found indicating a people of more importance than those tribes who subsequently occupied the country."

Almost up to the time (March 4, 1681) of the granting by King Charles II to William Penn of the territory described in the charter as the "Province of Pennsylvania," that territory was wholly the Indians' land. "While they did not occupy it, in a strict sense of the word, they enjoyed its complete possession in the manner suited to their way of life.

*In this connection see pages 38 and 39, *ante*, relative to the Susquehannas or Andastés as Huron-Iroquois.

* * How many there were of them is wholly left to conjecture. It is agreed that they were few." Oldmixon states in his "British Empire in America," published in 1701, that three years after the Penn grant was made "there were as many as ten nations of Indians in the Province of Pennsylvania, comprising 6,000 in number."

When the first settlers under the Connecticut Susquehanna Company came to Wyoming Valley they found here the remains—well-defined and easily discernible—of two ancient fortifications or enclosures, respecting the origin and uses of which the Indians then here could give no information. One of these earthworks was situated within the present limits of the borough of Dorranceton, Kingston Township, and the other was located in what was at one time a part of the township of Wilkes-Barré, but is now the township of Plains. Neither the early Wyoming settlers nor their immediate descendants were given to any sentiment with regard to the preservation of Indian remains or relics or, for that matter, of the Indians themselves. They had come here from New England, through an almost trackless wilderness, for the purpose of building new homes and wresting a living from the then untilled soil and unbroken forest. And so Indian earthworks were ploughed over, relics were ploughed under and other evidences of an earlier occupation were destroyed and soon forgotten. Fortunately, before all this destruction was completed, there came into the valley as citizens thereof a few men possessing intelligence and some sentiment who foresaw that the time would arrive when the later descendants of the first settlers would be greatly interested in learning all that could be learned concerning the aboriginal inhabitants of Wyoming. Foremost among these few foresighted men was Isaac A. Chapman, previously mentioned, whose portrait and a sketch of whose life will be found in a subsequent chapter. He had come to the Susquehanna region in 1798 at the age of eleven years, and in 1809 had located at Wilkes-Barré as a surveyor and draftsman. The following paragraphs are from Mr. Chapman's "A Sketch of the History of Wyoming" (page 8), mentioned on page 19, *ante* :

"In the valley of Wyoming there exist some remains of ancient fortifications which appear to have been constructed by a race of people very different in their habits from those who occupied the place when first discovered by the whites. Most of these ruins have been so much obliterated by the operations of agriculture that their forms cannot now [1818] be distinctly ascertained. That which remains the most entire was examined by the writer during the Summer of 1817, and its dimensions carefully ascertained, although from frequent ploughing its form had become almost destroyed. It is situated in the township of Kingston, upon a level plain on the north side of Toby's Creek, about one hundred and fifty feet from its bank, and about half a mile from its confluence with the Susquehanna.*

"It is of an oval, or elliptical, form, having its longest diameter from the north-west to the south-east, at right angles to the creek, 337 feet; and its shortest diameter from the north-east to the south-west 272 feet. On the south-west side appears to have been a gate-way about twelve feet wide, opening towards the great eddy [Toby's] of the river into which the creek falls. From present appearances it consisted probably of only one mound or rampart, which, in height and thickness, appears to have been the same on all sides, and was constructed of earth—the plain on which it stands not abounding in stone. On the outside of the rampart is an entrenchment or ditch, formed probably by removing the earth of which it [the rampart] is composed, and which appears never to have been walled. The creek on which it stands is bounded by a high, steep bank on that side, and at ordinary times is sufficiently deep to admit canoes to ascend from the river to the fortification.

"When the first settlers came to Wyoming this plain was covered with its native forest, consisting principally of oak and yellow pine; and the trees which grew in the rampart and in the entrenchment are said to have been as large as those in any other

* It is about three-quarters of a mile from Toby's Eddy, mentioned on page 54.

part of the valley. One large oak, particularly, on being cut down was ascertained to be 700 years old! The Indians had no traditions concerning these fortifications; neither did they appear to have any knowledge of the purposes for which they had been constructed. They were, perhaps, erected about the same time with those upon the waters of the Ohio, and probably by a similar people and for similar purposes."

In a letter relative to this Kingston earthwork written by Mr. Chapman in 1817, and published in *Hazard's Pennsylvania Register*, V: 35, he stated that he had been assured by old Mr. Peirce and many others that the timber which had been found growing "on the rampart, or parapet, was as large as any of the adjoining forest; and there were also old logs found upon these mounds, indicating that a former growth of timber had preceded that which was then standing."

From time to time during many years, after the occupation of the valley by white-men had been begun, various Indian relics were picked up on the site of this earthwork. Among other implements found more than fifty years ago, and now in the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, was a rudely wrought spear-head of copper, five inches in length by one inch in its broadest part.

This particular site being located on the very fertile Lower Kingston Flats (described on page 50), which have been regularly cultivated now for considerably more than a hundred years, all traces of the old earthwork and, without doubt, all relics of the aboriginal occupiers of it, have long since disappeared. However, about the time Mr. Chapman wrote his description of the remains of this earthwork he drew a map* of a part of the Lower Kingston Flats, and upon it he noted the site of the old earthwork—indicating its exact location by a reference to the determined and easily ascertained boundaries of certain official surveys. By the aid of a draft of these surveys and Mr. Chapman's map and printed description of the locality in question, the present writer was enabled recently to locate, beyond doubt, the site of the old-time Indian earthwork; and he made a photograph of the same, reproduced on the next page. This site is on land which, a hundred years ago, was the property of Ezekiel Peirce, a well-known citizen of Kingston Township. It has been owned for some time now by Lawrence Myers of Wilkes-Barré. It is located about 300 feet south-west of Peirce Street, running from the North Street bridge to the borough of Kingston, and is distant about 150 feet from the north bank of the "short branch" of Toby's Creek mentioned on page 54. The row of trees growing on this bank, and seen in the middle-distance of the picture, indicates the course of the creek. The location of the site, with reference both to Wilkes-Barré and Kingston, may be readily seen by an inspection of the map in Chapter XXVIII entitled "Map of Wilkes-Barré and its Suburbs in 1872." In the matter of location, certain features of construction, natural surroundings, etc., there were remarkable resemblances between the Kingston earthwork, as described, and the works mentioned and pictured on pages 92 and 93.†

As to the remains of the earthwork found on Jacob's Plains‡ in what was formerly a part of the township of Wilkes-Barré, Charles

* Now in possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

† Since the above was put in type the writer has been informed by George H. Butler, Esq., a descendant of Ezekiel Peirce, that he remembers very well that in 1864 a small section of the embankment of this old earthwork was still distinguishable; and at the nearest point to it on the bank of the creek was a fine bubbling or live spring.

‡ The great flood of 1865 washed away all traces both of the spring and the earthwork.

† See page 50.

Miner gives the following account in his "History of Wyoming" (mentioned on page 19, *ante*), written in 1843 or '44.

"Its situation is the highest part of the low grounds, so that only in extraordinary floods is the spot covered with water. Looking over the flats in ordinarily high freshes the site of the fort presents to the eye an island in the vast sea of waters. The eastern extremity is near the line dividing the farms of Mr. John Searle and Mr. James Hancock, where, from its safety from inundation, a fence has long since been placed; and to this circumstance is to be attributed the preservation of the embankment and ditch. In the open field, so entirely is the work leveled, that the eye cannot trace it; but the extent west is known, 'for it reached through the meadow lot of Captain Gore,' said Cornelius Courtright, Esq., to me when visiting the ground several years ago, 'and came on to my lot one or two rods.' The lot of Captain Gore was seventeen perches in width. Taking, then, these 280 feet, add the distance it extended eastwardly on the Searle lot, and the extension westerly on the lot of Esquire Courtright, we have the length of that measured by Mr. Chapman, so very nearly, as to render the inference almost certain that both were of the same size and dimensions.

"Huge trees were growing out of the embankment when the white people began to clear the flats for cultivation. This, too, in Wilkesbarre, is oval, as is still manifest from the segment exhibited on the upper part, formed by the remaining rampart and fosse—the chord of the arc being the division fence. A circle is easily made; the elliptical form

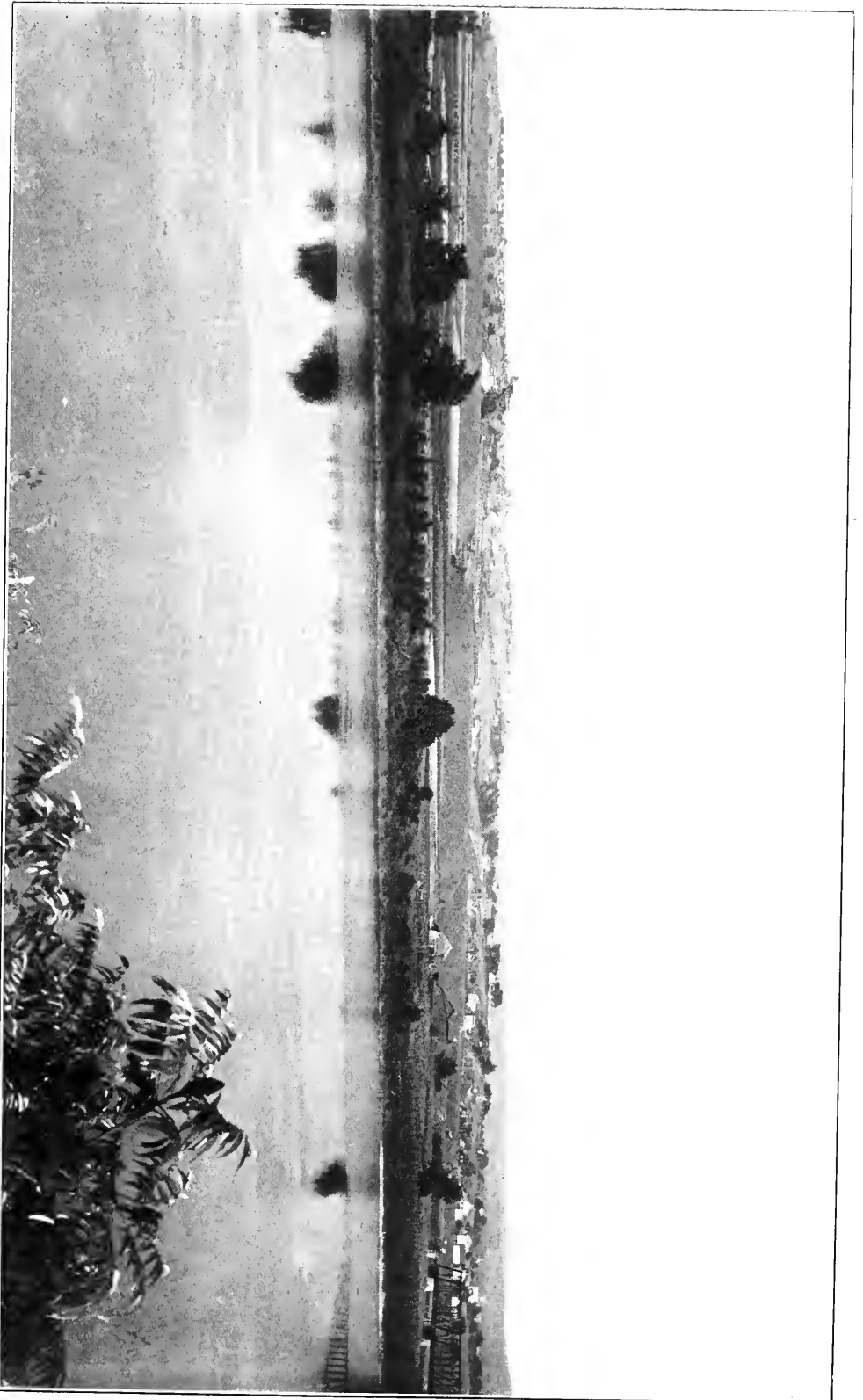


SITE OF OLD INDIAN EARTHWORK IN DORRANCETON.

From a photograph by the author in October, 1903.

much more difficult for an untutored mind to trace. Trifling as these circumstances may appear, the exact coincidence in size and shape, and that shape difficult to form, they appeared to me worthy of a distinct notice. The Wilkesbarre fortification is about eighty rods from the river, towards which a gate opened, and the ancient people concur in stating that a well existed in the interior, near the southern line.

"On the bank of the river there is an Indian burying-place; not a barrow or hill, such as is described by Mr. Jefferson, but where graves have been dug and the deceased laid horizontally in regular rows. In excavating the canal [about the year 1833], cutting through the bank that borders the flats—perhaps thirty rods south from the fort—another burying-place was disclosed, evidently more ancient, for the bones almost immediately crumbled to dust on exposure to the air, and the deposits were far more numerous than in that near the river. By the representation of James Stark, Esq., the skeletons were countless, and the deceased had been buried in a sitting posture. In this place of deposit no beads were found, while they were common in that near the river.



VIEW OF PLAINS, PORT BOWKLEY, ETC.

From a photograph taken in 1901 near the site of the...

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"In 1815 I visited this fortification in company with the present Chief Justice Gibson and Jacob Cist, Esq.* The whole line, although it had been ploughed for more than thirty years, was then distinctly traceable by the eye. Fortune was unexpectedly propitious to our search, for we found a medal bearing on one side the impress of King George I, dated 1714 (the year he commenced his reign); on the other, an Indian chief.† It was awarded to Mr. Cist, and by him was deposited with the Philadelphia Historical Society."

In 1842 the Hon. Eli K. Price of West Chester, Pennsylvania, visited the site of the earthwork on Jacob's Plains and wrote concerning it: "Situated on an elevated and beautiful plain, it commands an excellent prospect up and down the river, and must have been admirably adapted for its purpose. Few traces are left of its existence—a few heaps of stone and rubbish, and a moat that surrounded it, which is yet distinctly visible." What the early settlers supposed to have been a well—as noted by Mr. Miner—was without doubt a pit, or cache, used for the storage of corn or other provisions. Mr. Charles M. Williams of Plainsville has informed the writer that when he was farming "the meadow lot of Captain Gore"—previously mentioned in the extract from Miner's "Wyoming"—he ploughed up great quantities of mussel shells, and some fragments of Indian pottery. This was in 1858.

All traces of this earthwork have long since disappeared, and within the last thirty years such very marked changes have been made along the flats in Plains Township—by the filling in of the canal-bed, the building of railways, the erection of coal-breakers and the dumping on the flats of thousands of tons of culm—that it is now impossible to procure a satisfactory picture of the old site. It lies north-east of the Dorranceton site previously described—two and a-half miles in a bee-line—and is almost directly opposite the mouth of Abraham's Creek (see page 52) on the opposite bank of the river. In the illustration facing this page the Henry (now the Horton) coal-breaker dimly seen in the middle-distance, near the left side of the picture, stands a few rods south-west, or to the right, of the site of the old earthwork.

In the year 1710 Col. Peter Schuyler of New York conducted a deputation of five Indian "kings" to England, where marked interest was shown them. They became the lions of social and public life, and at Court were received with unusual distinction. Steele wrote an account of their visit for the *Tattler* of May 13, 1710, and Addison one for the *Spectator*. In all the early printed accounts of this visit two of the "kings" or chiefs were referred to as "River Indians." Mr. Miner gives his reasons at length ("History of Wyoming," pages 28 and 29) for inclining "strongly to the opinion" that the earthworks on Jacob's Plains and in Dorranceton had been occupied respectively by Seneca and Oneida Indians; and that the two "kings" of the "River Indians" who were in London in 1710 had at that time, or later, their respective headquarters at the Wyoming Valley earthworks or fortifications, where they were chiefs of the tribes mentioned.

For this opinion there is no substantial foundation, for it is now well ascertained that the only tribe referred to or known as "River

* See page 98.

† There are now in existence, in various numismatical collections in this country, several medals which either exactly or very nearly resemble the one here described. Not one of them, however, bears a date, and Mr. Miner erred, without doubt, in stating that the medal found on Jacob's Plains, and now in the collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, bore a date. Relative to some of these medals see "Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," II : 217.

A copper medal, similar to the one described above, was found on the Upper Kingston Flats, near Forty Fort, in 1859, and passed into the possession of Squire Woodhouse. See *The Record of the Times*, (Wilkes-Barré), April 25, 1860.

Indians" at the period mentioned was the Mahikan, or Mohegan (mentioned on page 101), and it is known that two "kings" of the delegation of five were Mohegans. Further, there is nothing in tradition or history to show that any of the Five Nations established their habitations in the valley of the Susquehanna—at least within the present limits of Pennsylvania—after they had dispossessed the Andastés or Susquehannocks, as previously described. Over all this territory the Five Nations exercised jurisdiction—claiming proprietorship by right of conquest—and they came here to hunt, but never to reside. Pearce (see page 20), writing some years later than Miner, fell into the same error as the latter in assuming that the two chiefs of the "River Indians" who visited London were from Wyoming. Commenting further upon Miner's statements Pearce says ("Annals," pages 19 and 364):

"The one [chief], he [Miner] supposes, occupied the fortification at Kingston, and the other that on the Jacob Plains. But this conclusion is most probably incorrect. The indications are decidedly in favor of the supposition that these fortifications were once occupied by a people very different from the Indians. The growth of large trees on the ramparts and within the enclosure show that they must have been abandoned hundreds of years before the period when the deputation from the Five Nations visited England. The two populous graveyards, the different modes of burial, a large copper spear-head recently found on the site of the fortification at Kingston, point to two distinct peoples, who at different periods occupied these lands. The Indians never dug wells, erected forts or used any other implements of warfare or husbandry than stone, wood and clay, until after they became known to the whites."

Squier (see pages 93 and 96), writing about the year 1848 and later of the earthworks of New York, held that the weight of evidence was in favor of the conclusion that those earthworks had been erected by the Iroquois, or their *western neighbors*, and did not go back to a very high antiquity. He also observed that "above Wilkes-Barré, still farther to the northwest, near the borders of New York and forming an unbroken chain with the works of that State, are found other remains." He leaves the reader to presume that he considers these "other remains" to be of the same character, and to have been erected by the same people, as the New York earthworks. The western, as well as the southern, neighbors of the Iroquois belonged to the Huron-Iroquois family, as we have previously shown. We have also noted (on page 96) Dr. Beauchamp's agreement with Squier's opinion as to the age and the probable builders of the New York earthworks. In a letter to the present writer, written in 1897, Dr. Beauchamp stated that "the old work at Jacob's Plains was of the Huron-Iroquois family type of defence." Taking this testimony into consideration in connection with that adduced on page 39, and that of Dr. Craft on page 171, the conclusion is inevitable that the Wyoming Valley earthworks, or fortifications, which we have described were erected, or at least occupied, by the Susquehannock, or Andasté, Indians, who were without doubt the original inhabitants of the valley of the Susquehanna. In the occupancy of these fortifications they continued until about the year 1675, when they were completely overthrown by the Iroquois and required to confine themselves to two villages on the Susquehanna, as mentioned on page 40. It is quite probable that thenceforward for a number of years Wyoming Valley remained uninhabited, and was only visited or traversed from time to time by Iroquois hunters from New York in pursuit of game, or warriors from the same tribes and region who were going to or returning from their battles with the different southern tribes.

Halsey says ("Old New York Frontier," page 34) that in 1683 commissioners at Albany obtained for Governor Dongan of New York an account of the valley of the Susquehanna River and its relations to the Indian settlements—their information coming from white men as well as from Indians. "The commissioners recommended that regular traders be sent out to form camps or settlements along the valley. It was argued that these places would be much nearer the Indians than Albany was, 'and consequently the Indians more inclinable to go there.' The recommendation in part sprang from a desire to thwart certain efforts made by Penn to increase his trade, and in part from a desire to accede to the requests of Indians, but in the main Penn's ambition was the moving cause." In 1686 Dongan requested the Indians to see that "neither French nor English go and live at the Susquehanna River, nor hunt nor trade amongst the brethren without my [his] pass and seal." In the following year the Governor desired to secure royal authority for erecting "a campagne fort" upon the Susquehanna, "where his Majesty shall think fit Mr. Penn's bounds shall terminate." As to this point, the Governor favored Wyalusing, mentioned on page 171. (Mr. Halsey says that according to Dr. Beauchamp the meaning of the name Wyalusing is "Home of the Old Warrior.") The "campagne fort" desired by Governor Dongan was evidently not erected—at least at Wyalusing.

In 1701 or '02 a small band of Shawanese Indians established themselves in Wyoming Valley by invitation of the Five Nations. The Shawanese, or Sha-wá-noes (the *Chaouanons* of the French), now the Shawnees, were an erratic tribe of bold, roving and adventurous spirit. "Their eccentric wanderings, their sudden appearances and disappearances, perplex the antiquary and defy research," says Parkman. "There is not a tribe on the continent," wrote Catlin, "whose history is more interesting than that of the Shawánoes, nor any that has produced more extraordinary men." Gen. Lewis Cass,* in his work on the history and languages of the Indians in the United States (published in 1823) states relative to the Shawanese:

"Their history is involved in much obscurity. Their language is Algonquin, and closely allied to the Kickapoo and other dialects spoken by tribes who have lived for ages north of the Ohio. But they are known to have recently emigrated from the South, where they were surrounded by a family of tribes—Creeks, Choctaws, Cherokees, etc.—with whose language their own had no affinity. Their traditions assign to them a foreign origin, and a wild story has come down to them of a solemn procession, in the midst of the ocean, and of a miraculous passage through the great deep. That they were closely connected with the Kickapoos, the actual identity of language furnishes irrefragable proof, and the incidents of the separation yet live in the oral history of each tribe.

"We are strongly inclined to believe that, not long before the arrival of the French upon these great lakes, the Shawanese and Kickapoos composed the tribe known as the Erie—living on the eastern shore of the lake to which they have given their name. It is said that this tribe was exterminated† by the victorious Iroquois; but it is more probable that a series of disasters divided them into two parties, one of which, under the name of Kickapoos, sought refuge from their enemies in the immense prairies between the Illinois and Mississippi, and the other, under the name of Shawanese, fled into the Cherokee country, and thence farther south. Father Segard, in 1632, called the Eries the '*Nation du Chat*,' or the 'Raccoon,' on account of the magnitude of these animals in their country; and that is the *soubriquet* which, to this day, is applied by the Canadians to the Shawanese."

M. F. Force, in "Some Early Notices of the Indians of Ohio" (published in 1879), states that among the conjectures as to the early

* LEWIS CASS (born in New Hampshire in 1782, and died in Michigan in 1866) served in the United States Army during the second war with Great Britain and rose to the rank of General. For eighteen years following the close of the war he served as Governor of the Territory of Michigan. From 1831 to 1836 he was Secretary of War, and from 1836 to 1842 United States Minister to France.

†See pages 107 and 112, *ante*.

history of the Shawanese "the greatest probability lies for the present with the earliest account—the account given by Perrot, and apparently obtained by him from the Shawánoes themselves about the year 1680—that they formerly lived by the lower lakes, and were driven thence by the Five Nations." Other writers of more recent date than those here quoted from have assumed that the Shawanese were identical with the Eries, or "Cat Nation;" their habitat extending within the north-western corner of Pennsylvania.

W. C. Bryant, a recent writer and an authority on the aboriginals of New York, writes:

"Along the south-eastern shores of Lake Erie, and stretching as far east as the Genesee River, lay the country of the Eries, or, as they were denominated by the Jesuits, '*La Nation Chat*,' or 'Cat Nation,' who were also a member of the Huron-Iroquois family. The name of the beautiful lake on whose margin our city [Buffalo] was cradled, is their most enduring monument, as Lake Huron is that of the generic stock. They were called the 'Cat Nation' either because that interesting but mischievous animal, the raccoon—which the holy fathers erroneously classed in the feline *gens*—was the totem of their leading clan, or sept, or in consequence of the abundance of that mammal within their territory."

It will be noticed that General Cass refers to the Shawanese (or Eries) as of the Algonkian family, while Mr. Bryant places the Eries in the Huron-Iroquoian family. Authorities seem to differ with regard to this matter, but by the majority of them the Eries are classed as a branch of the Huron-Iroquois. Therefore, in referring on page 107 to the Eries as "kinsmen of the Iroquois," we have followed in the steps of the majority. Dr. Brinton, and I think most other writers on the subject, regard the Shawanese as certainly Algonkian.

According to some authorities the Eries were a large tribe, "were fierce warriors, who used poisoned arrows, and were long a terror to the neighboring Iroquois." Having been overthrown by the latter in 1654, as previously mentioned, those of the nation who were not adopted into the Iroquois Confederacy "became noted for a kind of gipsy life, and roamed in fragmentary bands over the greater part of the country, dotting the land with the names of Shawanese towns and rivers." Many of these wanderers emigrated southward and, according to Force (previously mentioned), are first found "in *actual history* about the year 1660, and living along the Cumberland River, or the Cumberland and Tennessee." It is quite certain that about this time some of the Shawanese tribe separated from the main body in Tennessee and pushed their way down to the Savannah River in South Carolina, where, known as "Savannahs," they carried on in a manner true to their native instincts destructive wars with the tribes claiming that territory.* A band, or more, of these "Savannah" Shawanese pushed their way into Florida, then in possession of the Spaniards.

About 1681 or '82 a band of Shawanese from either the Cumberland or the Tennessee migrated northward—Brinton says, by invitation of their "friends and relatives" the Mohegans. If so, it seems strange that they did not take up their residence with the latter, who were then settled in Massachusetts and Connecticut, mainly in the valley of the Housatonic—as mentioned on page 101. Instead, these Shawanese located in Pennsylvania among the Delawares on the Delaware River, at a place then or later known as Pechoquealin, in Bucks County, near where the Durham Iron Works were subsequently erected. The Delawares

* See Larned's "History for Ready Reference," I: 78, 102.

received the Shawanese kindly and, as they expressed it, "in their arms." Schoolcraft relates* that according to the account of Metoxon, a Mohegan chief, the Shawanese were originally connected with the Delawares, but, being a restless and quarrelsome people, had involved themselves in inextricable troubles while in the South and had, in the chief's language, "returned to sit again between the feet of their grandfathers." Dr. Egle states ("History of Pennsylvania," page 23) that at the celebrated "Great Treaty" of 1683 these "Shawanese were a party to that covenant; and they must have been considered a very prominent band, from the fact of their having preserved the treaty in their own possession or keeping, as we are informed that, at a conference held many years after, that nation produced this treaty to the Governor of the Province."

In 1698 some sixty or seventy families of the "Savannah" Shawanese, having been expelled from South Carolina and Florida by the Spaniards, made their way to Pennsylvania under the leadership of their principal chief Opessah, or Wo-path-tha. They applied to the Susquehannocks, or Conestogas, for permission to settle among them, which was granted, with the approval of the Five Nations and the knowledge and consent of the Proprietary Government—the latter holding the Conestogas responsible for the good behavior of their southern brethren. These latter facts are mainly established by the following records: In July, 1739, a council, or conference, was held at Philadelphia by the Pennsylvania authorities with certain Shawanese chiefs from the Ohio. The Hon. James Logan,† then President of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, was present and said to these chiefs: "Some of your older men may remember that about forty years ago a considerable number of families of your nation thought fit to remove from the great river [the Savannah] that bears your name. * * And they then applied to the Indians of Sasquehannah to be admitted to settle among them; who consenting thereto," etc. In February, 1751, the Hon. James Hamilton, Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, wrote to the Board of Trade, London: "The Shawanese in olden times lived near the Spaniards, and were always at war with them; and having from an uneasiness in their situation signified their desire to remove and live under the protection of the English and the Five Nations, were by treaty received into this Province and placed on the Susquehanna."‡

The Shawanese thus referred to belonged to the Piqua, or Pikowen, band or clan of the tribe, and they made their settlement in 1698 on the banks of a stream in what is now Lancaster County, and to which their name (changed in its spelling) became in time attached—Pequea Creek. In the course of a short time these were joined by other families of the clan, whereupon some of them removed to Paxtang and others to Conodogwinet Creek, in what is now Cumberland County.

April 23, 1701, William Penn, Proprietary of the Province, held a conference at Philadelphia with "Canoodagtoh, king of the Indians inhabiting upon and about the River Sasquehannah, in said Province," and "Wo-path-tha, King, and Lemoytung and Pemoyajoongh, chiefs, of

* "History of the Indian Tribes of the United States," Part VI, page 277.

† JAMES LOGAN was born in Ireland, of Scottish parents, in 1674, and died at his country seat near Philadelphia in 1751. He came to Philadelphia in December, 1699, as William Penn's secretary. He was an able, scholarly man, and held various important offices—including that of Chief Justice—in the Province.

‡ See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IV: 337; "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, I: 228, and *ibid.*, II: 61.

the nations of the *Shawannah* Indians," together with certain other Indians, named, "inhabiting in and about the north part of the River Potomac." Canoodagtoh was chief of the Conestogas, and resided at Conestoga. At this conference "articles of agreement" were signed, whereby, among other matters, it was stipulated "That the said kings and chiefs and their successors and people shall not suffer any strange nation of Indians to settle or plant on the further side of Sasquehannah or about Potomock River, but such as are there already seated."*

It was not long after the signing of this treaty that the small band of Shawanese removed from Pequehan† to Wyoming Valley, as previously noted (on page 177), being invited thither, says Reichel in his "Memorials of the Moravian Church" (page 104), by the Five Nations, "who were confident that they could place no custodians more reliable than the ferocious Shawanese in charge of that lovely valley among the hills, which they designed to keep for themselves and their children forever." Loskiel, in speaking of the visit of Count Zinzendorf to Wyoming Valley in 1742, says‡: "This place was then inhabited by the Shawanose, a very depraved and cruel people, always at enmity with the Europeans, and invited thither by the Iroquois with a view to protect the *silver mines* said to be in the neighborhood, from the white people."§

These Shawanese established their village on the right, or north, bank of the river, at the sharp bend about a mile and a quarter west of the lower extremity of Richards Island, mentioned on page 52. This location was at the eastern or upper end of the "Large, Level Bottom-Land" indicated on the facsimile of "A Plot of the Manor of Sunbury" shown in Chapter VII. At that point there was then, and for many years later, quite a knoll which was known subsequently to 1775 or '76 as "Garrison Hill," from the fact that there the early white inhabitants of Plymouth erected and occupied a wooden stockade or fort. With respect to present-day landmarks the site of this first Shawanese Indian village in Wyoming Valley may be described as lying within the present limits of the borough of Plymouth, near the junction of Coal Street and the "Old Flats Road," at the eastern end of "Shawnee" Flats. Ransom's Creek—at one time quite a sizable stream—flows down from Shawanese Mountain, crosses the easternmost extremity of the Flats and empties into the river. Formerly (before its course was deflected by

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IV: 338.

† Their town on Pequea Creek, some five or six miles from Conestoga.

‡ "History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians in North America," Livonia, 1788.

§ Relative to the Shawanese who remained behind at Pequehan the following interesting items may be appropriately introduced here.

In June, 1707, Governor Evans of Pennsylvania, attended by interpreters and others, paid a visit to Pequehan and held a conference with the Shawanese and some "Mingoes" or Five Nation Indians, belonging to a Mingo town not far from Conestoga. Opepass, or Wo-path-tha, King of the Shawanese, speaking in behalf of the youth of Pequehan, said: "We are happy to live in a country at peace, and not as in those parts where we formerly lived; for then, upon our return from hunting, we found our town surprised and our women and children taken prisoners by our enemies."

During Governor Evans' stay at Pequehan several Shawanese "from the southward" came to settle there under Opepass, with the Governor's consent; and at the same time "an Indian from a Shanois [Shawanese] town near Carolina came in and gave an account that 450 of the flat-headed Indians had beseged them, and that in all probability the same was taken." It seems that some of the Shawanese of Carolina—presumably South Carolina—had killed several "Christians" (white people), whereupon the Provincial authorities raised a force of whites and "Flat-head" Indians and beseged the principal town of the Shawanese.

In October, 1714, the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania was notified that "Opepass, the late King of the Shawanese, having absented himself from his people for about three years—living in the woods at a considerable distance from the tribe: and, upon divers messages sent to him, still refused to return to them; they have at length thought it necessary to appoint another in his stead, and presented the person chosen to the Board as the new elected King of the Shawanese—desiring the approbation of the Government." In June, 1715, Opepass, the "late King," attended a Council at Philadelphia with certain Delaware Indians from the Schuylkill. In 1719 "*Savannah*" was chief, or King, of the Shawanese in the locality of Conestoga. (See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," II: 888, 389 and 574, and III: 149.



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coal-mining operations) this creek ran very near to Garrison Hill and then flowed due south clear across the Flats, parallel with their eastern margin, to the river.

Col. H. B. Wright, in his "Historical Sketches of Plymouth," written in 1872, states (on page 90) with reference to "Garrison Hill":

"This spot is at the turn of the 'Flat' road, and some seventy rods from the main traveled road through the town, and not far from the location of the old 'swing gate.' It was years ago, and within my recollection, the field where we went in search of Indian curiosities—arrow-heads, pipes, stone hatchets, pots, etc., and sometimes we would find leaden bullets and pieces of broken muskets."

Notwithstanding the fact that the "Shawnee" Flats have been diligently cultivated for the past century and a quarter, and that during this period they have been overflowed by the waters of the Susquehanna at least once, but oftener twice, in each year, in times of freshets, yet, by the practised eye of the archæologist, many evidences of early Indian occupation may still be seen on and near the site of the old Shawanese village. After the big freshet of 1902 (which, at different points in the locality mentioned, stripped off the topmost stratum of soil) quite a number of interesting "finds" were made by Mr. Christopher Wren of Plymouth, who has a greater practical understanding of the early Indian remains discovered in Wyoming Valley, and has made a larger and more varied collection of them, than any other man now living.

For twenty odd years following the coming of the Shawanese to Wyoming little or nothing that is reliable is known with respect to affairs or conditions in the valley. Then occurred the second recorded visit of the white man to the valley. In the Spring of 1723 thirty families of Palatines from Schoharie County, New York, passed down the North Branch of the Susquehanna on their way as emigrants to the valley of the Tulpehocken, in what is now Berks County, Pennsylvania. It is more than probable that these voyagers stopped, for one reason or another, at some or all of the few Indian villages that lay in their long and lonely course; and as, at that time, the Shawanese village was the only settlement of human beings in Wyoming Valley—so far as now known—it may be presumed that the Palatines tarried there, if only for a few hours.

These Palatines—natives of the Palatinate of the Rhine, or the Pfalz, in Germany—had been settled since 1714 at what is now Middleburg, Schoharie County. After years of patient toil they had become involved in trouble about the lands which they were occupying and cultivating. Lieutenant Governor Keith of Pennsylvania learned of their unhappy situation while he was in Albany on a visit, and he offered them a home in Pennsylvania. "The people got news of lands on the Swatara and Tulpehocken;" the tidings proved attractive and a migration was begun. The Rev. Sanford H. Cobb, in "The Story of the Palatines" (page 282), says:

"The leader of the first company was Hartman Vinedecker [or Windecker], * * whom almost his entire village followed into Pennsylvania. The emigrants ascended the Schoharie for a few miles, and then, under the conduct of an Indian guide, crossed the mountains southwestwardly to the upper waters of the Susquehanna. On the bank of this river they constructed canoes for the carriage of the most of their number, with the women, children and furniture. In these canoes, while some of the men drove the horses and cattle on the land, the majority of the party floated down the Susquehanna so far as to the mouth of the Swatara. Turning into this stream they followed its upward course, until in the region of hills and vales and fertile meadow-lands, in which both the Swatara and Tulpehocken* have their rise, they found at last the object of their journey and a

* See maps on pages 188 and 191.

place of permanent habitation. To their first settlement they gave the name of Heidelberg, and thence sent back word to their friends at Schoharie of the prosperous issue of the journey."

In the Summer of 1725 fifty other Palatine families from Schoharie passed through Wyoming on their way to the valley of the Tulpehocken; and in the Spring of 1729 a third—and probably the smallest—company of Palatines passed down the Susquehanna to join their countrymen in the new *Deutschland*. Prominent among those who composed this company was Conrad Weiser,* who said concerning it: "There was want of leadership—each man did as he pleased." Not satisfied with being themselves removed from New York, these happily-settled Pennsylvania Palatines "wrote to their friends and relatives, if ever they intended to come to America not to go to New York. This advice had such influence that the Germans, who afterwards went in such numbers to America, constantly avoided New York and went to Pennsylvania. It sometimes happened that they were forced to take ships bound for New York, but they were scarce got on shore when they hastened to Pennsylvania, in sight of all the inhabitants of New York."†

The great influx of Germans into Pennsylvania, which had begun some years before the first company of Schoharie Palatines journeyed down the Susquehanna, was very disquieting to some of the officials of the Province. As early as 1717 James Logan (previously mentioned), then Secretary of the Province, wrote:

"We have of late great numbers of Palatines poured in among us, without recommendation or notice, which gives the country some uneasiness, for foreigners do not so well among us as our own English people."

* CONRAD WEISER, the son of John Conrad Weiser, was born near Würtemberg, Germany, November 2, 1696, and in 1710 accompanied his parents to America with a colony of Palatines, who settled on Livingston Manor in Columbia County, New York. In 1714 the Weisers removed to Schoharie, which was in the Mohawk Indian country. When Conrad was seventeen years old he spent, at his father's request, eight months in the family of a prominent Mohawk chief. Returning home he did good service as interpreter between "the high-mettled Dutch and the tawny nation. There was plenty of business and no pay." Later he left his father's home, and during the greater part of the time for a period of fifteen years lived among the Mohawk Indians; in this manner becoming familiar with their habits, customs and language, and fitting himself to render the invaluable services which he afterwards performed for the Government of Pennsylvania. His father was one of the leaders of his countrymen in resisting the encroachments of the Albany landholders, who eventually forced the Palatines to vacate their farms and emigrate to Pennsylvania, as described above.

Conrad Weiser settled near Womelsdorf, in Heidelberg Township, not far from Tulpehocken Creek and about fourteen miles west of the present city of Reading. Here he lived until within a few years before his death, when he removed to Reading. In 1732, by special request of certain deputies of the Six Nations, he was appointed by Lieutenant Governor Gordon of Pennsylvania Interpreter for the Iroquois Confederacy. From this time until his death he was identified with the history of the Province in all its relations with the Indians. He was referred to by chiefs of the Six Nations as a "Councillor" of their Confederacy. His Indian name was "*Tharachawagon*." His popularity and his influence were great among the Indians of all nations with whom he had dealings. In 1734 he was appointed a Justice of the Peace by the Pennsylvania Government, and in the old French War was commissioned Colonel and appointed to the command of all forces raised west of the Susquehanna. The Provincial Council testified in 1736 "that they had found Conrad faithful and honest, that he is a true, good man and had spoke their [the Indians'] words and our words, and not his own."

At an important council held by the Provincial Government with a large number of Six Nation Indians at Philadelphia in July, 1742, the chief speaker of the Six Nations said concerning Weiser: "The business the Five Nations transact with you is of great consequence, and requires a skillful and honest person to go between us—one in whom both you and we can place confidence. We esteem our present Interpreter to be such a person, equally faithful in the interpretation of whatever is said to him by either of us—equally allied to both. He is of our nation and a member of our Council as well as of yours. When we adopted him we divided him into two equal parts—one we kept for ourselves, and one we left for you. He has had a great deal of trouble with us, wore out his shoes in our messages, and dirtied his clothes by being amongst us, so that he is as nasty as an Indian. In return for these services we recommend him to your generosity, and on our own behalf we give him five skins to buy him clothes and shoes with." (See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IV: 581.)

"Weiser's Iroquois alliances, his skill in preventing Maryland and Virginia from becoming involved in an Indian war, his ability in securing the friendship of the Six Nation allies on the Maumee and Wabash, stimulated the fur trade in Pennsylvania. The exports of peltries from Philadelphia at this time exceeded those of New York and Baltimore. The protection offered by Weiser's Logstown treaty of 1748 revealed to Virginia the wealth of trade in territory which she had always claimed. The Ohio Land Company was formed, and the Virginia traders pushed rapidly into this Eldorado. * * * After the death of Weiser, Pennsylvania figured no longer in Indian affairs."

Weiser died July 13, 1760, while on a visit to his farm near Womelsdorf, and was buried there. It is said that Washington, standing at the grave of Weiser in 1794, remarked that the services of the latter to the Government had been of great importance and had been rendered in a difficult period and posterity would not forget him.

† *Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, X: 388.



LOOKING UP WYOMING VALLEY FROM INMAN HILL, HANOVER TOWNSHIP.

From a photograph taken in July, 1904

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This "uneasiness" concerning the German immigration into Pennsylvania continued for a number of years, and at one time Secretary Logan expressed a "fear lest the Colony be lost to the Crown" by reason of these immigrants. In January, 1742, Lieutenant Governor Thomas, in a message to the Pennsylvania Assembly, said* :

"I am not insensible that some look with jealous eyes upon the yearly concourse of Germans to this Province, but the Parliament of Great Britain see it in a different light, and have therefore given great encouragement by a late Act to all such foreign Protestants as shall settle in his Majesty's dominions. And indeed every man who well considers this matter must allow that every industrious laborer from Europe is a real addition to the wealth of this Province; and that the labor of every foreigner in particular is almost so much clear gain to our mother country."

Nearly 200,000 Palatines came to America previously to the Revolutionary War, and their descendants—among whom to-day are some of the most solid and eminent men of the country—number now not far from four or five millions. Cobb states that so large was the Palatine element—particularly after the year 1710—in the immigrations into Pennsylvania, that "all the natives of other German States coming with them were called by the same name. Thus, though the Palatinate covered but a small portion of the German Empire, yet for forty years in Pennsylvania nomenclature all Germans were Palatines." Mainly, if not wholly, from those Palatines who settled in Pennsylvania in Colonial times are descended the "Pennsylvania Dutchmen" of to-day. The Palatine immigrants were generally taken to be of the same country as the Hollanders, or Dutch, who played an important part among the earliest settlers on the Atlantic coast, and accordingly the former were called "Dutch," or "Dutchmen." Two centuries and more have hardly been sufficient to teach the difference between the two nationalities.

The first German settlements on this continent were made in Pennsylvania—the first colonists arriving in the Province in October, 1683. Their leader was Francis Daniel Pastorius, probably the most widely learned man in America in the seventeenth century, and one of the first who raised a written protest against slavery. These Germans, from the Palatinate and elsewhere—these "Pennsylvania Dutchmen"—made the forests of Penn blossom like gardens, and in later Colonial times formed, as their descendants form now, the brain, sinew and muscle of several Pennsylvania counties. The Bible was printed three times and the Testament seven times in German in this country before it came forth in English from an American press. The greatest publication of Colonial times was the "Martyr Book," which came from the press at Ephrata, Pennsylvania, in 1748. About half the books published by Benjamin Franklin were in German for the Germans. The first paper-mill in America was erected by a "Pennsylvania Dutchman." The first type-founder in the country was a "Pennsylvania Dutchman," as was also the American to first attain eminence as an astronomer and measure for the first time the distance from the earth to the sun.

Retracing our steps, now, to Wyoming, we will continue the story of the valley with the events of 1728—the year preceding Conrad Weiser's removal from New York to Pennsylvania.

The exodus of the Schoharie Palatines to Tulpehocken Valley seems to have first opened the eyes of the Six Nation Indians to the important value of their land claims in Pennsylvania, says Walton† ;

* "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IV : 508.

† In "Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania," pages 11 and 16.

and after that time they denied to the Delaware Indians the privilege to sell any territory in that Province, and pressed their own claims and rights with diplomatic skill. As previously noted (on page 113) the Iroquois claimed sovereignty over the Delawares and other Pennsylvania Indians, but they had not insisted on exercising the sole right to dispose of lands lying in Pennsylvania. The Delawares, in particular, had been selling the lands occupied by themselves to William Penn and his sons, his successors, at various times, apparently without any objections being raised by the Six Nations. However, early in 1728 the "Great Council" of the Six Nations at Onondaga Castle sent Shikellimy,* an Oneida sachem, to Pennsylvania to guard the interests of the Six Nations in that Province. He took up his residence at the mouth of Sinking Run, on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, about three miles north of the present borough of Lewisburg, Union County, and in June, 1728, attended a council at Philadelphia for the first time in his official capacity. In the following October he attended a second council held at the same place.

Shikellimy had general oversight of the Shawanese, Conestoga and Delaware Indians in Pennsylvania. "These tribes were soon given to understand that in their future dealings with the Proprietary Government it would be necessary to consult him; that all their business would be done in the future in the same manner as the affairs of the Six Nations were accomplished." The grounds upon which were based the claims of the Six Nations to the "lands along the Susquehanna," at this time as well as in later years, were forcibly set forth by Canasatego (mentioned on page 81) in a speech made at a council held by the Provincial authorities with certain Six Nation Indians at Philadelphia

* SHIKELLIMY was the name given this sachem by the Shawanese. His Iroquois name was *Sawalane*. He was of the Oneida nation, of the Bear clan, and was born about 1680, presumably in New York. Having located on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, he continued at the place mentioned above for a number of years. The locality was called for a long time "Shikellimy's Town" and then "Shikellimy's Old Town," and the stream there was known as "Shikellimy's Run." Between 1738 and 1742 Shikellimy removed to Shamokin (now Sunbury), near the confluence of the West Branch with the North Branch of the Susquehanna, as that place was recognized as a more central and accessible spot. (See maps on pages 188 and 191.) That he was living at Shamokin as early as 1742 is proved by statements in Zinzendorf's "Narrative," in Keichel's "Memorials of the Moravian Church," page 81, *et seq.*

On account of its commanding position—being the converging point of the great trails north and south—Shamokin was the most populous and important Indian town in the Province at this time. When first visited by the whites in 1727 it contained upwards of 800 Indians, occupying about fifty lodges scattered over considerable territory. Here the Iroquois warriors, on their return from predatory expeditions against the southern tribes, would tarry for awhile and indulge in a final carouse before returning to their homes. Martin Mack, the missionary, described the town in 1745 as "the very seat of the Prince of Darkness"; and another missionary, David Brainerd, who was there in the same year, wrote of it: "The Indians of this place are accounted the most drunken, mischievous and ruffian-like fellows of any in these parts, and Satan seems to have his seat in this town in an eminent manner. About one-half are Delawares, the others Senecas and Tuteloes." Shamokin lay south-west of Wyoming Valley, distant from its center (the present site of Wilkes-Barré) fifty-seven miles in a bee-line, or sixty-five miles following the course of the river.

As Shikellimy was virtuous, sober, shrewd and possessed of marked executive ability, he was recognized by the Six Nations as a man of much more than ordinary mind and character, and about 1745 was promoted by the Confederacy to the dignity of vicegerent, and was invested with unusual authority. He was wide-awake and earnest in his efforts to promote the interests of his people, "and was well aware that up to this time there had been little or no intercourse between the Government of Pennsylvania and the Six Nations." On account of his high standing and excellent judgment his influence was courted by the Provincial authorities, and he and Conrad Weiser became warm friends. Scarcely a treaty or a conference took place between the years 1728 and 1748 (and there were many treaties and conferences respecting the purchase of lands) but Shikellimy was present, and by his moderate counsels aided in an amicable solution of the intricate questions with which these events were concerned. Of all the Indians—of whom we have any account—who ever lived in Pennsylvania, Shikellimy was, in some respects, one of the most remarkable.

In 1747, while on a visit to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Shikellimy was converted to Christianity. He died at Shamokin—probably of fever and ague, then prevailing in that locality—December 17, 1748, in the presence of members of his family and David Zeisberger, the Moravian missionary. A coffin was made, the Indians painted the corpse in gay colors and decked it with the choicest ornaments that had belonged to Shikellimy in life. Various implements were also placed with the corpse in the coffin, and interment was then made in the Indian burial-ground on the outskirts of Shamokin. In 1858 various Indian graves, including that of Shikellimy, in this old graveyard were opened, and of the relics then exhumed an interesting account will be found in Johnson's "Historical Record" (Wilkes-Barré), II: 179.

The wife of Shikellimy was a Cayuga, and she bore him four sons and one daughter, who were, according to the Indian law relating to pedigrees, Cayugas. The eldest of the sons was Tachnechorus, or Tachnechoris ("The Wide-spreading Oak"), who was commonly known as "John Shikellimy." He

in July, 1742. The Onondagan orator said, among other things* : "That country belongs to us in right of conquest. We have bought it with our blood, and taken it from our enemies in fair war, and we expect as owners of that land to receive such consideration for it as the land is worth."

The ancient Delawares are now about to appear upon the scene again—this time at Wyoming; but before they are introduced it is important that we should look backward for a space, and view briefly their status from the time of their subjugation by the Five Nations—as mentioned on page 113.

The Delawares were loath to admit to their white friends that they were held in subjection by the Iroquois, and Heckewelder and the other Moravian missionaries were, in general, inclined to believe the tales told them by the Delawares and to repeat some of those tales in the letters, reports and diaries which they wrote. Loskiel, whose "History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians in North America" (written in Livonia in 1787 and '88) was based on the written reports and records of the Moravian missionaries—for he himself was never in this country—prints in his "History" the following interesting details concerning the Delawares.

"The Delawares lived formerly in the country about Philadelphia, extending towards the ocean, in the Jerseys, about Trenton, Brunswick, Amboy and other places. According to their own account they made continual inroads into the towns of the Cherokees, who then lived on the banks of the Ohio and its branches. The wars between the Delawares and the Iroquois were more violent and of more ancient standing. According to the account of the Delawares they were always too powerful for the Iroquois, so that the latter were at length convinced that if they continued the war their total extirpation would be inevitable. They therefore sent the following message to the Delawares :

"It is not profitable that all the nations should be at war with each other, for this will at length be the ruin of the whole Indian race. We have, therefore, considered a remedy, by which this evil may be prevented—*one nation shall be the woman!* We will place her in the midst, and the other nations who make war *shall be the men*, and live around the woman. No one shall touch or hurt the woman, and if any one does it we will immediately say to him, 'Why do you beat the woman?' Then all the men shall fall upon him who has beaten her. The woman shall not go to war, but endeavor to keep peace with all. Therefore, if the men that surround her beat each other, and the war be carried on with violence, the woman shall have the right of addressing them :

succeeded his father as vicegerent, and continued to reside at Shamokin; but, as he did not possess the executive ability and the virtues of his father, he failed to command the respect of the Indians.

The third son of Shikellimy was Tahgayuta, or James Logan, especially distinguished in American annals as "Logan, the Mingo chief." (Relative to the use of the term "Mingo," generally, see page 106.) Logan was born at Shikellimy's Town, previously mentioned, probably about 1728 or '29, and as his father entertained a high regard for the Hon. James Logan—mentioned on page 179—the son was named for him. Young Logan removed with his father's family to Shamokin, where, later, he married a wife from the Shawanese tribe. Some time afterwards he settled near a large spring, now bearing his name, in the Kishicoquillas Valley, six miles from Lewistown, Pennsylvania. There he resided until 1771, when he removed to the West and located on the Ohio River, at the mouth of Yellow Creek, about thirty miles above the present city of Wheeling. Here he was joined by his relatives and some Cayugas from the locality of Shamokin, who recognized him as chief. The Iroquois on the Ohio, then and later, were known as Mingoes.

In the Spring of 1774, just prior to what is known in history as Cresap's War, carried on against Shawanese, Delawares and Mingoes on the Ohio, the whole of Logan's family—his wife, his children and his sister—were murdered in cold blood in Logan's cabin during his absence on a hunting expedition. This cowardly deed was done, without provocation, by some miscreants who had stolen away from Cresap's camp. Naturally the vengeance of Logan was provoked, and in the war which soon ensued he fought fiercely as a leader and took many scalps. In the Autumn of 1774 a severe and stubbornly contested battle was fought with the Indians on the Scioto River, resulting in large losses on both sides. But the Indians were defeated and sued for peace, and shortly afterwards many representatives from among the Shawanese and Delawares were gathered together in Lord Dunmore's camp, and a treaty of amity was concluded.

The Mingoes, influenced by Logan, refused to attend or take part in any way in this conference. Lord Dunmore sent as an envoy to Logan John Gibson—afterwards a General in the Revolutionary War—who had been a prisoner among the Indians and knew their language. He met Logan, who sent back an answer to Lord Dunmore. Upon his return to Camp Charlotte Gibson wrote out this answer, or speech, for Lord Dunmore, and later in the year it was published in certain newspapers, and attracted much comment; but remarkable popularity was secured for it by Thomas Jefferson, when, some years later, he published it with notes and comments in his "Notes on Virginia," as illustrating Indian character and genius. This speech has probably been translated into almost every language of the civilized world. Its opening sentence is as follows: "I appeal to any white man if he ever entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not to eat; if he ever came cold and naked, and he clothed him not." For the remainder of the speech see Stone's "Poetry and History of Wyoming," page 332.

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IV : 570.

'Ye men! what are ye about? Why do ye beat each other? We are almost afraid. Consider that your wives and children must perish unless ye desist.' The men shall then obey the woman.'

"The Delawares add that, not immediately perceiving the intention of the Iroquois, they had submitted to be the woman. The Iroquois then appointed a great feast and invited the Delaware nation to it, when, in consequence of the authority given them, they made a solemn speech containing three capital points. The *first* was, that they declared the Delaware nation to be the woman in the following words: 'We dress you in a woman's long habit, reaching down to your feet, and adorn you with ear-rings'—meaning that they should no more take up arms. The *second* point was thus expressed: 'We hang a calabash filled with oil and medicines upon your arm. With the oil you shall cleanse the ears of the other nations, that they may attend to good and not to bad words; and with the medicine you shall heal those who are walking in foolish ways, that they may return to their senses and incline their hearts to peace.' The *third* point, by which the Delawares were exhorted to make agriculture their future employ and means of subsistence, was thus worded: 'We deliver into your hands a plant of Indian corn, and a hoe.' Each of these points was confirmed by delivering a belt of wampum, and these belts have been carefully laid up, and their meaning frequently repeated.

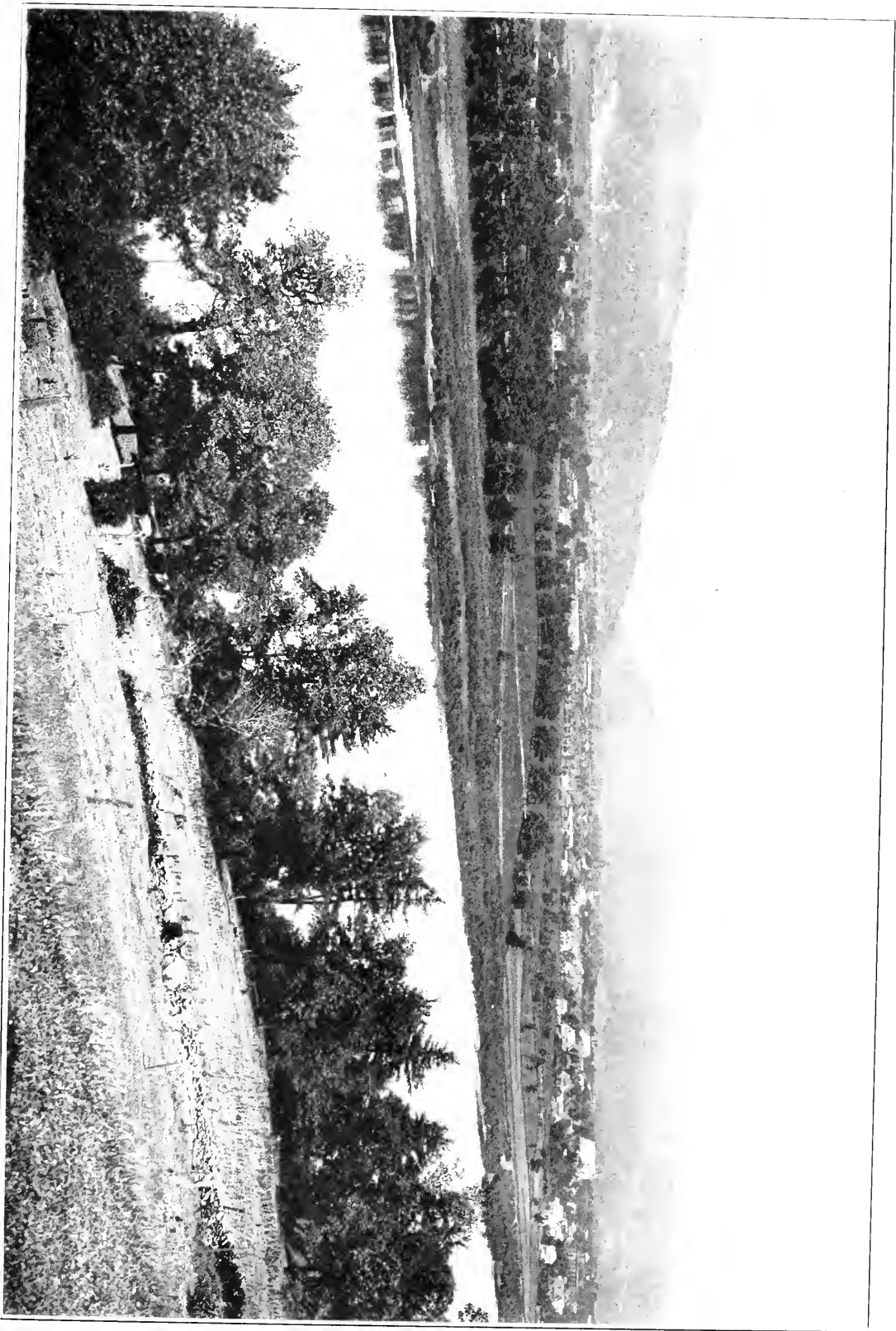
"Ever since this singular treaty of peace the Iroquois have called the Delawares their *cousins*. * * * The Iroquois, on the contrary, assert that they conquered the Delawares, and that the latter were forced to adopt the defenceless state and appellation of a woman to avoid total ruin."

In 1712 the Delawares had long been tributary to the Five Nations, as is shown by the following incident.* In May of the year mentioned certain Delawares, including Skalitchi, their King, Sassoonan, and other chiefs, being on their way to Onondaga, called on the Governor of Pennsylvania and showed what they bore. "They thereupon laid upon the floor thirty-two belts of wampum of various figures, and a long Indian pipe called the calumet, with a stone head, a wooden or cane shaft and feathers fixed to it like wings, with other ornaments. This pipe, they said, upon making their submission to the Five Nations (who had subdued them and obliged them to be their tributaries) those Nations had given to the Delawares to be kept by them, that at all times thereafter, upon showing this pipe wherever they came they might be known to be friends and subjects of the Five Nations, and be received by them when they came amongst them." They then declared that "many years ago" they had been "made tributaries to the Mingoes, or Five Nations," and following this statement they proceeded to open out the belts lying on the floor and to explain the meaning and purpose of each. "These last twenty-four," they said, "were all sent by the *women*, the Indians reckoning the paying of tribute becomes none but *women* and children."

In June, 1728, the Pennsylvania authorities held an important conference in the "Great Meeting-house" at Philadelphia with Indians from the Susquehanna and Delaware regions. Shikellimy was among those who attended, as was also Sassoonan, or Allummapees,† King of the Delawares. The latter gave notice during the conference "that the Minnisinks live in the Forks of Susquehanna, above *Meehayomy* [Wyoming], and that their King's name is *Kindassowa*." ("Pennsylvania Colonial Records," III: 326.) The formal announcement of this fact on that important occasion may be understood as indicating that the "Minnisinks" had removed to the locality mentioned only a short time previously. At any rate, this is the earliest recorded reference (known to the writer) to that particular locality, and is the first recorded mention made of a Delaware Indian settlement in Wyoming Valley.

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," II: 546, 548.

† ALLUMMAPEES was, apparently, the name of this sachem in the Delaware tongue, and Sassoonan in the Iroquois. The meaning of the name in English is "One who is well wrapped up." Prior to his accession to the kingship of the Delawares Allummapees had been chief of the Unami, or Wanamie, clan of the tribe. (See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII: 726.) As early as 1715 he had become



1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

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5. The fifth part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

The "Minnisinks" were the Delawares of the Minsi, or Monsey, clan, as mentioned on page 103; and by "the Forks of Susquehanna" Allummapees referred to the confluence of the Lackawanna River with the Susquehanna, as described on page 34. The site of the village in question was on the left bank of the Susquehanna between Campbell's Ledge and the mouth of the Lackawanna, and opposite Scovell's Island.* This village was known during a number of years as "*Asserughney*," or "*Assarockney*," and also as "*Adjouqua*"; but it is noted as "*Solocka*" on the map on page 33, as well as on the "Map of the Province of Pensilvania" (originally published in 1756) to be found in Chapter V.

The original name of the Lackawanna was, in the Delaware tongue, "*Gachanai*," and in the Maqua, or Iroquois, "*Hazirok*," as is shown by entries in two original, unpublished diaries† relating to journeys made along the upper waters of the North Branch of the Susquehanna—the one by the Moravian Bishop Cammerhoff in 1750, and the other by the Moravian missionary David Zeisberger in 1753. Dr. Beauchamp has informed the writer that "*Solocka*" looks like an Oneida word, but is probably either Delaware or Shawanese—most likely the former, the termination '*ocka*,' or '*ohki*,' meaning 'land' or 'place.' The word is not Iroquois. Names are so often corrupted or abbreviated, however, that definitions must often be conjectured. In general, any Pennsylvania name containing labials may be safely called Delaware, although the absence of these does not determine it to be Iroquois. You will observe that '*Hazirok*' is a creek, not a village, although any houses there would be 'at *Hazirok*,' according to Indian usage. If any place near the '*Hazirok*' was large enough to be called a village, it would naturally be at or very near the mouth of the creek. Dropping the final syllable of '*Asserughney*,' or '*Assarockney*,' as is often done, would give you a good identification: '*Assarock*' = '*Hazirok*,' which is much closer than many forms of Indian names."

Pearce states ("Annals of Luzerne County," pages 29 and 218) that the village of Asserughney was at the mouth of Gardner's Creek, about

King, upon the death of Skalitchi. In 1718 he headed the deputation of Delaware chieftans who at Philadelphia signed an absolute release to the Proprietaries for certain lands between the Delaware and Susquehanna, previously granted to William Penn.

Shortly after the conference held at Philadelphia in June, 1728, Allummapees and a number of his Indians removed from the Delaware River to Shamokin—presumably by direction, or desire, of the Six Nations. In August, 1731, Lieutenant Governor Gordon reported to the Provincial Assembly that King Allummapees had, "in a fit of drunkenness, killed his *cousin* Shackatawlin." Sam Shackatawlin, who occasionally acted as interpreter at Philadelphia—where he was looked upon by some as an oracle—was the presumptive successor of Allummapees, being his *nephew*. (The words "cousin" and "nephew" were used interchangeably by the Indians, just as they were used by Shakespeare, and by civilized people generally at a later period.) Allummapees was jealous of his nephew, and stabbed him to the heart with a knife. In a deed of 1732 Allummapees is described as "Sachem of the Schuylkill Indians."

In June, 1747, Conrad Weiser wrote that the Delaware Indians at Shamokin had intended to visit Philadelphia in 1746, but had been prevented by the sickness of Allummapees, who was still alive but unable to stir. "He has no successor among his relatives," wrote Weiser, "and he will hear of none so long as he is alive; and none of the Indians care to meddle in the affair. Shikellimy advises that the Government should name Allummapees' successor, and set him up by their authority, that at this critical time there might be a man to apply to, since Allummapees has lost his senses and is incapable of doing anything." Later Weiser wrote to Richard Peters that the King "would have resigned his crown before now; but as he has the keeping of the public treasure (that is to say, of the Council-bag) consisting of belts of wampum, with which he buys liquor and has been drunk for this two or three years almost constantly, it is thought he won't die so long as there is a single wampum left in the bag."

Allummapees having, evidently, disposed of the last wampum in the Council-bag, died at Shamokin in October, 1747. His death was due chiefly to fever and ague, then prevailing to an alarming extent in the locality of Shamokin, and it is said that the old king "actually shook himself to death with the ague." In announcing to the Government the death of Allummapees Weiser said: "Lapaginiton is allowed to be fittest to succeed him, but he declines. He is afraid he will be envied, and consequently bewitched by some of the Indians." In April, 1748, the Onondaga Council notified Shikellimy that they would send some of their old men to Philadelphia to treat about "a proper person to succeed King Allummapees." In September, 1748, Weiser being at Logstown, on the Ohio River in Western Pennsylvania, condoled with Delaware Indians from Beaver Creek (eight miles distant) over the loss of their "good king and our good friend and brother Olomipies."

* See pages 47 and 50.

† Translations (likewise unpublished) of these diaries are in possession of the Rev. W. M. Beauchamp, S. T. D., of Syracuse, New York, who has kindly furnished the present writer with various extracts therefrom.



PART OF A MAP OF PENNSYLVANIA, NEW JERSEY AND NEW YORK.

BY TOB. CONR. LOTTER.

Reduced photo-engraving made for this history from a copy of the original map (in the Library of Congress) published in the latter part of 1748 or early in 1749.
The Lotter family were book publishers in Augsburg, Bavaria, 1710-'85.

four miles up the river from the mouth of the Lackawanna, in what is now Ransom Township. This is undoubtedly an error. Some years later there was an Indian village on that spot, but it was not Asserughney. It was named "*Candowsa*," and is noted on the map in Chapter V. This is a Delaware word, and may have been derived from the name of the "king" of Asserughney. Hollister says ("History of the Lackawanna Valley," fifth edition, page 25): "This village [Asserughney] stood between the bold precipice famed as Campbell's Ledge and the mouth of the Lackawanna River. While Asserughney was the Indian name of the town '*Adjouqua*' was applied to the lower portion of the Lackawanna Valley." In February, 1756, Tachnechorus, "Chief of Shamokin" (see foot-note, page 184), informed the Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania that certain Delawares had fled to "*Assarockney*," having there "a big hill on one side and the Sasquehannah on the other side of the present town."* At a conference held in June, 1756,† by Colonel Clapham of the Provincial forces with a chief of the Six Nations, the latter stated that the Iroquois "agree to your building a fort at Shamokin, but are desirous that you should also build a fort three days journey in a canoe higher up the North Branch in their country, at a place called *Adjouquay*, * * * where there is a good situation and fine soil at the entrance of a deep creek, on a level plain five miles extending and clear of woods. *Adjouqua* is fourteen miles above Wyo-

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VI: 66 and VII: 52.

† See *ibid.*, VII: 157-159.

ming, and old women may carry a heavy pack of skins from thence to the Minisink,* and return to *Adjouqua* in two nights."

Although the name "Wyoming" had been, undoubtedly, originally applied by the Indians to the *valley* still thus entitled, yet in 1728, and during a number of years later, the name was restricted to the Shawanese town on the right bank of the river, within the present limits of Plymouth. Not only is this evident from the words quoted in the preceding paragraph and from the language used by Allumnapes in referring to the Monsey town at the "Forks," but the fact is also indicated on the several early maps reproduced on the preceding page, on page 191 and in Chapter V.

Asserugliney was not "fourteen miles above" the town of Wyoming, however, but was only about nine and a-half miles in a bee-line, or about eleven miles by way of the river. It was spoken of by different Indians, upon various occasions, as being ten, twelve and fourteen miles above Wyoming. The town was well placed. The summit of Campbell's Ledge, towering above, afforded an uninterrupted lookout over the valley below, and was used by the Indians not only in watching over their wigwams nestled along the river, but as a place whereon to kindle their beacon or signal fires. The great Warrior Path from the North, and the trail down the Lackawanna from the Minisink homes on the Delaware, passed through it.

At a Council held in Philadelphia May 20, 1728, the Governor reported that two traders "from Pechoquealin, near Durham Iron Works" (see page 178) had just delivered to him a verbal message "from Ka-kow-watchy, the Chief of the Shawanese there, to this effect: 'That he having heard that the Flat-head Indians (so called) were come into this Province with a design to make war upon our Indians, he had sent eleven of his men armed to inquire into the truth of it, with orders to assist our Indians. That their provisions failed them and they were obliged to get from the inhabitants; but they offered no rudeness till our people [the whites] used them ill and fired upon them.'" Having made inquiry into this matter the Governor reported to the Council some days later that about the 15th of May "some Shawanese came from Pechoquealin armed with guns, pistols and swords and painted for war; they fell in amongst some of our inhabitants and behaved themselves foolishly. Our people thought them strange Indians and enemies, and, believing there were much greater numbers behind in the woods, met together with arms to defend themselves." In the skirmish that followed several Indians and white men were wounded.†

In the latter part of August, 1728, the Six Nations, through Shikelimy, directed the Shawanese at the town of Wyoming to remove to the

* "The Minisink" and "the Minisinks" were terms derived from the name of the Lenni Lenapé clan—the Minsi, or Monsey—who, as stated on page 103, dwelt along the Delaware from the "Forks" of the river northward. The flats along both sides of the Delaware, extending northward from the Water Gap (mentioned on page 45) a distance of forty miles and more, were at an early day referred to indiscriminately as lying "at the Minisink," or as being "the Minisink flats" or "the Minisinks." When, in 1730, Nicholas Scull and John Lukens visited that region they found settlers—descendants of the early Dutch emigrants from Holland—scattered along the flats for a long distance, and they could not tell when the first settlers had arrived there. Apple trees were growing, larger than any about Philadelphia, and it was Scull's opinion that the settlement ante-dated the granting of Penn's charter. (See Egle's "History of Pennsylvania," pages 947, 1050 and 1148.) For the location of the "Indian Orchard," see "Map of Luzerne County" in Chapter XXIII.

† At a later period (say 1774-79) the country lying along the rivers Delaware and Neversink, in the vicinity of what is now Port Jervis, Orange County, New York, was indiscriminately called "the Minisink region" and "the Minisinks," and at Port Jervis was a village named "Minisink." On the Map of Luzerne County, in Chapter XXIII, what is now Neversink River is noted as "Mahock Creek," and on the map in Chapter V it is "Mahocamac." The town of Matamoros, in Pike County, Pennsylvania, shown on the map in Chapter XI, lies on the opposite side of the Delaware from Port Jervis.

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," III: 309, 317.

Ohio, and the Shawanese at Pechoquealin to remove to Wyoming. The latter, under their chief Kackawatcheky, obeyed this order with such promptness that they departed for Wyoming without gathering their green corn, which was ready to be plucked. This unexpected and erratic exodus was very puzzling to the Provincial authorities, and it was not until four years later that Governor Gordon was able to obtain from the Shawanese any kind of an explanation as to the reason for the sudden departure from Pechoquealin. The explanation came from certain chiefs on the Ohio, and was in these words* :

"About 1728 the Five Nations told the Delawares and us—'Since you have not hearkened to us nor regarded what we have said, now we will put petticoats on you, and look upon you as women for the future, and not as men. Therefore, you Shawanese, look back towards Ohio, *the place from whence you came*,† and return thitherward, for now we shall take pity on the English and let them have all this land [Pechoquealin].' And they further said : 'Now, since you are become women, I'll take Peahohquelloman and put it on Meheahoaming [Wyoming], and I'll take Meheahoaming and put it on Ohio, and Ohio I'll put on Woabach [Wabash], and that shall be the warrior's road for the future.'

"The Delaware Indians some time ago bid us depart, for they was dry and wanted to drink ye land away ; whereupon we told them, 'since some of you are gone to Ohio, we will go there also. We hope you will not drink that away, too.'"

In formulating this message it is quite probable that the chiefs drew on their imaginations ; for there is no doubt but that the Shawanese were ordered from Pechoquealin to the solitudes of Wyoming because of the doings of the war-party sent out to "inquire" about the "Flat-heads," as previously mentioned. There is no evidence any where—except in this message—that the Iroquois looked upon the Shawanese at this time in the same light in which they regarded the Delawares ; who, very shortly after the occurrences mentioned, were again publicly reminded—as noted hereinafter—that "petticoats" had been put on them by the Iroquois.

When Kackawatcheky and his followers arrived at Wyoming they erected their lodges on the village-site in Plymouth vacated by the Shawanese who had removed to the Ohio. Some four years later (in October, 1732) "Quassenungh, son of old King Kakowatchy," having gone from Wyoming to Philadelphia to attend an Indian conference, was taken ill with small-pox. He recovered from this in due time, but while convalescing was attacked by some other disease. He was attended during all his illness by Dr. Thomas Græme, a well-known resident of Philadelphia. Quassenungh languished till January 16, 1733, when he died, and "was the next day buried in a handsome manner." Subsequently Governor Gordon condoled with the old King on the loss of his son.‡

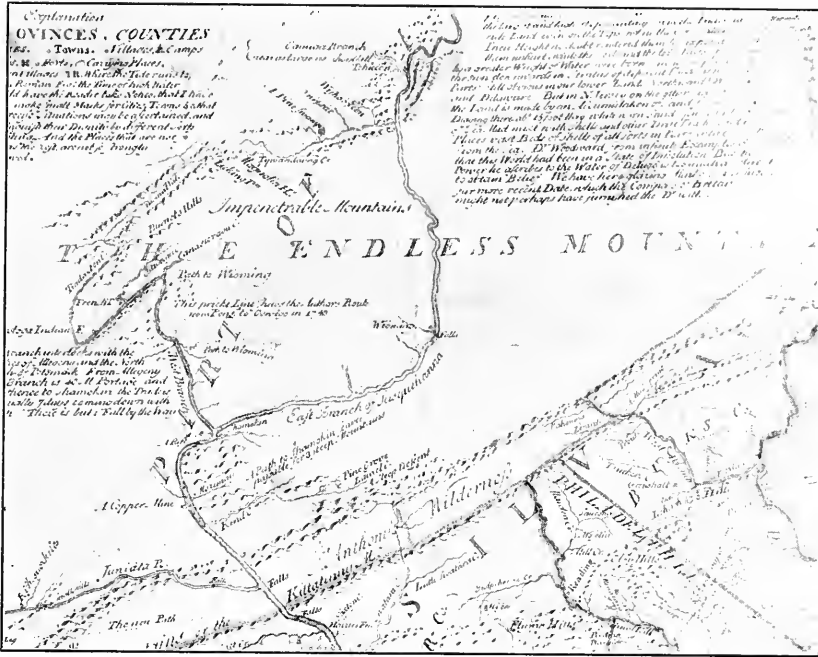
In October, 1728, an important conference with certain Delaware and other Indians was held at Philadelphia by the Provincial authorities, in the course of which King Allummapees said§ : "The Five Nations have often told us that we were as women only, and desired us to plant corn and mind our own private business, for that they would take care of what related to peace and war." About this time the Six Nations in New York and the various tribes along the Ohio River and its tribu-

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, I : 329.

† The Allegheny River, which rises in New York south-east of Lake Erie—in the one-time territory of the "Cat Nation"—is one of the confluent of the Ohio River, and during many years in the eighteenth century was often called the Ohio River. The statement in the above-quoted message—that the Shawanese had come from the Ohio—is corroborative of the theory, or belief, noted on pages 177 and 178, that the Shawanese were originally members of the "Cat Nation."

‡ "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," III : 463.

§ See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," III : 334.



PART OF A MAP OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Reduced photo-engraving made for this work from a copy of the original map (in the Library of Congress) published March 25, 1749, by Lewis Evans.*

taries were more or less under the influence of the French; while the tribes in eastern Pennsylvania and in New Jersey espoused the cause of the English.

In August, 1732, the Provincial Government held an important conference at Philadelphia with certain authorized deputies of the Six Nations attended by a large number of chiefs and other Indians, all of whom journeyed from Onondaga Castle and back by way of Wyoming. When about to set out from Philadelphia—on September 2d—on their homeward journey, they requested that they should be furnished with horses "from Tulpehocken to Meehayomy." It is quite probable that these Indians had come down the river as far as Wyoming in canoes, which, having been left there, they purposed using in making their return voyage.

Four years later (in the latter part of September, 1736) these same chiefs, authorized by a "Great Council" that had been held at Onondaga a short time previously, came down the Susquehanna to Wyoming, accompanied by many other Indians, on their way to Philadelphia to

*The map here shown was constructed largely from data gathered by Evans during an exploring tour made in 1743—as noted on the map. He went as far to the north as Oswego, New York, going up the West Branch of the Susquehanna from Shamokin to French Town (then the home of "Madame" Montour) at the mouth of Ostwagu (now Loyalsock) Creek; thence to the head-waters of Tiadaxton (now Lycoming) Creek; thence to the head-waters of Tynandaug (now Towanda) Creek; then along this creek to the North Branch of the Susquehanna, and then northward into New York. In 1748 Evans issued "proposals" for the publication of this map.

In the Spring of 1750 Evans was directed by the Proprietary Government to obtain at public expense and "minute down any intelligence you [he] can procure of metals or minerals in this or the neighboring Colonies. * * Observe also, with proper caution, what mines of iron, copper, lead and coal have been found; what quarries of millstones, grindstones and limestones lie convenient for any future settlement." (See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II: 47.) About 1754 or '5 Evans published another map, upon which was printed a good deal of the information he had gathered in pursuance of the directions mentioned above.

take part in a great treaty. The records tell us that "there were never before at any time so many Indians met in this Province," as upon the occasion of this conference and treaty. Each tribe of the Six Nations except the Mohawk was represented by its leading sachems—the Tuscarora deputies appearing for the Mohawk as well as their own tribe. This conference had been called mainly for the purpose of quieting the clamors of the Delawares, who had been for some time grumbling and complaining because their ancient lands at the "Forks"* of the Delaware, and thence northward to and including the Minisinks, had been settled upon here and there by whites. Various ineffectual attempts having been made by the then Proprietaries of Pennsylvania—John, Thomas and Richard Penn (William Penn, the original Proprietary, having died in 1718)—to compose and satisfy the Delawares, the former complained of the latter to the Six Nations. As a result, the conference of 1736 took place, and upon the eleventh day of October twenty-three chiefs of the Onondaga, Seneca, Oneida, Cayuga and Tuscarora tribes executed to the Proprietaries a deed granting them the right and claim of the Six Nations to the "River Susquehanna, with the lands lying on both sides thereof * * northward, up the same [river] to the hills or mountains called * * by the Delaware Indians the Kekachtanamin [Kittatinny†] Hills."

On their way back to Onondaga—via Wyoming—the chiefs who had executed the conveyance just mentioned staid several days with Conrad Weiser at Tulpehocken, and there, under date of October 25, 1736, executed a second deed in favor of the Proprietaries. This deed recited in general terms the deed of October 11th, and then declared that the grantors' "true intent and meaning by the said writing was and is to release * * to the said Proprietors, &c., all the lands lying within the bounds and limits of the Government of Pennsylvania—beginning eastward on the river Delaware—as far northward as the said ridge or chain of *Endless Mountains*, as they cross the country of Pennsylvania from the eastward to the west; and they further engage *never to sell any of their lands to any but the Proprietors, or children of William Penn.*"‡

By referring to the maps on pages 33 and 188 and to the one on the preceding page it will be seen that the Kittatinny, or Blue, Mountains, described in the aforementioned deed as the "Endless Mountains," formed in fact only the south-eastern bulwark, or rampart, of what was, at about the period of which we now write, an almost unknown wilderness—denominated in one part "St. Anthony's Wilderness," in another part "*Montes Inaccessi*" or "The Impenetrable Mountains," and elsewhere "The Endless Mountains." The only part of the Province of Pennsylvania (as granted by King Charles) north-west of the Kittatinny Mountains that was really known at that time—and then not very thoroughly—to explorers and cartographers, was the valley of the Susquehanna.

The north-western boundary of the territory purchased by the Proprietaries from the Six Nations, as defined in the two deeds of 1736 just

* "The 'Forks of the Delaware' was the name long given to that triangular tract of country included between the Delaware and its West Branch, the Lehigh, on the east, south and west, and the Blue, or Kittatinny, Mountains on the north; including, therefore, the whole of present Northampton County (excepting the townships of Saucon and Williams) and Hanover Township in Lehigh County. In a more restricted application, the site of Easton and its immediate vicinity were designated as the 'Forks.'"—*Egle's "Pennsylvania,"* page 407.

† See page 45.

‡ See *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania*, XIII : 306.

mentioned, is indicated in part on the map on page 191. It is shown also, in part, on the map on page 188. Nearly all the territory described and granted in these two Six Nation deeds had previously, at one time and another, been purchased by the Proprietaries from the Delaware and Conestoga Indians, and had been paid for.

Late in February, 1737, at the urgent request of the Governor of Virginia, Conrad Weiser was selected by the Pennsylvania Government to go on an important mission to the Six Nations relative to Indian affairs in Virginia.* He immediately started on foot for Onondaga, taking the route mentioned in the foot-note on page 191. Arriving at "Diaogo" (Tioga Point, mentioned on page 34) he found the Indians there on the verge of starvation. All the able-bodied men were away, vainly searching for game, while the old men, squaws and children had been living for weeks upon maple-sap and sugar. With all his trinkets Weiser could buy no corn-meal. On his homeward journey Weiser went down the North Branch of the Susquehanna, arriving in Wyoming Valley April 26, 1737. Under this date he wrote in his journal†: "We reached Skelandowana [see page 60, *ante*], where a number of Indians live—Shawanos and Mahickanders.‡ Found there two traders from New York, and three men from the Maqua [Mohawk] country who

* See "Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania," page 34 *et seq.*

† See Reichel's "Memorials of the Moravian Church," page 69.

‡ Mohegans, mentioned on pages 101 and 178. At the time (1609) Henry Hudson first ascended the waters of the river to which he gave his name the country along both banks of the river, from what is now Albany to a point below the Catskills, and along the upper waters of the river "for two days' journey west," was inhabited by an aboriginal tribe of Algonkian lineage. Saratoga, and the region thereabout, had formerly been in the territory of this tribe, but had been wrested from them by the Mohawks. The tribe referred to became known to the English colonists by the generic name of Mohican or Mohegan ("Mo-hee-con-neu, 'the good canoe-men'," according to Catlin). The Dutch, however, generally called the Mohegans *Mahikans*, or *Mahickanders*.

As previously mentioned, these Indians removed to the valley of the Housatonic about the year 1630, and, about 1673 or '74, of the five principal tribes of New England the Mohegans and the Pequots—the two being considered really as one nation, however—were tribes of considerable influence and strength of numbers, claiming authority over all the Indians of the valleys of the Housatonic and the Connecticut. In 1637 the Pequots were considered the most warlike as well as the most numerous of the Indians in New England, and it was by members of this tribe, to the number of 700, that the Indian fort at Groton, Connecticut, was occupied when, in May, 1637, it was attacked by the forces under command of Capt. John Mason and all the occupants of the fort save fourteen were ruthlessly slain by the whites.

The Rev. Jonathan Edwards stated that the language of the Mohegans was spoken throughout New England. Nearly every tribe had a different dialect, but the language was radically the same. Eliot's translation of the Bible is in a particular dialect of the Mohegan tongue. Prior to 1700 the Mohegans inhabiting the Housatonic Valley had come to be known as the Housatonic tribe, and about 1730 the majority of the tribe were located in what are now the townships of Great Barrington and Stockbridge, Berkshire County, Massachusetts.

In 1734 the Rev. Samuel Hopkins of West Springfield, Massachusetts, became interested in the religious condition of the fast-disappearing Housatonic tribe, and proposed to gather these Indians together in one locality and maintain in their midst a mission, together with a school for training Indian boys and girls and giving them something of an industrial education. The consent of the Indians having been assured, the "Boston Commissioners of the Society in Scotland for Propagating the Gospel" took up the matter of establishing the mission and the school, and in July, 1735, the work was begun at Great Barrington under the personal direction and management of the Rev. John Sergeant. In this same year the Legislature of Massachusetts granted for the use and benefit of the mission and school a township six miles square. To this township Sergeant removed his establishment in the Spring of 1736, and here the Indians scattered along the Housatonic River in Massachusetts were colonized. In 1739 the township was incorporated under the name of Stockbridge. The colony at Stockbridge was gradually increased by additions from northern Connecticut and western New York until it numbered, in 1748, about 400 souls.

(For further references to the Stockbridge mission and school see the foot-note on page 195 relating to the Rev. John Sergeant, and, farther on, the paragraphs relating to Timothy Woodbridge.)

In due time the Indians settled at Stockbridge became generally known as the "Stockbridge Indians," or "Stockbridges." About 1785 several hundred Stockbridges removed from Massachusetts to a tract of land in the counties of Madison and Oneida, New York, granted to them by the Oneida nation. The name of New Stockbridge was given to this settlement, and here the Stockbridges remained until 1821, when, having sold their lands in New York to the State, they removed with the "Brothertown" Indians (who were also Mohegans) to a tract of land on the rivers Wisconsin and Fox in Wisconsin. Here, having good lands, they rapidly developed fine farms and were becoming worthy of citizenship, when they were removed in 1857 to a reservation near Green Bay, Wisconsin. Here they now live in conjunction with a remnant of the Monsey clan of the Delaware tribe—the two bands numbering 538 souls in 1902.

In July, 1902, the United States Indian Agent at Green Bay Agency wrote: "The Stockbridge Indians are an intelligent and industrious tribe, and the Department [of the Interior] has long since been satisfied that they have reached the stage where they should pass out of existence as a tribe and become citizens. However, the tribe consists of numerous factions, each one of which wants the whole of the tribal property, so that up to the present time it has been impossible to effect any settlement with them."

The Stockbridge Indians are in very truth "the last of the Mohicans"! Of their former occupancy of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, about the only evidence now to be found there is in the old Indian burial-ground of the town, where lies the dust of many red men. Upon a rough granite boulder are carved these words: "The ancient burial-place of the Stockbridge Indians—the friends of our fathers."

were hunting land. Their names are Ludwig Rasselman, Martin Dillenburg and Piet de Niger. Here there is a large body of land, the like of which is not to be found on the river."

Weiser makes no mention in his journal of the Monsey Indians at Asserughney, although, without doubt, some of the clan were still there. His reference to the Mohegan Indians, however, conveys the first information we have relative to the presence at Wyoming of members of that tribe. Whence and at what time they had come to Wyoming, and who was their leader or chief, it is impossible now to state with any degree of certainty. They were, without doubt, few in number, and it is quite probable that they had removed to Wyoming from the Housatonic Valley in 1735 or '36, about the time the Stockbridge mission was being organized there. It is possible that they may have been urged to settle at Wyoming by their "relatives," the Shawanese, already well and satisfactorily established here. We have already alluded (on page 178) to the supposed relationship of the Mohegans and Shawanese, and in this connection it may be stated that in the opinion of Dr. Brinton "the Shawanese dialect was more akin to the Mohegan than to the Delaware."

The Mohegans made their settlement here on the Upper Kingston Flats (see page 50), at some distance back from the river, on the left bank of the stream later known as Abraham's Creek. Pearce states ("Annals of Luzerne County," page 28): "They [the Mohegans] came to Wyoming with the Delawares in 1742, and under their chief Abram built a village above Forty Fort, on the plain known as Abram's Plains." Other writers, following Pearce, have repeated this statement—which, however, is erroneous in two particulars: (1) There were Mohegans settled here at least five years earlier than 1742, and (2) Chief Abraham did not remove to Wyoming until a number of years later, as will be shown hereinafter.

In September, 1737, occurred the so-called "Walking Purchase," a well-known event in Pennsylvania history,* by which there passed from the hands of the original holders (the Delaware Indians) into those of the Proprietaries—past all claim forever on the part of the Delawares—the upper portion of Bucks County, fully nine-tenths of the present Northampton County, a large slice of Carbon County, and of Monroe and Pike, one-fourth each; containing in the aggregate, at the lowest estimate, an area of 1,200 square miles. The "walk" upon which this purchase was based, and which caused great dissatisfaction among the Delawares, extended, it is said, about thirty miles beyond the Lehigh Hills, through the Blue Mountains at the Lehigh Gap, and included the best lands at the "Forks" of the Delaware and at the Minisinks. The matter of the "Walking Purchase" having come to the knowledge of the Six Nations, certain authorized chiefs of the Confederacy addressed a letter to the Pennsylvania Proprietaries, which, together with the "deed of release and quit-claim" upon which the purchase was based, was read at a meeting of the Provincial Council March 26, 1741. The letter of the chiefs declared that "their cousins the Delawares have [had] no lands to dispose of," and prayed the Proprietaries "not to buy or accept of any grant of lands from them."

* See Egle's "History of Pennsylvania," pages 443 and 966.

In 1738 Wyoming was visited again by Conrad Weiser, who was accompanied by William Parsons—of whom further mention is made hereinafter.

In June, 1741, the Rev. John Sergeant,* accompanied by several Stockbridge Indians, came from Massachusetts to Wyoming to preach the gospel to the Mohegans and Shawanese residing here. This missionary band was kindly received, but the Indians refused to embrace Christianity. Mr. Sergeant preached only one brief sermon, in which he alluded to "the brothers who had seen so many mornings at *Mukh-haw-wau-muk* [Wyoming]." He then offered to instruct the Wyoming Indians further in the Christian religion, "but they rejected his offer with disdain. They reproached Christianity. They told him the traders would lie, cheat, and debauch their young women, and even their wives if their husbands were not at home. They said further that the Senecas had given them their country, but charged them withal never to receive Christianity from the English."† After a very short sojourn Mr. Sergeant departed from Wyoming, discouraged, pitying the ignorance of the Indians and praying God to open their eyes. In a letter dated June 23, 1741, he wrote: "I am just returned from Susquahannah, where, according to my design, I have been in order to open the way for the propagation of the gospel among the Shawanoos."

In the last days of September, 1741, two of the principal chiefs of the Cayuga nation accompanied by several other Cayugas arrived at Wyoming, where they spent several days awaiting the coming of certain chiefs from each of the other nations of the Confederacy. It had been agreed that all should meet here and proceed hence to Philadelphia, "to see *Onas* [Penn, or the Proprietaries] and receive payment for certain lands." The representatives of the other nations not putting in an appearance, the Cayugas proceeded alone to Philadelphia. At this time the lands at the "Forks" of the Delaware and at the Minisinks were still in the occupancy of the Delawares; and notwithstanding the fact that their chief men had executed the "deed of release" previously mentioned, and the tribe had been informed of the letter received from the Six Nations by the Proprietaries, they refused to give up possession

*JOHN SERGEANT, son of Jonathan Sergeant, Jr., originally of Branford, Connecticut, but later of Newark, New Jersey, was born at Newark in 1710. He was graduated at Yale College in 1729, and in September, 1731, having been elected a tutor in the college, he entered upon his duties—meanwhile pursuing his theological studies. "As a tutor he was one of the most successful holders of that office in the early history of the college." He continued in this work, and in his theological studies, until the Autumn of 1734, when, having stated "that he had rather be employed as a missionary to the natives, if a door should open for it, than accept a call any English parish might give him," he was appointed to the position of preacher and director at the Indian mission and school about to be established at Great Barrington, Massachusetts. (See foot-note on page 193, and references hereinafter to Timothy Woodbridge.)

In July, 1735, Mr. Sergeant settled in his new field, and in the following month was ordained to the ministry at Deerfield, Massachusetts. He changed his residence from Great Barrington to Stockbridge when the mission was removed to the latter place in the Spring of 1736. In the Summer of 1737 he began to use the Indian language in his preaching. His general success in winning the regard of the Indians and in christianizing and civilizing them was very gratifying. "He was possessed of a bright and strong mind, of a catholic temper; was calm and serious, but never melancholy, and was surprisingly laborious and faithful." In 1743 he published a pamphlet entitled "A Proposal of a Method for the Education of Indian Children." He translated into the Mohegan tongue Dr. Watts' "Shorter Catechism" and several prayers, which were published.

Mr. Sergeant was married in August, 1739, to a daughter of Col. Ephraim Williams, who had removed to Stockbridge from Newton, Massachusetts, in 1737. The founder of Williams College, Massachusetts, was a son of Colonel Williams. Mr. Sergeant had two sons—one of whom, the Rev. John Sergeant, Jr., became the missionary at Stockbridge quite a number of years after the death of his father, and subsequently accompanied the Stockbridges to New York as their preacher and spiritual guide. A daughter of the Rev. Mr. Sergeant, Sr., was married to Col. Mark Hopkins, and became the grandmother of Mark Hopkins, President of Williams College. The Rev. John Sergeant, Sr., died at Stockbridge July 27, 1749, and two years later the Rev. Jonathan Edwards was appointed to the position left vacant by Sergeant. Edwards continued at Stockbridge, doing "effective work among the Indians," until January, 1758, when he was chosen President of Princeton College.

†See Munsell's "History of Luzerne, Lackawanna and Wyoming Counties," page 32, and "Early Western Travels," II: 67.

of the lands at the "Forks" to the whites who had gone there to take up those lands and make a settlement. Nutimus, or *Notamaes*, the chief of the "Forks" Indians (who were principally of the Wanamie clan), although he was one of those who had executed the "deed of release," was particularly strenuous in expressing dissatisfaction with the state of affairs, and loudly declared that he and his followers would maintain possession of their lands by force of arms. Therefore, in October, 1741, when the Cayuga deputation returned to their country from Philadelphia, they bore with them to the "Long House" of the Six Nations a message from the Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania urging the Six Nations "to come down and force the Delawares to quit the 'Forks.'" "

In response to this appeal some 230 Indians of the Six Nations, including a number of their principal chiefs and sachems, came down from New York in June, 1742—the majority of them via Wyoming—bound for Philadelphia, to take part in a conference that had been arranged for. They arrived at Philadelphia on the 30th of June, and found awaiting them a number of Pennsylvania Indians, including Shikelliny, the vicegerent of the Six Nations; Allumapees, King of the Delawares, accompanied by a number of his nation from Shamokin, representing the different clans; Nutimus, chief of the "Forks" Indians (Wanamies of the Delaware nation), accompanied by a number of his followers; several Nanticoke Indians and certain chiefs and tribesmen of the Shawanese. All the tribes of the Six Nations were represented except the Mohawk; of the Senecas, however, only two or three chiefs were present, their other deputies having been detained on account of sickness and a famine that had prevailed in their country.

In a message to the Provincial Assembly Lieutenant Governor Thomas stated that the coming down of the deputies of the Six Nations at this time was "not only necessary for the present peace of the Province, in regard to *some Indians* who had threatened to maintain by force their possession of lands which had been long ago purchased of them, and since conveyed by the Proprietaries to some of our own inhabitants; but for its [the Province's] future security, likewise, in case of a rupture with the French, who will leave no methods unessayed to corrupt their [the Six Nations'] fidelity and to persuade them to turn their arms against us."* At this time there was almost daily expectation of news that war between England and France had been declared.

The conference, between the Lieutenant Governor and the Council of the Province on the one side, and the various Indian representatives on the other, was opened on the 2d of July and lasted till the 12th, in which time seven or eight sessions were held. The conference convened first at the house of the Hon. James Logan (mentioned on page 179); subsequently at "the Meeting-house," and then at "the Great Meeting-house," where the final meeting was held in the presence of "a great number of the inhabitants of Philadelphia." As interpreters, Conrad Weiser represented the Government and the Six Nations, and Cornelius Spring and Nicholas Scull appeared for the Delawares.

In opening the conference the Lieutenant Governor referred to the fact that the Six Nations, at the time they had released their claim to all lands on both sides of the Susquehanna as far north as the Kittatinny

* *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania*, XIII: 307.

Mountains, had declined to take their pay for the lands on the west side of the river—preferring to receive the same at some future time. He then announced that the goods to be given in payment for those lands were ready for delivery to the Indians. In replying to the Lieutenant Governor Canassatego,* chief of the Onondagas and principal speaker of the Indians at the conference, said, among other things† :



“The Six Nations have obliged themselves to sell none of the land that falls within the Province of Pennsylvania to any but our Brother *Onas*, and that to sell lands to any other is an high breach of the league of friendship.”

At another time during the conference Canassatego said :

“We know our lands are now become more valuable. The white people think we don’t know their value, but we are sensible that the land is everlasting, and the few goods we receive for it are soon worn out and gone. For the future we will sell no lands but when Brother *Onas* is in the country, and we will know beforehand the quantity of goods we are to receive.”

In response to this the Lieutenant Governor said :

“You have taken this matter perfectly right. All bargaining for land within this Province is, to be sure, a manifest breach of your contract with the Proprietaries, and what we know you will not countenance. We have hitherto found the Six Nations faithful to their engagements, and this is a fresh instance of their punctuality. We desire you will, on your return home, give public notice to all your warriors not to bargain for any land, or if they do that you will not confirm such bargains.”

On the seventh day of the conference the Lieutenant Governor referred to the trouble with the “Forks” Indians, and informed the deputies of the Six Nations that the former had continued to grumble and make disturbances, and had “had the insolence to write letters to some of the magistrates of this Government, wherein they had abused the worthy Proprietaries and treated them with the utmost rudeness and ill-manners.” Various deeds, letters, and drafts of surveys relating to the lands in dispute were then exhibited, and the Lieutenant Governor stated that he expected the Six Nations would “cause these Indians to remove from the lands in the Forks of the Delaware, and not give any further disturbance to the persons in possession.” Canassatego replied that the deputies would take the matter into consideration and give an answer in a few days. Three days later, at the largely-attended gathering in “the Great Meeting-house” previously referred to, Canassatego arose and said‡ :

“The other day you informed us of the misbehavior of our Cousins the Delawares, with respect to their continuing to claim and refusing to remove from some land on the Delaware, notwithstanding their ancestors had sold it by deed upwards of fifty years ago, and notwithstanding they themselves had about five years ago ratified that deed and given a fresh one. * * * We have examined these papers and several writings and see that they have been an unruly people. We have concluded to remove them and oblige them to go over the river Delaware and to quit all claim to any lands on this side for the future, since they have received pay for them and it has gone through their guts long ago.”

Then, turning towards the Delawares, and holding a belt of wampum in his hand, Canassatego spoke as follows :

* See foot-note, page 81.

† See “Pennsylvania Colonial Records,” IV : 559 *et seq.*

‡ See “Pennsylvania Colonial Records,” IV : 579.

"Cousins—Let this belt of wampum serve to chastise you. You ought to be taken by the hair of the head and shak'd severely till you recover your senses and become sober. You don't know what ground you stand on, nor what you are doing. Our Brother *Onas*' case is very just and plain, and his intentions [are] to preserve friendship. On the other hand your cause is bad, your heart free from being upright, and you are maliciously bent to break the Chain of Friendship with our Brother *Onas*. We have seen with our eyes a deed signed by nine of your ancestors above fifty years ago for this very land, and a release signed not many years since by some of yourselves and chiefs now living to the number of fifteen or upwards.

"But how came *you* to take upon you to sell land at all? We conquered you! We made women of you! You know you are women, and can no more sell land than women. Nor is it fit you should have the power of selling lands, since you would abuse it. This land that you claim, has gone through your guts. You have been furnished with clothes and meat and drink by the goods paid you for it, and now you want it again like children, as you are. But what makes you sell land in the dark? Did you ever tell us that you had sold this land? Did we ever receive any part—even the value of a pipe-shank—from you for it? You have told us a blind story that you sent a messenger to us to inform us of the sale; but he never came amongst us, and we never heard anything about it. This is acting in the dark, and very different from the conduct our Six Nations observe in their sales of lands. On such occasions they give public notice, and invite all the Indians of their United Nations and give them a share of the present they receive for their lands. *This* is the behavior of the wise United Nations, but we find you none of our blood. You act a dishonest part, not only in this but in other matters. Your ears are ever open to slanderous reports about our brethren. You receive them with as much greediness as lewd women receive the embraces of bad men. And for all these reasons *we charge you to remove instantly!*

"We don't give you the liberty to think about it. You are women! Take the advice of a wise man and remove immediately. You may return to the other side of the Delaware where you came from, but we don't know whether—considering how you have demeaned yourselves—you will be permitted to live there, or whether you have not swallowed that land down your throats as well as the land on this side. We therefore assign you two places to go—either to *Wyomin* or *Shamokin*. You may go to either of these places, and then we shall have you more under our eye, and shall see how you behave. Don't deliberate, but remove away and take this belt of wampum!"

This speech having been interpreted into English by Conrad Weiser, and into the Delaware language by Cornelius Spring, Canassatego, taking a string of wampum in his hand, stood up and said:

"You are now to take notice—this string of wampum serves to forbid you, your children and grandchildren to the latest posterity, ever meddling in land affairs. Neither you nor any who shall descend from you are ever hereafter to presume to sell any land; for which purpose you are to preserve this string in memory of what your Uncles have this day given you in charge. We have some other business to transact with our brethren, and therefore [you] depart from the council and consider what has been said to you."

"There was no diplomatic mincing of words in the speech of the Onondaga chief. He spoke not only with the bluntness of unsophisticated honesty, but with the air of one having authority." Walton says (in "Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania," pages 66 and 68) that the statements of Canassatego, "which sound as if they had been inspired by the Governor's Council, seem to have wholly overlooked the fact that when John and Thomas Penn were persuading the chiefs of the Delaware Indians to confirm the deeds which covered the 'Walking Purchase,*' they promised that said papers would not cause the removal of any Indians then living on the Minsi-land.† Whoever furnished the material for Canassatego's speech was careful that he should not be aware of this promise. * * * A careful examination of Canassatego's address on this matter suggests that he drew most of his facts from the Governor's representatives. Whether Conrad Weiser assisted in inspiring this rebuke or not is unknown, yet he with the others permitted it and thus scattered seed which in time caused more bloodshed in peaceful Pennsylvania than the 'Walking Purchase' ever did."

* See page 194, *ante*.

† See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, 1: 541.

John Watson of Bucks County, father of John Watson, compiler of the "Annals of Philadelphia," writing in 1815 an account of the conference of 1742, stated with reference to the speech of Canassatego :

"When this terrible sentence was ended, it is said that the unfeeling political philosopher [Canassatego] walked forward, and, taking strong hold of the long hair of the King of the Delawares [Nutimus], led him to the door and forcibly sent him out of the room, and stood there while all the trembling inferiors followed him. He then walked back again to his place like another Cato, and calmly proceeded to another subject as if nothing had happened. The poor fellows [Nutimus and his company], in great and silent grief, went directly home, collected their families and goods, and, burning their cabins to signify they were never to return, marched reluctantly to their new homes."^{*}

The deputies of the Six Nations were well cared for during their stay in the Quaker City. We learn from contemporary records that "handsome dinners were provided for them, and the healths of King George, the Proprietaries, the Lieutenant Governor and others were drunk in high good humor." Near the close of the conference the deputies complained of their treatment at the hands of traders and their agents, and begged for more "fire-water." "We have been stinted in the article of rum in town," they pathetically observed, "and we desire you will open the rum bottle and give it to us in greater abundance on the road." Again, they said: "We hope, as you have given us plenty of good provision whilst in town, that you will continue your goodness so far as to supply us with a little more to serve us on the road." The first, at least, of these requests seems to have been complied with, for the Council voted them twenty gallons of rum—in addition to the twenty-five gallons previously bestowed—"to comfort them on the road."

The chiefs of the Six Nations and their followers departed in an amiable mood, although, from the valedictory address made them by the Lieutenant Governor, we might perhaps infer that they had found reason to contrast the hospitality of civilization with that shown in the savage state, to the disadvantage of the former. "We wish," said the Lieutenant Governor, "there had been more room and better houses provided for your entertainment, but not expecting so many of you we did the best we could. 'Tis true there are a great many houses in town, but as they are the property of other people who have their own families to take care of, it is difficult to procure lodgings for a large number of people, especially if they come unexpectedly."† Watson says ("Annals," II: 160) that during the sojourn of these Indians in the city a fire occurred which consumed eight houses, and in subduing the flames the red men "gave great assistance."

In the latter part of the year 1756 a committee was appointed by the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania to draw up a report relative to the alleged and supposed reasons for the depredations and massacres which the Indians had been committing for some time in eastern Pennsylvania. In the report‡ subsequently submitted to the Council the committee stated relative to the Philadelphia conference of July, 1742:

"Accordingly we find the Delawares (acquiescing and satisfied with their Uncles' judgment and determination of their differences with the Proprietaries about said land) did in obedience thereto settle on the River Susquehanna at *Wyomink*, *Shamokin* and other places thereabouts, taking with them several Jersey and Minisink Indians; and continued ever since (till their late ravages on our borders) to live in harmony with the Six Nations, and a kind and friendly intercourse and good agreement with the people of this Province."

* See *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania*, VI: 210, 211 (October, 1830).

† See *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania*, VI: 210, and *The American Magazine and Historical Chronicle* (Boston), October and November, 1743.

‡ See *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania*, VI: 341 (November, 1830).

Stone, writing in 1840, states in his "Poetry and History of Wyoming" (page 97):

"The removal of the Delawares from the 'Forks' to Wyoming was as speedy as the order to that end had been peremptory. * * The Delawares selected as the site of the town they were to build the beautiful plain on the eastern side [of the Susquehanna], nearly or quite opposite the Shawanese town, a short distance only below the present borough of Wilkesbarre.* Here was built the town of *Maugh-wau-wa-me*—the original of Wyoming."

Pearce, in his "Annals of Luzerne County" (edition of 1866, page 27), states:

"Leaving their wigwams on the banks of their favorite *Makeerikkitton* (Delaware), the once powerful Lenni Lenâpé commenced their march westward. A portion went to Shamokin, * * * a few settled on the Juniata, near Lewistown, but the greater number of them, under their chief Tadame, went to Wyoming, where they built a village (1742) on the flats below the present town of Wilkesbarre."

From a careful study of the most authentic and reliable records and documents of early days now accessible, it is evident that in each of the three foregoing statements there are errors relative to the exodus of the Delawares from the "Forks" of their river, as well as to their settlement in the Susquehanna region—more particularly in Wyoming Valley. These errors have been repeated by other writers, from time to time, and thus, in a measure, have been perpetuated. The following are the real facts respecting these matters, as nearly as they may be ascertained at this time.

In 1742 the Indians who were inhabiting the region at and about the "Forks" of the Delaware were members of the Minsi, or Monsey, and the Unami, or Wanamie, clans†—chiefly the latter—of the Delaware tribe. At that time Allummapees‡ was the so-called "King" of the tribe and resided at Shamokin, where, and in the neighborhood of which, there were several small bands of Delawares settled. Nutimus, or *Notamaes*, was one of the chief sachems of the Delawares, and, judging by his totemic device (a tortoise), must have belonged to the Wanamie clan. For a number of years he had resided at the "Forks." All the Indians located there had been for some time commonly called the "Forks Indians," regardless of tribe or clan. Nearly, if not quite, all the Indians then inhabiting New Jersey along the Delaware River belonged to the Delaware tribe.§

The Indians, therefore, who migrated westward from the "Forks" of the Delaware in 1742 were Monseys and Wanamies; and it is quite probable that they did not burn their cabins and "march reluctantly to their new homes" until some time in October or November—after they had harvested their corn. This probability is based mainly upon the fact that in October, 1742, when Zinzendorf, Weiser and others were at Wyoming (see page 208 *et seq.*) the only Indian settlements in the valley below the village of Asserughney were the Mohegan and Shawanese towns in what is now Plymouth Borough. Moreover, in view of the following paragraph which appears in Count Zinzendorf's "Narrative,"|| it is very possible that the exodus from the "Forks" did not take place until early in the Spring of 1743. Writing at Shamokin, under date of September 29, 1742, the Count refers to the Philadelphia conference of the previous July, and to the orders given by the Six Nations to the Delawares, and then states:

* In 1840 the lower or south-western boundary of the borough was at South Street.

† See page 103.

‡ See page 186.

§ See pages 101 and 103.

|| See Reichel's "Memorials of the Moravian Church," I: 74.

"The Delawares thereupon asked time for consideration, and a few weeks ago an ambassador from them arrived here and brought the following reply. 'Uncles, you spoke the truth when you said that we were children, devoid of understanding, and unable to govern ourselves. We confess that we do not know what to do, and what not to do, and that we need fathers and guardians to watch over and counsel us. We thank you for your reproof, and *next Spring we will come here* and occupy the lands you promised to give us.'"

Some of the Delawares in this enforced migration of 1742-'3 went to the Ohio River in western Pennsylvania; others went to Shamokin on the Susquehanna and the region nearby, while Nutinus and a small band settled on the south, or left, bank of the Susquehanna near the mouth of Nescopeck Creek, south-west of Wilkes-Barré twenty-two and a-half miles in a bee-line, or twenty-six and a-half miles following the windings of the river.* By far the largest body of the emigrants journeyed from the Delaware up the Lehigh, or West Branch of the Delaware, for some distance, and then crossed over the mountains to Wyoming Valley. Here they settled on the elevated portion of the flats not far from the right bank of Solomon's Creek, in the locality of what is now known as the "Firwood" tract, within the limits of the Fifteenth (formerly a part of the Twelfth) Ward of Wilkes-Barré. Upon or near that spot there had stood many years previously, without doubt, a village of the Andasté, or Susquehannock, Indians, as at this time "a respectable orchard of apple trees" was flourishing there.† The site of this Delaware town is noted on the "Map of Wilkes-Barré and its Suburbs" in Chapter XXVIII; while, with reference to the illustration facing the next page, the site lies about one-quarter of a mile due west, or beyond and slightly to the left, of the large house at the extreme left of the picture; and in the illustration facing page 56 it lies in the middle-distance at the extreme left.

The Delawares who settled here belonged to the Unami, or Wanamie, clan. Who their chief was cannot now be stated, but his name was not Tadame, as has been asserted by various writers—some of whom have even confounded Tadame with the famous "Great Sachem" Tamanend, or Tammany.‡ *Tundy Tad-a-me*, or Tatemy, was a Delaware of the Wanamie clan, originally from New Jersey, who in the Summer of 1742 was farming in a small way on a tract of 300 acres of land in the "Forks" of the Delaware (near what is now Stockertown, in Forks Township, Northampton County). This land lay along what was for some time called Tatemy's Creek, but is now the Bushkill, and had been granted by the agents of the Proprietaries to Tadame in considera-

* See Map of Luzerne County in Chapter XXIII.

† See page 224.

‡ Heckewelder (see page 42), writing about 1820, said: "The name of Tamanend is held in the highest veneration among the Indians. Of all the chiefs and great men whom the Lenapé nation ever had, he stands foremost on the list. But although many fabulous stories are circulated about him among the whites, but little of his real history is known. * * * All we know, therefore, of Tamanend is that he was an ancient Delaware chief who never had his equal."

The first authentic account we have of him is in a deed to William Penn, dated June 23, 1683, for land lying between Neshaminy and Pennypack Creeks. As late as July, 1697, Tamanend executed what was, so far as known, his last deed. In this he was denominated the "Great Sachem." His death occurred probably about 1700, and he is said to have been buried near Doylestown, in Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

When, in 1789, there was organized in New York a society having for its objects "resistance to the centralization of power, and to connect in indissoluble bonds of friendship American brethren of known attachment to the political rights of human nature and the liberties of the country," its founders gave it the name of "The Tammany Society, or Columbian Order." The name "Tammany" was derived from the great Lenapé sachem, and Tamanend was dubbed the patron saint of the Order. In time branches of this Order were established in different States, but to-day all that is left of the Order is the famous political organization of New York City (still bearing its original name) whose stamping-ground is Tammany Hall.

At a Fourth of July celebration held at Wilkes-Barré in 1822 the following was one of the toasts proposed: "The memory of *Tamanend*—the true titular saint of America. May our Tammany societies imitate his virtues and practice fewer of the savage customs of his countrymen."

For an interesting sketch of "Tamanend, or St. Tammany," by the Rev. J. G. B. Heckewelder (previously mentioned) see *The Wyoming Herald* (Wilkes-Barré), February 9, 1821. Also, for a later and fuller sketch by a recent writer, see *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, XXV: 434 (1902).

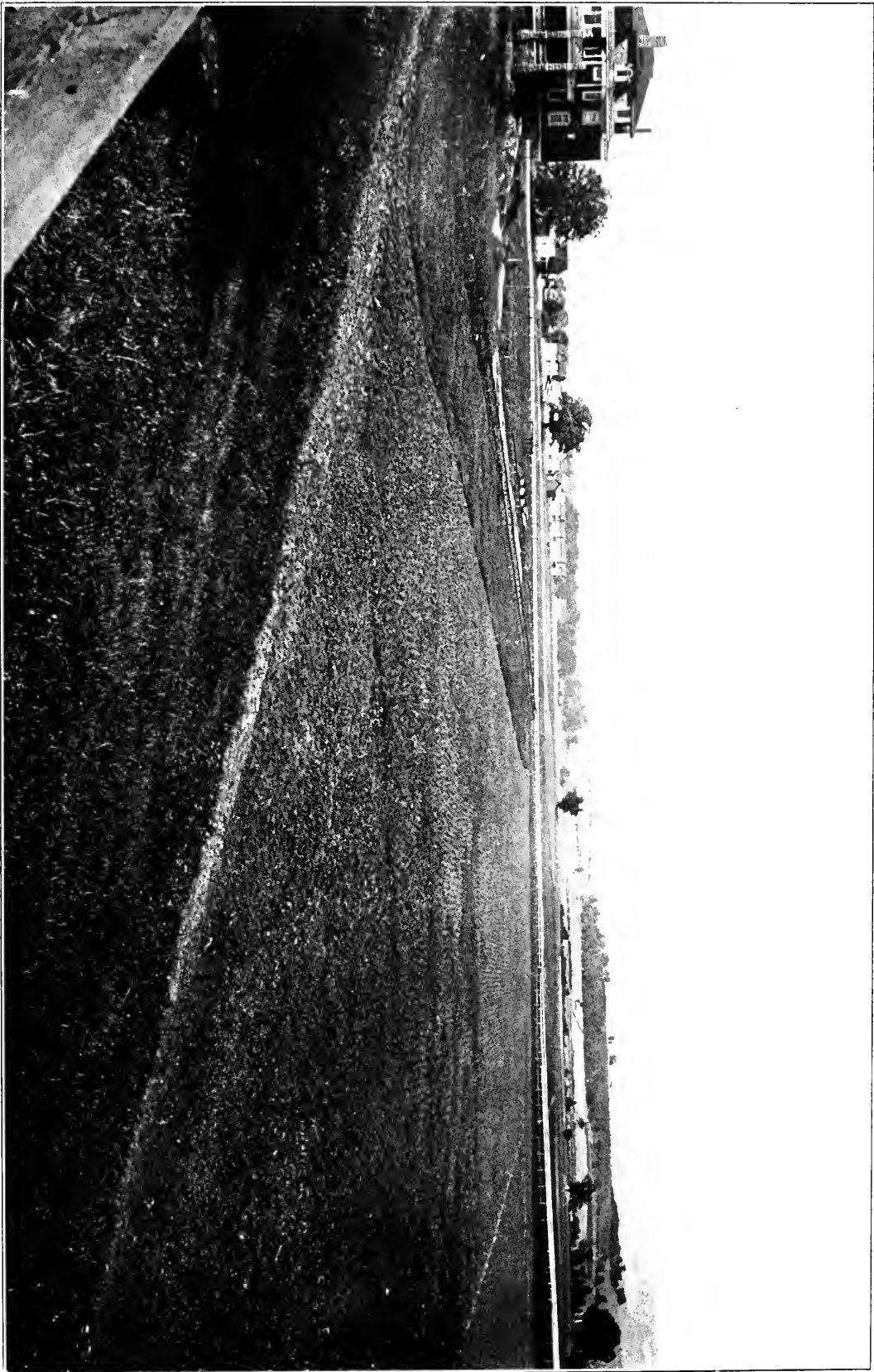
tion of services rendered by him as interpreter and messenger to the Indians. He was a chief, and had formerly been the active leader of his clan, but on account of increasing years had retired in favor of a younger man. In November, following the conference of July, 1742, Tadame went to Philadelphia and presented a petition to the Lieutenant Governor of the Province in which he set forth that he was an old man, had embraced the Christian religion "and grown into considerable knowledge thereof," and was in lawful and peaceful possession of a grant of 300 acres of land—as we have previously noted. In the circumstances, Tadame desired permission to live on this land in peace and friendship with the English. He was informed that he might remain provided he could obtain the consent of the chiefs of the Six Nations. This was obtained, evidently, for Tadame continued to reside at the "Forks," at least for several years.* Heckewelder states that in the fore part of 1754 he was "murdered in the Forks settlement by a foolish young white man." This, however, is undoubtedly an error. In the Summer of 1757 young "Bill" Tatemy was murdered near Bethlehem by a white boy. "Bill's" father was "Moses Tatemy"—evidently Moses Fonda Tatemy, mentioned in the note below—who was then, and had been for some time, active as an assistant interpreter in connection with various Indian conferences. In February, 1758, he was registered as a "Mountain" Indian—that is, a Minsi, or from the Minisink country. If Tadame was alive in 1757 and '58 he must have been a very old man, inasmuch as he was referred to as "an old man" in 1742.

What name was given to this first Delaware village within the present limits of Wilkes-Barré, either by the villagers themselves or by other Indians, cannot now be ascertained. It was not "Wyoming" (in any of its modified forms), however, nor was the village the "original Wyoming"—as so many writers have stated—for we have already shown that the original *town*, or *village*, called "Wyoming" within the historic period was the old Shawanese town on the Plymouth flats.

Between the years 1734 and 1741 the Brethren of the old Bohemian Protestant Church of the Moravians, or *Herrnhuters*, had established several missions in this country. Early in the Spring of 1741 David Zeisberger, Sr., David Zeisberger, Jr., John Martin Mack and some four or five more of these Brethren began a new missionary settlement in the "Forks" of the Delaware, on land derived from William Allen, Esq., of Philadelphia, and lying at the confluence of the Lehigh River (or West Branch of the Delaware) and Monacasy Creek, in Bucks (now Northampton) County. (See maps on pages 188 and 191.) On Christmas-eve of the same year this settlement received the name of "Bethlehem" from Count Zinzendorf,† who had arrived there a few days previously. Ever since then Bethlehem has been the headquarters in this country of the Moravian Church (now known as the "Church of the United Brethren in the United States of America").

* DAVID BRAINERD, the well-known missionary, began his labors among the Indians at the "Forks" of the Delaware in May, 1744, and continued them until February, 1746. During this time his interpreter was Moses Tatemy, a son of old Tadame, and he was baptized "Moses Fonda Tatemy" by Brainerd in July, 1745. For further references to Tadame see Reichel's "Memorials of the Moravian Church," I: 26, 27, 219, 278 and 338; Walton's "Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania," pp. 73 and 75, and Kupp's "History of Northampton, Lehigh and Carbon Counties" (1845), page 477.

† NICOLAUS LUDWIG, COUNT VON ZINZENDORF, was born at Dresden, Saxony, May 26, 1700. In August, 1727, on his estate at Herrnhut ("The Lord's Keeping") in Saxony, he organized some 300 persons (emigrants from Moravia and Bohemia) settled there into a religious organization known indiscriminately as "The Church of the Brethren," "The Unity of the Brethren" and "*Herrnhuters*"—the forerunner of the United Brethren, or Moravian Church, in America. In 1733 this Society had become a





COUNT ZINZENDORF.

From "Pennsylvania—Colonial and Federal," by courtesy of the publishers.

distinct Church, and in 1737 Zinzendorf was consecrated Bishop, and was the "Advocate" of the Church until his death.

The members of the Herrnhut Community were divided into "bands," which met to exchange experiences, to study the Bible, to sing and to pray; and there was a special division into "choirs," which consisted respectively of unmarried men, unmarried women, married couples, widowers, widows, boys and girls. Every morning the Brethren and Sisters were supplied with a text from the Bible as a "watchword." Love-feasts were introduced by Zinzendorf, and are still held, though the practice of feet-washing before the communion has been abandoned. As Zinzendorf taught that death was a joyous journey home, the departure of a Brother or Sister was announced by blowing a trombone, or other species of trumpet—each "choir" having its own peculiar air.

December 2, 1741, Count Zinzendorf landed at New York on a visit to this country to inspect the Moravian establishments in general here, and, especially, to acquaint himself with the fruits of the Brethren's labors among the Indians. December 31 he appeared for the first time in an American pulpit, preaching to a large congregation in the German Reformed Church at Germantown, near Philadelphia. A few months later the Hon. James Logan (see page 179) wrote to a friend concerning Zinzendorf as follows: "He speaks Latin and French, is aged I suppose between forty and fifty years, wears his own hair and is in all other respects very plain as making the propagation of the Gospel his whole purpose and business."

Zinzendorf's stay in this country was a period of varied and strenuous activity. Few men could have accomplished in the same time what he did. Dr. Gill, in his "Life of Zinzendorf," says that the Count gave the Indians—among whom he went on his several missionary tours—"a practicable insight into the religion he came to teach, by simply leading a Christian life among them; and when favorable impressions had thus been made and inquiry was excited, he preached the leading truths of the Gospel—taking care not to put more things into their heads than their hearts could lay hold of. His mode of approaching them was carefully adapted to their distinctive peculiarities."

January 20, 1743, Zinzendorf set sail from New York for Dover, England, and never returned to this country. He died at Herrnhut May 9, 1760. He was the author of many sermons, hymns and catechisms and a number of controversial and devotional works.

The members of the Bethlehem community agreed to work for the Church, and the Church gave each one a support; at the same time, however, each person retained his or her own private property. For a number of years the settlement, or community, was known as "The Bethlehem Economy," and it was described as "a certain religious Society intended for the furtherance of the Gospel, as well among the heathen as the Christians."* The system of community of labor, or "economy" as it was called, was abolished in 1762, but Bethlehem continued to be practically a Moravian town until 1843, when the exclusive methods were abrogated by the voluntary act of the Church.

From Bethlehem and other Moravian mission-stations the Brethren went out among the Indians, making converts and establishing new missions. The Indian wars had hardened the hearts of the New England Puritans against the aborigines, and it was left to the Moravians to preach a gentler creed and a sweeter faith to the Indians. Charles Miuer, writing about 1842, said:

"The Moravians who had established themselves at Bethlehem were indefatigable in their labor of love to christianize the Indians. Neither the heats of Summer, Winter's storms, the dangers of the entangled forests nor the toil in ascending precipitous mountains could check the holy enthusiasm of the missionaries. Eight or ten made themselves masters of the Indian languages, with their kindred dialects, that they might be understood. * * * So that in Wyoming the earliest European accents that were heard were accents of peace and love, breathing of grace and redolent of mercy. It is now [1842] about an hundred years since these pious missionaries penetrated to this then remote valley and, for thirty years afterward, uncultivated wilderness."

"To follow in the footsteps of the Moravian missionaries as they went to or through Wyoming, is more than a mere local study. It is a part of the thrilling history of the American Colonies, with the French and Indian wars as a central idea"—says Dr. F. C. Johnson in "Count Zinzendorf and the Moravian and Indian Occupancy of the Wyoming Valley," an admirable paper read by him before the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society May 19, 1894, and published in Volume VIII of the Society's proceedings.

August 3, 1742, Count Zinzendorf visited Conrad Weiser at his home in Tulpehocken, and there met the chief deputies of the Six Nations and some other Indians who had been at the Philadelphia conference and on their way home were paying Weiser a visit. Among them were Canassatego and Shikellimy. With these chiefs the Count ratified a covenant of friendship in behalf of the Brethren, stipulating for permission for the latter to pass to and from, and sojourn within, the domains of the Iroquois Confederacy; not as strangers, but as friends and without suspicion, until such time as they should have "mutually learned each other's peculiarities." In reply to the speech made by Zinzendorf Canassatego said: "Brother, you have journeyed a long way from beyond the sea, in order to preach to the white people and the Indians. You did not know that we were here [at Tulpehocken]; we had no knowledge of your coming. The Great Spirit has brought us together. Come to our people, you shall be welcome. Take this fathom of wampum, it is a token that our words are true."† This "fathom," or string, of wampum was composed of 186 white beads. It was preserved by the Brethren for a long time, and was often used in conferences with Indians.

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, III : 70.

† See Reichel's "Memorials of the Moravian Church," I : 32, 65 and 123; and Walton's "Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania," page 53.

Early in September, 1742, Zinzendorf determined (as he wrote in his "Narrative") to make a journey to "Skehandowana [Wyoming], the seat of the nation of the Shawanese, who are confederates of the Iroquois, and a people wholly ignorant of and adverse to Christians and Christianity. Here there are also villages inhabited exclusively by Mohicans, besides a mixed population of Indians."* Zinzendorf purposed remaining at Wyoming "about three weeks," his object being "to see and learn the condition of the Indians there, and to try what could be done" for them without exposing himself rashly to dangers. Desiring to have Conrad Weiser go with him, he journeyed to Weiser's home in Tulpehocken, and thence the two set out on horseback for Shamokin, accompanied by Anna Nitschmann (one of the Moravian "Sisters," a native of Moravia and at that time aged twenty-seven years).

The little company spent a couple of days with Shikellimy at Shamokin, and then proceeded along the West Branch of the Susquehanna to *Oststonwakin*, or French Town (now Montoursville), at the mouth of *Ostwaagu* (now Loyalsock) Creek,† which they reached October 2d. Weiser then returned to Shamokin, and on October 5th the missionary John Martin Mack (mentioned on page 202) accompanied by his wife Jeannette‡ (to whom he had been married only about two weeks previously) arrived at French Town from Shamokin, escorted by Shikellimy and one of his grandsons. Zinzendorf states in his "Narrative" that he found at French Town "a promiscuous population of French Indians, who yet are under the protection of the English." The chief personage among them at this time was the well-known "Madame" Montour,§ who burst into a flood of tears when she saw Zinzendorf, and

* These references are to the village of Asserughney and to the Mohegan village, referred to on pages 187, 193 and 194.

† See map on page 191; also "Map of a Part of Pennsylvania," in Chapter XL.

‡ She was a native of "The Oblong," New York, and possessed a good knowledge of the Mohawk and Delaware languages.

§ As to the ancestry and antecedents of "MADAME" MONTOUR there is some mystery and considerable uncertainty. That she was of French descent, and that her Christian name was Catharine, there can be very little doubt. In official Pennsylvania records of April, 1728 (see Colonial Records, III: 295), she is referred to as "Mrs. Montour, a french woman," then living on the Susquehanna River in southern Pennsylvania. Conrad Weiser—who knew her well and often came in contact with her at her home and elsewhere—writing in his journal in 1737, described her as "a French woman by birth, of good family, but now in mode of life a complete Indian." Zinzendorf, writing in September, 1742 (see Reichel's "Memorials of the Moravian Church," I: 68), referred to her as "an Indianized French woman from Quebec."

Augustus C. Buell, in his "Sir William Johnson" (page 68), published in 1903, says that "Catharine Montour was a daughter of the Count de Frontenac by a Huron woman. She was born at Fort Frontenac about 1692, and her name figures in a curious old document called 'Accusation against Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac,' in which, among other things, he is charged with 'debasing the morals of the Colony by propagating more than sixty half-breeds.'" Catharine Montour must have been born earlier than 1692, however, because she was considerably more than fifty years of age in 1742. Besides, if she was the daughter of Governor de Frontenac it is probable that her birth occurred prior to 1683—say 1681 or '82—as he was recalled to France in 1682, and did not again return to Canada until 1689, when he was sixty-nine years of age.

W. Max Reid, in his "The Mohawk Valley—Its Legends and Its History" (published in 1901), states (page 214): "Catharine Montour, the elder, is an interesting character in Indian history. According to tradition and her own story, her father was a Governor of Canada, probably Frontenac, and her mother a Huron woman. Until about ten years of age she had been carefully reared and educated. During the war between the Six Nations and the French and Hurons she was captured and adopted by the Senecas." Mr. Reid then goes on to state that under date of August 20, 1708, Lord Cornbury, in a communication to the Board of Trade, London, wrote: "There is come to Albany [New York] one Montour, who is a son of a French gentleman who came about forty years ago to settle in Canada. He had to do with an Indian woman, by whom he had a son and two daughters. The man I mention [as having come to Albany] is the son. He had lived all along like an Indian. Some time ago the elder Montour had left the French, and had lived among the far Indians (Senecas), and it is chiefly by his means that I have prevailed with those far nations to come to Albany."

It is very probable that "Madame" Montour was one of the "two daughters" referred to in Lord Cornbury's letter, and that, by reason of the fact that her father lived among the Senecas, she was considered a member of the tribe; or, it is possible that she may have been formally adopted into the tribe. Whatever may have been the reason for it, it is a fact that she was regarded and treated as a Seneca.

James Le Tort, an Indian trader "from Chenastra, on the upper parts of the Susquehanna," informed the Provincial Council at Philadelphia in April, 1728, that, intending in the previous Autumn "to take a journey as far as the Miami Indians, or Twigitwees, called also the Naked Indians, settled at the western end of Lake Erie within the French claims, to trade with them, he had consulted Mrs. Montour, a French woman, wife to Caradawana, about his journey thither; who, having lived amongst and having a sister

married to one of that nation, he believed might be a proper person to advise him." * * ("Pennsylvania Colonial Records," III: 205.)

As early as 1702 Catharine Montour had been married to an Oneida chief, *Carandowana*, or "Robert Hunter" (a name derived from that of an early Governor of New York), and prior to 1727 they had settled at or near Otstownwakin on the Susquehanna. In the year last mentioned she acted as interpreter for the Province at a conference held with Six Nation Indians in Philadelphia; and in October, 1728, she performed similar services at the conference mentioned on page 190—for which services the Board "agreed that 45 in Bills of Credit should be given to Mistress Montour and her husband." As early as 1711 she had served as interpreter at the conference held in Albany, New York. In April, 1728, Governor Gordon of Pennsylvania instructed James Le Tort, previously mentioned, to deliver a stroud (a piece of coarse, warm cloth made for the Indian trade) to "Madame" Montour, and "give my service to her and tell her that I desire her on the faith of a Christian, and the profession of fidelity to this Government which she made to me, to be industrious in procuring all the certain intelligence she can of all affairs transacted amongst the Indians that relate to ye peace of this Province." In the following September the Governor sent a messenger to the Indians on the West Branch, and among other directions gave him this: "Give my love also to Carandowana and his wife. Let him know I expect of him, as he is a great Captain, he will take care that all the people about him shall show themselves good men and true-hearted, as he is himself."

In April, 1729, certain South Carolina Indians made a raid on the upper Potomac River region, and Carandowana, with a band of forty warriors from Conestoga and other Susquehanna River towns, joined in pursuit of the raiders. Carandowana was captured by the latter and taken back to their country, where he was put to death. August 18, 1729, Governor Gordon wrote to Shikellimy: "Our souls are afflicted for the loss of our dear, good friend Carandowana. We loved Carandowana as our own brother." (See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, I: 211, 228, 239-241.) In 1734, while attending an Indian conference in Philadelphia, the Proprietaries—John and Thomas Penn—condoled publicly with "Madame" Montour over the loss of her husband. "We had great esteem," said the Proprietaries to the Indians present, "for our good friend your chief, Carandowana, and were much grieved to hear of his death." Under date of October 15, 1734, a minute of the Provincial Council, after censuring "Madame" Montour for duplicity at the last treaty, states that "her old age only protects her from being punished for such falsehoods." Stone, in his "Life of Sir William Johnson," refers to "Madame" Montour, and describes her as she appeared at an important Indian conference held at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1744.

Madame Catharine Montour died at French Town, or Otstownwakin, in 1752, and it is said that before her death she had become blind and very decrepit. She was the mother of four sons and one daughter, at least; and, according to the Indian law relating to pedigrees, family names, etc., these children all belonged to their mother's clan and bore her family name, and, as she was a Seneca, all were likewise Senecas. It is said that she carefully educated all her children. These children were: (I) *Margaret*, (II) *Jean*, (III) *André*, (IV) *Henry* and (V) *Lewis*.

(I) *Margaret Montour*, commonly known as "French Margaret," was married before 1733 to *Katarioniecha*, or "Peter Quebec," of the Mohawk tribe. In the year mentioned they are referred to in the Provincial records as living near Shamokin. A year or two later they removed to the Ohio River in western Pennsylvania, where they remained until 1745 and then returned to Shamokin. Shortly afterwards they settled on the West Branch of the Susquehanna at the mouth of Lycopom Creek, and on Scull's map of 1759 their village is noted as "French Margaret's town." The site of this village is within the present limits of the Seventh Ward of the city of Williamsport. From this village, in the Winter of 1752, one of the sons and one of the sons-in-law of French Margaret went with a war-party to fight the southern tribe of Creeks, and both were killed. At this same village the Moravian missionaries Mack and Grube were visitors in the Summer of 1753, and the former recorded in his journal (see Reichel's "Memorials of the Moravian Church," I: 330, and Meginness' "History of the West Branch Valley," I: 135) that Margaret's brother Andrew was then "absent, to bring *Margaret's relatives*, who live in French Canada, to her." Mack wrote further: "She gave us a refreshing draught of milk, * * and speaking of her husband Peter Quebec said he had not drunk rum within six years. She has prohibited its use in her town, and yet, although she has initiated other reformatory measures within her little realm, she enjoys the respect and confidence of her subjects. Margaret's children understand French, but are averse to speaking it."

"In July, 1754," says Reichel, "French Margaret and her Mohawk husband and two grand-children, traveling in semi-barbaric state, with an Irish groom and six relay and pack-horses, halted a few days at Bethlehem on their way to New York [State, presumably via Wyoming]. During her stay she attended divine worship, and expressed much gratification at the music and singing." In May, 1755, shortly after war had been declared against France by England, and matters among the Indians in Pennsylvania were very unsettled, Conrad Weiser wrote to Secretary Richard Peters of Pennsylvania: "French Margaret, with some of her family, is gone to the English camp in Virginia, and her son Niklaus is gone to Ohio, to the French Fort. I suppose they want to join the strongest party, and are gone for information." Later in this year, when numerous depredations were about to be committed in south-eastern Pennsylvania by the Indians, Margaret and some of her family removed up to Tioga Point (see page 34). They were still there in 1757, when, in August, Margaret attended a treaty at Easton, Pennsylvania. In 1760 Margaret, her daughter Catharine and others of her family were living at "Margaret Town" in New York. (See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII: 499.) This was, without doubt, the village that some years later—say after the death of Margaret—was known as "Catharine's Town." [See (i) Catharine, *post.*] The children of "French Margaret" were: (i) *Catharine*, (ii) *Nicholas*, (iii) son, name unknown, (iv) *Esther* and (v) *Mary*, or *Molly*. All were Senecas, and all bore the surname "Montour."

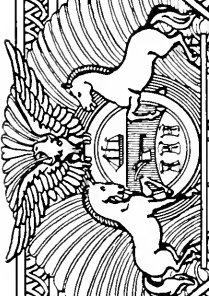
(II) *Jean*, or *John Montour*, second child of "Madame" Montour, was born about 1715, according to Colonel Buell. He spent all, or nearly all, his life in New York, and according to Buell was "conspicuous in the old French War, in Pontiac's Rebellion and in the Revolution," and was a good warrior and a hard fighter. Prior to 1751 he had married a wife from the Onondaga nation. He was at that time a chief of the Seneca nation, was generally known as "Captain" Montour, had great influence with the Six Nation Indians and was a warm friend of Sir William Johnson. In a speech made at Albany in 1751 Captain Montour referred to himself as being "a French half-breed." (See Buell's "Sir William Johnson," pages 78 and 79.) In the campaign of 1759, ending in the capture of Fort Niagara by the forces under Sir William Johnson, the whole contingent of Senecas and Cayugas, some 400 strong, was under the command of Hi-o-ka-to and Captain Montour. Relative to the services of the latter in 1760, see page 164, *ante*. In 1763 and '64 Captain Montour, at the head of a company of Seneca warriors, was actively engaged under the orders of Sir William Johnson in subduing the recalcitrant Senecas (see page 121) and pursuing the warring Shawanese and other Indians.

(III) *André*, or *Andrew Montour*, whose Indian name was "*Sattelthiu*," was born according to Buell about 1720. His services in behalf of the English were considerable. He was an expert interpreter, speaking the languages of the various Ohio Indians, as well as the Mohawk tongue. In April, 1743, he served as interpreter for the Delawares at a conference with the Provincial authorities, and from that time until the treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1768 he assisted at nearly all the important Indian treaties and conferences. In 1745 he was living on an island in the Susquehanna near Shamokin. In 1752 Lieutenant Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania authorized him to take up his residence in what is now Cumberland County, "to prevent others from settling there or from trading with the Indians." In 1755 he was still residing on this grant (ten miles north-west of Carlisle) and was Captain of a company of Indians in the English service. He rose to the rank of Major. J. M. Mack, the missionary previously mentioned, wrote in his journal in the Summer of 1753 concerning Andrew Montour: "He is now interpreter for Virginia and receives a salary of £300 and has been twice this Summer to Onondaga. The Governor of Virginia has also appointed him a Colonel. The French have set £100 on his head. The Six Nations have expressed

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THE GREAT BRITAIN



learned that he had come to preach the gospel, the truths of which she had almost forgotten. Zinzendorf wrote* of "Madame" Montour and her half-breed son Andrew Montour, or *Satte...u* :

"Andrew's cast of countenance is decidedly European, and had not his face been encircled with a broad band of paint, applied with bear's fat, I would certainly have taken him for one. He wore a brown broadcloth coat, a scarlet damasken lappel-waistcoat, breeches over which his shirt hung, a black Cordovan neckerchief decked with silver bugles, shoes and stockings and a hat. His ears were hung with pendants of brass and other wires plaited together like the handle of a basket. He was very cordial, but on addressing him in French he, to my surprise, replied in English. * * * 'Madame' Montour brought two children to me and asked me to baptize them. * * * She was very confidential with Anna [Nitschmann] and told her, among other things, that she was weary of Indian life. * * I was surprised at the woman's ignorance, considering she had been born and brought up a Christian."

The Count and his companions remained in their camp at French Town until October 9th, and during this time held two or three religious services which were attended by the Montours and some of the Indians. Zinzendorf thought he "observed signs of grace in Andrew." It was expected that Shikellimy would guide the missionary party through the wilderness to Wyoming, but for some reason it was finally decided that Andrew Montour—who was "proficient in various Indian languages"—should go instead; therefore, under his guidance, the missionaries (Zinzendorf, Anna Nitschmann, John Martin Mack and Jeanette, his wife) began their journey to what Zinzendorf described, later,

themselves to this effect, that whatever nation should kill him, they would at once begin war—he is held in such high esteem among them." He was with Washington at the surrender of Fort Necessity in 1751. In 1756 he acted as interpreter for the Indian Commissioners in New York, and sang war-songs before Sir William Johnson at Fort Johnson. Several times he warned the settlements of impending raids—among other services bringing word of Pontiac's outbreak. In March, 1761, he commanded an expedition of Indians and white men sent out by Sir William Johnson against the recalcitrant Delawares on the upper Susquehanna. Captain Montour's party destroyed several Indian villages—among them, Canisteo, on a branch of the Chemung River (see page 34), some forty or fifty miles north-west of Tioga Point, in what is now Steuben County, New York. This village consisted of sixty houses, and from it Montour's party took away horses, corn and implements. (See Halsey's "Old New York Frontier," page 75.) At the close of this short campaign Montour presented to Sir William Johnson at Johnson Hall a number of Indian scalps.

(IV) *Henry Montour*, or "*Enishshera*," known about 1770 as "Captain" Henry Montour, or "Mountare," described himself in the year mentioned as one of the deputies of the Six Nations. In February of that year he joined in executing to one Garrett Pendergrass, Sr., of Bedford, Pennsylvania, a deed for the land upon which Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, now stands.

(V) *Lewis Montour* went to the Ohio River region probably about the time his sister "French Margaret" removed thither. He was there until 1753, in which year, as messenger of the Shawanese on the Ohio, he bore to the Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania a document containing an offer from those Indians to resign all their right to land east of the Ohio in liquidation of their debts to the traders. Montour, however, was reported to be a spy in the French interest. Nevertheless in 1751 he settled near Aughwick (now Shirleysburg, Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania). There were then living there, under the superintendence of George Croghan, quite a number of Indians who had left the Ohio and put themselves under the protection of the Pennsylvania Government. Not long after Montour had taken up his abode at this place Conrad Weiser complained to the Government that "Lewis Montour, Andrew's brother, disturbs them [the Indians at Aughwick] often by bringing strong liquor to them. They cannot help buying and drinking it, when it is so near, and Lewis sells it very dear to them and pretends that his wife, who is an ugly Indian squaw, does it." In January, 1757, Lewis was sent by George Croghan (then Deputy Indian Agent under Sir William Johnson) to bear a message to certain Indians in New York.

(6) *Catharine Montour*, daughter of "French Margaret," became the wife of Thomas Hutson, or Hudson, called by the Indians "*Telenemut*." He was a Seneca, and his brother John was head-chief of Canadea, a Seneca village on the Genesee River, in what is now Allegany County, New York. Thomas Hudson died early—certainly prior to 1760. (He may have been the son-in-law of "French Margaret" whose death occurred in 1752, as previously noted.) He left to survive him his wife Catharine and three children, viz.: (1) *Roland*, (2) *John* and (3) *Belle*. Some years later—say about 1760 or '61—the widow Catharine was married to an Englishman who was then, or had been, an Indian trader, with headquarters at Niagara, and had been married to a Seneca squaw, who, having born him several children, died. (See "Transactions of the Buffalo Historical Society," 1881, Vol. III.) One of these children was named *Kaundoosawana* ("Big Tree"), who, when he had grown up, was noted as a Seneca warrior under the name of "Captain Pollard." (See Chapters XV and XXV for further references to him.)

For many years Catharine Montour was known as "Queen Catharine," and during the Indian depredations in 1755-'56 several white prisoners taken by the Indians were sold to her at her home in New York. She was then living at Canisteo, previously mentioned, but sometime before its destruction by her brother Andrew she removed to a village on a beautiful flat near the present town of Havana, New York, about three miles from the southern extremity of Seneca Lake. The Indian name of this village was "*Sheoqagaga*," but it soon became known as "Catharine's Town." (See reference to it under "French Margaret," *ante*.) In 1779, when it was destroyed by General Sullivan's army (see Chapter XVIII), it was a village of fifty log houses, "in general, very good, and the country near it excellent." Having been driven from this locality, Catharine Montour and her family and followers removed to the vicinity of Fort Niagara, where they continued to live for some years. Subsequently to 1788—probably in 1790 or '92—"Queen Catharine" visited Philadelphia with a delegation of Indian chiefs from New York State. She is said to have been a woman of considerable ability and intelligence and some refinement.

For interesting details concerning other members of the Montour family mentioned in this note—viz. (iv) *Esther*, (v) *Molly*, (1) *Roland* and (2) *John*—see Chapter XV, *post*.

* See Reichel's "Memorials of the Moravian Church," 1: 95.

"as the great Desarts of Skehantowanno, where no Christians either come or dare to come."

They traveled, without doubt, over the "Warrior Path" running along the north, or left, bank of the river to the mouth of Canaswágu (now Muncy) Creek, and thence in a straight course, almost due south, to the confluence of Warrior Run and the Susquehanna (in what is now Northumberland County). Here a lesser path branched off in a south-easterly direction through the wilderness, striking the North Branch of the Susquehanna at the mouth of Fishing Creek, near the present borough of Bloomsburg, in Columbia County, and running thence along the right bank of the river to the town of Wyoming. At that period, however, there was another Indian path, or trail (only the beginning of it is shown on Evans' map reproduced on page 191), which left the West Branch of the Susquehanna at the mouth of Muncy Creek and, running an easterly course, crossed the North Mountain range, then passed through the present township of Huntington and, at the confluence of the North Branch of the Susquehanna and Shick-shinny Creek, joined the previously-mentioned trail to Wyoming.* It was over one of these two trails that Andrew Montour guided the adventurous Moravian evangelists through the primeval forests to the little Shawanese village of Wyoming at the eastern end of "Shawnee" Flats.

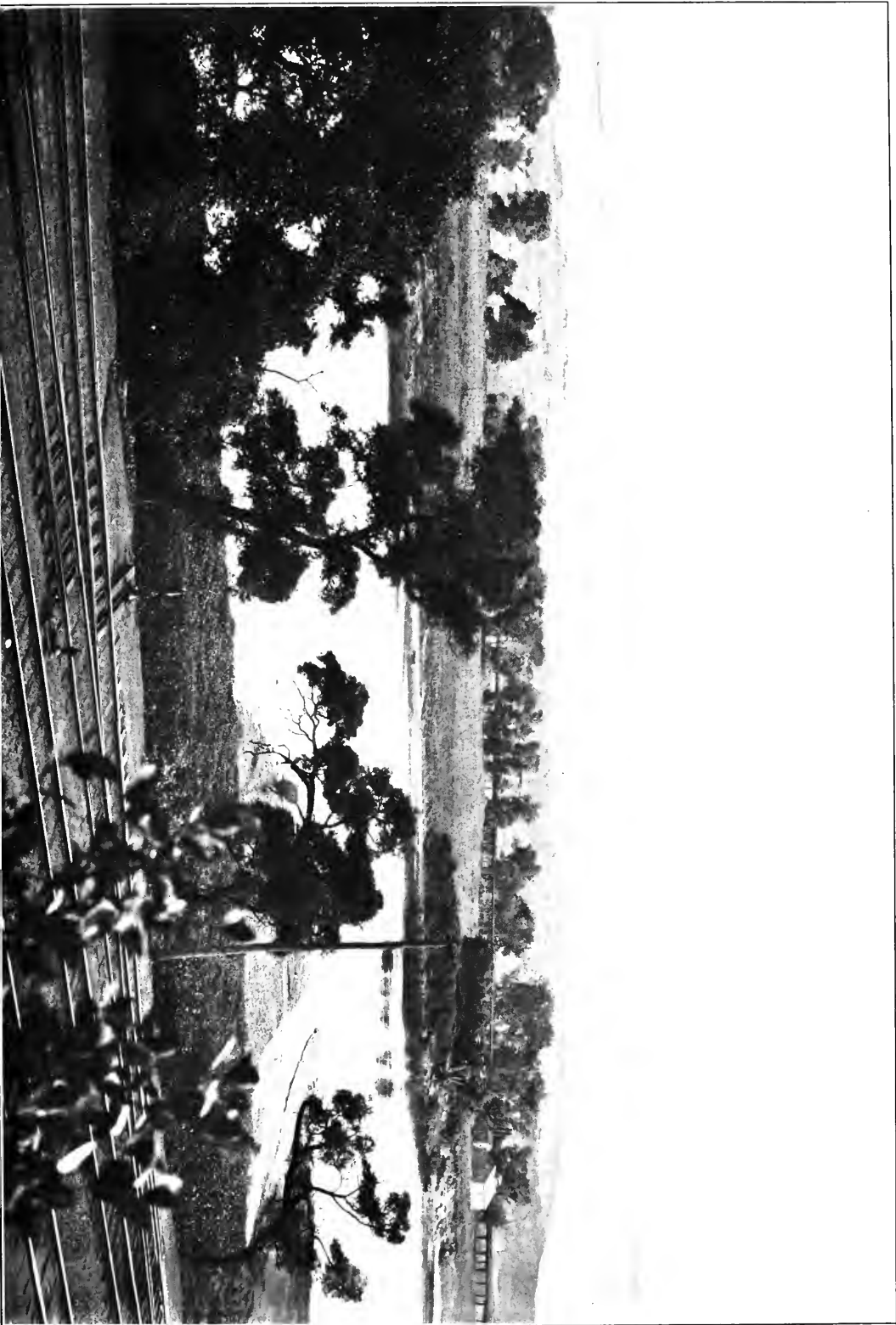
In his "Recollections,"† written some twenty years later than the events recorded, missionary Mack states :

"Leaving Otstonwakin, our way lay through the forest, over rocks and frightful mountains, and across streams swollen by the recent heavy rains. This was a fatiguing and dangerous journey, and on several occasions we imperiled our lives in fording the creeks, which ran with impetuous current. On the fifth day [Sunday, October 13, 1742] we reached Wyoming, and pitched our tent not far from the Shawanese town. The Disciple's [Zinzendorf] reception by the savages was unfriendly, although from the first their visits were frequent. Painted with red and black, each with a large knife in his hand, they came in crowds about the tent, again and again. He lost no time, therefore, in informing the Shawanese chief, through Andrew Montour, of the object of his mission. This the wily savage affected to regard as a mystery, and replied that such matters concerned the white man, and not the Indian. Our stock of provisions was by this time almost exhausted, and yet the Disciple [Zinzendorf] shared with the Indians what little was left. The very clothes on his own back were not spared. One shirt button after another was given away, until all were gone, and likewise his shoe-buckles, so that we were obliged to fasten his underclothes and tie his shoes with strings. For ten days we lived on boiled beans, of which we partook sparingly three times a day, as the supply was scanty."

Within a few days after their arrival in Wyoming the missionary party removed their tent from the place where they had first pitched it to a spot within the limits of the Shawanese village. Mack recorded (in his journal of 1744) that at this time (October, 1742) this village consisted of "thirty or forty cabins all full of Indians, whose great noise one could hear two or three miles off." The Mohegans, who had originally settled farther up the river (see page 194), were, at the time of Zinzendorf's visit, located on the right, or north, bank of the river, about halfway between a point nearly opposite the lower or western extremity of Richard's Island (mentioned on page 52) and a small stream (later known as Brown's Brook) which flowed for some distance almost due south and emptied into the river. Of this brook only the name and the channel now remain. The stream having disappeared

* With reference to the country traversed by these paths, or trails, see the maps in Chapters XI and XXIII.

† See Reichel's "Memorials of the Moravian Church," I : 100.



1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and the addresses are listed below each name. The list includes names such as Mr. J. H. Smith, Mr. J. B. Jones, and Mr. W. C. Brown.

long since, the channel (built over and concealed from view for a considerable distance) is now used chiefly as a sewer. The location of this village, which was midway between the head and the foot of the valley, is designated by the words "Old Shawnese T[own]" on the reduced facsimile of "A Plot of the Manor of Sunbury" shown in Chapter VII. With respect to present-day landmarks the site of this Indian village may be described as lying in the Second Ward of the borough of Plymouth, at a point about midway between the river-bank and the junction of Cherry Street and Main Street, and about the same distance between Eno Avenue, extended riverward, and Ferry Street. The site is now almost entirely covered with piles of culm from the collieries of the Plymouth Coal Company.

The Mohegans were then few in number, and evidently there were some Shawanese and other Indians living with them in their village, which was known as the "upper town"; the older and larger village at the head of the big flats, occupied by the Shawanese, being known as the "lower town." The two villages were about a mile and a-quarter apart. Mack continuing his "Recollections," says :

"The suspicious manner which the Shawanese manifested at our first arrival remained unchanged, and at times their deportment was such as to lead us to infer that it would be their greatest delight to make way with us. Notwithstanding this the Discipline remained in the town, and made repeated efforts to have the object of his visit brought before the consideration of the chiefs. They, however, evaded every approach, and in their disappointment at not receiving large presents gave unmistakable evidence of displeasure, so that we felt that the sooner we left the better it would be for us."

Thereupon the missionaries removed their tent to a slight eminence* farther up the river, less than a quarter of a mile east of the "upper town." About that time Jeannette Mack, returning one day from a visit to the "upper town," informed Zinzendorf that she had met there an old Mohegan woman who spoke to her of the Savior. This woman, who, according to a statement made by Zinzendorf (Reichel, page 133), was related to the Shawanese king, then became the provider of the missionaries, furnishing them with beans and corn-bread, until they were able to procure other supplies. The missionaries also found living in the "upper town" a Chickasaw† Indian named *Chikasi*, who, some years previously, had been brought a prisoner to Wyoming and left there (evidently in the custody or under the supervision of the Shawanese) by a war-party of the Six Nations on their return from a marauding expedition against their southern foes.

Turning again to Mack's "Recollections"‡ we find the following :

"One day, having convened the Indians in the upper town, he [Zinzendorf] laid before them his object in coming to Wyoming, and expressed the desire to send people among them that would tell them words spoken by their Creator. Most of these were Mohicans, and not as obdurately perverse as the Shawanese. Although they signified no decided opposition, they stated their inability to entertain any proposals without the consent of the latter, *according to whose decision they were compelled to shape their own*. Should these assent, they said they would not object, but be satisfied. My Jeannette acted as interpreter of what passed during this meeting. * * *

* This hill, many years later, became known as "Bead" Hill, by reason of the fact that when excavations were made there in laying out streets and erecting houses many Indian bones and other relics were found, including, particularly, a large number of *beads*. The location of this hill—or what remains of it—is on the bank of the river just below the north end of the toll-bridge erected by the Plymouth Bridge Company in 1894. The exposed ledge of rocks lying along the margin of the river there, and known for many years as "Plymouth Rock," forms the base of the hill.

† Reichel, in a note to Mack's "Recollections" (page 105 of "Memorials of the Moravian Church"), says that *Chikasi* was a "Catawba." This is undoubtedly an error, for Zinzendorf, in his "Account of his Experiences," written in 1743 (see Reichel, page 133), refers to this Indian as "*a Schikasi [Chickasaw] from Florida*." Farther on in the present Chapter there are other references to the same Indian which prove conclusively that he was a Chickasaw.

‡ See Reichel's "Memorials of the Moravian Church," I : 105.

"I have the following in mind to relate. The tent was pitched on an eminence. One fine sunny day the Disciple [Zinzendorf] sat on the ground within, looking over his papers that lay scattered around him, and, as the rest of us were outside, I observed two blowers* basking at the edge of the tent. Fearing that they might crawl in, I moved toward them, intending to dispatch them. They were, however, too quick for me, slipped into the tent, and, gliding over the Disciple's thigh, disappeared among his papers. On examination, we ascertained that he had been seated near the mouth of their den. Subsequently the Indians informed me that our tent was pitched on the site of an old burying-ground† in which hundreds of Indians lay buried. They also told us that there was a deposit of silver ore in the hill, and that we were charged by the Shawanese with having come for silver and nothing else. * * * We subsequently learned that the height on which our tent had been pitched was not the locality of the precious ore."‡

This episode of the "adders" has been treated of by nearly every writer of early Wyoming history, and in the course of time has taken on a variety of picturesque forms.

On or about the 22d of October there arrived at Zinzendorf's camp three Moravian Brethren from Bethlehem, who had been expected for some days—David Nitschmann,§ Anton Seyffert and Jacob Kohn. The last-named had recently arrived from Europe with letters for Zinzendorf. These Brethren had journeyed to Shamokin, and thence to Wyoming over the Indian path running along the right bank of the North Branch of the Susquehanna. This path is shown in part on the map on page 191, and on the "Plot of the Manor of Sunbury" reproduced in Chapter VII. On the day following the arrival of these Brethren at Wyoming the whole party moved up the river and encamped near the present village of Forty Fort. There, a few days later, they were unexpectedly joined by Conrad Weiser, who had come up from Shamokin for a two-fold purpose. It seems that when Shikellimy had visited Wyoming a few weeks previously King|| Kackawatcheky was quite ill, and, believing that his end was near, desired Shikellimy to inform Weiser that he wished to see him once more before he died. Weiser, troubled by the long absence of Zinzendorf and his companions at Wyoming, and fearful that their lives might be endangered, decided to proceed to the valley—thus responding to the wish of the King, and at the same time putting himself in a position to

* A "blower" was a harmless, hissing snake of ash-gray color, locally misnamed "blowing adder" or "swelling adder." When provoked, it would *blow* or distend its neck to two or three times its usual circumference.

† See note (*), page 200.

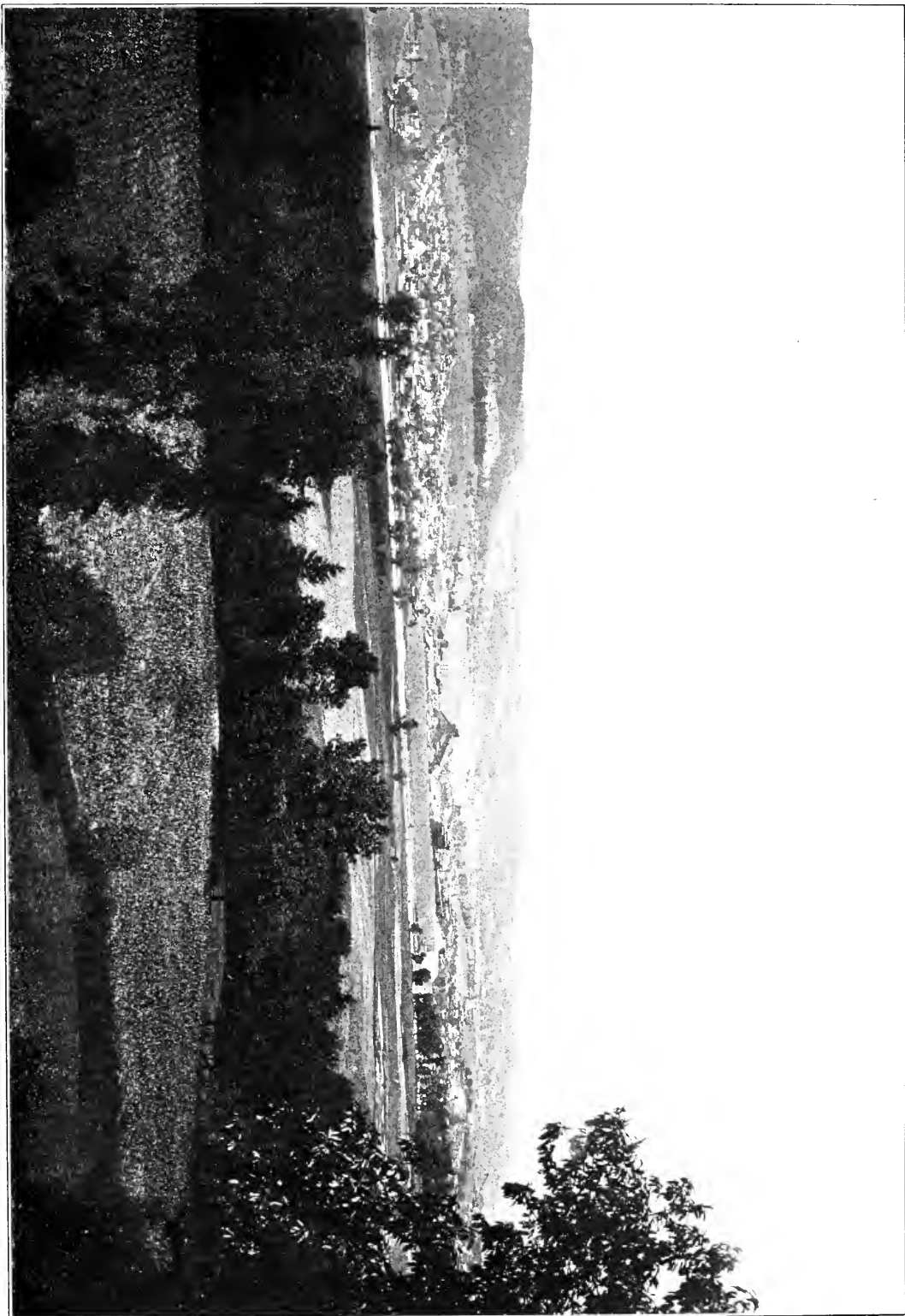
‡ A few rods east of "Bead" Hill is "Lance's" Hill, at the base of which, near the present No. 11 Breaker of the Lehigh and Wilkes-Barré Coal Company, there was a very pronounced out-crop of coal in early days. This may have been considered the "deposit of silver ore" referred to. In the early days of mining, coal was taken from this exposed vein; and in time a tunnel was opened into the hill.

§ The father of Anna Nitschmann of Zinzendorf's party, and then sixty-six years of age. He was generally called "Father" Nitschmann, and is popularly known as the founder of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

|| It seems that at this period not only the Shawanese themselves, but other Indians and white men as well, generally referred to the head, or principal, chief of the Shawanese tribe, and of each sub-tribe or clan, as "King." On pages 119 and 123 we have printed some statements relative to the titles of principal, or ruling, chiefs, and in this connection we will quote from two other writers.

The first extract, from Zinzendorf's "Narrative," written in 1742 (see Reichel, page 92), is as follows: "They [the Iroquois] have no kings in our acceptation of the term; but they are governed by sachems, judges or old men. The word king conveys to their minds an erroneous idea of a king's authority and power, as they invariably associate with it the idea of a usurper, such as occasionally yields their Parliament at his pleasure, in virtue of his prowess, which no one is willing to contest. And yet, when speaking of the King of England at treaties and conferences they always style him *Sachem*; whence I infer that the two terms are probably synonymous in their minds. The Delawares have a hereditary monarch who is called King by the English, and the Shawanese style their chief 'King'; but whether the latter is hereditary, I am unable to say. The Delawares are subjects, the Shawanese confederates, of the Six Nations."

The following extract is from "Sayenqueraghta, King of the Senecas," a pamphlet written and published by George S. Conover ("*Hy-we-saus*") of Geneva, New York, in 1885: "The title of King was first applied by the white people to those chiefs or sachems who were prominent in authority, and in time the title became accepted and used by the Indians themselves. The title is interchangeable with that of 'head chief' and 'chief sachem,' and it cannot be found in the history of any tribe or clan that the appellation of 'King' was applied to any individual who was not a sachem or the head of the tribe or of the detached clan. The title of 'King' was constantly used among the dependent tribes of Pennsylvania and Ohio, in all cases as the head of the particular clan and clans of the Delawares, Shawanese, Mohicans and others, for the time being."



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render protection to the missionaries should it be needed. Mack says that Weiser manifested decided impatience at the prolonged stay of the party and told them that their lives were not secure, for the Shawanese were plotting mischief. Under Weiser's direction the party removed their encampment to the spot they had previously occupied in the Shawanese village, and there, says Mack, the Count "formally laid his proposition" before King Kackawatcheky, who, it seems, had recovered his health. The latter, however, turned a deaf ear, and grew vehement. Upon this Zinzendorf produced the string of wampum that the sachems of the Six Nations had given him at Conrad Weiser's house (see page 204), but even it failed to influence the Shawanese. From this time on the missionaries had no rest. By day and by night the savages hung around their tent. Finally, on the 30th of October, Mack and his wife, David Nitschmann and Andrew Montour set out for Bethlehem via the Great Swamp and Dansbury (now Stroudsburg)—reaching their destination after three days of hard traveling. Zinzendorf having spent twenty days in the valley, set out for Bethlehem via Shamokin on November 1st, accompanied by Conrad Weiser, Anna Nitschmann, Seyffert and Kohn. The weather was cold and rainy and the path was rough and difficult and the travelers did not arrive at Bethlehem until November 8th.

Zinzendorf's experiences with the Shawanese at Wyoming were such as to cause him to look upon them as a very savage and soulless people. The Moravian Bishop Spangenberg has recorded that in June, 1753, Zinzendorf communicated to him "that the Lord had intimated to him to let them [the Shawanese] alone; that they were a perfidious race and desired no knowledge of God and the Savior. * * As to those of the tribe who were residing at Skehandowana [Wyoming] at the time of his sojourn there, he stated that the Savior had told him it would be useless for us to attempt to effect anything with them, as they were treacherous and cruel and totally averse to the reception of Christianity. As to the rest of the tribe, he stated that from an intimation the Savior had given him at the time of his stay at Wyoming, he was inclined to believe that they would become an admirable people on their conversion, and that our efforts in their behalf would not be in vain."

The following paragraphs relating to Zinzendorf's visit to Wyoming are from Loskiel's "History" (II: 32) referred to on page 185.

"The Brethren encamped in the midst of this savage tribe and staid twenty days with them. The Shawanose thought that, as Europeans, they came either to trade or to buy land, and, though the Count endeavored to explain the true aim of his coming, yet some suspicion remained. However, he did not omit any opportunity to speak both with the chiefs and the people concerning the way to salvation; but upon the whole their hearts seemed shut against the truth, and the principal chief, or king, betrayed a particular enmity on all occasions.

"Yet the abode of the Brethren in this place led to a better acquaintance with the Indians, and the more the Count saw their great blindness and depravity, the more fervently he offered up prayers in their behalf. Whenever he withdrew into his own tent for this purpose he only fastened the entrance with a pin, and not one of the savages ventured to enter. It appeared afterwards that the savages had conspired to murder him and his whole company. But God in His mercy prevented it, for Conrad Weiser, who could not possibly know anything of their design, * * became so uneasy that he hastened to Wajomick and arrived just in time to discover and prevent the execution of this murderous plot."

During his stay at Wyoming Zinzendorf was engaged in revising certain Supplements to the "Collection of German Hymns" at that time in use among the Moravians; and he also, in order to commemorate his experience among the Indians, composed two hymns to be added to this

Collection—one of twenty-one and the other of three stanzas, and each entitled "Wayomik Im November 1742." This literary work was, without doubt, the first ever performed by any person in Wyoming Valley, and therefore Count Zinzendorf stands at the head of a long line of literary laborers in this locality—some of more and others of less account—extending through sixteen decades and beyond. The Count's poetry is not of a very high order of merit, but perhaps it will stand comparison with some of that turned out in Wyoming by more modern versifiers.

April 9, 1743, an Indian Council was held at Shamokin, which was attended by Conrad Weiser in behalf of the Provincial Government. Shikellimy the vicegerent had just returned from Onondaga, bringing messages, or "speeches," from the Six Nations to the Governor* of Pennsylvania and to the Delawares and Shawanese within the jurisdiction of the vicegerent. These "speeches" were formally communicated by Shikellimy in open Council. In that addressed to the Delawares occurred this passage :

"Cousins, we [the Six Nations] are informed you can talk a little English, by which you pretend to have heard many things amongst white people, and you frequently bring lies amongst the Indians, and you have very little regard for treaties of friendship. You give your tongues too much liberty."

The message delivered by Shikellimy to the Shawanese on this occasion contained references to "Cachawatsiky [Kackawatcheky] the Shawanese chief at Wyomink," and the following pithy and pertinent passage † :

"Brethren the Shawanese, you believe too many lies, and are too froward in action. *We [the Six Nations] are the chief of all the Indians!* Let your ears and eyes be open towards us, and order your warriors to stay at home."

At this time trouble was brewing between the English and the French, and the latter were endeavoring to seduce to their support various Indian tribes—particularly the Shawanese and the Delaware.

Kackawatcheky was not in attendance at this Council, but Sachsidowa, a chief who had accompanied Shikellimy to Onondaga, arose and spoke in behalf of the Shawanese King, saying, among other things: "The place where I live has been overshadowed of late by a very dark cloud." The "cloud" referred to was an epidemic—called "dysentery" by the Moravian diarists—which was then prevailing in Wyoming Valley. The Wanamies, at their village within the present limits of Wilkes-Barré (see page 201), were particularly affected by the disease, and a large number of the clan died.‡ In consequence, the survivors, later in the year, removed entirely from that particular locality to a

*The Province of Pennsylvania under the proprietorship of the Penns (who were usually referred to as the "Proprietaries") had its affairs administered by a Governor, a Council and a Legislature. The Proprietaries were the hereditary Governors of the Province, as was stated in an official report made about 1753 (see "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII: 452), and "they have a noble support [income] in the quit-rents. They ought, therefore, to govern the Province in person, but they live in England, make private estate of the quit-rents, and send Deputies to govern in their stead; but the Deputy is so restrained that he cannot use his own judgment." The Deputy, or "Governor" as he was called for convenience, was appointed and commissioned by the Proprietaries—which appointment was "allowed and approved" by the King and his Privy Council. The full and legal title of the Deputy was "Lieutenant Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Province of Pennsylvania and the Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware," and he held office during the pleasure of the Proprietaries.

The Council, known as the Provincial Council, was composed of ten members (personal friends and supporters of the Proprietaries), four of whom made a quorum. They were appointed by the Proprietaries, and were empowered "to consult and assist, with the best of their advice, the Proprietary, or Proprietaries, or their Deputies, in all public affairs and matters relating to the Government." The members of the Council were removable at the will of the Proprietaries, who might increase their number at pleasure.

The Legislature, called the "Assembly," or the "House," was the law-making body, and was composed of a certain number of Representatives from each of the several Counties, elected by the freeholders.

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IV: 648.

‡ See page 224.

point some six miles farther up and on the same side of the Susquehanna, in the region later known as Jacob's Plains.* The spot chosen for their settlement was not far from the site of the ancient earthwork described on page 174, and was on the bank of a little creek which flowed for some distance through the plain in a south-westerly direction, and emptied into the river about a mile north of the mouth of Mill Creek. The course of this stream is shown on some of the MS. maps of the region drawn about 1771-'75, but the stream itself has long since disappeared.

Here they established a new village, which then, *or a few years later*, received the name "*Matchasaung*"—as noted on the map of 1756 reproduced in Chapter V. Dr. Beauchamp has informed the writer that this name is without doubt a Delaware word. "The first part of the word," he writes, "may have been '*michi*,' or '*mecheek*,' meaning 'great'; but as a word, '*Majauchsowoagan*,' or 'union,' comes nearest it of any I know. Zeisberger gives '*Mejauchsin*' as 'united,' and this name might mean where different nations were united in living." It is very probable that, while the majority of the Delawares in this village belonged to the Wanamie clan, yet there were some of the Monsey clan among them—as we have before intimated. Hence the propriety of naming this a "union" village, or a village of "united" clans.

To some it may appear strange that this village is not noted on the maps of 1748 and 1749, reproduced on pages 188 and 191. In explanation we would say that the former map was drawn from data chiefly obtained a number of years prior to the publication of the map, and derived then not from surveyors and explorers, but from missionaries and traders; and therefore neither complete nor accurate. The second map (Evans') was based, as previously explained, on data gathered in the Summer of 1743. The tour which Evans then made—and in which he was accompanied by Conrad Weiser and the famous botanist John Bartram of Philadelphia—did not take in the valley of Wyoming. The "path to Wiöming" is indicated on the map, but the route traveled by Evans and his companions (also indicated on the map) lay in a different direction. Therefore, Evans' knowledge of the Wyoming region at that time was derived from Weiser and others who had been there.

Early in 1744 the public affairs of France and England had been brought to such a pass that a rupture between the two nations was imminent. Finally, on March 29th, war was formally declared by England. About that time King Kackawatcheky and his followers—with probably a very few exceptions—abandoned their Wyoming village (in what is now Plymouth Borough) and set out for western Pennsylvania. A few months later, at a Council held by the Government in Philadelphia, Shikellimy stated that "the Shawanese on the Ohio had invited Cacawichiky and the Shawanese Indians at his town to Ohio, and that they had removed thither." These emigrants from Plymouth settled at Logstown, which stood on a high bluff on the right bank of the Ohio River, near where the present town of Economy is located, and about fourteen miles north-west of Pittsburg. It is noted on the Pennsylvania map of 1756 in Chapter V—the site of Pittsburg being indicated by "Ft. DuQuesne." At that time Logstown was the most important Indian trading village in western Pennsylvania. Its population was

* See pages 50 and 234.

composed chiefly of Mohegans, Shawanese, and Six Nation Indians of several different tribes.*

April 6, 1744, John Martin Mack (who had been with Zinzendorf at Wyoming in 1742) and Christian Fröhlich, another Moravian Brother, set out on foot from Bethlehem for Wyoming. The weather was very unseasonable, and the travelers had some unusual and uncomfortable experiences, all of which are detailed in a very full and interesting manner in the diary written by Mack at the time. A number of extracts from this diary appear for the first time in print in Dr. F. C. Johnson's entertaining and valuable paper mentioned on page 204, and from them we learn that the missionaries traveled up along the left bank of the Lehigh to and through Lehigh Gap (mentioned on page 45), a few miles beyond which they forded the river. Thence, traveling in a north-westerly direction, they crossed over the mountains to the Susquehanna. Having described their experiences in crossing the Lehigh, Mack states:

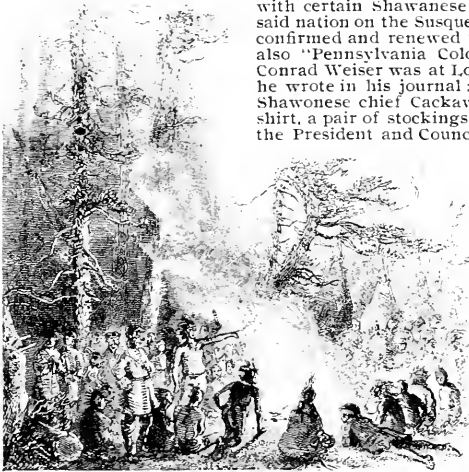
"When we had gone about twelve miles we made a little fire, but could not make it burn because it snowed so hard. The cold pierced us a little because we were through and through wet. We cut wood all night long to prevent our being frozen to death. It snowed all night. April 8th—The snow lay on the ground a foot and a-half deep, and before us we had great rocks and mountains to climb. * * After dinner we came to an old hut where some Indians were, who were going to Wyoming. We lodged with them. * * We spent our time in making fire and trying to keep warm. 9th—We and the Indians set out together. * * We were obliged to wade two creeks. They were extremely cold. Brother Christian carried me through one because it was deep and I was not very well. I felt the cold in my limbs much. * * *

"10th—Early in the morning we set forward and came to Hallobanck [Wapwallopen].† We went into the King's house, but he was not very friendly. Nevertheless he would not bid us begone. * * We were soon visited by ten Indians, who were all painted but were very friendly towards us, and some of them gave us their hands. * *

* In August, 1739, King Cackawatchky visited Philadelphia, and with certain Shawanese chiefs, "for themselves and the whole body of said nation on the Susquehanna River and the Allegheny or Ohio River," confirmed and renewed the treaty of April 23, 1701. (See page 179, *ante*; also "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IV: 346.) In September, 1748, Conrad Weiser was at Logstown on official business for the Province, and he wrote in his journal: "This day [10th] I made a present to the old Shawanese chief Cackawatchky of a stroud, a blanket, a match-coat, a shirt, a pair of stockings and a large twist of tobacco, and told him that the President and Council at Philadelphia remembered their love to him

as to their old and true friend, and would clothe his body once more, and wished he might wear them out so as to give them an opportunity to clothe him again. Cackawatchky returned thanks, and some of the Six Nations did the same, and expressed their satisfaction to see a true man taken notice of, although he was now grown childish."

In May, 1751, Col. George Croghan, in the service of the Province, attended a conference held with Six Nation, Delaware and Shawanese Indians at Logstown, previously mentioned. In his journal he made this entry: "I paid Cochawitshake the old Shawanese king a visit, as he was rendered incapable of attending the council by his great age, and let him know that his Brother the Governor of Pennsylvania was glad to hear that he was still alive and retained his senses, and had ordered me to clothe him and to acquaint him that he had not forgot his strict attachment to the English interest." In August, 1758, the Moravian missionary Christian Frederick Post was at Logstown, where he met four Shawanese who had lived



A Conference with Indians on the Ohio.

at Wyoming during his sojourn there some years previously. They received him kindly and granted him certain privileges. (See "Early Western Travels," I: 31, 60, 193, 201.)

† This was near the mouth of Wapwallopen Creek, five miles east of Nescopeck, mentioned on page 201. The Indian village here had been established sometime in 1743 by Delawares from either Shamokin or the "Forks" of the Delaware. On October 5, 1744, six months after the visit of Mack and Fröhlich, the missionary David Brainerd visited this village. He wrote: "We reached the Susquehanna River at a place called Opeholhaupung, and found there twelve Indian houses. After I had saluted the King in a friendly manner I told him my business, and that my desire was to teach them Christianity." Brainerd preached to these Indians three times, and on the 9th of October set out on his return journey to the "Forks" of the Delaware.

Pearce, writing in 1860, says (see "Annals," page 201) that "numerous aboriginal graves have been found" near the mouth of Wapwallopen Creek.

The Indians with whom we traveled and left behind this morning, came about two hours after us and brought three kegs of rum. They soon began to prepare for dancing and drinking. There came also an old Indian with a keg in the cabin where we were. The Indian with whom we had been a little acquainted on the way came to us and said there would be nothing but drinking and revelry all night in the cabin, and we should be disturbed by it. If we wished, we might lodge in his hut, about half a mile from thence. We accepted with many thanks. His wife is a clever woman, and has a love for us also. 11th—We were visited in the cabin by the drunken Indians, who looked very dangerous, and endeavored by many ways to trouble us. Our Indian host, though drunk himself, would not permit them to injure us. There was a great noise and disturbance among us all night long, and they would take no rest until they had drunk all the rum which had been brought over the mountain.

“12th—Towards morning they all laid themselves down to sleep away their drunkenness, but we prepared for setting forward to Wayomick. Our hostess had baked a few cakes for us to take on our way. * * * Came in good time opposite to Wayomick,* but could not cross the Susquehanna that night because there was no canoe there. 13th—Early we crossed over to Wayomick. We were received in a very friendly manner. We immediately found the Chickasaw Indian, Chikasi, with whom we had been acquainted two years before.† * * He was very friendly toward us, and gave us something to eat. * * We lodged with his cousin, who received us in much love and friendship and gave us of the best he had. We found *very few Indians* there, and those who remained there looked much dejected. They were in number only seven men. There has been a surprising change in Wayomick since two years ago. * * About six or seven cabins are left; the others are all pulled to pieces. How often did I call to mind how Brother Lewis [Zinzendorf] said at that time: ‘The Shawanese Indians will all remove in a short time, and our Savior will bring another people here who shall be acquainted with His wounds, and they shall build a City of Grace here to the honor of the Lamb.’ * * *

“We stayed there four days. The Indians loved us. * * They could heartily believe and realize that we had not come amongst them for our own advantage. * * I asked the Indians with whom we were acquainted if they would like a Brother whom they loved much to come and live amongst them. * * They answered yes, they should be very glad, but they themselves could not decide it, because the land belonged to the Five Nations, and they only lived thereon by permission. The Indians who are still here are, as it were, prisoners.‡ They dare not go far away. * * * 16th—We prepared for returning. The woman made us again some little cakes to take with us on the way. Our host prayed that if ever we should come this way again we should certainly lodge with him, saying he was an excellent huntsman and shot many deer and bears, and he would give us meat enough to eat. We took leave, and one of them set us over the river. After dinner we came again to Hallobanck and went to our old hosts again. Our hostess set victuals immediately before us, and we were hungry.

“17th—We visited all the Indians. They were very cool and shy towards us. * * * 18th—We visited them again. We visited the king also, thinking we might have opportunity to speak something with him concerning the end of our coming to him; but we found he had no ears, and therefore desisted. 19th—* * We took leave of them and set forward. The woods were on fire all around us, so that in many places it looked very terrible, and many times we scarce knew how to get through. * * After dinner we came between two great mountains, and the fire burnt all around us and made a prodigious crackling. * * * 20th—* * In the evening we reached Bethlehem, where the Brethren and Sisters were met together.”

In July, 1740, Christian Henry Rauch, a Moravian Brother who had then recently arrived from Europe, met on the streets of New York a company of drunken Indians, who invited the missionary to accompany them to their village, Shekomeko. This was located in the north-eastern corner of Dutchess County, New York (at what is now Pine Plains), not far from the New York-Connecticut boundary and less than twenty miles west of the valley of the Housatonic previously mentioned. The Indians dwelling there seem to have been a heterogeneous collection, but chiefly Mohegans. Thither missionary Rauch went and spent some time in preaching the gospel. He soon met with considerable success, and some converts were baptized. By 1742 Shekomeko had become one of the regular mission-stations of the Moravians—in fact, it was “the seat of the first Moravian Indian mission in this country.”

* By this is meant the old Shawanese town on Plymouth, or “Shawnee,” Flats.

† See page 209.

‡ Unquestionably these were not Shawanese. See page 209.

Zinzendorf spent eight days there in August, 1742, and concerning the Mohegans of the village he wrote: "They are Mohicans, a confessedly worthless tribe of Indians. Although naturally fierce and vindictive and given to excessive drinking, they are tender-hearted and susceptible of good impressions. When our pale-faced Brother Rauch first came among them, they regarded him as a fool, and threatened his life." A year later Zinzendorf wrote (see Reichel, page 128): "Among these Malikans—a desperate and furious people—our Savior has given us a whole congregation within the space of two years. Our Brother Rauch has been the instrument in this work, who spent the greatest part of the first year among them in manifest danger of his life, for they are the most savage people among all the Indians; who not only have been excessive drunkards, but have been exceedingly given to fighting and murder." Conrad Weiser, who visited Shekomeko in May, 1743, "expressed himself in terms of unqualified astonishment at the change wrought in this ferocious people through the instrumentality of the Brethren." He wrote: "As I saw their old men seated on rude benches and on the ground listening with decorous gravity and rapt attention to Post,* I fancied I saw before me a congregation of primitive Christians."

The work at Shekomeko spread to neighboring Indian villages in Connecticut, and missionary Post—mentioned above—was assigned to labor in some of those villages. In 1743 he was married to a converted Indian woman, and endeared himself to all the Indians. "But persecutions began to assail the humble Brethren and their converts; they were accused of being papists, arrested and haled before local magistrates, by whom they were no sooner released than a mob of those whose gain in pampering to Indian vices was endangered by Moravian success, set upon them and rendered their lives and those of their new converts intolerable. Post, who had been on a journey to the Iroquois country (1745), was arrested at Albany and sent to New York, where he was imprisoned for seven weeks on a trumped-up charge of abetting Indian raids."†

About this time the Moravians decided to make an endeavor to remove the Christian Indians and the Indian mission at Shekomeko to some place outside the Province of New York. Loskiel says that "the plan was, first, to place them in the neighborhood of Bethlehem, and then to remove them to *Wajomick* on the Susquehanna, where they might have enjoyed perfect liberty of conscience, and been less exposed

* CHRISTIAN FREDERICK POST, who has been denominated "the great Moravian peace-maker," was a simple, uneducated missionary of the Moravian Church. He was born in Polish Prussia in 1710, and at an early age came under the influence of the Moravians. He immigrated to this country as a member of the "Sea Congregation" (see Reichel, pages 185 and 187), which arrived on the *Catharine* at New London, Connecticut, May 30, 1742. Post, with the other members of this company, joined the Congregation at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, three weeks later.

Post was not only employed for several years as a Moravian missionary, but later performed important services for the Province of Pennsylvania in its dealings with the Indians. In 1761 he proceeded to the Muskingum and built the first white man's house within the present limits of Ohio. Prior to that time he had journeyed several times to the Ohio country and succeeded in persuading the Shawanese and the Delawares to "bury the hatchet" and desert the French. "He did this with a heavy reward upon his scalp, and while his every foot-step was surrounded with danger."

Some of the journals of Post (for the years 1758-'59) have recently been republished in Volume II of "Early Western Travels," and the editor of the publication has written as follows concerning the missionary and mediator: "Antiquarians and historians have alike admired the sublime courage of the man, and the heroic patriotism which made him capable of advancing into the heart of a hostile territory, into the very hands of a cruel and treacherous foe. But aside from Post's supreme religious faith, he had a shrewd knowledge of Indian customs, and knew that in the character of an ambassador requested by the western tribes, his mission would be a source of protection. Therefore, even under the very walls of Fort Duquesne, he trusted not in vain to Indian good faith."

In 1762 Heckewelder (mentioned on page 42) was an assistant to Post for awhile. Toward the close of his life Post retired from the Moravian sect and entered the Protestant Episcopal Church. He died at Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1785.

† See "Early Western Travels," I: 178.

to the seductions of the white people. But, that no difficulty might be made on the part of the Iroquois to whom this country belonged, the Brethren resolved to send an embassy to the Great Council at Onondaga." Therefore, in the latter part of May, 1745, Conrad Weiser, Bishop Spangenberg,* David Zeisberger, Jr., John Joseph Bull (a Moravian Brother whom the Indians called *Shebosh*, or "Running Water"), Shikellimy, his son Tachnechorus and Andrew Montour set out on their journey up the Susquehanna, to the "Long House" of the Six Nations. They suffered many hardships by the way. At Tioga Point a messenger was sent ahead to apprise the red men of the coming of this "mixed commission."

It appears that just at this time there was a general stir among the natives at Onondaga, inasmuch as they were arranging to meet at Oswego and go to Canada to hold a treaty with the French Governor. Indians from all the Six Nations except the Mohawk assembled to hear what the ambassadors from Pennsylvania had to say. In a general conference of the latter with the Great Council the situation of affairs with reference to the Indians and the French was fully discussed; also the acts of hostility which had been committed some time previously by the Six Nations against the Catawba nation in South Carolina. The proposal of the Brethren to remove the mission and the congregation of believing Indians at Shekomeko to Wyoming was well received by the Confederacy, and the covenant made in 1742 between Count Zinzendorf and the Six Nations (see page 204) was renewed with great ceremony. Spangenberg, Zeisberger and Bull were adopted into the Iroquois Confederacy, says Loskiel, "each receiving a peculiar name." The chief Iroquois speaker at this council was an Indian known as the "Black Prince of Onondaga." (In 1742 Zinzendorf referred to him as "a terrible savage.") After the council was over the "Black Prince" invited all the deputies and chiefs at Onondaga and the embassy from Pennsylvania to a dinner. Weiser wrote afterwards: "We all went directly to his house. He entertained us plentifully with hominy, dried venison and fish, and after dinner we were served with a dram around."†

From Onondaga the Pennsylvania party went to Shekomeko, but, contrary to all expectation, the Indians there refused to entertain the proposition of removal. The most vigorous opposer of the project was a Mohegan of Shekomeko named *Schabash*, or "Abraham," who was one of Rauch's earliest converts and had been taken by the latter (with two other converts) in February, 1742, to Oley, Pennsylvania, where he was baptized "Abraham"—being the first Indian to have the rite of baptism administered to him by the Moravians.‡ "Abraham,"

* AUGUST GOTTLIEB SPANGENBERG arrived with other Moravian Brethren from over the ocean at Savannah, Georgia, in March, 1735. In April, 1736, he removed to Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, and began his labors among the Schwenkfelders who were settled in that locality. For many years Spangenberg was a Bishop of the Moravian Church. He wrote a "Life of Count Zinzendorf," which was first published in 1772.

† "TAGHANANTY, the 'Black Prince,' perished in the jail at Montreal" in the Spring of 1748, having been taken prisoner by the French during their war with the English.—"*Pennsylvania Colonial Records*," I:291.

‡ On their way from Shekomeko to Oley *Schabash* and his companions called on the Hon. James Logan (see note, page 179), who alluded to the visit in a letter to Governor Clarke of New York, in these words: "Some weeks ago two Moravians [Christian H. Rauch and Gottlieb Büttner] called on me, by the Count's direction, with three of ye Mohican Indians in their company. One of the latter speaking good English served for an interpreter. All three were proselytes, exceedingly grave but with free and not ill countenances. Though the young Germans drank one glass of wine apiece with us, the others would taste nothing but water."

Upon his return to Shekomeko Abraham was appointed to the office of Elder in the mission. In August, 1742, Zinzendorf visited Shekomeko, and in his account of the visit, written at the time, he referred to Abraham and three other converts as follows: "The four are in all respects incomparable Indians and men of God. When met in conference on affairs of the mission, they deliberated in a manner which astonished us."

says Loskiel, "represented that *Wajomick* lay in the road of the warriors to the Catawbas, and in a country abounding with savages; that the women were so wanton that they seduced all the men, and consequently their acquaintance might prove very hurtful to the young people." The Pennsylvania embassy returned home without having accomplished much.

The persecutions at Shekomeko continuing, the situation became such as to make retreat necessary. Early in 1746, therefore, the matter of removing the Christian Indians "to *Wajomick*, in the free Indian territory," again agitated the Brethren at Bethlehem, and in March John Martin Mack was sent from Bethlehem to Wyoming in order to learn accurately the situation of the country and affairs there. Loskiel says that "he traveled in company with two Delawares of great respectability, who had visited Bethlehem. They showed the tenderest concern for his safety on the road, carrying him through brooks and rivers on their shoulders." All these labors were in vain, for the Shekomekoites would not remove to Wyoming. As a last resort, therefore, the Brethren invited them to Bethlehem, and, late in the Spring of 1746, the Shekomeko and Connecticut Moravian settlements were broken up and the Christian Indians with their missionaries departed for Bethlehem in detachments.

The first detachment, consisting of ten families of forty-four persons, reached Bethlehem in April, and these people, together with those who came a few weeks later, were permitted to build temporary cabins and plant corn on a plot of ground near Bethlehem—which settlement received the name of "*Friedenshütten*" ("Huts of Peace"). July 24, 1746, these Indian emigrants were organized into a Christian congregation, and shortly afterwards were removed to "*Gnadenhütten*" ("Huts of Grace"), a village and plantation occupying 197 acres of land on the right bank of the Lehigh, at the mouth of Mahoning Creek, a few miles above Lehigh Gap (see map on page 191). The site is now occupied in part by the town of Lehighton, Carbon County. The land for this site had been purchased in the Spring of 1746 by the Brethren at Bethlehem, expressly for the use of their Indian converts and protégés, and the erection of buildings for their occupancy and that of their preachers and teachers had been hurried along as rapidly as possible. The farm-buildings stood near the creek at the foot of the hill; on the first ascent of the hill were the huts of the Indians, arranged in the form of a crescent; behind these was an orchard, and on the summit of the hill lay the grave-yard. By the next year a blacksmith-shop, a grist and a saw-mill had been erected on the bank of the creek, and in the valley a small church. A path, or trail, from Bethlehem to the Susquehanna ran through the village—probably the path traveled by Mack and Fröhlich in 1744. The settlement rapidly increased in size, and soon became "a regular and pleasant town." Between this new Christian Indian town and Wyoming a constant intercourse was soon established. "Hungry savages, in times of scarcity, flocked to Gnadenhütten, professing Christianity and filling themselves at the tables of the pious missionaries. * * Some, however, were sincere in their professions and died in the faith."

Towards the close of the year 1747 Bishop Spangenberg and other Brethren paid a visit to the Indians at Wyoming, by whom, says Los-

kiel, "they were received as angels sent from God; and their words were heard with uncommon eagerness."

In June, 1748, the population of Wyoming Valley was increased by the arrival of a band of Nanticoke Indians,* under their chief *Üllunckquam* ("Robert White"). They numbered eighty persons, and in ten canoes had come up the Susquehanna from the mouth of the Juniata River† where they had been living—perhaps on Duncan's Island—since 1742. That this is so, and that they did not come directly to Wyoming from Maryland (as has been stated by other

*The Nanticokes and Conoys or Ganaweses (mentioned on pages 101 and 102) were originally, without doubt, clans or sub-tribes of the same nation, known about 1600—and perhaps later—as the Tockwock, of the Algonkian family. For many years the Delawares always referred to the Nanticokes as "*Tawack-guidnos*," while the Five Nations are said to have called them "*Skaniataratigroui*" ("Tide-water People"). Some writers have claimed, however, that "Nanticoke" and "Conoy" were simply synonymous terms for the same people.

Originally, or very early, the Nanticokes were located along the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay in what is now Maryland, where their tribal name is perpetuated by having been given many years ago to a river, and later to a post-village. The Iroquois, having conquered the Susquehannocks or Andastés, and driven them from their towns along the Susquehanna, as previously related, turned their attention to the Tockwocks, and, by the year 1680, had completely subjugated them. The time of their final overthrow is fixed by the statements of certain Nanticoke and Conoy sachems made to Governor Evans of Pennsylvania in 1707, to the effect that their tribes had then "been at peace with the Five Nations for twenty-seven years" (See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," II : 386.) From all that can be learned it appears that the Nanticokes always lived at peace with the whites. In a council held at Fort Augusta (Shamokin) in 1769 "Last Night," the Conoy King from Chenango, New York, addressing Colonel Francis (Shamokin) the fort, said: "The nations to which I belong—the Nanticokes and Conoys—never yet since the beginning of the world pulled one scalp nor even one hair, from your heads; and this, I say, gives us a right to call ourselves your brothers." (See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX : 617.)

About 1701, owing to troubles in Maryland, a number of the Ganawese Indians—then called Piscataways—fled to Pennsylvania with the intention of settling there. Accompanied by certain Conestogas and Shawanese they went to Philadelphia and obtained permission to locate along the Susquehanna near the Conestogas and Shawanese—the representatives of these two tribes agreeing to hold themselves responsible to the Government for "the peaceable deportment and behavior" of the Ganaweses or Piscataways. In June, 1706, it was reported to the Provincial Council that there was great uneasiness among the Indians "by reason of the Ganaweses who had fled from Maryland." The Secretary of the Council then reported that he and others had made a journey among the Ganaweses, settled at a place called Conneaghera, some miles above the Conestoga fort on the Susquehanna, and that these Indians since their settlement there had behaved themselves according to their agreement. It was then (June, 1706) reported to the Council that the Five Nations were "expected shortly to come down to receive the Nanticoke's tribute"; and the chief of the Conestogas, who was present, "laid before the Governor a large wampum belt of twenty-one rows, with three hands wrought in it in black (the rest being white), which was a pledge of peace formerly delivered by the Onondaga Indians to the Nanticokes when they made the said Nanticoke's tributaries."

In June, 1707, Governor Evans and a number of attendants journeyed from Philadelphia to Pequehan, the Shawanese town near Conestoga, and, being met by King Opossah and other chiefs, were conducted into the town and received by a volley of small arms. Later they went to Dekanoagah, on the Susquehanna, nine miles from Pequehan, where a conference was held with Seneca, Shawanese, Conoy and Nanticoke Indians. These Nanticokes were from seven different villages in Maryland, and were on their way to the "Long House" of the Five Nations with twenty belts and several strings of wampum "as tribute, and in order to renew their league." Desiring to see the Governor of Pennsylvania at this time, they had sent for him, and for ten days awaited his arrival at Dekanoagah. At this conference the interpreter, by order of the Conestoga sachems, spoke in English to the Nanticokes—who all understood that language—as follows: "You are going to the Onondagas. Be sure you keep on your way. * * * You will find the King of the Five Nations a very great one, and as good a king as any among the Indians." (See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," II : 244, 246, 336, 337.)

In 1719 there was a Ganawese town in the neighborhood of Conestoga, Pennsylvania, and *Üinjack* was its chief. In June, 1722, Governor Keith of Pennsylvania wrote to "*Üinjack*, King of the Ganawese Indians on Sasquehanna: * * I have heard that your friends the Nanticokes are now at your town upon their journey to the Five Nations. I know they are a peaceable people, that live quietly amongst the English in Maryland, and therefore I shall be glad to see them, and will be ready to do them any kindness in my power."

In August, 1749, an important conference was held at Philadelphia between the Provincial Government and Pennsylvania Indians—comprising 280 Senecas, Mohegans, Delawares, Tuteloes and Nanticokes. Canassatego was present, with some attendants, to represent the Six Nations, and he was the principal speaker on the part of the Indians. It seems that certain white people had been settling along the Juniata River, which at that time was outside the bounds of the Proprietaries' purchases from the Indians—as we have shown on page 192. With regard to this territory Canassatego said: "This is the hunting-ground of our cousins the Nanticokes, and other Indians living on the waters of the Juniata. * * * We now speak in behalf of our cousins the Nanticokes. You know that on some differences between the people of Maryland and them we [the Six Nations] sent for them and placed them at the mouth of the Juniata, where they now live. They came to us while on our journey [hither] and told us that there are three settlements of their tribe left behind in Maryland, who want to come away, but the Marylanders keep them in fence and will not let them go. We desire, therefore (being urged thereto by our cousins the Nanticokes), that you would write to the Governor of Maryland and use your utmost interest that the fence in which they are confined may be taken away * * * that they may be allowed to come and settle where the other Nanticokes are, and live with them amongst us." (See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," V : 401.)

Late in 1749, or early in 1750, the remaining Nanticokes in Maryland departed from their ancient homes to join their tribesmen on the Juniata, on the lower Susquehanna and in Wyoming Valley; while some pushed on up the Susquehanna into New York and settled at Chenango, or Otsiningo, on the Chenango River, about four miles above the present city of Binghamton. The Nanticokes had a peculiar veneration for their deceased ancestors and other relatives, and upon removing from one place to another it is said that they disinterred the remains of their dead, carried them to the new place of settlement and reinterred them. When the last of the Nanticokes removed northward from Maryland the bodies of some of their people who had only recently died were in a putrid state, but the Indians removed the flesh from, and scraped, the bones of these bodies in order that the same might be carried away.

† See map on page 191.

writers), is proved by the following. In August, 1751, at a meeting of the Provincial Council in Philadelphia there were present four Nanticoke Indians from Wyoming, who said: "We passed about nine years ago [1742] by your door. We came from Maryland, and asked your leave to go and settle among our brethren the Delawares, and you gave us leave. We did for some time live at the mouth of the Juniata, but are now settled at Wyomen."*

These Nanticoke erected their wigwams on the left, or south, bank of the Susquehanna, on the Lower Hanover Flats mentioned on page 50. The site of their village is indicated on the facsimile of "A Plot of the Manor of Stoke" shown in Chapter VII, it being a short distance south-west of the mouth of Sugar Notch Creek (not shown on this plot), not far from the old "Dundee" mine-shaft, and almost opposite the Avondale mine in Plymouth Township. "Moses' Creek," noted on the Manor of Stoke plot, is now called Buttonwood Creek, and "Muddy Run" is one of the branches of Nanticoke Creek. Sugar Notch Creek—whose waters form the pond in Hanover Park—has been named "Warrior Run" on some maps published within recent years, and on others, "Warrior Creek." Both of these names have been erroneously used, "Warrior Run" being, in fact, the name of a branch of Nanticoke Creek, as shown on page 55.

In July, 1748, the Moravian missionaries Mack (previously mentioned) and David Zeisberger† came from Shamokin to Wyoming, fol-

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," V: 541.

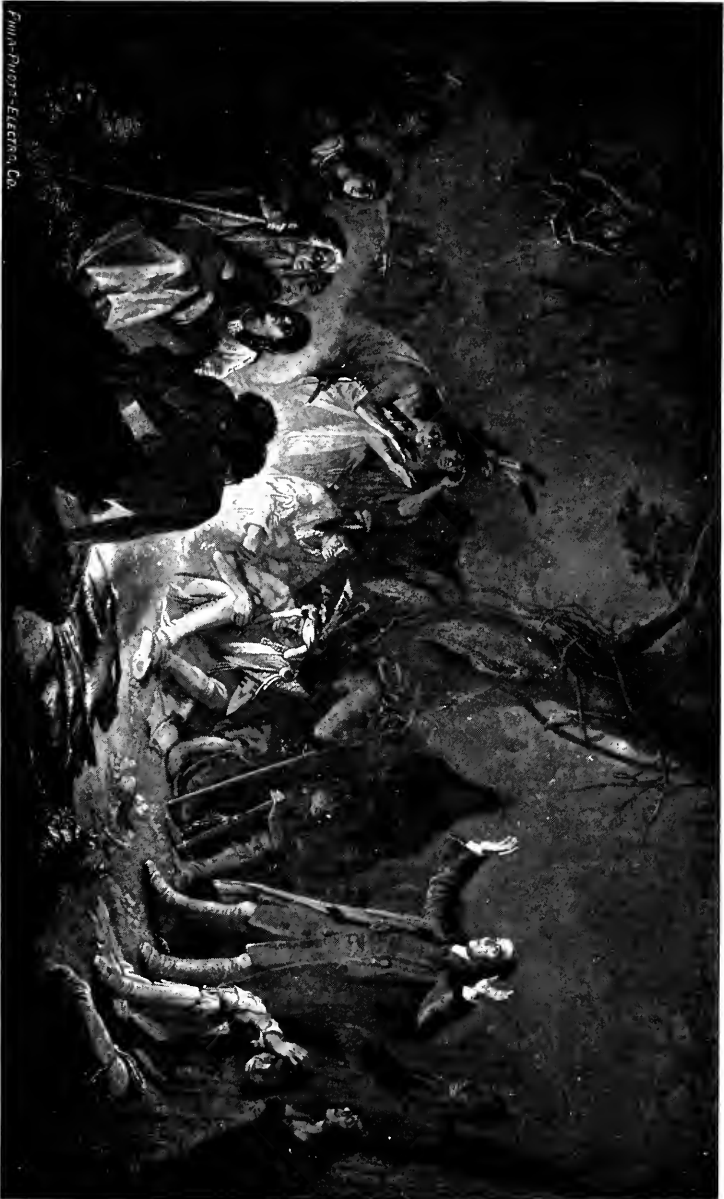
† DAVID ZEISBERGER, JR., who has been denominated the "Western Pioneer and Apostle of the Indians" and the "Hero of the American Black Forest," was born at Zauchtenthal in Moravia, Austria, in 1721. At the age of five years he removed with his parents to Saxony, where the family remained ten years. Late in the year 1735 the parents—David and Rosina Zeisberger—set sail for America with a company of Moravians on the ship *Simonds*, arriving at Savannah, Georgia, February 16, 1736. They formed part of a company of 300 immigrants to the Colony of Georgia, then in the third year of its life; which company had been gathered together and was headed by James Edward Oglethorpe, the founder and Governor of Georgia, and included the well-known missionaries and evangelists John and Charles Wesley. In August, 1737, young David Zeisberger—then in his sixteenth year—joined his parents at Savannah. Here the family of three lived until April, 1740, when, with a number of other Moravians (including John Martin Mack, previously mentioned), they sailed from Savannah for Philadelphia as members of the little company gathered together and headed by George Whitefield, the famous evangelist and one of the founders of Methodism.

Whitefield, having purchased 5,000 acres of land in the "Forks of the Delaware," founded the present town of Nazareth, in Northampton County—the first buildings being erected by the Brethren who had accompanied the evangelist from Savannah. In the Spring of 1741 the three Zeisbergers, Mack and others "went out into the forest from Nazareth and began to build Bethlehem," as mentioned on page 202. (See Reichel's "Memorials of the Moravian Church," I: 167.) Young Zeisberger about that time became interested in the study of the language of the Delawares, and soon showed great proficiency in the work. He then took up the study of the Mohawk tongue—the Mohawk dialect of the Iroquois language being the one which was commonly used at that time and later in intercourse with the Six Nations.

In 1744, only a short time before the outbreak of the Old French War, Zeisberger accompanied Christian Frederick Post, previously mentioned, to the country of the Iroquois. There, early in 1745, being suspected as spies from the French, the two men were arrested by the New York authorities and thrown into prison, where they were kept six weeks. Following his release Zeisberger was engaged for ten years, or until 1755, in active missionary service in New York and in Pennsylvania, and in perfecting himself in a knowledge of various Indian languages. In 1745 he was adopted into the Turtle clan of the Onondaga nation. In 1747 and '48 he was an assistant to John Martin Mack in the mission at Shamokin, and while there he began the preparation of an Iroquois dictionary, being aided by Shikellimy. Zeisberger's success was very great, particularly among the Six Nations. "Perhaps in all the history of this famous people," says Archer Butler Hulbert (in *The Chautauquan*, XXXVIII: 259), "there was no other man, with the exception of Sir William Johnson, whom the people trusted as much as they did David Zeisberger; * * and it is vastly more than a wordy compliment suggesting friendship to record that in his mission-house of Onondaga they placed the entire archives of the nation, comprising the most valuable collection of treaties and letters from colonial governors ever made by an Indian nation on this continent."

But, the war of the English against the French having been begun in May, 1755, Zeisberger was compelled to leave the country of the Six Nations and return to Pennsylvania, where, for the ensuing ten years, he was constantly employed in general missionary work among the Indians and often as an intermediary between the latter and the Provincial authorities. In April, 1765, he led from Bethlehem to Wyalusing, on the North Branch of the Susquehanna (in what is now Bradford County), a company of Christian Indians consisting of eighty adults and upwards of ninety children. After a tedious journey of thirty-six days through an unbroken wilderness they reached their destination, and there, about two miles south-east of the mouth of Wyalusing Creek, they founded the Moravian Indian town of "*Friedenshütten*," named for the village which had formerly stood near Bethlehem. Here Zeisberger labored zealously as preacher and teacher until October, 1766. During this time he once wrote: "It often happens, while I preach, that the power of the gospel takes such hold of the savages that they tremble with emotion and shake with fear, until consciousness is nearly gone and they seem to be on the point of fainting."

"About 1765 some bands of Monsey Indians from Wyalusing and Tioga Point migrated to what is now Forest County, in north-western Pennsylvania, and on the eastern bank of the Allegheny River established the village of "*Goschgoschünk*"; and later, at or near the mouth of Oil Creek, in what is Venango



DAVID ZEISBERGER PREACHING TO THE INDIANS.

Photo-reproduction of a black and white drawing made by John Sartain in 1864, after the original painting by C. Schussele.
Used by the courtesy of Dr. F. C. Johnson.

lowing the trail running along the right bank of the North Branch of the Susquehanna. At Wyoming they found a famine prevailing. The diary of this journey was printed in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History* for January, 1893 (page 430), and from it the following extracts have been made.

"July 23.— * * * By evening reached Nescopeck, and were taken over the river in a canoe. Found few at home, but were taken into a hut where we dried ourselves and, supperless, retired to rest.

"July 24.—Our host cooked us some wild beans. We gave the old man in turn of our bread. He informed us that the people had gone among the whites to obtain food.

"July 25.—Resumed our journey and came to Wapwallopen. Found only one family at home, who boiled the bark of trees for food. All the others had been driven by famine to the white settlements. At night we camped at the lower end of the flats* of Wyomick.

"July 26.—Arose early and proceeded up the flats. People decrepit and scarcely able to move, and in danger of starvation. Lodged in one of the huts.

"July 27.—Crossed the river and visited the Nanticokes who moved here last Spring from Chesapeake Bay,† and found them clever, modest people. They too complained of the famine, and told us that their young people had been gone several weeks to the settlements to procure food. In the evening the Nanticokes set us over the river. Visited some old people; also an old man who fetched some wood to make a fire in his hut. He was so weak as to be compelled to crawl on his hands and knees. Mack made the fire, much to the gratitude of the aged invalid.

County, they established "*Lawunakhannek*." To the former of these villages Zeisberger went in the Autumn of 1767, being, without doubt, the first white man to enter the wilds of Forest County. He had been warned by the Senecas not to attempt this visit—probably because the reputation of the Indians at these two villages was bad—but he went, nevertheless, accompanied by two Christian Indians, and in the evening following his arrival at *Goschgoschünk* held a religious service. The wildest of the Indians were there—sorcerers and murderers, and some who had been but a short time before engaged in a massacre. It was a rough crowd, even for Zeisberger, to address by the flickering light of a dull fire. Writing of the incident afterwards he said: "Never yet did I see so clearly depicted in the faces of the Indians both the darkness of hell and the world-subduing power of the gospel." The apostle soon saw that he was in a den of paganism, and after a stay of only seven days he returned to eastern Pennsylvania. But the next year the Monseys sent for him to come back to them. He went, and, finding that many of the worst Indians had left that locality, continued as a missionary there during 1768, '69 and part of '70, first at *Goschgoschünk* and then at *Lawunakhannek*. Then the Senecas claimed the land thereabout, and insisted that the Monseys should leave. (The land at and near this particular place was subsequently granted to the Seneca chief "Cornplanter," as related on page 164.)

April 17, 1770, Zeisberger and his followers left their village on Oil Creek in fifteen canoes. In three days they reached Fort Pitt (now Pittsburgh). Proceeding thence down the Ohio, past Logstown to the mouth of the Beaver, they ascended that river. Some fifteen miles up the stream, on its left, or east, bank, near the present town of Newport in Lawrence County, the emigrants found an Indian village inhabited by a community of women, all single and pledged never to marry. (On the 1756 map of Pennsylvania reproduced in Chapter V there is an Indian town named "*A'ishkaskies*," noted at about that point.) A mile north of this village of misogamists Zeisberger's company landed and erected their cabins. Some time later, however, they removed to a better site on the opposite side of the river, where they built their town, to which Zeisberger gave the name "*Friedensstadt*" ("City of Peace"). On the 14th of the following July Zeisberger was formally adopted into the Monsey clan, with all the ceremonies usual on such occasions.

This new village grew steadily in size and population and many Indians were converted to Christianity. When the village was fourteen months old the membership of the Church had increased to 100, and a house of worship was dedicated. Through Zeisberger's agency Moravian missions were soon established in the "Black Forest" region on the upper Muskingum, in what is now the State of Ohio. In the Spring of 1773 the Christian Indians of *Friedensstadt* left there in a body and accompanied Zeisberger into the "Black Forest," where, in the valley of the Tuscarawas in what is now Tuscarawas County, they founded three villages—"Gnadenhütten," "Schönbrunn" and "Lichtenau." Zeisberger was assisted in his work here by Heckewelder (mentioned on page 42) and other Moravian Brethren, and they formed the first settlement of whites in the present State of Ohio—excepting such French as had lived in the lake region. "The settlements were governed by a complete set of published laws, and in many respects the experiment was an ideality fully achieved. The good influence of the orderly and devout colony spread through the Central West at a time when every influence was bad and growing rapidly worse."

During the latter part of the Revolutionary War the inhabitants of these three "Black Forest" villages were driven from their homes. Some months later ninety of them having returned to *Gnadenhütten* were murdered in cold blood by a party of Americans. The remnant of this body of Christian Indians was led by the now aged Zeisberger from one place to another during the next sixteen years, until finally, in 1798, they were able to return to Tuscarawas Valley, where the United States had given to the Moravian Church some 12,000 acres of land, embracing the sites of the three villages which had been established there in 1773. For fully ten years more the old missionary continued to labor among the "brown brethren" whom he had loved and led for so long, and then, at the age of eighty-seven years he died, and, in pursuance of his dying request, was buried at *Gnadenhütten* near the mound covering the remains of the ninety massacred Indians. To their memory a handsome monument has been erected, while only a little slab marks the hallowed grave of the missionary. "And yet," writes Hulbert, previously quoted, "no monument can be raised to the memory of David Zeisberger so valuable or so significant as the little pile of his own manuscripts collected by Edward Everett and deposited by him under lock and key, in a special case in the library of Harvard University. Here are fourteen manuscripts, including a Delaware Indian dictionary, a hymn book, a harmony of the Gospels, a volume of litanies and liturgies and a volume of sermons to children."

* Plymouth, or "Shawnee," Flats.

† Mack and Zeisberger were at Shamokin in May, 1748, when the Nanticokes passed by that place in their canoes, en route from the mouth of the Juniata to Wyoming. They were known to be Chesapeake Bay Indians, and that they had just come from there it was natural for the missionaries to presume.

"July 28.—Found our host this morning busy painting himself. He painted his face all red, and striped his shirt and moccasins with the same color. * * * Set out on our return journey. Passed Wapwallopen, and thence over the country, across Wolf Mountain to Gnadenhütten, which we reached July 30."

Zeisberger records that at this time the Indians at Wyoming shot two *seals* in the Susquehanna—"these strange animals attracting much attention. They were believed to be sent by God, and were accordingly eaten."

"In October, 1748," says Dr. Johnson in his paper previously referred to (see page 204), "Baron John de Watteville, a bishop of the Moravian Church, and son-in-law and principal assistant of Count Zinzendorf, arrived from Europe on an official visit, and one of the first things he undertook was a visit to the Indian country. He was accompanied by Cammerhoff, Mack and Zeisberger, the latter as interpreter. Having visited Gnadenhütten [from Bethlehem], they proceeded along the great trail to Wyoming, which they reached four days later." At that period the path usually traveled from the Lehigh to Wyoming crossed over the intervening mountains to the little valley of the Wapwallopen, down this to the mouth of the creek and thence along the Susquehanna (on the right bank) to Wyoming. De Watteville and his companions, however, took a somewhat different route. Having reached the valley of the Wapwallopen they evidently turned northward, passed by or near Triangle Pond (now Lake Nuangola) and entered Wyoming Valley through either Espy's or Lueder's Gap in the south-eastern section of Wilkes-Barré Mountain (mentioned on pages 44 and 47).

The following interesting paragraphs relating to this journey are from a translation of De Watteville's journal, published in part in Johnson's *Historical Record* (Wilkes-Barré), II: 77, and in Dr. Johnson's paper previously mentioned.

"October 6, 1748.—From the top of a high mountain we had our first view of the beautiful and extensive flats of Wyoming, and the Susquehanna winding through them. It was the most charming prospect my eyes had ever seen. Beyond them stretched a line of blue mountains* high up, back of which passes the road to Onondaga† through the savage wilderness towards Tioga. We viewed the scene for several minutes in silent admiration, then descended the precipitous mountain side, past a spring, until we got into the valley. Up this we pursued our way and came to the first Indian huts of Wyoming, where formerly lived one Nicholas, a famous Indian conjurer and medicine-man. Since his death the huts stand empty. Moving on we crossed a creek‡ and soon came to the Susquehanna, up which we went a mile to a point where we forded the stream to an island,§ and crossed to the west bank. The river was low, and all got through without difficulty. Came to some cabins inhabited by Tuscaroras (whose squaws only were at home), and thence into the great flats, striking the path¶ which Zinzendorf had followed.

* Shawanese Mountain, described on pages 44, 46 and 48.

† This was the old and much-traveled Indian trail running from the mouth of Fishing Creek (below the present town of Bloomsburg, Columbia County, Pennsylvania) in a northerly direction to Tioga Point, the southern door to the "Long House" at Onondaga. (See page 117.) As to the territory in north-eastern Pennsylvania through which this trail ran, see the "Map of Luzerne County" in Chapter XXIII, in connection with the map on page 191. The course of the trail was up along the main branch of Fishing Creek, by Orangeville, to a point at or near Lake Ganoga (see page 46), one of the sources of Fishing Creek; thence continuing across the North Mountain range, through Sullivan County and a part of Bradford County, to the head-waters of Towanda Creek, where it joined the path running along that stream to a junction with the great Warrior Path which lay along the North Branch of the Susquehanna. The course of this last-mentioned path through a part of Wyoming Valley is shown on the "Plot of the Manor of Sunbury" (reproduced in Chapter VII) by the dotted line marked "Path from Shamokin" and "Path to Wyalusing."

‡ A branch of Nanticoke Creek.

§ The small island adjacent to the lower, or western, end of "Shawnee" Flats, near Grand Tunnel, Colonel Wright, in his "Historical Sketches of Plymouth" published in 1873, says that this island was originally known to the residents of Plymouth as "Fish Island," by reason of the fact that for many years a very successful shad-fishery was located there. Later, he states, it became known as "Park's Island," from an "herb doctor" who lived in a cabin on it. It is quite probable that Pearce was in error in referring to "Toby's Island" as "Park's Island" (see page 52), and that the true "Park's Island" is the one at the lower end of "Shawnee" Flats. Colonel Wright states that "before the erection of the [Nanticoke] dam immediately below, this island was much larger than it is now [1872]; the back-flow of the water has submerged probably two-thirds of the original surface."

¶ Shown on the "Plot of the Manor of Sunbury" mentioned above.

"Cammerhoff and myself kept in our saddles, the better to get a view of the flats. But the grass was so high at times as to overtop us,* though mounted, and I never beheld such a beautiful expanse of land. We next came to the place where the old Shawanese King dwelt, which at that time (1742) was a large town,† Now there is only one cabin in which Shawanese reside. Farther on we came to ten huts,‡ where the present Captain, who is a Chickasaw Indian,§ lives. He was not at home, but was recently gone to war

* In these days and in this country the word "grass," as commonly and generally used, refers to prairie, lawn, orchard, timothy or some one of the other grasses which grow wild or are cultivated in lawns, meadows and pasture fields for forage and hay-making purposes or in order to beautify the landscape. The average unscientific person knows of no other grasses. Botanists, however, inform us that there are fully 800 species and varieties of grasses within the limits of the United States; and under their classification rice, rye, wheat, oats, maize or Indian-corn and sugar-cane are grasses. Without doubt De Watteville used the word "grass" in his journal, as above, in its generic sense, and by it referred to a tall, reed-like growth—a woody perennial—known to botanists as "*Poa aquatica*," and which in some parts of the country is common along the margins of rivers and lakes. The present writer remembers very well that when he was a boy this "grass"—which, however, no one hereabout ever called "grass"—grew in great profusion on the uncultivated parts of the Lower Kingston and Upper Plymouth Flats, particularly on the margins of the river and the "pound-holes." It often attained a height of eight or ten feet. None of the other kinds of grasses mentioned in this note—excepting Indian-corn and sugar-cane—ever attains such a height.

† At the upper, or eastern, end of "Shawnee" Flats, near Garrison Hill.

‡ This refers to the village in Plymouth which in 1742 was called by Mack the "upper town," and which stood near the river between Brown's Brook and Bead Hill, as described on page 209.

§ According to tradition the Chickasaws and Choctaws were one people many centuries ago. The word Chickasaw ("*Chikasha*") in the Choctaw tongue signifies "rebel," the latter tribe giving its rebellious offshoot that name, which the Chickasaws evidently accepted as their distinctive tribal name. When (in 1540) De Soto explored the Mississippi region he found that the Choctaws occupied a large part of what is now Alabama and the southern half of Mississippi, while the Chickasaws occupied the territory to the north—comprising northern Mississippi and a part of western Tennessee. The Chickasaws then had a tradition to the effect that, long before that time, they and the Choctaws—then one nation—being driven from their country by ferocious northern Indians, journeyed toward the sunrise under the guardianship of a sacred dog, led onward by a *magic pole*, which they planted in the ground every night, and in the morning traveled toward the direction the pole leaned. At last, after crossing vast deserts, boundless forests and dismal swamps, leaving thousands of their dead along the way, they reached the great "Father of Waters." While crossing the Mississippi the sacred dog was drowned; but the nation continued its march eastward to the banks of the Alabama River, where the pole, after being unsettled for several days, pointed distinctly south-west. They then proceeded in that direction to the southern portion of Mississippi, where the pole planted itself firmly in a perpendicular position. This was the omen for a permanent settlement, and here the combined nation dwelt.

These Indians—of Muskogean stock—were, in a measure, civilized at the time of De Soto. They had their rude arts, laws, customs and religion, inferior but somewhat similar to those of the Aztecs and Incas, which leads to the belief that the "magic pole" tradition had its origin in an exodus of these tribes from Mexico. The theory that the Chickasaws and Choctaws were an offshoot of the civilized Aztecs has some foundation. They were not primarily a warlike race. Their disposition was not ferocious, although they were capable of waging long and bloody wars when driven to such an extremity. In a treaty with the United States in 1834 the Chickasaws made the boast "that they have ever been faithful and friendly to the people of this country; that they have never raised the tomahawk to shed the blood of an American." ("Report on Indians in the United States at the Eleventh Census," page 279.)

It is said that at one time the Chickasaws could send out on the war-path 10,000 braves. In 1763 they could muster only 250 warriors; in 1764 they had increased to 750, and in 1768 they were reduced to 500 warriors. They were then located in western Georgia. In 1780 they were to be found between the head branches of Mobile River in western Alabama. In the War of 1812 and in the war with the Creeks the Chickasaws did valiant service for the United States. As early as 1800 the encroachments of the whites filled these people with a desire to emigrate beyond the Mississippi, and about 1820 many Chickasaws joined the Choctaw emigration to the country west of Arkansas, now Indian Territory. In 1822 there were 3,625 of the tribe remaining in Mississippi—in the northern part of the State. In 1835 Chickasaws to the number of 5,000 agreed to emigrate, and did emigrate, from Mississippi to Indian Territory, where they now form one of the "Five Civilized Tribes." (See pages 163 and 165.) Tishomingo is the capital of the Chickasaw Nation, and Ardmore, the largest town in the Nation, is the metropolis of the "Five Tribes." According to the census of 1890 the population of the Chickasaw Nation numbered 57,329, of which number, however, only 3,129 were pure-blood Chickasaws.

George Catlin, writing about the year 1832 (see his "Letters and Notes" mentioned on page 84) relative to the Chinook Indians who lived along the Columbia River, in what is now the State of Washington, stated that these Indians were a small tribe (they then numbered only 400, in twenty-eight lodges, according to Samuel J. Drake), and "correctly come under the name of *Fia-heads*, as they are almost the only people who strictly adhere to the custom of squashing and flattening the head. * * * This mode of flattening the head is certainly one of the most unaccountable as well as unmeaning customs found amongst the North American Indians. * * * It is a curious fact, and one that should be mentioned here, that these people have not been alone in this strange custom; but that it existed and was practised precisely the same, until recently, amongst the *Choctaws and Chickasaws*, who occupied a large part of the States of Mississippi and Alabama, where they have laid their bones and hundreds of their skulls have been procured, bearing incontrovertible evidence of a similar treatment with similar results. The Choctaws who are now [1832] living do not flatten the head. * * * Whilst among the Choctaws I could learn little more from the people about such a custom than that 'their old men recollected to have heard it spoken of'—which is much less satisfactory evidence than inquisitive white people get by referring to the grave, which the Indian never meddles with."

Noting the fact that the Chinooks and Chickasaws lived over 2,000 miles apart, and that there were no intervening tribes who practised head-flattening, Mr. Catlin came to the conclusion that "either the Chinooks came to the Atlantic, or the Choctaws and Chickasaws came from the west side of the Rocky Mountains." The accompanying illustration is a reduced facsimile of a drawing made by Mr. Catlin of



against the Catawbas, with six other warriors. His wife, who is a Shawanese, remembered the Count [Zinzendorf], and would have us take lodgings with her. Because of our horses we were compelled to decline her kind offer. We pitched our tents on the spot where Chikasi (in whom the Count had been so interested in 1742) lived.* He, too, remembered the Count, and was very friendly. Chikasi is at present living with the Nanticokes across the river. Our hostess sent for him, as he spoke English. He came without delay. * * * Meanwhile all Wyoming on our side of the river had congregated—some sixteen persons, large and small, Chickasaws and Shawanese. They manifested great interest in our advent, and sincere friendship for us.

"October 7.—Rode to the spot which the Count had selected for the site of a Moravian Indian town,† and then crossed the creek on which the proposed mill for the Moravian town was to be built. Next we came to the spot where the tent was pitched the third time.‡ Here, in the bark of a tree, we found the initial 'J' (for Johanan, or Zinzendorf), and 'C' (for Conrad Weiser). I cut an 'A' for Anna Nitschmann, and also '1742' and '1748.' Forging the river we found a Mohican cabin at the end of an island,§ but no one excepting children were at home. Rode over the flats|| until we came to some Tuscarora¶ huts. Recrossing to our camp we found Zeisberger had been called on by many Indians. They said [that] some months ago a trader had wished to settle in Wyoming, and had planted corn, but the Indians finding him thievish had expelled him—the Nanticokes having bought his improvements. Not far from the Count's third camping-place** we were pointed out the burial-place†† of, an ancient and wholly exterminated nation of Indians; and on the south side of the Susquehanna stood a respectable orchard of apple trees, near which some seventy or eighty Indians, who were swept off a few years ago by epidemic dysentery, lay buried.‡‡

a picture painted by himself in 1892—showing a woman with a flattened head, and also the process by which the head of a child was gradually forced into a similar shape.

During many years the Iroquois carried on a fierce warfare against the Chickasaws, Cherokees, Catawbas and other southern tribes, and there is no doubt but that the Chickasaws who were located in Wyoming Valley in 1748—some of whom had then been here at least six years—had been brought here as prisoners of war by Six Nation warriors on their return from a marauding expedition against the Chickasaws. It is probable, too, that Chikasi, "the Count's Chickasaw," referred to in the diaries of Mack and De Watteville, was not the only flat-headed Chickasaw who was here in the valley, for, upon two or three occasions within the past thirty or forty years, Indian skulls have been exhumed here which appeared to have had the forehead flattened in life. One such was dug up only a few years ago, in Plains Township, not far from the site of the Delaware town *Natchasaung*, mentioned on page 213, and is now in possession of Mr. Charles M. Williams, Plainsville.

The "Flat-heads" referred to on pages 180 and 189 were, of course, either Choctaws or Chickasaws, and not the Chinook "Flat-heads" of Columbia River, whose descendants, by the way, are now known as "Flat-heads" and occupy certain reservations in Montana.

* This was somewhere between Brown's Brook and Bead Hill.

† The Moravian Indian town referred to, which Zinzendorf planned to have built in the "great Deserts of Skehantawanno" (Wyoming), was to be named "*Gnadenstadt*" ("City of Grace"); and the site selected for it was, undoubtedly, on the plateau—originally having an area of several acres—at the south-western extremity of Boston Hill. It is now occupied in part by Shupp's Grave-yard. Boston Hill (which received its name from the Boston Mine coal-breaker which stood there a number of years ago) is in reality the south-western section of Ross Hill, and it lies opposite the upper end of Richard's Island. The hill at one time extended farther in a south-westerly direction, but has been cut away to make room for railways, etc. Along the line of the former base of the hill flows Shupp's Creek, emptying into the river opposite the island—as shown on the "Plot of the Manor of Sunbury" in Chapter VII. This stream was, at one time, the principal creek in Plymouth, and, unquestionably, it was the one upon which the Moravian mill was to have been built.

‡ Upon the plateau of Boston Hill may be found even at this day many evidences of early Indian occupation—piles of mussel-shells, arrow-points, chips of flint produced in making arrow-points, etc. Without doubt there was at one time not only an Indian village, but an Indian burial-place there, as has been indicated by discoveries made from time to time in past years. (See "Proceedings of Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VIII: 107.) From this plateau, before the days of coal-mining operations, the flats on both sides of the river, and the river itself for a considerable distance in a south-westerly direction, could be clearly viewed; therefore it was an admirable site for a village, and may have been occupied as such at the same time that the earthworks in Dorranceton and on Jacob's Plains were occupied, and by a band of the same tribe that occupied those places.

§ Dead Hill, described on page 209.

‡ Richard's Island.

Either the Upper Hanover or the Lower Wilkes-Barré Flats.

¶ These Tuscaroras, as well as those encamped at the lower end of the valley, and previously referred to by De Watteville (see page 222), probably composed a band of that tribe of the Six Nations who had come down to the valley from New York to hunt. It is possible, however, that the Indians thus mentioned by DeWatteville were not Tuscaroras but *Tutelo*s. There were at that time and a few years later a small number of *Tutelo*s located in the valley of the North Branch of the Susquehanna, at different points. (See map of 1756 and page 234.) The *Tutelo*s of that period constituted the remnant of a pre-Columbian tribe of the Siouan family, that had occupied a portion of eastern Virginia and the country east of Chesapeake Bay. By 1782 the *Tutelo*s had either been absorbed by other tribes or had died off, as the name of the tribe does not appear in the "List of Indian Tribes Within the Limits of the United States" prepared by Thomas Jefferson in the year mentioned; nor has the name of the tribe appeared in any published list of *existing* tribes since that year.

** Bead Hill, previously mentioned.

†† Without doubt on Boston Hill; and for a long time now the site has been occupied by Shupp's Grave-yard, as explained in a previous note.

‡‡ These were the Delaware Indians who died in 1743, as mentioned on page 212. In 1895 the "Firwood" tract of land, and a tract adjoining it on the south-west—both lying near the site of the Delaware Indian village of 1743 (see "Map of Wilkes-Barré" in Chapter XXVIII)—were divided up into building lots by their owners, and in opening and grading new streets and excavating cellars, a large amount of soil was removed that had not been disturbed for many years. In the course of this work numerous Indian skeletons, various trinkets, etc., were unearthed by the workmen. The following paragraphs,

"Captain's wife gave us four loaves of bread and two large watermelons. We gave them in return a pair of silver buckles. In the afternoon visited the Chickasaw town* and saw a newly *carved god elevated on a pole*.† Visited from hunt to hunt and found an aged Shawanese couple who were almost centenarians six years ago. We next visited the Nanticokes who live on the island.‡ Unable to get a canoe, we got our horses and forded the stream without saddle or bridle. Left our horses in care of a sick Chickasaw, who understood some English, and then visited the Count's Chickasaw [Chikasi], *whose forehead is flattened backwards* like a Catawba's. He was gathering his little crop of tobacco, and had little interest in religious matters. Gave him a knife as a token.§ Came to the Nanticoke town of ten huts. Most of the men were on the hunt. One of the old men was very friendly. Gave him a pipe tube. Some of the Nanticokes asked if we were traders, and wanted to barter. The Nanticokes appear to be more industrious than other Indians. * * * They are settled here right comfortably. They expect others of their people. * * * Recrossed the river to our tent, and closed the day with the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

"October 9.—Made preparations for return by the path that keeps along the upper [or right] side of the Susquehanna down to Wamphallobank [Wapwallopen] and thence to Shamokin. October 8.—Passed through the Chickasaw town|| and bade adieu to all our friends. Presented some of the women with needles and thread. They gave us pumpkins baked in the ashes. Moved down the beautiful flats. October 10.—Came to the falls at Nescopeck, where we had Zeisberger take the horses and with them follow the river on its north side. Cammerhoff, Mack and I went down the hill to the Susquehanna and shouted for a canoe. Hereupon Pantes, the third son of *Notamaes*¶ (the Governor of Nescopeck), tastily painted and decked with feathers, came and set us over the river. We gave him a silver buckle for his trouble. On entering the town we went to the

relating to these "finds," are from *The Wilkes-Barré Record* of September 9, October 21 and November 25, 1895.

"A few weeks ago a number of Indian bones were dug up, but a few days ago contractor W. G. Downs' workmen came across three or four skeletons close together. The bones were in a good state of preservation, and the fact that they were those of Indians was shown by the general formation of the skulls and the prominent cheek bones. One of the skeletons was that of a woman. The frames were not lying horizontally, but were in a sitting posture, the skulls being about four feet from the surface, and the feet about ten [?] feet. This was the Indian custom of burial. [See page 174, *ante*.] Near one of the skeletons was a pipe. It is made of stone, the bowl being perforated and worked around with rings. * * * Maj. Jacob Roberts, Jr., is discovering many traces of the 'vanishing race' in grading the plot of ground he recently purchased on Carey Avenue near Division Street. A few feet below the surface the jaw-bone of an Indian was unearthed; also a lot of blue beads, rings and arrow-heads. * * * A couple of skeletons are also being unearthed. * * *

"An interesting relic was unearthed the other day on the tract of land at the lower end of the city now being laid out into lots by Major Roberts. It is a crucifix, and was found in an Indian grave by William G. Downs, who sold it to Col. William J. Harvey. In the same grave with it were perhaps a quart of beads. The crucifix is of brass, nearly two inches long. On one side is Christ on the cross; below is a skull and cross-bones. On the other side the Virgin Mary is represented. * * * The land on which the crucifix was found was an extensive burying-ground, and many relics have been found thereabout. * * * It is said that all the skeletons lie with their heads towards the west, and some have been found in a sitting posture. One skeleton was gigantic in size. * * * Major Roberts found a fine string of blue beads, said to be made of Scotch stone." The crucifix mentioned above was subsequently presented by Colonel Harvey to the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, and may now be seen in its collections. Several duplicates of this crucifix have been found at various times within recent years on the sites of former Indian settlements along the Susquehanna, and one of them, found near Great Island, on the West Branch of the river, is pictured and described in "Pennsylvania—Colonial and Federal," II: 313.

* Between Brown's Brook and Bead Hill, Plymouth.

† See page 223 for a reference to the Chickasaw tradition concerning "a magic pole."

‡ Park's Island near Grand Tunnel, at the lower end of "Shawnee" Flats.

§ In August, 1753, John Martin Mack, the missionary, visited a small Shawanese village below Muncy Creek (in what is now Lycoming County, Pennsylvania), which had been established a few years previously by some families from Wyoming. Here Mack found old Chikasi living, he having been there since the previous Spring. Mack states in his diary, relative to this visit: "He [Chikasi] saluted us as brothers. We also visited John Shikellimy [*Tachniehdorus*, mentioned on page 184], who lives here and has a Shawanese wife. He furnished us with a choice piece of bear's meat. Shikellimy's family have mostly left Shamokin, as they find it very difficult to live there, owing to the large number of Indians passing through the town, who have to be fed. Our Brethren make the same complaint. They have fed as high as 100 Indians per annum."

|| Between Bead Hill and Brown's Brook, Plymouth.

¶ *Notamaes*, or "King Nutimus" as he was commonly known, was the Delaware chief who is referred to on pages 196, 199 and 200. According to Watson ("Annals of Philadelphia," II: 181) there were two brothers of this name (which signifies "a spear with which to strike fish"), who were well known to Heckewelder the Moravian missionary, previously mentioned. The one, Isaac—the subject of this brief sketch—the other, Pontius [Pantes (?)], an excellent man, was born where Philadelphia now stands. He lived to 100 years of age, and died at Muskingum, Ohio, in 1780, after thirty years' residence there. Secretary James Logan, in a letter written in August, 1733, to Thomas Penn, Esq., states that Nutimus—*Isaac*—has lands in the Forks of the Delaware and Lehigh, above Durham; and in a letter written a few weeks later he refers to an expected visit from Nutimus and his company, with a present, and closes by saying, "they left a bag of bullets last year." Nutimus was one of the Delaware sachems who executed August 25, 1737, the "deed of release and quit-claim" upon which was based the "Walking Purchase" referred to on page 194.

Nutimus and his followers left the "Forks" of the Delaware late in the year 1742 or early in 1743 (see page 200), and went to Shamokin. Later, in 1743, they removed to the mouth of Nescopeck Creek (mentioned on page 201). They erected their cabins on the south or left bank of the river, opposite Nescopeck Falls, about half a mile above the mouth of the creek, within the present limits of the borough of Nescopeck. During the next few years Nutimus spent a good deal of time at Shamokin, where he learned to work with tools and at blacksmithing. Heckewelder states: "*Isaac* and *Pantes* were both amiable men and respected by the whites. Isaac having a mechanical turn of mind soon learned the use of tools, and became a pretty good blacksmith, a trade which he followed wherever he moved to, and during his life-

Governor's house—more spacious than any I have yet seen among the Indians—in which he and his five sons with their wives and children live together. We found, however, no one but Pantec, his brother Joe and the women at home. Seated around the fire we conversed with them some time.

"On taking leave we kept on down the Susquehanna to call upon the Governor and his other sons at their plantation, one and a-half miles lower down. We were soon met by one of their cousins with a negro, for the Governor of Nescopeck *has five slaves*—a negress and four children. Negroes are regarded by the Indians as despicable creatures.* On coming to Nescopeck Creek—which is about half as wide as the Lehigh at Bethlehem—and having neither horses nor canoe we were compelled to wade it. The water was rapid and leg deep. It was running high in its channel by reason of the late rains. It was the first time in my life that I waded in water. Having crossed the stream we met Isaac, one of the sons, and a short distance farther the old Governor himself, who greeted us cordially. I presented him with a pair of scarlet *causches*. To all that was said he would indicate his assent with the word '*Kehella*.'† Going farther we came to the plantation, where we visited in four huts. In one was a stranger Indian (not a member of the family), in one were children, and in the third an old squaw. The fourth hut belonged to Ben, old Notamaes' fourth son. He had just returned from the hunt, and welcomed us very cordially. We sat with him a short time, and I took a great liking to a child of his. Mack gave him a pipe-tube, and then he set us over the river in a canoe, where we met David Zeisberger with the horses. After we had partaken of our noonday meal Ben came over to us and gave us a fine deer-roast, when we presented him with a silver buckle and needles and thread for his wife."

De Watteville and his companions proceeded onward to Shamokin, where the former delivered to Shikellimy (then tottering on the brink of the grave) a costly present that had been sent to him by Count Zinzendorf.

About 1745 many of the Shawanese on the Ohio, who had long shown symptoms of disaffection to the English and subservience to the French cause, openly assumed a hostile character. They were seduced chiefly by the efforts of Peter Chartier, a noted French trader and an inhabitant of Pennsylvania at the beginning of the war with France. By his persuasions many of the Shawanese, under the leadership of *Neuchecconno*, a shrewd and wily chieftan of the tribe, removed from their towns on the Ohio in order to be nearer the French settlements on the Mississippi. Kackawatcheky, however, seems to have remained true to the English. At all events he and his followers remained on the Ohio.

In April, 1748, a cessation of hostilities between the French and English took place, and a preliminary treaty of peace was entered into. Shortly before this became known in Pennsylvania the Provincial

time delighted in nothing more than a handsome corn-hoe, tomahawk and other instruments made out of iron and steel by his own hands. He generally settled himself a short distance from the town, where he would have his cornfield at hand and under good fence, with some fruit trees planted in it next to his house."

During the Indian depredations in Pennsylvania in the years 1755-57—to be referred to more at length hereinafter—Nescopeck became the rendezvous of those Indians—particularly from different parts of the country—who were plotting and warring against the English. At the beginning, or at least sometime during the continuance, of these Indian hostilities Nutimus and his family removed from Nescopeck to Tioga Point. In the year 1757 the old King visited Shamokin, where he complained to Capt. Jacob Arndt (of the "Forks" of the Delaware), then on military service at Fort Augusta, that the soldiers at the fort had debauched his (Nutimus') wife and daughter on a previous visit by secretly giving them whisky; and he declared that if such things were allowed it would not be safe for a man to bring his wife and daughters to the fort. Under date of January 20, 1758, Col. Joseph Shippen at Fort Augusta (Shamokin) wrote to Maj. James Burd at Lancaster as follows (see the "Shippen Papers," page 106): "Since January 1st several small parties of Delaware Indians have arrived here with skins to trade, at the store; among the rest came old King Nutimus, Joseph [his son] and all their family, and we have now forty-three present, including women and children."

Under date of June 14, 1759, Timothy Horsfield, Esq., at Bethlehem, wrote to Governor Denny of Pennsylvania (see "Colonial Records," VIII: 353) that "Isaac Nutimus, a son of old King Nutimus who for many years past lived at Nescopeck, but since the war has moved up the river to Diahoga [Tioga Point], came yesterday to Bethlehem." During the Indian hostilities of 1763 (which will be referred to more fully hereinafter) Nutimus and some of his family were living on or near Great Island, in the West Branch of the Susquehanna near the present town of Lock Haven, as is evidenced by the following extract from an autograph letter (now in possession of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia) written by Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania to Timothy Horsfield, under date of September 1, 1763. "I am very much afraid the old man Nutimus, who seems to have acted a friendly part by us, will fall a sacrifice to the unbridled and undistinguishing rage of the people of Cumberland in their expedition to the Great Island." At about the time of the ending of the Indian troubles in 1764 Nutimus removed to the Ohio region, where he continued to live until his death at Muskirgum, "near his brother, in 1780"—according to Watson, previously quoted.

* See pages 149 and 165.

† A Delaware ejaculation of approval or pleasure.

Council decided to send Conrad Weiser on a mission to the Ohio "to make particular inquiry into the behavior of the Shawanese since the commencement of the war, and in relation to the countenance they gave Peter Chartier." Weiser was informed by the Council that the Shawanese had "relented, and made acknowledgments to the Government of their error in being seduced by Chartier, and prayed that they might be permitted to return to their old towns and taken again as sincere penitents into the favor of the Government." They had not yet, however, sent deputies to Philadelphia to formally acknowledge their fault and ask for restoration to favor.* But before Weiser was ready to set out on his mission news came that certain Indian deputies from the West had arrived at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and desired to treat with the Government. Among these deputies were some chiefs of the Twightwees (mentioned in the note on page 205), "lately in the interest of the French, and now desiring to enter into an alliance with the English."

Commissioners were appointed by the Government to proceed immediately to Lancaster to treat with these Indians, and they were directed to be careful that the Shawanese, by their representatives at the treaty, "acknowledge their fault in plain terms, and promise never to be guilty of any behavior again that may give us reason to suspect their fidelity." The work of the treaty was begun at Lancaster July 19, 1748, fifty-five Indians being present, including Six Nations, Shawanese, Delawares, Nanticokes and Twightwees. Of the Indians in attendance only eighteen had come from the Ohio, however, the remainder being from Conestoga and other nearby villages on the Susquehanna. Of the Nanticoke Indians at the treaty Conrad Weiser wrote subsequently to Secretary Peters†: "The Nontikook Indians have been very troublesome to us. They were like so many wolves, and I had no influence on them."

Andrew Montour acted as interpreter for the Shawanese and Twightwees. The principal Shawanese chiefs of the Ohio were not present in person. Led by Neuchecunno they had met in council at one of their villages and had prepared a message addressed "to their Grandfathers and Brethren—the Delawares and Six Nations on the Ohio," which was conveyed to Lancaster by Scarooody, an Oneida chief residing at or near Logstown who had great influence with the Indians on the Ohio and was a firm friend of the English. This "message," or petition, delivered at the Lancaster conference by Scarooody in behalf of the Shawanese, was couched, in part, in the following words‡:

"We the Shawanese have been misled, and have carried on a private correspondence with the French without letting you or our brethren the English know of it. We traveled secretly through the bushes to Canada, and the French promised us great things, but we find ourselves deceived. We are sorry that we had anything to do with them. We now find that we could not see, although the sun did shine. We earnestly desire you would intercede with our brethren the English for us who are left on the Ohio, that we may be permitted to be restored to the Chain of Friendship."

Addressing themselves to Scarooody, the speaker, and the Six Nation and Delaware chiefs who accompanied him, the Commissioners said:

"Your intercession for the Shawanese puts us under difficulties. It is at least two years since the Governor of Pennsylvania wrote to Kackawatcheky a letter, wherein he condescended out of regard to him and a few other Shawanese who preserved their fidelity, to

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," V : 290.

† See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II : 11.

‡ See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," V : 311.

offer those who broke the Chain a pardon, on their submission on their return to the towns they had deserted, and on their coming down to Philadelphia to evidence in person the sincerity of their repentance. This they should have immediately complied with, but did not. * * * Some of them, it may be allowed, are weak people, who were perverted from their duty by the persuasions of others; but this cannot be thought to be the case of Neuchecoanno and a few more. As, therefore, you have taken upon yourselves the office of intercessors, take this string of wampum and therewith chastise Neuchecoanno and his party in such terms of severity as shall be proper for them; and then tell the delinquent Shawanese that we will forget what is past and expect a more punctual regard to their engagements hereafter.

"Tis but justice to distinguish the good from the bad. Kackawatcheky and his friends, who had virtue enough to resist the many fine promises made by the emissaries of the French, will ever be remembered with gratitude and challenge our best services. To testify our regard for these we present them with this belt of wampum, and have ordered our Interpreter [Weiser], who is going to the Ohio, to give them a present of goods."^{*}

"Taming Buck," one of the Shawanese present, then stood up and spoke as follows:

"Brethren—We the Shawanese, sensible of our ungrateful returns for the many favors we have been all along receiving from our brethren the English ever since we first made the Chain of Friendship, came along the road with our eyes looking down to the earth, and have not taken them from thence till this morning, when you were pleased to chastise us and then pardon us. We have been a foolish people and acted wrong, though the sun shone bright and showed us clearly what was our duty. We are sorry for what we have done, and promise better behavior for the future. We produce to you a certificate of the renewal of our friendship in the year 1739 by the Proprietaries and Governor. † Be pleased to sign it afresh, that it may appear to the world we are now admitted into your friendship, and all former crimes are buried and entirely forgot."

The Commissioners took the certificate but refused to grant "Taming Buck's" request, stating that it was sufficient for the Shawanese to know that they had been forgiven, on condition of future good behavior. Presents were then distributed to all the Indians at the treaty excepting the Shawanese, who merely had their guns and hatchets mended. Upon closing the conference the Commissioners publicly announced that news had just arrived that there was "a cessation of arms between England and France," and there was "likely to be a peace."

In view of the treatment accorded the Shawanese at Lancaster, as just related, it will be interesting to read Governor Hamilton's opinion of the same Indians expressed a few years later. In February, 1751, in a letter to the Board of Trade (London) relative to land titles, Indian affairs, etc., in Pennsylvania, he wrote[‡]:

"What right the Shawanese in these circumstances may have to the soil must be left to be settled between themselves and the Five Nations; but from the time they were admitted to live in this Province they have been his Majesty's faithful allies, and behaved as such without any instance to the contrary."

One year later, replying to a message received from certain Shawanese chiefs, Governor Hamilton wrote:

"I for my part shall ever retain an affectionate tenderness for the Shawanese, and at all times be ready to relieve their wants and do them my best offices."

At the very time that the Lancaster Indian conference was in progress there was being held in Albany, New York, a "Grand Council," which has been described by historians as "one of the most picturesque events in the history of the Colonies." There were present the Governors of the New England Colonies, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Virginia, with the chiefs of the Indians friendly to the English and the colonists, or who were willing to be friendly in the future. Thirty Indian chiefs of high rank, each attended by several

* In August and September, 1748, Weiser performed his mission to the Ohio, this being the first official embassy undertaken at the instance of the English Colonies to the Indians who lived beyond the Alleghenies. It was then that Weiser met Kackawatcheky and presented him with the gift sent by the Governor, as mentioned in the note on page 214.

† See note, page 214.

‡ See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II: 61.

warriors of his tribe—and many of the chiefs and warriors accompanied by their wives and children—were there, representing the Six Nations, the Delaware, Shawanese, Mohegan, Wyandot and other tribes. “Perhaps,” says Buell,* “the most interesting figure in this assemblage was the great war-chief of the Genesee Senecas, Hiokato,† who for years had vowed that he would never speak one word with an Englishman. * * * The results of this council were more satisfactory and on a larger scale than any previously held. The Iroquois renewed all their ancient covenants with the King. The Senecas * * * gave in their complete adhesion through Hiokato and Capt. Jean Montour‡—both of whom had hitherto been opposed to English influence.”

The well-known Canassatego—whose name appears so frequently in the preceding pages of this book—was present at this council as chief speaker of the Onondagas, and in one of his speeches accused the English of neglecting the Western Iroquois, thereby leaving the hearts of the latter open to the blandishments of the French emissaries. This speech provoked a reply from Abraham, a leading chief of the Mohawk tribe—concerning whom we shall have some further matters of interest to relate hereinafter. Abraham was present as the representative of his brother, old “King” Hendrick, the senior chief of the Mohawks, who was detained at home by an “attack of *inflammatory gout*”! Chief Abraham spoke in English, and said in part§ :

“You complain that the English, the colonists, do not trust you. How can they, when you do not trust them? There can be no confidence between two unless both share it alike. There can never be faith on one side and doubt on the other without distrust on both sides. And wherever there is distrust no real friendship can exist. You Western Iroquois listen to the silver tongues of French priests and emissaries, whose only object is to lure you to ruin that their cause may profit by it. They do not love you. They would not give you a gourdful of succotash if you were starving. But when have the English and the colonists failed to help you in distress? Put away the French! Send them across the Lake! Tell them to practise their bows and scrapes and grimaces upon the stupid Indians of Canada—not upon the noble Iroquois!”

The results of the Albany and Lancaster treaties, as well as the news that hostilities between France and England had been suspended, soon became generally known throughout the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi, and with few exceptions those who had forsaken the English, or had been inclined to forsake them, or were wavering in their allegiance, hastened to assume more friendly relations with the authorities of the various English Colonies. October 7, 1748, a definitive treaty of peace and friendship between France and England was concluded at Aix La Chapelle, which fact became known in this country about the close of the year.

We have shown by the extracts from the diaries of Mack and De Watteville that, from the time of the departure of King Kackawatcheky and his band from Wyoming in the Spring of 1744 (see page 213), until the Autumn of 1748, the Shawanese at Wyoming numbered but very few. It is quite probable that those few continued here because they were either too old and feeble to make the long and tedious journey to the Ohio, or they were Shawanese women who were married to Chickasaw or Mohegan husbands. However, late in April or early in May, 1749, a numerous band of Shawanese immigrated to the valley—presumably from the region of the Ohio River—and erected their wigwams in

* In “Sir William Johnson.”

† See foot-note, page 164.

‡ See foot-note, page 206.

§ See Augustus C. Buell’s “Sir William Johnson,” page 66.

the "upper town" (described on page 209) in Plymouth. About this time, or very shortly afterwards, the "lower town," on "Shawnee" Flats, seems to have been abandoned by the Indians as a place of abode.

The chief of these new-comers was *Pack-shū-nōs*, or Paxinosa, a man concerning whom, prior to this time, we can learn but little. He said he was born on "the Ohio"; in 1755 he called himself "an old man"; in 1757 his eye-sight was so defective—either on account of old age or disease—that he wore spectacles! He is the only Indian who lived in the valley at that period who is known to have worn spectacles. Others may have worn them, but the information has not been preserved—as in this instance. Paxinosa was married, had a son named *Kola-peeka*, or "Samuel," and a daughter who was married.

In May, 1749, shortly after Paxinosa and his people arrived at Plymouth, a message was sent from Wyoming to Gnadenlütten on the Lehigh to this effect* :

"That a conjurer who was dying in *Wajomick* had disappeared in the night, and two days after returned from Heaven, where God had told him that He had appointed sacrifices for the Indians, to atone for their sins; but had given the Bible to the white people only, and though it contained many excellent things yet He considered it an abomination that the Indians should walk in the same way. He added that the white people were wise and cunning, and if the Indians meddled with them they would all be devoured, especially their children. The messenger added that the man who had been with God had summoned all the Indians to meet on the river Susquehannah to hear him."

Early in April, 1749, at a meeting of the Grand Council of the Six Nations held at Onondaga Castle, it was decided to send deputies from each of the nations to Philadelphia, to shake hands with the new Governor of Pennsylvania (the Hon. James Hamilton,† who had assumed office in the previous November), to answer a proposal for peace with the southern Catawbas (made by the former Governor of Pennsylvania) and to consider other matters. It was agreed that all the deputies should meet together at Wyoming, and proceed thence in a body to Philadelphia. About the middle of May the deputies of the Senecas, four in number, accompanied by other members of their nation, arrived at Wyoming. Here they waited a month for the arrival of the deputies from the other nations, who, however, failed to appear. The Senecas thereupon continued their journey to Philadelphia, where they arrived June 26th accompanied by some "Tuteloës and others, Nanticokes and Conoys."‡ These Indians were received by the Governor and Council on July 1st, when Ogashtash, the Seneca speaker, stated that the Grand Council at Onondaga had heard that the white people had begun to settle on the Indians' side of the Blue Mountains. Continuing, Ogashtash said§ :

"We, the deputies of the Senecas, staying so long at Wyomen, had an opportunity of inquiring into the truth of this information, and to our surprise found the story confirmed, with this addition, that even this Spring, since the Governor's arrival, numbers of families were beginning to make settlements. As our boundaries are so well known, and so remarkably distinguished by a range of high mountains, we could not suppose this could be done by mistake; but either it must be done wickedly by bad people, without the knowledge of the Governor, or that the new Governor has brought some instructions from the King, or the Proprietaries, relating to this affair, whereby we are like to be much hurt. The Governor will be pleased to tell us whether he has brought any orders from the King or the Proprietaries for these people to settle on our lands; and if not, we earnestly desire they may be made to remove instantly with all their effects, *to prevent the sad consequences which will otherwise ensue.*"

* See Loskiel's "History of the Mission of the United Brethren."

† For portrait, and sketch of his life, see Chapter VI.

‡ See Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, IV : 205 (September, 1820).

§ See *ibid.*, XIII : 308 (November, 1833).

Governor Hamilton informed the Senecas that the settling of the white squatters along the Juniata was contrary to the terms of the treaties made by the Government with the Indians, and that a proclamation would be issued commanding all the white people who had settled [north] west of the Blue Mountains to remove by November 1, 1749. Strouds, duffels, half-thicks, gunpowder, lead, shot, vermilion, shirts, guns, brass kettles, hatchets, knives, flints, looking-glasses, garters, ribbons, scissors, bed-lace, ear-rings, rings, Morris-bells, thimbles, beads, jews-harps, handkerchiefs, tobacco and pipes to the value of £100 were distributed on the 4th of July to the Indians, and a day or two later Conrad Weiser conducted them out of the city and journeyed with them as far as his home in Heidelberg Township. Here the Indians concluded to remain for a few days to visit with their old friend and brother Weiser, and without invitation they camped out near his house and made themselves at home. The Tuteloes, it seems, made themselves very much at home, and injured and destroyed a large amount of Weiser's movable property and damaged his plantation generally. Weiser expostulated and tried to influence them to proceed on their journey, but without avail. Finally, after an experience of a week or ten days with these unruly visitors, Weiser induced the Senecas to take their departure, and, by their aid, the Tuteloes were forced to go along.*

These Indians dawdled along the way to the Susquehanna, and thence up the river past Shamokin and Nescopeck to Wyoming, where they—or at least the Senecas—arrived about the 1st of August. They had been here two or three days when, unexpectedly, a large fleet of canoes came down the river bearing the belated deputies of the Onondaga, Mohawk, Oneida, Cayuga and Tuscarora nations together with other representatives—chiefs, warriors, squaws and children—of these several nations, and Indians of some other tribes or bands. This large company remained at Wyoming for a day, and then proceeded on down the river accompanied by the Seneca deputies and their party who had just returned from Philadelphia, by Chief Paxinosa and a number of his Shawanese from their new home in what is now Plymouth, and by a number of Delawares, Nanticokes and Mohegans from the different villages in the valley. At Nescopeck they were joined by Nutimus and a number of his people, and then, without delay, floated onward to Shamokin. Arriving there a messenger was sent in haste over the mountains to Conrad Weiser to announce the coming of the deputies. The news was forwarded by express to the Governor, who immediately directed Weiser “to try all ways to divert the Indians from coming to Philadelphia.” This the Interpreter did, but his efforts were resented by the Indians with so much spirit that he was obliged “to turn his protests into invitations and make the best of circumstances.” Therefore, on came the tawny host, their numbers increased at Shamokin by Tachnechorus, the vicegerent of the Six Nations,† and several chiefs from Shamokin and thereabout.

Accompanied by Weiser from Tulpehocken they reached Philadelphia August 14th, and according to official records they numbered 280 in all—Six Nations, Delawares, Nanticokes, Shawanese, Mohegans and Tuteloes. Whether or not the last-mentioned Indians were from Wyo-

* See Walton's "Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Pennsylvania," page 200.

† See foot-note, page 184.

ming Valley it is now impossible to determine. They were, however, from some locality on the Susquehanna above Shamokin. Governor Hamilton paid a ceremonious visit to the Indians, and appointed August 16th as the date for a conference with them. Several days were consumed at this conference in discussing the matters which had brought the Indians to Philadelphia; but as a result the Proprietaries obtained for £500 a deed from the Indians for a strip of land north-west of and contiguous to the Blue Mountains, and extending from the Susquehanna to the Delaware River—the north-west boundary of this strip being a straight line running in a north-easterly direction from the north side of the mouth of “Cantaguy or Maghonioy Creek” (“Moxunay” on the maps reproduced on pages 188 and 191, and now known as “Mahanoey” Creek) to “the north side of the mouth of the creek called Lechawachsein” (now Lackawaxen).* This new purchase included parts of the present counties of Dauphin, Northumberland, Columbia, Lebanon, Schuylkill (nearly the whole of it), Carbon (nearly the whole of it), Monroe, Pike, Wayne and Luzerne—the north-western boundary-line of the purchase passing through the last-named county at Glen Summit, high up on an outlying ridge of Wyoming Mountain, south by east from Wilkes-Barré seven miles in a bee-line.

The deed for this purchase was executed August 22, 1749, and the first signature attached to it was that of Canassatego, the head sachem of the Onondagas, who had been the principal speaker on the part of the Indians at the treaty. This was the last treaty or conference he attended in Pennsylvania, as he died about a year later.† In addition to the various chiefs, or deputies, representing the several tribes of the Six Nations who signed this deed, Tachnechdorus, Nutimus and Paxinosa also signed it—this being the first appearance of the name of the last-mentioned chief in the official records of Pennsylvania, so far as the present writer can learn.

Relative to the Indian conferences which were held in Philadelphia about this period, and concerning the one just referred to, as well as the visits of Indians in general to the city, Watson states the following in his “Annals of Philadelphia,” II: 163.

“From a very early period it was the practice of Indian companies occasionally to visit the city—not for any public business, but merely to buy and sell and look on. On such occasions they usually found their shelter, for the two or three weeks which they remained, about the State House yard. There was a shed constructed for them along the western wall. * * * Here they would make up baskets from the ash strips which they brought with them, and sell them to the visitors. Before the Revolution such visits were frequent, but after that time they much diminished, so that now they are deemed a rarity. Such of the Indians as came to the city on public service were always provided for in the east wing of the State House, up stairs, and at the same time their necessary support there was provided for by the Government. Old people have told me that the visits of Indians were so frequent as to excite but little surprise. Their squaws and children generally accompanied them, and on such occasions they went abroad much in the streets and would anywhere stop to shoot at marks of small coins set on the tops of posts.

“On the 16th of 6th month [August], 1749, there was at the State House an assemblage of 280 Indians of eleven different tribes, assembled there with the Governor to make a treaty. The place was extremely crowded, and *Canaswetigo*, a chief, made a long speech. There were other Indians about the city at the same time, making together probably 400 to 500 Indians. The same Indians remained several days at [Hon. James] Logan’s place, in his beech woods.”

Canassatego and the other deputies of the Six Nations left Philadelphia about the 24th or 25th of August, and returned to their respective tribes by way of Wyoming, being accompanied as far as the valley

* See “Map of a Part of Pennsylvania,” in Chapter XI.

† See foot-note, page 81.



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by Paxinosa and the other Wyoming Indians who had attended the conference.

In the Spring of 1750 the exigencies of the Moravian mission work among the Indians made it necessary for Bishop Cammerhoff to visit the Great Council of the Six Nations at Onondaga. It was arranged that David Zeisberger, who was then at Shamokin, should join the Bishop at Wyoming and accompany him on this journey. Having obtained a passport from Governor Hamilton Cammerhoff set out from Bethlehem on the 14th of May, accompanied by John Martin Mack (who had visited Wyoming several times previously, as hereinbefore noted), Timothy Horsfield,* and Gottlieb Bezold.† They journeyed on foot, and their route was up the Lehigh to Gnadenhütten, and thence over the mountains to Wyoming—the same route, without doubt, that had been traveled by Cammerhoff and Mack in October, 1748, in company with De Watteville, as described on page 222.

Cammerhoff kept a diary of the journey (it is referred to in one of the foot-notes on page 187, *ante*), and from it we learn that the travelers reached Wyoming Valley Wednesday, May 20, 1750, "and at once went to the Nanticoke town" mentioned on page 220. "We were very kindly welcomed," wrote Cammerhoff, "but as our David [Zeisberger] had not come yet, and we had received no tidings of him, we walked down to the Susquehanna and encamped on a hill‡ opposite the great plain"—the "Shawnee" Flats. The next day Zeisberger arrived from Shamokin in a canoe. He had expected to be accompanied by a Cayuga chief who was down the river on a trading expedition, and who, it had been arranged, was to guide Cammerhoff and Zeisberger to their destination in New York. But as the chief was not quite ready to set out from Shamokin, Zeisberger came up to Wyoming alone. For a week the Brethren awaited at their encampment on the "Hill of Peace" (which name they gave the place) the coming of the Cayuga. Cammerhoff states that during their stay they were cordially treated by the Nanticokes; and Loskiel says that "they made an agreeable acquaintance with the chiefs of the Nanticoke tribe, one of whom, eighty-seven years of age, was a remarkably intelligent man." Cammerhoff preached to the assembled Nanticokes two or three times.

At length the Cayuga chief arrived, accompanied by his wife, his son aged fourteen and his daughter aged four years. They had been six

*TIMOTHY HORSFIELD, born in Liverpool, England, in 1708, immigrated to America in 1725 and settled on Long Island. He was converted under Whitefield's preaching, and in 1741 identified himself with the Moravian Brethren; but he did not remove to Bethlehem until 1749—less than a year before accompanying Cammerhoff to Wyoming. He built the first private house in Bethlehem—the old stone house on Market Street, opposite the Moravian burial-ground. With William Parsons he laid out the first road between Easton and Bethlehem. He took an important part in protecting the settlements against the Indians during the years 1755-'58. In May, 1752, he was commissioned a Justice of the Peace for the newly-erected county of Northampton, and held this office until December, 1764. July 11, 1763, during Pontiac's War, he was commissioned a Lieutenant Colonel by the Governor of Pennsylvania, with directions to raise—in conjunction with John Armstrong of Cumberland County, the Rev. John Elder of Lancaster County and Jonas Seely of Berks County—volunteers to the number of 700, to be divided into fourteen companies, each officered by one Captain, one Lieutenant, one Ensign, etc., "to protect the frontiers during the time of harvest." These volunteers were to be enlisted for three months or upwards, as might be found necessary.

† Timothy Horsfield was a man of considerable prominence and influence in Northampton County for a number of years, and was held in high esteem by the Provincial authorities. He died at Bethlehem March 9, 1773. An unpublished collection of his papers—letters, commissions, etc., known as "The Horsfield Papers"—is possessed by the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

‡ He was a member of the "Sea Congregation" of Moravian Brethren that arrived in this country in May, 1742, as mentioned on page 216.

§ This is the spur of the Hanover hills mentioned on page 50. It has its beginning north of Hanover Park, and ends abruptly in a rocky ledge near the river's margin. Hanover Green Church and Cemetery are located near the southern end of this hill, while at the north-western angle of it—1,400 yards north-east of the mouth of Sugar Notch Creek—rests the southern abutment of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company's bridge, which spans the river at that point.

days making the voyage from Shamokin. Early in the morning of Thursday, May 28th, Mack, Bezold and Horsfield set out on their homeward journey, and Cammerhoff accompanied them "from the 'Hill of Peace' as far as the Nanticoke town"; and thence went "with them for about half a mile to a hill on their way to Wambhallobank" (Wapwallopen). Bidding the travelers adieu Cammerhoff returned to the "Hill of Peace," where he, Zeisberger and the Indians loaded their canoes. "About two o'clock in the afternoon," wrote Cammerhoff, "we left our beautiful 'Hill of Peace.' David and I, with the boy and girl, set out in our canoe, and the Gajuka [Cayuga] and his wife in their hunting-skiff. * * We sailed by several islands* on the west side of the Susquehanna. In the evening we reached some dangerous falls,† and were obliged to drag the canoes up over the rocks, and then encamped just above them." They named their camping-place—which was on Jacob's Plains, on the left bank of the river—"the Gajuka's Post House." Here they found an abundance of walnut trees growing. In referring to the passage of the voyagers through Wyoming the diarist wrote: "The country is very beautiful."

They continued their journey the next morning (Friday, May 29th), and under that date the following entry appears in Cammerhoff's diary: "On the opposite bank of the Susquehanna there is a large plain,‡ at the end of which we met a few Tuteloes.§ After we had gone some distance we again saw three Indian huts inhabited by Delawares."|| At noon the travelers landed on the left bank, where they were detained some time by a storm.

"On the heights¶ on this side of the Susquehanna," wrote Cammerhoff, "close to the shore, passes the Great Path** to Tioga. We started again and crossed the large creek which the Delawares call '*Gachanai*'††; it is generally considered as the boundary-line of the plain *Skehantowa*.‡‡ We landed at the point where it empties into the Susquehanna and visited two Delaware huts. Finding only women and children we soon left.§§ Opposite there is a very large island||| in the Susquehanna, on which we saw several huts. We then went on and pushed into the mountains which here hedge the Susquehanna very closely. We called the one on this side the 'Mountain of Joy.'¶¶ The other,*** on the opposite shore of the river, rises back of the great plain. As evening had come on we encamped on this side of the water, at the foot of the high mountains. We named this spot the 'Skehantowa Pass.'

* Richard's, Toby's and Fish's, described on pages 51 and 52.

† Wyoming Falls, or Rapids, described on pages 36 and 37.

‡ Abraham's Plains, described on page 50.

§ These Tuteloes were, undoubtedly, occupying the village- or camp-site near the mouth of Abraham's Creek upon which, some years before, the Mohegan village mentioned on page 194 had stood for a time. Cammerhoff evidently considered Abraham's Creek as the south-western boundary of the plain, inasmuch as he refers to this locality as being "at the end" of the plain. For other references to the Tuteloes see pages 115, 219, 224 and 231.

¶ Evidently some of the Wanamie or Monsey clan, whose "union" village, "*Matchasaung*," was located thereabout. See page 213.

¶¶ The hills extending from a short distance above Plainsville to the lower end of the city of Fittston.

** The great "Warrior Path" mentioned on pages 117 and 171.

†† Lackawanna River. See page 157.

‡‡ *Skehantowana*, the Iroquois name for Wyoming. See page 60.

§§ The Monsey village, Asserughuey, mentioned on page 187.

||| Scovell's Island, mentioned on page 50. On the plots of some of the earliest Wyoming surveys—*ci ca* 1771—is this called "Lahawannock Island." (See "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII: 514.)

¶¶ This was Campbell's Ledge, or Dial Rock, described on page 47.

*** The north-eastern extremity of Shawanese Mountain (described on page 41), along the base of which, for several miles from the head of the valley, stretch Abraham's Plains.

The Susquehanna, from this place to where it flows into the mountains, we called 'David's Strait,' because David [Zeisberger] is the first Moravian Brother who has steered his little bark through it." The next morning, proceeding onward, the voyagers passed up "David's Strait" through "a dismal looking region very dreadful to behold, because of the high rocks which towered above us [them] like a wall."

On the 6th of July Cammerhoff and his party passed Wyalusing Falls, which the diarist describes as "a dangerous cataract extending across the whole Susquehanna. The water falls down as from a mountain, and makes the current very rapid. * * On proceeding we came to a place called *Gahontoto** by the Indians. It is said to be the site of an ancient Indian city, where a peculiar nation lived. The inhabitants were neither Delawares nor Aquanoschioni,† but had a language of their own and were called *Tehotitachsc*. We could still notice a few traces of this place in the old ruined corn-fields near. The Five Nations went to war against them, and finally completely extirpated them. * * The Cayugas told us that these things had taken place before the Indians had any guns, and still went to war with bows and arrows."

Passing on up the Susquehanna and into the Tioga, or Chemung, River, the voyagers disembarked at *Ganatscherat*, a Cayuga village near Waverly, New York. Thence they went overland by way of Cayuga to Onondaga. On their arrival at the latter place June 21st was fixed as the day for the convening of the Council, but there was delay because a majority of the Indians got drunk.

When it became apparent to Cammerhoff and Zeisberger that the Indians would continue their carousing for some time, the former decided to pay a visit to the Senecas, at their large western town beyond Canandaigua. While returning from this visit several days later they were told by a friendly Indian one day, when resting in the shade of an Indian hut at Canandaigua, that there was "a chief living at Ganechstage by the name of *Gajinquechto*," whose house was large, and they could put up there. On the next day, wrote Cammerhoff, "we arrived at Ganechstage [some five miles south-west of the present Geneva], and repaired to the house of the chief *Gajinquechto*. He and his wife were not at home, but came up after we had been there a short time and received us very kindly, at once offering us venison. We made inquiry concerning the route we were to take, and the sachem's wife went with us and pointed it out; and so we journeyed on." The chief here referred to as "*Gajinquechto*" was *Sayenqueraghta*,‡ some fourteen years later to become the principal chief or "king" of the Senecas, and, in that capacity, to be identified very prominently with some important events in Wyoming Valley.

Finally the Council met at Onondaga, and then the design of the proposed negotiations had to be explained by the visitors—it being charged that they were emissaries of France, endeavoring to entice the Six Nations from their compact with the English. During the course of the conference Cammerhoff presented to the Council a petition from the Nanticoke Indians at Wyoming, to the effect that they might have a blacksmith shop, under Moravian auspices, set up at their village. This request was denied by the Council, and the Nanticokes were in-

* See page 171.

† See note, page 81.

‡ See "Sayenqueraghta, King of the Senecas," by George S. Conover. Geneva, New York, 1885.

formed that they could avail themselves of the services of the blacksmith at Shamokin.

Their business at Onondaga being finished Cammerhoff and Zeisberger journeyed overland to the Susquehanna, where they embarked in a canoe and floated down the river as far as the village of the Nanticokes, which they reached Sunday, August 2, 1750. They had started early in the morning of this day from their previous night's camping-place. "After going through David's Strait," wrote Cammerhoff, "we passed by Hazirok [Asserughney], the boundary of Wajomik. We greeted it by firing several salutes. It was with peculiar feelings that we again entered Wajomik, and our hearts were filled with gratitude. We paddled on rapidly, and with difficulty, the water being very low. Passed over the upper falls of Wajomik. * * We came to the Shawanese town,* but saw no one, and about five o'clock we reached the town of the Nanticokes and were welcomed by the chief." The next day the two Brethren proceeded onward, by canoe, to Shamokin, which they reached August 6th, having traveled over 600 miles on horse-back, on foot and in canoes.

Loskiel says that in October, or November, 1751, David Zeisberger and Gottlieb Bezold, previously mentioned, visited the Nanticokes and Shawanese in Wyoming.

By the beginning of the year 1752 the population of the Moravian Indian town Gnadenhütten (see page 218) had increased to about 500 souls. In the Spring of that year some of the Indians at Gnadenhütten who were serving as assistant missionaries and teachers came to Wyoming to preach the gospel to the Indians here; and in consequence, states Loskiel, "the head-chief of the Nanticokes sent two deputies to the Brethren at Gnadenhütten and Bethlehem with a fathom of wampum to solicit further acquaintance." Therefore, in June, 1752, Bishop Spangenberg, David Zeisberger and the Rev. Christian Seidel of Bethlehem went to Shamokin and came thence to Wyoming. In the course of this tour fifty bushels of wheat were distributed.

"In return for this visit," wrote Loskiel, "a large embassy was sent by the Nanticokes and Shawanose to Gnadenhütten, to establish a covenant with the Brethren. The deputies, with their attendants of women and children, were in all 107 persons. Their transactions were performed with due Indian solemnity. July 14th the two deputies arrived from Wajomick to announce the arrival of the embassy on the following day. On the 15th a messenger arrived, having been sent ten miles forward, with two strings of wampum. He addressed the Brethren thus: 'We are now coming to you. Gnadenhütten is a place which delights us. We first thought to go to Bethlehem, but being fatigued and having nothing to eat we will rest with you at present. The heat was great, and we subsisted on nothing but bilberries.'† The Indian Brethren having sent them four large loaves, they appeared some time after slowly moving toward the place in Indian file—the leader singing a song till they came to the first house, where they halted. Abraham‡ went to meet them, and, giving his hand to the leader, conducted them to the inn." The arrival of Bishop Spangenberg and other Brethren

* Paxinosa's town, in Plymouth, between Bead Hill and Brown's Brook.

† Blueberries or huckleberries, great quantities of which still grow on the mountains traversed by the old path from Wyoming to Gnadenhütten.

‡ The Mohegan chief, "*Schabash*," mentioned on pages 217 and 238.



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from Bethlehem on the following day was followed by preaching, conferences, and the giving of gifts to the visiting Indians. Having spent nine days at Gnadenhütten and been well entertained, and having established "a covenant of everlasting friendship," the Wyoming Indians returned to their homes.

The frequent intercourse, that had its beginning about this time, between the Indians at Gnadenhütten and those residing in the several villages in Wyoming Valley, led to the selecting of a new route of travel to and from the valley. This trail became known in time as the "Warrior Path," and it led from Wyoming to Gnadenhütten (later Fort Allen) and thence down along the Lehigh River to Bethlehem. It was laid down on the old maps and surveys made subsequently to 1760, and as late as 1830 or '40 a portion of it was still a well-beaten path, used by people in crossing the mountain from Hanover. It started at or near the village of the Nanticokes in what is now Hanover Township, and ran almost due south over the foot-hills of Hanover to and through Warrior Gap in Wilkes-Barré Mountain (mentioned on page 47).* Thence the trail lay directly over Penobscot Mountain (see page 44) into the present Wright Township, and then ran almost due south (passing near "Three-cornered Pond," later "Triangle Pond" and now Nuangola Lake) to a point one mile west of the present village of Drums, in Butler Township. Here the trail joined the one running from the mouth of Nescopeck Creek, which proceeded in a south-easterly direction through the present townships of Butler and Foster in Luzerne County, passed "Indian Spring" on the borders of the counties of Luzerne and Carbon, crossed Broad Mountain in Carbon County to a point on the Lehigh River near the present Mauch Chunk, and continued down along the river a few miles to Gnadenhütten. The distance from the Nanticoke village to Gnadenhütten by the path described was forty miles.

In the Spring of 1787 a road was laid out by Evan Owen, by authority of the State, which followed, very nearly, the course of the old Indian path from Nescopeck to Gnadenhütten. This road is shown on the map of Luzerne County reproduced in Chapter XXIII—the present town of Mauch Chunk being situated at or near "Turnhole," noted on the map.

In the Autumn of 1752 there was a scarcity of food in Wyoming, owing to the small crops which had been harvested by the Indians, and the Nanticokes applied to the Moravian Brethren for relief. Sixty bushels of flour were given them, which they carried to their village from the mill at Gnadenhütten.

In March, 1753, an embassy of twenty-two Nanticokes and Shawanese arrived at Bethlehem, having gone from Wyoming by way of Gnadenhütten. Miner says ("History of Wyoming," page 43) that this embassy from Wyoming was headed by Paxinosa, "a Shawanese chief, or king, of some distinction." "Among the retinue," states Loskiel, "were three Iroquois Indians with whom Zeisberger had lodged. One part of their commission was to thank the Brethren, in the name of the two tribes [Nanticokes and Shawanese] for their liberality to them during the famine last Autumn; declaring that they must all have perished

*The view of Wilkes-Barré Mountain facing the next page—showing Warrior Gap in the background near the center of the picture—was taken from Hanover Green Cemetery, at the southern end of the "Hill of Peace," mentioned on page 233.

for want had not the Brethren of Bethlehem sent them timely relief. They also said that at the desire of the Iroquois the Nanticokes would retire farther inland; but they would not forsake the friendship of the Brethren. They also made a proposal in the name of the Iroquois that the Indians at Gnadenhütten should remove to Wyoming; observing, however, that in case of removal *the land should not become their property, but remain in the possession of the Iroquois.* They earnestly besought the Brethren not to suspect any evil motives, but rather to believe the reverse. * * The honesty of this proposal was mistrusted, for the Brethren could not conceive why the Iroquois should propose the transplanting of the converted Indians from Gnadenhütten without alleging a plausible reason, and that not immediately, but through the interference of the Nanticokes and Shawanese."

Loskiel states that this embassy spent a week in Bethlehem, returning to Wyoming via Gnadenhütten towards the end of March. He also states: "It appeared that these visits did more harm than good to the inhabitants of Gnadenhütten. The Brethren at Bethlehem had long wished that the converted Indians might withdraw to Wyoming and make a settlement; but it gradually became evident that the savages were secretly determined to join the French and commence hostilities against the English. They first wished to furnish a safe retreat for their countrymen, the Indians of Gnadenhütten, that they might the more easily fall upon the white people in those parts. In this view the Iroquois had called the Nanticokes from Wyoming into their neighborhood, to make room for the Christian Indians. They supposed this step would not be disagreeable to the Brethren at Bethlehem, the believing Indians at Shekomeko having nine years before obtained leave from the Great Council at Onondaga to move to Wyoming. Thus their plot appeared upon the whole well contrived, and the pressing invitation sent to the converted Indians to go to Wyoming, was part of the scheme. * * But the inhabitants of Gnadenhütten were averse to quit their pleasant settlement, more especially after they discovered the true motives of the Iroquois."

However, when Paxinosa and his retinue departed homeward from Gnadenhütten in the last days of March, they were accompanied thence by the old Mohegan chief Abraham (*Schabash*)* and his family and two or three other Mohegans, who, upon their arrival at Wyoming, took up their abode in Paxinosa's village, in what is now Plymouth.

April 22, 1753, David Zeisberger set out from Bethlehem for Onondaga. Arriving at Shamokin he heard of the invasion of the Ohio region by the French, but this did not discourage him from proceeding on his journey. Accompanied by Henry Frey, a Moravian Brother, he proceeded up the North Branch of the Susquehanna in a canoe. Before reaching Wyoming the voyagers learned that the Nanticokes were preparing to depart from Wyoming to settle at Chenango.† Under date of May 7, 1753, Zeisberger noted in his diary that he and Frey "learned that the Nanticokes had not yet started. In the afternoon, passing safely the Wajomick Falls,‡ we reached the Nanticoke settlement and found all glad to see us. * * Most of them were ready to start, as their canoes stood prepared. They only awaited some of their people,

* See page 236.

† See last paragraph of foot-note on page 219.

‡ Nanticoke Falls, described on page 35.



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whom they expected daily from Shamokin."* The Nanticokes urged the missionaries to join them in their journey northward, but the latter declined, and, having spent the night with the Nanticokes, paddled on up the river alone. They "soon reached Hazirok† in the morning, where there is [was] a town of Minising Indians"—according to Zeisberger's diary.

Upon their return journey the missionaries reached the head of Wyoming Valley Wednesday, October 31, 1753. "In the afternoon," wrote Zeisberger, "we reached Hazirok, where we halted, but found scarcely any one at home. November 1st.—In the morning we reached the Shawanos town‡ in Wajomik. We entered, but found only a few women at home. They gave us to eat and we went on."

About two weeks after the Nanticokes had departed from Wyoming the Rev. Christian Seidel of Bethlehem visited the valley. From his diary we learn that on May 21st he "dined not far from the old Nanticoke town, in the lower part of the valley, on the east side of the Susquehanna. Found a canoe, in which we crossed to the Shawanese town. Met our convert, old Mohican Abraham, who has his hut here.§ Were cordially welcomed and shown to a hut, but were annoyed by some traders|| who came and lodged with us. Abraham and his wife Sarah told us that a great council would be held here in a few days, to which Indians from all parts of the Susquehanna were expected. Hence we resolved to go down to Shamokin and return after the council. Paxinosa, the Shawanese King, and his wife Elizabeth called on us."

At this point in our story we must needs turn aside from Wyoming Valley for awhile, and, directing our attention to a distant and altogether different section of country, consider certain events which occurred in the Colony of Connecticut during 1753 and '54 and earlier years—events which turned the tide of affairs in Wyoming and affected its subsequent history in a very striking manner.

November 3, 1620, a little more than a month before the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, in New England, King James I of Eng-

* With the departure of these Nanticokes from Wyoming the name of the tribe disappears from the annals of the valley, for, so far as we are able to learn, no Nanticokes were ever afterwards settled here. The removal of the Wyoming band of the tribe to Chenango was formally announced to the Pennsylvania authorities by Conrad Weiser in May, 1754, when he reported that they had "gone up the river to live at *Olsenucky*, a branch of Susquehanna, where formerly some Onondagoes and Shawanese lived." There, together with a number of Conoys, the Nanticokes continued to live for some years.

† In May, 1757, an important treaty was held at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, between the Government of Pennsylvania and Six Nation and other Indians. Among the latter were a number of Nanticokes from Chenango. During the progress of the treaty small-pox broke out among the Indians in attendance, and a number of them, including several of the Nanticokes, soon died of the disease. In the latter part of the following July three Nanticokes from Chenango passed through Wyoming on their way to Easton, where a treaty was to be held. Arriving there they desired that the Governor of Pennsylvania would grant them an escort to Lancaster, stating that they had come to remove to their own town for burial the bones of their tribesmen who had died at Lancaster during the treaty of May. On the 23rd of August these Nanticokes reached Bethlehem, en route from Lancaster to Chenango, with the bones they had gone after.

‡ In an original, unpublished letter from Heckewelder (mentioned on page 42) to Isaac A. Chapman of Wilkes-Barre, written at Bethlehem, January 12, 1818, and now in possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, the writer states with reference to the Nanticokes: "They have in earlier years been known to go all the way from Wyoming and Shenango to fetch the bones of their deceased friends from the eastern shore of Maryland. * * * and I well remember to have seen them between the years 1750 and 1760 loaded with such bones, which being *fresh*, caused a disagreeable stench as they passed through this place [Bethlehem]."

§ In 1768, according to statistics, there were about 100 Nanticokes and 30 Conoys living together at Otsingo, Chaghtnet [Chugnuts, in what is now Broome County] and Owego in New York; in 1780 there were about 80 Nanticokes and 40 Conoys in the same localities, and in 1816 all the Nanticokes in the country who were known as such were living among "the Delawares, Munsees and Moheakunnuks" on White River in Indiana. By 1822, their lands having been sold, these Indians were scattered, "none can tell where"—as reported by the Rev. Jedidiah Morse, Special Indian Commissioner for the United States. Schoolcraft states that a few of the Nanticokes, who lingered within the precincts of New York, probably became absorbed in the "Brothertown" Indians, mentioned in the note on page 193, *ante*. For many years now the Nanticokes have not figured by name in the Indian censuses and reports of the United States.

† Asserughney, mentioned on page 187.

‡ Paxinosa's village in Plymouth.

§ See page 238.

|| White men who, in all likelihood, had come down the river from New York.

land granted to "The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon [England],"* all that part of America extending in one direction from the fortieth to the forty-eighth parallel of north latitude, and in the other direction "*from sea to sea*"—that is, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean! Further, the King directed, in his Letters Patent, that the territory thus granted should thenceforth "be nominated, termed and called by the name of *New England in America*, and by that name have continuance forever"; and the grantees—the Council at Plymouth—and their successors were duly authorized to convey and assign, under their common seal, "such particular proportions of lands, tenements and hereditaments" as were granted under the said Letters Patent.

March 19, 1631, Robert, Earl of Warwick, President of the "Council at Plymouth," granted to Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brooke, Sir Richard Saltonstall and others—from the territory held by the Council under the Letters Patent previously mentioned—a section of country described many years later by President Clap of Yale College as "all that part of New England which lies west from Narragansett River† 120 miles on the sea-coast, and from thence in latitude and breadth aforesaid to the South Sea.‡ This grant extends from Point Judith to New York, and from thence a west line to the South Sea; and if we take Narragansett River in its whole length, this tract will extend as far north as Worcester [Massachusetts]. It comprehends the whole Colony of Connecticut, and much more." This has been called the "Old Patent" of Connecticut.

"The English sense and mother-wit, sharpened on the Dutch grindstone, laid the foundation for the future Yankee shrewdness, so proverbial in all New England, and particularly so in the 'Land of Steady Habits.'§ This land, 'excellently watered and liberal to the husbandman,' was, up to 1632, chiefly conspicuous for its hemp, beaver, and petty Indian tribes. It lay, almost unknown, fairly between the settlements of the Dutch at New Amsterdam and Fort Orange [Albany], and of the English at Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, and offered a tempting field for the first quarrel between the kindred nations."||

Lord Say and Sele and his associates entered upon their grants and appointed John Winthrop their agent, who, in 1635, at the mouth of the river called by the Indians *Quonehtacut*¶ ("The Long River"), planted a town which, in honor of two of his patrons, Winthrop named "Saybrook." But, nearly twenty-one years before this time, the Dutch had purchased of the Pequot Indians land where the city of Hartford now stands and erected a small trading fort which they called "The House of Good Hope." Also, in October, 1634, a little party of dissatisfied men from Plymouth Colony had established themselves in a fort on the present site of Windsor, Connecticut, some distance up the river. Somewhat later a company of emigrants from Watertown, in the vicinity of Boston, established themselves on the site of the present Wethersfield, while at the same time a party from Dorchester, Massachusetts, joined the Plymouth emigrants previously mentioned, and gave to their new

* A corporation that had been in existence for some time "for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England in America."

† Comprehending what are now known as Providence River and Narragansett Bay.

‡ The Pacific Ocean.

§ A descriptive title early applied to Connecticut.

¶ Charles M. Andrews, in "The River Towns of Connecticut" (1889).

|| Corrupted by the early white settlers first into "Conectecotte", and then into the present form of the name.

settlement the name of "Dorchester." Still later (in June, 1636) a company from Newtown, Massachusetts, located on the ground occupied by the "House of Good Hope"—the Dutch having previously been driven thence. The settlers paid little attention to the Dutch, but took possession of the land by right of superior force.

"The most desirable places in Massachusetts were now (1636) settled; and what is strange to tell (if any of the obliquities of human nature can be accounted strange), they who professed to have settled a wilderness for liberty of conscience, in the short space of sixteen [*sic*] years forgetting their own principles, refused liberty to others and began to fine, banish and disfranchise those who dissented from, or questioned any of, their established modes and doctrines. Those who thought themselves persecuted withdrew chiefly to Rhode Island, to be wholly out of the Massachusetts jurisdiction. Others, who only wanted lands, and some who disliked the immediate scene of those religious confusions, went to Connecticut River, about Hartford, etc., which they at first believed to be within, rather than without, the Massachusetts jurisdiction."*

The truth of the matter is, that a profound dissatisfaction had grown up in the Massachusetts Bay Colony over the general management of its affairs. Many of the colonists had failed to find in it that field of activity and usefulness they had longed for when they sundered family and social ties in the Old World and sought a new home in America. Probably the real trouble was that there were too many master minds, too many who wanted to govern in Church and in State, and too few who were willing to be governed. The Government was in no sense a democracy, but was in the hands of a favored few. This bred discontent and restlessness, and the only remedy was a revolution or an emigration. The latter alternative was chosen, and the Connecticut River region was selected for the new settlements.

In 1636 every effort was made by the Massachusetts Bay Government either to check the flow of emigration to the Connecticut River region, or to turn its current into more adjacent channels; but the bent of the emigrants' spirit was towards the Connecticut, and for the time being the Colonial Government was helpless to prevent it. In the year last mentioned "a desire for a more democratic form of government caused a considerable exodus from the mother Colony," and all three of the settlements previously referred to received their chief bodies of immigrants. In February, 1637, the names of these three settlements, or "plantations," were changed from "Dorchester," "Watertown" and "Newtown" to "Windsor," "Wethersfield" and "Hartford," respectively. By the following May the population of the three towns had increased to 800, and a union of the towns into a sort of Commonwealth was then agreed upon and consummated.

January 14, 1639, this little Commonwealth, under the name of the "Colony of Connecticut," adopted for its government a code of "Fundamental Orders." "This was the first written constitution known to history, with the possible exception of the 'Union of Utrecht,' under which the Netherlanders were then living and which it is permissible to call a constitution; and it was absolutely the 'first in America to em-

* From "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII: 132, and supposed to have been written by the Rev. William Smith, D. D., of whom further mention is made hereinafter.

body the democratic idea.' * * * Herein, at Hartford, was laid down the germinal idea of political liberty for the individual—the beginning of democracy and the corner-stone, at least, of that foundation on which the firm fabric of the American Commonwealth was slowly up-reared. Herein was the first practical assertion of the right of the people not only to choose, but to limit the powers of, their rulers."*

In 1638 a company of well-to-do immigrants from London, England, formed a settlement at "*Quinapiack*," on Long Island Sound, and in the following year, by the action of the whole body of settlers there, the "Colony of New Haven" was erected and a "Fundamental Agreement," or constitution, for its government was adopted.

About that time the Colony of Connecticut purchased of Lord Say and Sele and his associates, for £16,000, their right and title under the deed from Earl Warwick, previously mentioned. In the meantime the "Council at Plymouth" had come to an end and made a final resignation of its patent of incorporation to the Crown, in order to enable the King to make grants of the "powers of government" to those holding the "right of soil." The only lasting effect of the "Council" was to create confusion by the reckless way in which it had granted the same lands over and over again to different occupants.

In 1661 the Colony of Connecticut sent its Governor, John Winthrop, Jr., to England with a loyal address to King Charles II and a petition for a "Charter of Government," such as the Colony had adopted, with powers equal to those conferred on Massachusetts, or on "the Lords and Gentlemen whose jurisdiction rights had been purchased" by Connecticut; and to confirm the Colony's grant or title. Winthrop was successful, and under date of April 20, 1662, Letters Patent were issued incorporating John Winthrop and others into a body politic by the name of "The Governor and Company of the English Colony of Connecticut, in New England, in America," and granting and confirming to them all that part of the King's dominions "in New England, in America, bounded on the east by Narragansett River, commonly called Narragansett Bay, where the said river falleth into the sea; and on the north by the line of the Massachusetts Colony, running from east to west—that is to say, from the said Narragansett Bay in the east *to the South Sea†* on the west part."

Under the terms of this royal Charter the regranted, or recreated, Colony of Connecticut embraced within its bounds the rival Colony of New Haven. The people of the latter Colony had been especially zealous in shielding the fugitive regicide judges Goffe and Whalley; while the Rev. John Davenport, the leading minister of the Colony, "had not only harbored them in his own house, but on the Sunday before their expected arrival he had preached a very bold sermon, openly advising his people to aid and comfort them as far as possible. The Colony, moreover, did not officially recognize the restoration of Charles II to the throne until that event had been commonly known in New England for more than a year. For these reasons the wrath of the King was specially roused against New Haven, when circumstances combined to enable him at once to punish this disloyal Colony and deal a blow at the Confederacy."‡

* From "Connecticut Character and Achievement," an address delivered before the Wyoming Commemorative Association July 3, 1902, by Alfred Mathews.

† The Pacific Ocean.

‡ John Fiske's "The Beginnings of New England," page 222.

“The courtiers of King Charles, who themselves had an eye to possessions in America, suggested no limitations [to the Charter]; and perhaps it was believed that Connecticut would serve to balance the power of Massachusetts. * * * The Charter, disregarding the hesitancy of New Haven, the rights of the Colony of New Belgium and the claims of Spain on the Pacific, connected New Haven with Hartford in one Colony, of which the limits were extended from the Narragansett River to the Pacific Ocean. How strange is the connection of events! Winthrop not only secured to his State a peaceful century of colonial existence, but prepared the claim for western lands. * * * With regard to powers of government the Charter was still more extraordinary. It conferred on the colonists unqualified power to govern themselves. * * * Connecticut was independent except in name. Charles II and Clarendon thought they had created a close corporation, and they had really sanctioned a democracy.”*

Never was a Charter so favorable granted to any Colony by an English monarch, and when the Revolutionary War subsequently occurred the people of Connecticut were not under the necessity of expelling a royal Governor who had been appointed by the Crown and of improvising a system of government. They had a government already provided, together with a patriotic Governor† of their own choice. The Charter was democratic in all but name. The Constitution that had been formed by the little Commonwealth at Hartford in January, 1639, as previously mentioned, was not essentially altered by the Charter of 1662—which was practically a royal confirmation of the Constitution; and it was not until 1818 that the Charter—that is, the Constitution of 1639—was superseded by the present Constitution of Connecticut. “Connecticut was as absolutely a State in 1639 as in 1776.”

The Connecticut Charter of 1662, just as the Warwick grant of 1631 (mentioned on page 240), covered a strip of territory stretching across the continent from sea to sea. The northern boundary-line of this grant or claim was nearly coincident with the forty-second parallel of north latitude, while the southern boundary was the forty-first parallel of north latitude, and thus the Charter took in, as it extended westward, not only almost the entire northern half of what is now Pennsylvania, but parts of the present States of New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Wyoming, Idaho, Nevada, Utah, Oregon and California! Connecticut construed her Charter as authorizing her to *pass over* New Netherland, later New York, and East Jersey, afterwards New Jersey, which were then in possession of Christian princes.

“There were very few other people in the world that had such a strange domain as this, which might have been given by the fairies instead of by a king. For hundreds of miles it was a green ocean of tree tops as it rose and fell over the mountains and valleys of what we now call Pennsylvania, and touched the shores of Lake Erie, a great inland sea. Still onward and westward it went, and soon open spaces and meadows appeared after 500 miles of tree tops, and the buffalo and elk fed in the sunshine and no longer in the shadows of the woods. Soon the meadows became larger, and presently the woods were gone and the vast prairies of Indiana and Illinois appeared with their knee-deep grass

* Bancroft's "History of the United States," V : 51-55.

† Jonathan Trumbull.

waving to the horizon. The Mississippi is crossed, the long grass is gone and the short, stunted buffalo-grass of the plains spreads to the brim of the sky and the land is drier and the millions of buffaloes raise the dust in clouds as they press towards the passes of the Rocky Mountains. But those mighty peaks and ranges with their endless snow and their countless herds of game were still Connecticut, which was pressing on and on across the sage-brush plains of Utah, through the Great Salt Lake and the brown deserts of Nevada up again into the peaks of the Sierras in California, until that Yankee empire ended at last as it had begun, by the breakers of the sea.

"What a wonderland Connecticut was! And as it forged its way through forest and mountain and prairie and plain and dusty desert into mountains again, a narrow band of 3,000 miles from sea to sea, how typical of the restless energies of the handful of English who began life upon its eastern extremity, outnumbered by the animals and the red men!"*

Such was the ignorance of the Europeans respecting the geography of America, says the Rev. Jedidiah Morse (mentioned on page 239) in his "American Geography"—edition of 1796—that their patents extended they knew not where. Many of them were of doubtful construction, and very often covered each other in part, and thus produced innumerable disputes and mischiefs in the Colonies. "Almost every State upon the seaboard had had at the first a grant from the Crown which read as if it had been meant to set no boundaries at the west at all except the boundaries of the continent itself, * * and each [Colony] laid confident claim to its own long western strip of the continent."†

But, for nearly a century after the granting of the Charter of 1662, Connecticut neglected not only to claim but to explore those lands, supposed to form a part of her domain, which lay westward and southward of New York. Meanwhile, on the 4th day of March, 1681, the same "Charles II, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland," who, nineteen years previously, had set his hand and seal to the Connecticut Charter, granted a Charter to one WILLIAM PENN of London, England. This lengthy and important document‡ contained the following paragraphs, among many others:

KNOW YEE, therefore, that wee, favouring the petition and good purpose of the said WILLIAM PENN, and having regard to the memorie and merits of his late father, in divers services, and peticulerly to his conduct, courage and discretion under our dearest brother, James, Duke of Yorke, in that signall battell and victorie, fought and obteyned against the Dutch fleete * * in the year One thousand six hundred sixtie-five, * * *Have Given and Granted*, and by this our present Charter, for us, our heirs, and successors, Doe give and grant unto the said WILLIAM PENN, his heirs and assignes, all that tract or parte of land in America, with all the Islands therein conteyned, as the same is bounded on the East by Delaware River, from twelve miles distance Northwarde of New Castle Towne unto the three and fortieth degree of Northern latitude—if the said River doth extend soe farre Northwards;

"But if the said River shall not extend so farre Northward, then by the said River soe farr as it doth extend, and from the head of the said River the Easterne bounds are to bee determined by a meridian line to bee drawn from the head of the said River unto the said three and fortieth degree, the said lands to extend Westwards, five degrees in longitude, to bee computed from the said Eastern Bounds, and the said lands to bee bounded on the North by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of Northern latitude, and on the South by a circle drawn at twelve miles distance from New Castle Northwards, and Westwards unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of Northern Lati-

* From an address by Sydney G. Fisher before the Wyoming Commemorative Association, July 3, 1896.

† Woodrow Wilson's "A History of the American People," III: 46.

‡ See "Pennsylvania—Colonial and Federal," I: 223.

tude ; and then by a straight line Westwards to the limit of Longitude above mentioned.

"*Yeelding and paying* therefore to us, our heirs and Successors, two Beaver Skins to bee delivered att our said Castle of Windsor, on the first day of January, in every yeare ; and also the fifth parte of all Gold and silver Oare which shall from time to time happen to be found within the Limitts aforesaid, cleare of all charges.

"And of our further grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion wee have thought fitt to Erect, and wee doe hereby Erect, the aforesaid Country and Islands into a province and Seigniorie, and doe call itt PENSILVANIA ; and soe from henceforth wee will have itt called."

It may be noted here that the granting of this Charter was opposed by the Privy Council, by the Council for Plantations, by the Proprietors of New York and the Proprietors of Maryland.

It will be noticed that the bounds of the "Pensilvania" grant not only overlapped the Connecticut grant but interfered with the claims of New York—the rights to which Province had been granted in 1664 by King Charles to his brother the Duke of York, who, in the same year, wrested the government of the Province from the hands of the Dutch.* The New York-Pennsylvania boundary-line remained undetermined and in dispute for many years, as may be perceived by a reference to "Pennsylvania Archives," II : 60 ; to the Map of New York on page 33, *ante*, and the Map of Pennsylvania in Chapter V, whereon the *supposed* boundary-line is shown, together with the information that "the Northern Boundary of Pensilvania is not yet Settled."

Having been invested by his Charter with "all the powers and preminences necessary for government," William Penn issued a proclamation to the people already settled upon a portion of his grant. It was, in part, as follows :

"I wish you all happiness here and hereafter. * * I hope you will not be troubled at your change and the King's choice ; for you are now fixt at the mercy of no Governour that comes to make his fortune. *You shall be governed by laws of your own making*, and live a free and, if you will, a sober and industrious People. I shall not usurp the rights of any or oppress his person. God has furnished me with a better resolution, and has given me His grace to keep it. In short, whatever sober and free men can reasonably desire for the security and improvement of their own happiness, I shall heartily comply with." * * *

"Such," says Bancroft ("History of the United States," II : 364), "were the pledges of the Quaker Sovereign on assuming the government. It is the duty of history to state that, during his long reign, these pledges were redeemed. He never refused the free men of Pennsylvania a reasonable desire."

Ever since Adam and Eve were forced to migrate from the Garden of Eden, man has sought to better himself and improve upon his surroundings by migration and emigration. One of the most notable illustrations of this fact, in the history of man's progress from the gate of Eden towards better and greater things, is to be found in the chapter relating to the settlement of the North American Continent by the Anglo Saxon race. Our Pilgrim and Puritan forefathers set forth for this New World beyond the sea with the hope that it would redress the wrongs of the Old. They were not guided in their choice of territory by thirst of gain. They wanted to found a Nation—to begin again (breaking with the traditions of the past) in a place where neither Eng-

*By the grant of the King to the Duke of York the tract of country called New York was bounded on the east by Connecticut River, thus conflicting with the express letter of the Massachusetts and Connecticut Charters, which extended those Colonies westward to the South Sea, or Pacific Ocean. As late as 1783 New York claimed as hers all the territory of the present Vermont, while Massachusetts claimed nearly all the territory within the present limits of New York lying, in one direction, between the 75° of west longitude and the south-eastern shore of Lake Erie, and in the other direction between the 42° of north latitude and the southern shore of Lake Ontario. (See Woodrow Wilson's "A History of the American People," III : 47-49.)

lish law and government nor the English Church, as directed by Archbishop Laud and operated through the Star Chamber, could follow them.

The process of settlement in New England was slow, but it was sure; and within only a little more than a century and a-third after the arrival of the *Mayflower* in Cape Cod Harbor we find that in the Colony of Connecticut alone there were about 127,000 white inhabitants*—

* * * "a stirring, hardy race,
Keen, careful, daring, ready to embrace
Peril for profit—in each form, or all
The forms encountered by the Apostle Paul."

The spirit of emigration—that restless, roving spirit inherited from European ancestors in whom the migratory instinct was most powerfully developed—that same Anglo Saxon temperament which brought our ancestors into New England, and which constantly pushes forward to the trial of unknown fortune—began its manifestations in Connecticut about the middle of the eighteenth century, and sought its gratification first in what is now Vermont, and then here in Pennsylvania. "It is true," says Edward Everett Hale,† "that the passion for emigration is in the blood of the people of all the different Colonies. Perhaps the students of heredity will yet prove to us that this desire to make a new home is one of the desires which most often transmits itself to men's posterity."

"Nothing," says Bancroft,‡ "could restrain the Americans from peopling the wilderness. To be a freeholder was the ruling passion of the New England man. Marriages were early and fruitful. The sons, as they grew up, skilled in the use of the ax and the rifle, would, one after another, move from the old homestead, and, with a wife, a yoke of oxen, a cow and a few husbandry tools, build a small hut in some new plantation; and, by tasking every faculty of the mind and body, win for themselves plenty and independence. Such were they who began to dwell among the untenanted forests that rose between the Penobscot and the Sainte Croix, or in the New Hampshire grants on each side of the Green Mountains, or in the exquisitely beautiful valley of Wyoming, where, on the banks of the Susquehanna, the wide and rich meadows, shut in by walls of wooded mountains, attracted emigrants from Connecticut, though their claim of right under the Charter of their native Colony was in conflict with the territorial jurisdiction of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania."

"A passion for occupying new territories and forming new settlements rose to an amazing height in New Hampshire and in every other quarter of New England; and the gratification of this taste fostered a

* In 1749 it was computed that there were 70,000 whites and 1,000 negroes within the bounds of Connecticut. No estimate of the number of Indians was made. It was in 1756, however, that the first formal census was taken, with the following showing:

COUNTIES—	HARTFORD.	NEW HAVEN.	NEW LONDON.	FAIRFIELD.	WINDHAM.	LITCHFIELD.	Totals.
<i>Whites</i> —	35,714	17,955	22,015	19,849	19,670	11,773	126,976
<i>Negroes</i> ,	854	226	829	711	345	54	3,019
<i>Indians</i> ,			617				617
Aggregate,							130,612

The principal towns, or townships, of Windham County, with their respective populations, were: Windham (2,406 whites and 40 negroes), Plainfield (1,751 whites and 49 negroes), Canterbury (1,240 whites and 20 negroes) and Voluntown (1,029 whites and 19 negroes). In the town of Lyme, New London County, there were 2,762 whites, 100 negroes and 94 Indians. Governor Fitch of Connecticut, in a report to the Board of Trade, London (under date of July 6, 1756), based on the census then recently completed, stated: "By the best computation our inhabitants have doubled in twenty-four years, which we attribute to an industrious, temperate life and early marriage. * * * Near one-half of the Indians dwell in English families, and the other half in many small clans in various parts of the Colony, and are most of them peaceably inclined." (See "Colonial Records of Connecticut," X: 622.)

† In "Domestic and Social Life of the Colonists." (1892.)

‡ In "History of the United States," V: 165.

stubborn resolution and habits of daring and hardy enterprise congenial to the prevalent sentiments of independence, and propitious to the efforts which these sentiments portended. * * * Among other new settlements created by the exuberant vigor of New England, at this period, was one whose primitive manners and happiness, as well as the miserable desolation which it subsequently underwent in the Revolutionary War, have been rescued from neglect and oblivion by the genius of a poet of Scotland*—the settlement of Wyoming on the banks of the river Susquehanna."†

To many of the inhabitants of rocky and unfruitful eastern Connecticut, about the year 1750, the marvellous richness and beauty of this valley of Wyoming had become known through the enthusiastic reports carried back from here, from time to time, by a few adventurous traders and explorers. On the rocky hill-sides of Connecticut, where farming was the chief occupation, the population, which had doubled in less than a generation—as reported by Governor Fitch—"was beginning to seem redundant, and was already looking for some outlet. Connecticut, it was thought, had about reached the limit of its self-supporting capacity. The farming lands were all taken up, and there was no longer the same chance for the young men who were poor to achieve prosperity, as there had been for their fathers. The time had evidently arrived to begin the settlement of that vast tract beyond the Delaware River which belonged to the Colony by its Charter. * * *

"It was a land flowing with milk and honey, waiting to be occupied by the chosen people. True, the savage Canaanite inhabited the land—the Indian tribes who, under French influence, in case of war might be objectionable neighbors. There were suspicions, too, that the heirs of William Penn, Proprietors on the southern border of the tract, * * * might be unfavorable to its occupation as a part of Connecticut. But these considerations were easily disposed of. As to the Indians, the land would be purchased from them in a fair trade.‡ Still less was serious trouble to be expected from the peace-loving, non-resistant inhabitants of the 'City of Brotherly Love.' Were they not all mild and harmless Quakers—too fair-minded to question the indisputable title of

* THOMAS CAMPBELL. See page 64.

† From Graham's "History of the United States," IV : 128.

‡ Prior to May 9, 1717, it was legal for any freeman of Connecticut to purchase of the Indians their title to unlocated lands within the Colony; and this was a sufficient title. But this method of proceeding being attended with difficulty, it was enacted by the General Assembly of the Colony—after premising that difficulties arose "by reason of so many purchases of lands made of the Indians without the preceding allowance or subsequent approbation of the General Assembly"—that "all lands in this Government are holden of the King of Great Britain as Lord of the fee; and that no title to any lands in this Colony can accrue by any purchase made of the Indians on pretense of their being native proprietors thereof, without the allowance or approbation of this Assembly."

At that day the Colony did not pretend to sell its lands, but portioned them out among its citizens by suffering them, under the discretion and control of the Government, to become purchasers of the Indians. Whenever the Assembly judged that the public good required an extension of settlements, they permitted individuals or companies to acquire lands of the natives for that purpose. A previous permission or subsequent approbation was all that was necessary to render the transaction valid. Settlement and population, rather than speculation and gain, were the objects of this policy.

The Rev. Dr. Timothy Dwight (1752-1817), in his "Travels in New England and New York," states: "The annals of the world cannot furnish a single instance in which a nation or any other body politic has treated its allies or its subjects either with more justice or more humanity than the New England colonists treated these people [the Indians]. Exclusively of the country of the Pequots, the inhabitants of Connecticut bought of its native proprietors—unless I am deceived—every inch of ground contained in that Colony. The people of Rhode Island, Plymouth, Massachusetts and New Hampshire proceeded wholly in this equitable manner. Until Philip's War, in 1675, not a single foot of ground in New England was claimed or occupied by the colonists on any other score but that of fair purchase."

"Land grabbing," wrote Joel Fno in *The Connecticut Magazine* (VII : Numbers 3 and 4) in 1902, "has never been practised in Connecticut; neither was it in any of the other early New England Colonies. State what you will about the austerity and sternness of the Puritanic character, it was at least just in its treatment of its predecessors. The Norwich tract, which included the present towns of Norwich, Bozrah, Franklin and Lisbon, was purchased of Uncas in 1659 for supplies which enabled him to raise the siege of the Narragansetts, and £70 in money. Plainfield, with Canterbury, was purchased from the Quinebaug Indians in 1659, and about 400 of them continued to live amicably with the new owners. Windham * *

Connecticut and too peaceable to make trouble for inoffensive neighbors who minded their own business and kept within their rights?"*

In 1753—and for many years thereafter—the legislative power of Connecticut was vested by its "Constitution," or royal Charter, in a General Assembly, which was composed "of the Governor of the Colony (or in his absence the Deputy Governor) and twelve Assistants (called the Upper House), and Representatives not exceeding two from each town,† chosen by the freemen of the respective towns they represent (called the Lower House).‡"§ This Assembly was in session at Hartford from May 10th to June 2d in 1753, and at some time during this period the following memorial§ was presented to it and read:

"TO THE HONORABLE ASSEMBLY to be holden at Hartford, second Thursday of May next, the memorial of the subscribers, inhabitants of Farmington, Windham, Canterbury, Plainfield, Voluntown, and in several other towns, all of Connecticut Colony, humbly sheweth: THAT, WHEREAS, there is a large quantity of land lying upon a river called Susquehanna, and also at a place called *Quitwaumnuck*||; and that there is no English inhabitant that lives on said land, nor near thereunto; and the same lies about seventy miles west of Dielewey [Delaware] River, and, as we suppose, within the charter of the Colony of Connecticut¶; and that there is a number of Indians that live on or near the piece of land aforesaid, who lay claim to the same. And we, the subscribers, to the number of one hundred persons**, are very desirous to go and inhabit the aforesaid land, and at the place aforesaid (provided that we can obtain a quiet or quit-claim of the Honorable Assembly, of a tract of land lying at the place aforesaid, and to contain a quantity sixteen miles square, to lie on both sides Susquehanna River); and as the Indians lay claim to the same we propose to purchase of them their right, so as to be at peace with them.

"WHEREUPON WE HUMBLY PRAY, that the Honorable Assembly would grant to us a quit-claim of the aforesaid tract, or so much as the Honorable Assembly shall think best, upon such terms as your Honors shall think reasonable, and in such a way and manner that *in case we cannot hold and enjoy* the same by virtue of said grant, yet, notwithstanding, the same not to be hurtful or prejudicial on any account to this Colony; and in case we can hold and possess said land, then to be always under the government and subject to the laws and discipline of this Colony—and provided that we, the said subscribers, shall within three years next coming lay the same out in equal proportion,

was bequeathed by the will of a son of Uncas to his friends, John Mason and others, in 1675. * * Had-dam, with East Haddam, was secured from the Indians by the payment of thirty coats worth \$100. Saybrook [including Lyme], with Old Saybrook, Essex and Chester, was granted by treaty with the Indians in 1636. * * The interesting records are replete with such entries. * * It is clearly evident that the charges of purloining Indian property are without foundation. * * While Connecticut was not the entire country at that time, it was a large portion of it and wielded a strong influence. * * The Puritan, however narrow and rigid, was sympathetic and humane, with the keenest sense of honor and justice. Even in his religious ardor he was no more the bigot than is our present political enthusiast."

* From "Wyoming; or Connecticut's East India Company." By Henry T. Blake of New Haven, Connecticut. (Fairfield County Historical Society—Reports and Papers, 1897.)

† According to the Connecticut system, which has prevailed for many years, a "town" is a municipal district equivalent in many respects to what is known as a *township* in Pennsylvania and many other States. Within the bounds of the Connecticut "town" there may be, and usually are, several hamlets, post-villages or cities, all, of course, bearing different names. As for instance: The town of Lyme, in New London County, contained about seven or eight miles square of territory, or more, seventy years ago, and within its limits were the hamlets and villages of Lyme (sometimes called "Lyme Street," and again "Old Lyme"), North Lyme, South Lyme, East Lyme, Black Hall and Hamburg; while the town of Windham, in Windham County, now contains within its limits the post-villages of Windham, North Windham and South Windham (and perhaps others) and the city of Willimantic.

‡ "Colonial Records of Connecticut," X: 624.

§ In reprinting this document neither the spelling (except in two or three instances) nor the punctuation in the body of the original has been adhered to. The spelling of the names of the memorialists has been followed, however; but for the sake of convenience the names have been arranged alphabetically.

|| Wyoming. See pages 59 and 60.

¶ As to the beliefs of some others, about this time, relative to the bounds of Connecticut, it may be noted: (1) In 1739 Governor Talcott of Connecticut, in an official communication in answer to certain queries by the Board of Trade, London, concerning the Province, stated that its "*reputed and known boundaries*" were Massachusetts on the north, Rhode Island Colony on the east, *Long Island* on the south and New York Province on the west. (2) In July, 1756, and again in 1761, Governor Fitch of Connecticut, in reply to queries of a like character from the same source, made a statement similar to the foregoing—except that he bounded the Province "southerly on the sea or sound." (3) In May, 1774, the Rev. Richard Peters, at Philadelphia, wrote to the Proprietaries' solicitor in London, as follows (see "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," X: 177): "In the year 1741 the Proprietary Thomas Penn went from here for England, and from that time to this I have been well acquainted with all sorts of Indian negotiations, and have had a great share in the management of them—either as the Proprietary's Secretary, or as a Member of Council, or as Provincial Secretary, so that I can speak from the best grounds of every matter relating to Indians for above thirty years; and I can with truth declare that before the year 1753 I never, that I can remember, heard of any claim set up by the Government or any of the inhabitants of the Colony of Connecticut to any lands within this Province."

** There are ninety-two names appended to this memorial.

and settle upon the same, as also purchase the right of the natives as aforesaid. Or, in some other way, grant us the land aforesaid, as your Honors shall think best—and we, in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

March 29, 1753.

Peter Ayers,	John Kinne,	Nehemiah Parke,
Ephras Andrus,	Jeremiah Kinne,	John Parke,
William Andrews,	Moses Kinne,	William Parke,
Nath. Babcock,	Gideon Keeney,	John Pike,
Noah Briggs,	Nathan Keeney,	Jonathan Pettibone,
Benjamin Crary,	Stephen Keeney,	Josiah Russell,
Christopher Crary,	Thomas Keeney,	Stephen Rhodes,
George Crary,	Samuel Kasson,	Cyprian Stevens,
Oliver Crary,	Adam Kasson,	David Stevens,
Thomas Cole,	Archibald Kasson,	John Stevens,
William Cady,	John Keigwin,	Samuel Smith,
William Church,	James Keigwin,	Francis Smith, 3d,
Josiah Curtis,	Hugh Kennedy, Jr.,	John Smith, Jr.,
Jedidiah Darbe,	Stephen Kellogg,	John Smith, 2d,
Thomas Douglas,	Henry Linkou,	Benjamin Smith,
Robert Dixson, 3d,	Peter Miller,	Ebenezer Smith, Jr.,
John Dorrance,	James Montgomery,	Stephen Stoyell,
Lemuel Deane,	Timothy More,	Jonas Shepard,
David Downing,	Matthew Patrick, Sr.,	Ezra Spalding,
Patrick Fay,	Matthew Patrick, Jr.,	John Spalding,
Jabez Fitch,	Jacob Patrick,	Eleazer Spalding,
Elijah Francis,	Ezekiel Peirce,	Amos Spalding,
Isaac Gallup,	John Pellet,	Solomon Stoddard,
William Gallup,	Joseph Parks,	Thomas Stewart,
George Gordon,	Nathan Parke,	Phinehas Tracy,
Robert Gordon,	Robert Parke,	Samuel Thomas,
Samuel Gordon,	Thomas Parke, Sr.,	David Waters,
Phinehas Green,	Thomas Parke, Jr.,	Eliphalet Whiting,
Henry Hart,	Joseph Parke,	Ichabod Welles,
Robert Hunter,	Benjamin Parke,	Joshua Whitney.
Robert Jameson,	Asa Parke,	

Just when and where the project for the purchase and settlement of the Wyoming lands by inhabitants of Connecticut had its inception it is impossible now to state, but, judging by the fact that a large number of the memorialists hereinbefore named were residents of the county of Windham, and that some of them were men of more than local prominence, it is quite probable that Windham County was the birth-place of the movement, and that the work preliminary to the signing of the memorial and its presentation to the Assembly was done in the town of Windham—the shire-town, the center of whose business and social life was at “Windham Green,” near the center of the town and about two miles south-east of the present city of Willimantic.

“The occasional traveler who strolls along the silent streets of the venerable town of Windham, meeting no inhabitant except perhaps a straggling cow, and hearing no sound but the hum of a drowsy insect, or the feeble croak of a town-born frog, receives little impression of its activity and importance as a political and business center before the Revolution. Then it was one of the wealthiest, most bustling and thriving towns of the Colony; gay with elegant social life and the home of influential leaders in Connecticut affairs. Within its limits were included as parishes several of the now adjoining towns. It had four well-trained military companies, four meeting-houses, a court-house and jail and numerous stores. It furnished nineteen Captains and more than sixty other officers and soldiers to the old French War. Its appearance was far more attractive than at the present time. At the head of its capacious public square stood the Congregational Church, elegantly painted in a brilliant yellow, and around the square stood public buildings and stores and the handsome dwellings of the aristocracy. * * *

"The prosperity of Windham has departed, its glory has faded away, the ancient church and other public edifices have disappeared, and solitude and silence have taken possession of the streets."* The population of the town of Windham was probably between 2,200 and 2,300 in 1753. For its population and that of Windham County three years later, see page 246.

The published records of the Colony of Connecticut do not give any information as to what disposition was made by the General Assembly of the memorial presented to it at its session in May, 1753; but we learn from those records that four of the memorialists—Capt. Jabez Fitch, Capt. Isaac Gallup, Ezekiel Peirce and Joseph Parke—were members of the Assembly at that time. Evidently the project proposed in the memorial was looked upon generally with favor in the Assembly, for we find that within a very short time after the matter had been presented to that body the Hon. Hezekiah Huntington, Col. (later Maj. Gen.) Phineas Lyman, Maj. (later Col.) Eliphalet Dyer, William Williams (in 1776 a signer of the Declaration of Independence), Capt. Stephen Lee, Isaac and Elisha Tracy and other gentlemen of prominence who had been Representatives at the May session, together with George Wyllys, Secretary of the Colony, and Roger Wolcott, Jr., son of the then Governor of Connecticut, became participators in the movement on foot.

In the meantime the projectors of this movement were busy in different quarters of Connecticut soliciting their neighbors and friends to join them in the "Susquehanna affair"—as it was commonly called at the time. At length, on the 18th of the ensuing July, some 250 of the men who had become interested in the "affair" met at Windham and organized "THE SUSQUEHANNA COMPANY." "Articles of Agreement" were drawn up and recorded at length in the record- or minute-book of the Company, referred to on page 28, *ante*; it being intended, evidently, that each person who might become a member of the Company should sign these "Articles." This intention was never carried out, however; but the names of all shareholders and members were duly entered in the books of the Company by the Secretary. A reduced photo-reproduction of a portion of the original "Articles of Agreement," as recorded on the first page of the "minute-book" mentioned above, will be found facing this page; while the following is a copy of the document in full—except that the punctuation, capitalization and spelling (save in two or three instances) of the original have not been followed.

"ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT made and settled between us the subscribers, inhabitants of His Majesty's English Colony of Connecticut in New England, being memorialists to the General Assembly of said Colony at their sessions in May last for the title of said Colony to a certain tract of land lying on Susquehanna River at or near a place called CHWAUMUCK†, *an island‡ in said river*—and other subscribers hereunto—is as followeth, viz.:

"THAT WHEREAS we being desirous to enlarge His Majesty's English settlements in North America, and further to spread Christianity, as also to promote our own temporal interest, do hereby each of us covenant and engage—for ourselves and for those we any of us represent by signing for them—each of us to pay to Mr. JOSEPH SKINNER, JABEZ

* From "Wyoming; or Connecticut's East India Company," mentioned on page 248.

† Wyoming. See pages 59, 60 and 248.

‡ Richard's Island, described on page 52. Miner "presumed" ("History of Wyoming," page xi) that the island referred to was "Monocasy" (Monocanock) Island, mentioned on page 51, *ante*. This is not at all probable, inasmuch as Richard's Island is, and has been from the time of the white man's earliest knowledge of Wyoming Valley, the largest island within the limits of the valley. Besides, the earliest Indian settlement known as "Wyoming" to the people living in 1753, was within a very short distance of this island, as we have previously shown.

Windham July 18th 1753

Articles of agreement made and S^{ed} between the
subscribed Inhabitants of his majesties English Colony
of Counciltown in New England being memorialists To the
General Assembly of S^{ed} Colony all their petitions in ma-
t^r for the Title of S^{ed} Colony to a Certain Tract of Land
lying on Susquehanna River att or Near a place Called
Kuisanmuth an Island in S^{ed} River and other Adjacent
Territories as followeth. Viz.

That whereas we being desirous to enlarge his Majesties
English Settlements in North America and further to
spread Christianity as also to promote our own Temp-
oral Interest do hereby each of Us Covenant and Engage
for our selves and for those we any of us hereafter
by signing for them each of us To pay To Wth Joseph
Phelps Jacob Ditch, Esq^r Elipha Spar Esq^r John
Smith Esq^r Ezekiel Ditch Esq^r Wth Samuel Smith
& Capt Robert Dixon, a Committee by us Nominated
To repair to S^{ed} Place att Susquehanna in order to
View said Tract of Land and To purchase of the
Natives those inhabiting their Title and Interest in
said Tract of Land and To survey & Lay out and
receive proper Deeds or Conveyances of said Land to
and for each of us in Equall proportion, each of
us Two Spanish milled Dollars before S^{ed} Com the
going & setting out on S^{ed} business, and on their
return upon said Com the rendering their account of
their reasonable Charges Trouble Expenses & Travelling
in said affair and of what Debt may by them be Ex-
pended in purchasing the same. The Date of our

Photo-reproduction of a portion of the first page of the minute-book of
The Susquehanna Company.

FITCH, Esq.,* ELIPHALET DYER, Esq.,† JOHN SMITH, Esq.,‡ EZEKIEL PEIRCE, Esq.,§
Mr. LEMUEL SMITH|| and Capt. ROBERT DIXSON¶ (a committee by us nominated to

* JABEZ FITCH was born in New London County, Connecticut, in 1702, the eighth child of Maj. James Fitch and his second wife Mrs. Alice (*Bradford*) Adams, and grandson of the Rev. James Fitch of Norwich, New London County, Connecticut. James Fitch, the last mentioned, was born at Bocking, in the county of Essex, England, December 21, 1622, and came to America in 1638 with his widowed mother and his four brothers. In 1646 he was ordained pastor of the Church at Saybrook, New London County, Connecticut. There he remained until 1660, when, though urgently desired to continue as pastor, he decided to go with the majority of his Church members to found the town of Norwich, in New London County. Here he served as pastor thirty-four years. Mr. Fitch took a deep interest in the Indians, learned their language, preached to them and especially befriended those who were rendered homeless by the Narragansett War. He was considered a man of great learning, and was called by the Rev. Cotton Mather (mentioned on page 83, *ante*) "the holy, acute and learned Mr. Fitch." He was twice married, the first time, in 1648, to Abigail, daughter of the Rev. Henry Whitfield of Guilford, Connecticut. She died in 1659, leaving two sons and four daughters. Five years later Mr. Fitch was married to Priscilla Mason, daughter of Maj. John Mason, mentioned in the note on page 193. The Rev. James Fitch died at Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1702.

Maj. James Fitch, the eldest child of the Rev. James and Abigail (*Whitfield*) Fitch, was born at Saybrook in 1649 and accompanied his father's family to Norwich. After he had grown to manhood he took a leading part in all the town affairs of Norwich, and served as Land-surveyor, Registrar, Commissioner of Boundaries and Captain of the Train-band. He was appointed Captain in the militia in 1680 and Sergeant Major of New London County in 1696. A few years later he removed to Plainfield (see footnote below), then in the County of New London, but now in Windham. In 1703 that portion of Plainfield in which Major Fitch resided was erected into the town of Canterbury, and there he continued to live until his death in 1727. Miss Larned, in her "History of Windham County," says: "Maj. James Fitch was unquestionably the leading citizen of Canterbury for many years, though his pretensions and excursions involved him in frequent quarrels with his fellow-townsmen. * * * With all his faults he was an ardent patriot and a firm friend of popular liberty. He was a friend of progress, ready to initiate and carry on public improvements; a friend of education—endowing Yale College in 1701 with over 600 acres of land in what was afterwards Killingly (Windham County), and furnishing glass and nails for the first college edifice in New Haven." Major Fitch was twice married; first, in 1676, to Elizabeth Mason (a younger sister of his father's second wife), who died in 1684, and second, in 1687, to Alice (*Bradford*) Adams, widow of the Rev. William Adams of Dedham, Massachusetts, and daughter of the Hon. William Bradford, Lieutenant Governor of Plymouth Colony. By these two wives sixteen children were born, eleven of whom grew to maturity.

Jabez Fitch, son of Maj. James Fitch by his second wife, as previously mentioned, spent nearly all his life in what is now the town of Canterbury, Windham County. In May, 1734, he first represented this town as Deputy in the General Court, or Assembly, of Connecticut, and from that time until 1775 he served, by election, thirty-two years altogether in the office mentioned—being a member of the Assembly when the Connecticut Susquehanna Company was organized. In May, 1749, he was appointed by the General Court a Justice of the Peace in and for Windham County, and by successive appointments held this office until 1755, when he was appointed Justice of the Peace and Quorum of the County. This office he held by successive appointments until 1779. In May, 1759, he was appointed Probate Judge of the Plainfield District, and the duties of this office he performed for a period of twenty years. In October, 1740, he was "established and confirmed" by the General Court "Captain of the Troop in the Eleventh Regiment of the Colony," and in May, 1771, he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of this regiment.

Jabez Fitch was married three times—first, May 29, 1722, to Lydia Gale of Canterbury. A son by this marriage—Dr. Jabez Fitch, Jr.—was a Surgeon's Mate in the Connecticut forces engaged in the expedition against Crown Point in 1756. In 1759 he was commissioned Captain of the 10th Company in the 3d Regiment of the Colony.

Col. Jabez Fitch died at Canterbury in 1784.

† ELIPHALET DYER of Windham, Windham County, Connecticut; lawyer, legislator and soldier. For his portrait and a sketch of his life, see Chapter V.

‡ JOHN SMITH of Voluntown, Windham County, Connecticut. See Chapter VI for a sketch of his life.

§ EZEKIEL PEIRCE of Plainfield, Windham County, Connecticut. See a sketch of his life in a subsequent chapter. He was a brother-in-law of the abovementioned John Smith.

|| LEMUEL SMITH, younger brother of John Smith, abovementioned, was born at Plainfield, New London (now Windham) County, Connecticut, in 1710, the sixth child of John Smith, Jr., and his wife Susanna Hall. John Smith, Jr., was the son of John Smith, Sr., and the grandson of Francis Smith, an early settler at Taunton, Massachusetts. About 1690 or '91 John Smith, Jr., removed to what was known as the "Quinebaug Plantation" on the Quinebaug River, in eastern Connecticut, adjoining the town, or township, of Windham. This "Plantation" had been granted to Gov. John Winthrop of New London, and was being settled by emigrants from Massachusetts. In October, 1697, "Quinebaug Plantation" was annexed to New London County, and out of this territory the town of Plainfield was erected early in 1699.

In 1704 John Smith was Constable of Plainfield, and also a member of a committee appointed to lay out certain lands. In 1709 he was one of the two Representatives, or Deputies, elected from Plainfield to the General Court of Connecticut, and was re-elected to the same office in 1710, '11, '12, '13, '14, '15 and '16. In 1717 he removed with his family from Plainfield to a locality in the same county that in 1719 was annexed to the town of Voluntown, of which he was already one of the proprietors. In 1721 he was granted "liberty to keep a house of entertainment at the crossing of Moosup River". In 1722 and '23 he was active in helping to organize the Voluntown Church and to secure the services as minister of the Rev. Samuel Dorrance, a Scots-Irish Presbyterian (concerning whom fuller mention is made in a subsequent chapter). April 8, 1740, John Smith was admitted as a freeman. As one of the two elected Deputies from Voluntown he attended the sessions of the General Court of Connecticut in 1748, '50 and '51. He died at Voluntown in the Summer of 1752.

He had been married at Plainfield June 25, 1699, to Susanna, daughter of Stephen Hall, an early settler in the "Quinebaug Plantation", one of the original proprietors of Plainfield and the holder of various offices in that town. The fourth child of John and Susanna (*Hall*) Smith was Elizabeth (born July 30, 1706), who was married August 1, 1726, to the Rev. Samuel Dorrance, previously mentioned, as his first wife.

Lemuel Smith, son of John and Susanna, and who died at Voluntown in 1760, was the father of Benjamin (born August 30, 1738), Lemuel, Jr. (who was at Wyoming in 1769), and probably other children.

¶ ROBERT DIXSON was born in the North of Ireland in 1701, eldest child of John and Agnes Dixson and great-grandson of the Rev. David Dickson, D. D. (born in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1583), sometime Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, and later in the University of Edinburgh. Doctor Dickson was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1653 when it was broken up by order of Cromwell, and its members were dispersed and ordered not to re-convene.

In the Summer of 1726, or perhaps earlier, Robert Dixson immigrated to America and proceeded to Londonderry, New Hampshire, where there was a newly-settled colony of Scots-Irish and North of Ireland Protestants. Later he removed to the North Parish of New London, Connecticut; but in December, 1728, he was admitted an inhabitant of Voluntown, Windham (now New London) County, and there

repair to said place at Susquehanna, in order to view said tract of land and to purchase of the natives there inhabiting their title and interest to said tract of land; and to survey, lay out, and receive proper deeds or conveyances of said land to and for each of us in equal proportion), each one of us TWO SPANISH MILLED DOLLARS,* before said committee's going and setting out on said business.

"And on their return, upon said committee's rendering their account of their reasonable charges, trouble, expenses and transactions in said affair, and of whatever may by them be expended in purchasing the same, we each of us oblige ourselves, our heirs, &c., to pay each one his equal proportion thereof, of what the same shall surmount the sum before paid; and if the sum advanced as aforesaid shall exceed what may reasonably be expended in said business and affair, said committee to be accountable to and refund back to each subscriber, that shall pay as aforesaid, his equal proportion of what shall remain not expended as aforesaid.

"AND FURTHER, we do each of us instruct and order said committee to set forth on said affair and business on or before the first day of September next, and use their utmost endeavors to purchase, survey, take and receive proper conveyances of a tract of land at or near said place called *Chicawamuck*, at Susquehanna aforesaid—or some said place in that country not heretofore granted, patented or conveyed to any person or persons, corporation or corporations, in opposition to or alien from the title of this Colony; and that the extent thereof be not less than about twenty miles one way and ten the other, and the money by them expended not to exceed £1,000 *lawful money*†.

"And in order for the true performance of the above written, we have hereunto set and affixed our names; excluding all right or pretence of right to any benefit or privilege to any thing that may be obtained or procured, if we fail or omit to pay the two dollars to said committee before their setting out as aforesaid, but the same to be void as to us as if our names were not subscribed."

At the same meeting at which the foregoing "Articles" were adopted the Company voted that Capt. John Fitch, Jedidiah Elderkin, Esq.,‡

he continued to reside for fifty-four years. Upon the date of his admission to the town he was elected Lister for the ensuing year, and thenceforward for many years he was continually in some public office, either by election or appointment. In April, 1740, he was elected the first Deputy, or Representative, from Voluntown to the General Assembly of Connecticut. From May, 1742, to May, 1771, inclusive, he attended fifty-six sessions of the General Assembly as one of the two duly elected Deputies from Voluntown. (See "The Connecticut Colonial Records".)

At every annual town-meeting, except eight, held in Voluntown from December, 1740, to December, 1767, Robert Dixon presided as Moderator, and during the same period he served, by successive elections, in the office of Townsman, or Selectman, for twenty-one years. In May, 1731, he was "established and confirmed" by the Assembly Ensign of the Voluntown train-band, and in October, 1742, was promoted Captain of the North Company of Voluntown, attached to the Eleventh Regiment of Connecticut, commanded by Col. Timothy Peirce. In May, 1754, Captain Dixon was appointed by the General Assembly a Justice of the Peace in and for the county of Windham, and by successive annual re-appointments held the office until 1778, when he was succeeded by his son John. Captain Dixon was by profession a surveyor, and in October, 1770, was appointed by the General Assembly "Surveyor of Lands in and for the county of Windham." This office he held for several years.

Captain Dixon was twice married, and was the father of two children—a daughter, Agnes (born 1723), by his first wife, and a son, John (born 1733), by his second wife. In 1782 Captain Dixon removed to Plainfield, previously mentioned, where, six years later, he died. He was interred in the Oneco burial-ground, where a grave-stone, erected shortly after his death, still stands, bearing this inscription: "In Memory of ROBERT DIXON, who departed this life August 10th, 1788, in the 85th year of his age. He served his State in Sundry important offices with Fidelity."

Agnes Dixon, elder child of Captain Dixon, became the wife of Robert Jameson of Voluntown and the mother of several children, some of whom in later life became prominently identified with the early history of Wyoming, and are referred to hereinafter. For the pedigree of Capt. Robert Dixon and a fuller account of his life, see "The Harvey Book" (Wilkes-Barré, 1899).

* Previous to the establishment of the United States Mint in 1792 much perplexity arose in this country from the use of no less than four different currencies, or rates, at which one species of coin was received in different parts of the land. The *real* money then in use here was in the form of English, French, Spanish and Portuguese gold and silver coins, and various copper coins of foreign and domestic production. The *nominal* money was paper, reckoned in pounds, shillings and pence (according to the English system), of different values in the different Colonies and Provinces when compared with real money. "The close connection the Colonies held with the traders of the Spanish Indies, and the nearness of the Spanish possessions at the mouth of the Mississippi and along the Gulf of Mexico, had made Americans familiar with all denominations of Spanish coins. They had long circulated freely among all classes of buyers and sellers. One of them, the *Spanish milled dollar*, had become as much a unit of value as the pound." In 1753 many *hammered* silver coins were still in circulation, and it took repeated acts of legislation in the following years to put an end to them.

The Spanish milled dollar (sometimes called a "Piece of Eight") was a silver coin of seventeen and a-half pennyweights, and, as indicated by its name, was not a hammered coin. In 1733—and for many years later—its value in this country was 4s. and 6d., sterling; or, in American money of to-day, \$1.00. At the period mentioned its value was 8 shillings in New York money; in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland currencies its value was 7s. and 6d., and in the currency, or "lawful money," of New England it was valued at 6 shillings. In 1753, and for a number of years following, the Spanish milled dollar was equivalent to 3s and 10sh. in "money of the old tenor" of the New England Colonies; but in 1777 it was equivalent to 4s and 5sh. of that species of money.

May 3, 1805, all foreign coins, *excepting Spanish dollars and parts of dollars*, ceased to be a legal tender for the payment of debts in the United States, as the Act of Congress making French, Spanish and Portuguese gold coins and French crowns (silver) a tender expired on that day. In 1830 it was stated in *Hazard's Pennsylvania Register* (V. 109): "The foreign coins which are now legal tender [in the United States] are the Spanish dollar and its parts. * * * Probably one-half the Spanish coins now in use here were made before 1792, when our Mint was established. * * * The coins of all kinds now in the United States are estimated at \$23,000,000, [in value], of which \$5,000,000. are of Spanish coinage."

† Equivalent to 3,333 $\frac{1}{3}$ Spanish milled dollars, or to \$3,633.33 in American money of to-day. See the preceding note.

‡ For his portrait and a sketch of his life, see Chapter V.

and Samuel Gray, Esq.,* be a committee to receive the money that should be paid in by the members of the Company; to settle and pay the accounts that should be rendered by the committee appointed to "view" and secure the land at Wyoming (the "Journeying Committee" it was called), and to do other things mentioned—in fact, to act as an executive and auditing committee. Having accomplished thus much the Company adjourned to meet at the call of its Executive Committee. Vigorous efforts were immediately begun to increase the membership of the Company, so that sufficient money could be procured prior to September 1st to provide for the expenses of the "Journeying Committee" in viewing the Wyoming lands and securing a proper conveyance of the same.

September 1st arrived, but, as only about 350 members† had then been enrolled in the Company, the "Journeying Committee" did not set out for the Susquehanna as they had been directed to do by a clause in the "Articles of Agreement." On the 6th of September a largely-attended meeting of the Company was held at Canterbury, Windham County, when it was voted that the "Journeying Committee" be "allowed until the beginning of October next to set out on their journey, and that they have liberty to *take in subscribers on the journey.*" It was also resolved that no *minor* should "have any benefit" by signing the "Articles."

The minutes of this meeting of the Company show, also, that on the 28th of the previous month a number of people had met at Colchester, New London County, Connecticut, and "entered into an agreement to purchase the native right to a certain quantity of land lying at or near the Susquehanna, or the Forks of the Delaware River"—Capt. William Whitney and Isaac Woodworth being appointed a committee to act for the association. These facts having been brought before the Susquehanna Company the latter "voted that the company aforesaid be and they are hereby incorporated with us as one entire body, for the purposes aforesaid, with all the privileges and advantages that we and each of us have, * * * provided said company do come into and pass" certain resolutions referred to, and appoint a committee to join with the Susquehanna Company's committee in "repairing to said Susquehanna River on or before October 1st." It was further voted, that, in case the Colchester association should enter into the agreement proposed and appoint a committee, then "but *three* of our said committee shall go on said affair." There is no further reference among the records of the Susquehanna Company to the Colchester association, and therefore it is impossible to state whether or not the latter was formally merged in the former. It is quite probable, however, that the younger company came to an early and uneventful end, and that some of its former members individually connected themselves with the Susquehanna Company.

Early in October Stephen Gardner‡ and Stephen Gardner, Jr., of the town of Colchester were admitted to membership in the Susque-

* For a sketch of his life see *post*, in this Chapter.

† The names of many, if not all, of these men are printed in "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII: 4-12.

‡ STEPHEN GARDNER was among the early settlers in New London County, and was probably a descendant of the Rhode Island family of Gardner or Gardiner. He purchased land near "Great Pond," now known as Gardner's Lake, lying partly in the towns of Bozrah, Montville and Salem, New London County. On this land he settled (in what was then the town of Colchester) and reared a large family of children. He was married about 1700 to Amy Sherman (born October 25, 1681), daughter of Benjamin

hanna Company; and when, a week or two later, as the "Journeying Committee" was about to set out for the Susquehanna and it was found that Capt. Robert Dixson, a member of the Committee, was unable to go along, Stephen Gardner was selected to go in his stead. This fact leads to the belief that Mr. Gardner had been a member of the Colchester association.

The members of the "Journeying Committee" who, about the middle of October, 1753, started from eastern Connecticut for Wyoming, were Stephen Gardner, John Smith and Ezekiel Peirce. What route they took through Connecticut and New York on their outward journey we do not know; but having reached the Delaware River, probably in the locality of the present Port Jervis, they followed the stream down to Delaware Water Gap, mentioned on page 45. There, leaving the river, they traveled in a north-westerly direction through the present Monroe County, crossing first over the Pocono Mountains, then the Wyoming-Moosic range and finally the Wilkes-Barré-Lackawanna range. That this was the course they traveled we are quite certain, for the following reasons: (1) This committee secured at that time subscriptions from, and enrolled as members of the Company, the following-named men* who then resided along or near the Delaware River in what are now the counties of Pike and Monroe: Daniel Shoemaker, Benjamin Shoemaker (at that time one of the Commissioners of the new county of Northampton), Abram Van Camp, John Panather, Solomon Jennings, John Atkins, James Hyndshaw, Joseph Skinner and Samuel and Aaron De Pui, or Depew. (2) Capt. William Parsons† of Easton, Pennsylvania, in a letter to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania relative to certain

and Hannah (*Mowry*) Sherman of Kingston, Rhode Island, and had twelve children, five of whom were sons, as follows:

(III) STEPHEN, b. February 24, 1704; (IV) BENJAMIN, b. April 18, 1706; (V) PEREGRINE, b. January 24, 1707; (VI) DANIEL, b. December 14, 1709; (XI) DAVID, b. January 28, 1720, and md. to Jemima Gustin.

(III) STEPHEN GARDNER was born at Kingston, Rhode Island, and was md. in 1722 to Frances, daughter of Benjamin Congdon. They had ten children, some of whom were: (i) *Amy*, b. February 17, 1725, and md. to Capt. Stephen Harding (*q. v.*); (ii) *Lydia*, b. March 20, 1727, and md. to John Jenkins (*q. v.*); (iii) *Sarah*, b. February 10, 1731, and md. to Thomas Jenkins; (iv) *Stephen*, b. March 27, 1735, and md. (1) to Frances Brown, (2) to Alice (*Fuller*), widow of John Abbott. (iv) *Stephen Gardner* died in August, 1811, and his widow Alice died in June, 1816, in the 76th year of her age. Their remains lie in the old grave-yard near the river in Plains Township, between Port Bowkley and Plainsville, Luzerne County. (III) STEPHEN GARDNER died in 1778.

(V) PEREGRINE GARDNER was md. in April, 1731, to Susanna Robinson (b. in 1711), and they had eight children. Some of them were (1) *Stephen*, b. August 1, 1734; (2) *Mary*, b. March 14, 1736; (3) *John*, b. May 9, 1737; (4) *Peregrine*, b. March 12, 1739.

(3) *John Gardner* was md. to Elizabeth Mumford (b. February 29, 1743), and they had five children, two of whom were: (a) *Richard*, b. February 8, 1767; (b) *John*, b. January 9, 1773, and d. March 30, 1836, in Ransom Township, Luzerne (now Lackawanna) County, Pennsylvania. (3) *John Gardner* was captured in Exeter Township by the Indians in July, 1778 (see Chapter XV, *post*), and, being carried away from Wyoming, died in captivity. His widow died at Ransom, mentioned above, August 24, 1834. (4) *Peregrine Gardner* was a Sergeant in Capt. Simon Spalding's Wyoming company in the Continental service, 1777-'81. (See "Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VII: 110.)

(a) *Richard Gardner* was twice md., his first wife being Lydia — (b. 1767; d. May 23, 1828.) He located in Ransom Township, where he established and maintained for many years Gardier's Ferry. He had eleven children, several of whom lived to a great age. (a) *Richard Gardner* died at Ransom July 4, 1859. For an interesting account of him see Peck's "Wyoming," page 351.

* See the names of the grantees in the "Indian Deed" printed in this Chapter.

† WILLIAM PARSONS, who had been a shoemaker in early life, resided in Philadelphia between the years 1734 and 1746, for a portion of which period he was Librarian of the City Library. In 1743 he was appointed Surveyor General of the Province, which office he held until June, 1748, when, on account of ill health, he resigned. In 1749 he was a Justice of the Peace in Lancaster County.

The present city of Easton made its first appearance in 1750. Previous to that Thomas Penn, one of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, had written to Dr. Gracie and Secretary Richard Peters at Philadelphia to lay out the ground at the "Forks of the Delaware," in Bucks (now Northampton) County, for a town, and he desired "the new town to be called Easton, from my Lord Pomfret's home" — Penn having married Lord Pomfret's daughter. The site for the proposed town, which was owned by Thomas Penn, was covered with trees and bushes. The town-plot of about 100 acres was surveyed by Nicholas Scull, assisted by William Parsons, and occupied ten days from May 9, 1750. Thenceforth, until his death in December, 1757, William Parsons resided at Easton.

In 1753 he held the rank of Captain in the militia of the Province, and in December, 1755, he was promoted Major and appointed to command all the troops to be raised in Northampton County for the defense of the frontier during the Indian hostilities. His immediate command, however, was a "Town Guard" of twenty-four men stationed in Easton. In October, 1753, Captain Parsons was elected a member of Assembly from Northampton County. He also held, at different times, the offices of Prothonotary, Clerk of the Courts, Recorder of Deeds and Justice of the Peace in and for Northampton County. This County was erected out of Bucks County March 11, 1752, and took in nearly the whole of north-

matters that had occurred in the north-eastern part of the Province during the Autumn of 1753, wrote, among other things, the following* :

"Having heard that some persons under pretense of an authority from the Government of Connecticut had passed by Daniel Brodhead's† in their way to Wyoming upon Susquehanna River, in order to view the land in those parts, * * * I went up to Mr. Brodhead's to speak with him. * * * Mr. Brodhead told me that some of his near neighbors had accompanied *three gentlemen-like men* to Wyoming, who produced a writing under a large seal, which they said was the public seal of the Governor of Connecticut, empowering them to treat," etc.

Captain Parsons stated further, that, inasmuch as the men from Connecticut "gave out that those lands were included within the boundaries of the royal Charter to that Colony," he (Parsons) thought he would be wanting in his duty if he did not give the Governor this information. A few days later Daniel Brodhead, Sr., wrote the Governor on the same subject, and stated that he "was at a loss how to act," lest he should "do the thing not just," and asked for advice in the matter.

The "Journeying Committee" remained at Wyoming a number of days, making rough drafts of the country in general and gathering considerable data upon which to base a report to the Susquehanna Company. Soon after their arrival in the valley they learned from the Indians here that the Six Nations claimed and exercised ownership and jurisdiction of this region. Therefore the committee made no attempt to dicker with the local Indians for the land they desired to secure.

On their homeward journey the committee having entered the Province of New York, and crossed Hudson River at or near Fishkill, proceeded northward through the present Dutchess County to "Little Nine Partners," lying at the upper end of the County and traversed by the "Great Road" running from the Hudson to and through New England. On the 14th of November the committee were at "Great Nine Partners" (near the center of Dutchess County), and five days later they had reached Canaan, in the north-western corner of Connecticut. At both these places they disposed of shares, or "rights," in the Susquehanna Company, as is evidenced by original, authentic records now in existence. The following is a copy of one of the receipts given at that time by this committee to subscribers for shares—the original receipt having been duly recorded between 1771 and 1774 by the Town Clerk of Wilkes-Barré on page 1,157 of "The Town Book of Wilkes Barre," described on page 27, *ante*‡ :

"Canaan, November 19, 1753—then received of JOSEPH DEAN, JR., of Canaan, in ye county of Litchfield, ye sum of two Spanish milled dollars in ye Susquehanna Affair. Received by us ye subscribers, a Committee appointed for that Business.

[Signed] "STEPHEN GARDNER, }
 "JOHN SMITH, } Committee."
 "EZEKIEL PEIRCE, }

The visit of the Connecticut men to Wyoming was not only disquieting to certain Pennsylvanians in Northampton County, Philadelphia and other quarters who heard of it, but also caused considerable dissatisfaction among the Indians dwelling along the Susquehanna.

eastern Pennsylvania as it then existed. The County had at its beginning nine organized townships, with a population of 4,500, in addition to several hundred inhabitants in the "Forks of the Delaware," not included in any township, and 800 in the upper parts of what is now Lehigh County. In Smithfield Township were some 300 Hollanders, descendants of the early Dutch settlers at the Muisink. Smithfield was the only township north of the Blue Mountains.

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," V : 736.

† Dansbury, now East Stroudsburg, Monroe County, Pennsylvania. For a sketch of Daniel Brodhead, see note, page 238.

‡ See Book "B," page 244, of the records of the Susquehanna Company mentioned on page 28, *ante*, for the recorded copy of a receipt given by the same committee to "William Buck of Great Nine Partners," under date of November 14, 1753.

Under date of December 5, 1753, at Easton, Captain Parsons wrote to the Rev. Richard Peters at Philadelphia, Secretary of the Province, as follows* :

"I do not know what to think of the New England men ; but from their own account there is reason to expect them again in the Spring. And if they should come we have but too many malcontents amongst us who would cheerfully embrace so favorable an opportunity. You too well know the disposition of the people in general towards the Honorable the Proprietaries. * * * I am informed that some persons over the mountains† have really entered into an agreement with the New England men for part of the lands at Wyoming. If I were to advise, I should think it would not be amiss for you to write to every one of the Justices—especially those over the mountains—to apprehend them if they should come again in the Spring, as they say they will with many more, in order to settle there. But perhaps it will be the best way for the Governor to issue a proclamation, or for the Chief Justice to issue a Provincial writ for taking them up as Disturbers of the publick Peace."

About the time Captain Parsons wrote this letter to Secretary Peters William Craig, Sheriff of Northampton County, came thence to Wyoming and spent several days here‡—presumably to learn what he could concerning the doings and sayings of the recent visitors from Connecticut. Some time later Conrad Weiser§ Governor Hamilton that "in the Fall of 1753 the Indians on Sasquehanna saw some of the New England men that came as spies to Wayomock ; and they saw them making drafts of the land and rivers, and are much offended about it." Weiser stated, further, that the Indians asked him about these men, and he told them (the Indians) that "we had heard so much as that, and we had intelligence from New England that they came against the advice of their superiors, as a parcel of *head-strong men and disturbers of the peace*. The Indians said they were glad to hear that neither their Brother *Onas* nor their [the New Englanders'] own chief men had sent them." Secretary Peters, writing to the solicitor of the Proprietaries relative to this affair, said|| : "Mr. Hamilton and several others were alarmed at this wicked attempt, and Conrad Weiser, the Indian Interpreter, was ordered to give the Six Nation Indians an account of this intelligence and to put them upon their guard."

The members of the "Journeying Committee" having reached their respective homes and reported the results of their mission to Wyoming to the Executive Committee of the Susquehanna Company, a meeting of the Company was called for the 9th of January, 1754. Upon that day there was a large attendance of old members, and the names of enough new members were enrolled to make the total membership of the Company upwards of 400. Stephen Gardner, John Smith, Ezekiel Peirce, Capt. Robert Dixon and Jedidiah Elderkin, Esq., were appointed a committee "to enquire and judge what persons ought to be admitted into the said Company, with all the privileges already accrued," etc.; and it was voted that those thereafter admitted should pay four dollars per share, or two dollars for a half-share.

It was also voted that "Mr. Timothy Woodbridge¶ of Stockbridge

* See original letter in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

† The Kittatinny, or Blue, Mountains, described on page 45.

‡ See "Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VIII : 90.

§ See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VI : 35.

|| See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," X : 177.

¶ TIMOTHY WOODBRIDGE was born in 1709 at West Springfield, Massachusetts. He was the son of the Rev. John Woodbridge, Jr. (b. 1678; d. June 10, 1718), a native of Killingworth, Connecticut; graduated at Harvard College in 1694, and constituted the first pastor of the Church at West Springfield in 1698. His wife (the mother of Timothy) was Jemima Eliot, granddaughter of the Rev. John Eliot, "the Apostle to the Indians," referred to on page 80.

In the Autumn of 1735 Timothy Woodbridge became a teacher in the Indian mission-school at Great Barrington (mentioned in the note on page 198); and when the establishment was removed to Stock-

[Massachusetts] be incorporated into this Company and entitled to one whole share in the purchase of this land as a free donation from this Company": and that he be "an agent of the Company to order, act and transact the whole affair of said purchase with the chiefs of the Indians that are the native proprietors of the land proposed by said Company to be purchased." It was also resolved that "if Deacon Woodbridge desires Captain Stevens* to go with him to the sachems in order to help and assist him, he shall go": and it was ordered that Maj. Eliphalet Dyer and some other member of the Company, to be selected by the Executive Committee, should be commissioned to repair to Stockbridge and make satisfactory arrangements with "Deacon" Woodbridge for the transacting of the business. The Executive Committee named Jedidiah Elderkin, Esq., of Windham, as the second member of this commission.

Messrs. Dyer and Elderkin were "desired by the Executive Committee to wait on the Hon. Roger Wolcott, then Governor of the Colony, and ask his opinion in the name of the Susquehanna Company relative to their proceeding. They waited on the Governor and informed him of the designs of the Company: and in answer Governor Wolcott wrote and signed a certain writing."* Colonel Elderkin made a copy

which he accompanied it thither, where he remained as a teacher for many years—being succeeded by the Rev. John Sergeant, Jr., mentioned on page 186. David D. Field, in his "History of Stockbridge," states that in Woodbridge's school "the body of the Indian children were instructed, and probably obtained as good an education as English children at that period generally did in the common schools of New England." In 1731 the mission contained 25 Indians, of whom 12 had been baptized and 42 were communicants.

In February, 1732, Gideon Hawley—later for many years a missionary among the Indians—became a co-worker of Woodbridge in the Stockbridge school; and, in an autobiographical letter written in 1794 and published in the "Documentary History of New York," III: 27, states that he "was instructor of a few families of Iroquois who came down from their country for the sake of the Christian knowledge and the schooling of their children. These families consisted of Mohawks, Oneidas and Tuscaroras from Canajoharie and Oghwaga. [New York, I] Hawley" was their schoolmaster, and preached to them on Lord's-day. [The Rev.] Mr. Edwards visited the school, catechised the scholars and frequently preached to the parents. Many Indians who wintered at Stockbridge, in the Spring and summer went off and were about Schoharie, beyond Albany."

In May, 1733, Mr. Hawley went from Stockbridge to Oghwaga, previously mentioned, for the purpose of engaging in missionary labors among the Indians—chiefly Oneidas—in that locality, which was "about 100 miles beyond any settlement of Christian people." "It was agreed," wrote Hawley in 1794, "that 'Deacon' Woodbridge, being a man long acquainted with the business and a gentleman of abilities, should accompany me into their country and introduce me to the Indians, with whose manners and language I had gained some acquaintance." Messrs. Hawley and Woodbridge set out on their journey on May 23d, accompanied by Benjamin Ashley, an English "Separatist," and his wife Rebecca (Ashley) Ashley, "an extraordinary interpreter in the Iroquois language." An interesting account of their journey is given in Hawley's "Old New York Frontier," page 58, *et seq.* On May 26th the travelers arrived at *Tenawandough*, on the Susquehanna River, not many miles from its source. (See map on page 88, and map of Pennsylvania and part of New York in Chapter V. Here there were three wigwams and thirty Indians. "We were impatient," wrote Hawley, "to see the famous Susquehanna, and as soon as we came Woodbridge and I walked down to the banks. Disappointed at the smallness of the stream Woodbridge exclaimed, 'Is this the Susquehanna?'" By means of canoes the travelers reached their destination three days later.

Oghwaga, or Oquago, now Windsor, near the north-eastern angle of the "Great Bend" of the Susquehanna, fourteen miles from Binghamton, Broome County, New York is distinguished as having been the ancient dwelling-place of Indians for a long series of years. It appears to have been a half-way resting-place for the Six Nations as they passed southward to Wyoming or for the Indians at Wyoming as they passed northward. Their path over Oquago Mountain and also over the mountain nearer Binghamton, was worn very deep, and was plainly visible many years after the Indians had left that country.

Spending only a few days at Oghwaga Woodbridge turned his steps homeward, bearing a belt of wampum and a message to Sir William Johnson from the Indians at Oghwaga, to the effect that they desired to have no more rum brought to their town by traders.

For some years after Timothy Woodbridge had quit teaching he was agent and superintendent of Indian affairs at Stockbridge. He was the first Deacon in the Church at Stockbridge, and was also the first magistrate in the town. He was a Justice of the Peace in and for Berkshire County until 1798 at least. From 1761 until his death he was a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Berkshire County. Not long before his death he was appointed a member of the Governor's Council, by mandamus from the King, but did not accept the appointment. "He was," wrote David D. Field many years ago "a man of superior abilities and acquisitions." Gideon Hawley wrote of him in 1794: "He rose to be the first man in the county of Berkshire; was always esteemed for his sense, * * * and sustained his station with reputation."

"Deacon" Woodbridge died May 11, 1774. His wife was Abigail Day, of West Springfield, and their eighth child and youngest son was Enoch Woodbridge, who was born at Stockbridge, December 23, 1750. He was graduated at Yale College in 1774. At the siege of Boston, 1775-76, he was Assistant of Colonel Preston's regiment. He was also in service later during the Revolutionary War. In 1781 he settled in Vermont as a lawyer. He was the first Mayor of Vergennes, Vermont, and was a Judge of the Supreme Court of that State, 1794-1800, being Chief Justice during the last three years of the period. He died at Vergennes April 23, 1835.

* URIAH STEVENS, of Litchfield County, an early and a very active promoter of the Company.

* The foregoing quotation is from an original memorandum in the handwriting of Jedidiah Elderkin, found by the present writer among the "Pickering Papers," referred to on page 24, *ante*.

of this "writing," which he retained, delivering the original document into the hands of "Deacon" Woodbridge. Colonel Elderkin's copy is now among the "Pickering Papers" (see note †, page 257), and is herewith printed—for the first time, so far as the present writer can learn.*

"WINDSOR, JANUARY, 1754.

"Being well informed that a number of His Majesty's liege subjects in the Colony of Connecticut have confederated together to purchase of the Indians a tract of *waste land* near Susquehannah River, and to remove there with their families to settle a new Plantation, and they have desired to know my opinion of their design—

"I am of opinion that ye settling a new Plantation or Plantations at ye place designed will be much for His Majesty's service, as it will enlarge the English possessions of the country and advance our frontiers into it; and being settled with good and orderly people, will much strengthen and encourage ye English in North America against ye encroachments of ye French, who are continually erecting their forts nearer and nearer to us, and thereby driving ye Indians from His Majesty's alliance. And that it will be a benefit to ye Six Nations of Indians who have been always in strict alliance with ye English, as it will better secure them from the incroachments of ye French and strengthen them in time of Warr against ye force of the enemy. I therefore wish them good success in their undertaking, and that they may never want encouragement from the Throne."

[Signed] "R: WOLCOTT."

Under date of February 21, 1754, Daniel Brodhead, Sr.,† who was then a Justice of the Peace in and for Northampton County, wrote as follows‡ to the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania:

"There is great disquietude amongst the people of these parts, occasioned by some New England gentlemen, to such a degree that a majority of them are going to quit and sell their land for trifles; and many of them have advanced money in order that they might secure 'rights' from the New England Proprietaries—which 'rights' I suppose are intended to be on Sasquehannah, at a place called Wyomink."

The matter appeared to the Council to be of importance, and they recommended that the Governor of Pennsylvania should write to both the Governor and the Deputy Governor of Connecticut, praying for the interposition of that Government "to prevent the departure of their people on such a *dangerous enterprise*"; otherwise the Colonies "should have the additional affliction of seeing a civil war commence in the bowels of two of their most prosperous Provinces." Therefore, under date of March 4, 1754, Governor Hamilton wrote to Governor Wolcott

*An *incomplete* copy of this document was printed in *The Luzerne Federalist* (Wilkes-Barré) of May 25, 1801, in an article written by Col. John Franklin over the pseudonym "Plain Truth." See page 30, *ante*.

†DANIEL BRODHEAD, SR., was born at Marletown, Ulster County, New York, in 1693. He was a grandson of Daniel Brodhead (a Captain of grenadiers in the army of Charles II), who came to this country in 1664 in the expedition, commanded by Col. Richard Nicolls, "to capture New Amsterdam and make New Netherland once for all an English province." (See page 245.) About 1735 Daniel Brodhead, first above-mentioned, emigrated from New York with his family and settled near the junction of Analomink (now Brodhead's) and McMichael's Creeks, in what later became Northampton, and is now Monroe, County, Pennsylvania. He called his settlement "Dansbury," after his own name, but later it became known as "Brodhead's Manor," and now, upon a portion of it, stands the village of East Stroudsburg. He became acquainted with the Moravian Brethren soon after they settled in the "Forks of the Delaware," and at his house they often lodged as they traveled to and from their missions in New York and Connecticut; and at Dansbury they preached between 1743 and 1749. Bishop Cammerhoff, previously mentioned, referred to Daniel Brodhead in 1747 as "an Indian trader," and stated that he was a regular attendant at the Brethren's synods. He died in July, 1755, at Bethlehem, while there for surgical treatment. He was survived by five sons—Charles, Garrett, Daniel, John and Luke.

Daniel Brodhead, Jr., was born about 1725, probably at Albany, New York, and came to Pennsylvania with the other members of his father's family. "The younger Daniel grew up among the rude experiences of a frontier settlement, and, probably, had his first experience of actual war when the Indians, after ravaging all the country between the rivers Lehigh and Delaware, north of the Blue Mountains, attacked the Brodhead house at Dansbury, which had been hastily fortified, on the 11th of December, 1755."

In 1771 Daniel Brodhead, Jr., settled at Reading, Pennsylvania, having removed some time previously from Lower Smithfield Township (within the limits of which "Brodhead's Manor" lay). Shortly afterwards he was appointed Deputy Surveyor under John Lukens, who was then Surveyor General of Pennsylvania. In July, 1775, he was appointed a delegate from Berks County to the Provincial Convention at Philadelphia. During the Revolutionary War he was Lieutenant Colonel of the Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment from March to October, 1776; Lieutenant Colonel of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment in the Continental Line from October, 1776, to March, 1777; Colonel of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line, March, 1777, to January, 1781, and then Colonel of the First Pennsylvania. At a later date he was, it seems, promoted to the rank of Brigadier General. (See "Pennsylvania in the Revolution," I: 646.) After the war he served in the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, and in 1789 was appointed Surveyor General of the State. This office he held eleven years. He was twice married, his first wife being Elizabeth De Pui of Northampton County, who bore him one son (Daniel) and one daughter. His second wife was the widow of Gen. Thomas Mifflin, by whom he had no children.

Gen. Daniel Brodhead died at Milford, Pike County, Pennsylvania, November 15, 1809.

‡ See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," V: 757.

informing him that a party of Connecticut people had passed into Pennsylvania some time previously on their way to Wyoming. Continuing, the Governor stated* :

"They gave out that they had made a purchase of these lands from the Mohawk Indians, and they had your authority to come and settle them—being within the boundaries of the Connecticut Charter—and offered their titles to any who were disposed to purchase ; and this, though I have disregarded it as an idle story, is now confirmed by persons of character who have been in Connecticut, and assure me that a large number of your inhabitants * * * were actually preparing to remove in the Spring and settle some of the Pennsylvania lands on Sasquehannah. * * * If they make the attempt they will involve this Province in an endless scene of trouble and confusion, and as they must expect opposition, it may prove prejudicial to the cause of the Colonies. If, as it is very probable, we shall be engaged in a war to repel the French (who have actually invaded this Province, and are now erecting forts and driving away our traders within its limits), and a number of strangers should come amongst us and forcibly take possession of our lands, what can His Majesty or the other Colonies think but that they are enemies to their country, and design to hinder this Government from exerting its force against the common enemy, by raising a civil war within its bowels.

"I beseech your Honor further to consider, that the Six Nations will be highly offended if these lands on Sasquehannah be overrun with white people, for they are their favorite lands and reserved for their hunting ; and many of them live there, and they have the faith of this Government—solemnly and repeatedly plighted—that no white people shall settle there. * * * I cannot conceive how the inhabitants of Connecticut, whose laws as well as ours prohibit and render invalid all private contracts with the natives,† could go in so clandestine a manner to treat with the Mohawks about these lands. Surely they are worthy of much censure on many accounts." * * *

A letter of like tenor addressed to Lieutenant Governor Thomas Fitch was written at the same time by Governor Hamilton—both letters being delivered into the hands of John Armstrong, Esq., who was instructed to carry them to Connecticut and fetch back the answers of Messrs. Wolcott and Fitch as quickly as possible. Armstrong was a resident of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, and a firm adherent of the Proprietary Government, being at that time one of its Surveyors of Lands as well as a member of the Provincial Assembly.‡

He set off on his errand without delay, and on the 13th of March delivered to Governor Wolcott at Windsor, Connecticut, the letter addressed to him, to which the Governor immediately replied at considerable length. He digressed, somewhat, from the subject under discussion to enter into details of the siege of Louisbourg§ (which had occurred nearly nine years previously)—stating the number of the French troops engaged, the strength of their fortifications, the width of the walls, the depth of the trenches, the number of cannon-balls fired by the enemy, the quantity of land ploughed up by the shot, etc. Then the Governor expatiated on the military prowess of his countrymen, the New Englanders, who, although the enemy was superior in number, took the "Gibraltar of America" after a siege of forty-nine days. He imputed the success of his countrymen to the fact that they were freeholders and the sons of freeholders, and intimated that the Pennsylvanians might be glad to have such people settle among them, for they would be handy in time of war. In response to the particular matters mentioned by Governor Hamilton Governor Wolcott wrote as follows|| :

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II : 120.

† See page 247 as to the laws and customs of Connecticut on this subject. By an Act passed by the Pennsylvania Assembly February 7, 1705, it was declared : "That if any person presume to buy any land of the natives, within the limits of this Province and Territories, without leave from the Proprietary thereof, every such bargain or purchase shall be void and of no effect."

‡ For a brief sketch of his life see Chapter XXI.

§ When, in 1745, Connecticut furnished 500 troops for the famous expedition against Louisbourg, Roger Wolcott (then sixty-six years of age) was placed in command of them, with the rank of Major General. During the siege he was second in command to Sir William Pepperell.

|| See folio 33 of the "Penn Manuscripts," mentioned on page 30, ante.

"There being now no unimproved lands with us, some of our inhabitants hearing of this land at Susquehannah, and that it was north of the grant made to Mr. Penn, are upon a design of making a purchase of the Indians, and hope to obtain a grant of it from the Crown. This appearing to be a design to promote His Majesty's interest and render the country more defensible, we were all well-wishers to it. But Mr. Armstrong [the messenger] informs me that this land is certainly within Mr. Penn's grant. If so, I don't suppose that our people had any purpose to quarrel with Pennsylvania. Indeed, I don't know the mind of every private man, but I never heard our leading men express themselves so inclined."

Under the same date, at Hartford, Lieutenant Governor Fitch wrote, in part, as follows* :

"I do well approve of the notice you take of the attempt some of the people of this Colony are making, and the concern you manifest for the general peace of the British interests and His Majesty's service. I know nothing of anything done by this Government to countenance such a procedure as you intimate and I conclude is going on among some of our people, and am inclined to believe *this wild scheme* of our people will come to naught—though I certainly can't say."

Having received these communications from the Connecticut officials Governor Hamilton based upon them and the previous letters of Justices Parsons and Brodhead a case stated, which he submitted for an opinion to the Hon. Tench Francis, Attorney General of the Province. Two of the paragraphs of the Governor's document were as follows :

"This [the Wyoming] tract of land has not yet been purchased of the Six Nation Indians, but has hitherto been reserved and is *now used by them for their hunting-ground*. The Government of Pennsylvania, by their treaties with those Indians, stands engaged not to permit any persons to settle upon lands within the bounds of the Province that have not been purchased from them. Hence, it is apprehended, those Indians may interpret such a settlement a violation of our treaties, and may be induced to commit hostilities that would be attended with consequences most dangerous at this juncture. * * *

"If any persons give out in speeches that they are going to possess themselves of this tract of land, and persuade others to go with them, and are making preparations to go; or, if they shall presume to go and settle there—is it lawful for the Justices of the Peace to cause such persons to be apprehended and imprisoned?"

This question the Attorney General answered in the affirmative.†

At this time Governor Hamilton had "standing instructions from the Proprietaries to take all opportunities of making another purchase of lands from the Six Nations." Therefore, in view of the declared objects of the formidable Susquehanna Company—the purchase and settling of a large body of land within the supposed limits of Pennsylvania—Governor Hamilton deemed it needful to try at once, by all means, to steal a march on this Company by making a purchase from the Indians—"and the larger the better." To facilitate this necessary work he despatched "John Shikelliny" (*Tachnechdorus*, mentioned on page 184) early in the Spring of 1754 with a message to the Six Nations, informing them of "the necessity of another purchase, *by reason of the increase of the inhabitants*," and desiring that they would enter into a treaty with Messrs. John Penn and Richard Peters, who were to "be at Albany in the Summer, and would have full powers for that purpose."‡

In the Autumn of 1753, only a few months before the French actually established themselves in fortified posts at Niagara, at Le Bœuf and at Venango, and Contrecoeur drove a colonial officer out of the post which he had held for a short time at the "Forks" of the Ohio, and Fort Duquesne arose on the ruins of an English stockade—in short, just before the French marched into and erected forts upon the known domain of Pennsylvania, and, in addition, redoubled their efforts to withdraw the friendship of the Indians from the English colonists—the

* See folio 35 of the "Penn Manuscripts," mentioned on page 30, *ante*.

† See *ibid*.

‡ "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II : 167.

British Lords of Trade directed James De Lancey, the new Lieutenant Governor of New York, to hold at Albany an "interview" with the Six Nations, for the purpose of conciliating them and "securing more effectually their affections to His Majesty and the British interests" by hearing and redressing their complaints, by delivering presents to them, by "burying the hatchet" and by renewing the Covenant Chain.

It was arranged by De Lancey that this proposed "interview" with the Indians should take place at a conference, or congress, of commissioners from the different Colonies and Provinces, called to meet at Albany in June, 1754. In this year there was no security to the English colonists either on the frontiers from the Carolinas to Pennsylvania or in the whole of western New York. The year was characterized by alarms, apprehensions and murders, the formation of plans and their failure. On the 17th of April, in what is now western Pennsylvania, were begun the actual hostilities in the French and Indian War, or in what became known in Europe as the "Seven Years' War"—the final struggle of the French and English for supremacy in America.

By the middle of May there were in the field, beyond the Alleghenies, about 1,000 troops from Virginia, Maryland, New York and North and South Carolina—among them the young Virginian, Col. George Washington. Near the close of May, when, one day, Washington "found a party of French lurking at his front in a thicketed glade, he did not hesitate to lead an attacking party of forty against them. The young commander of the French scouts [de Jumonville] was killed in the sharp encounter, and his thirty men were made prisoners. Men on both sides of the sea knew, when they heard that news, that war had begun. Young Washington had forced the hands of the statesmen in London and Paris, and all Europe presently took fire from the flame he had kindled."* Then followed Washington's advance to Great Meadows (in what is now Fayette County, Pennsylvania) and the building of "Fort Necessity," only to be followed by an honorable capitulation a few days afterwards—on the 3d of July—to a force of about 700 French and Indians. The next day the French commander, Captain de Villiers, let Washington "go untouched, men and arms, with such stores as he could carry."

On the last day of July Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia wrote to the Governor of Pennsylvania:

"Mr. Washington had many of the Indians with him, but I observe these people remain inactive till they see how affairs go, and, generally speaking, side with the conquerors. Little dependence is to be put in them. The 'Half King'† and several other Indians are now among the back settlements of this or your Government."

* Woodrow Wilson's "A History of the American People," II: 82.

† TANACHARISSON, known as the "Half King," was a Seneca chief who, as early as 1748, at least, resided at Logstown, mentioned on page 214. Schoolcraft says ("History of the Indian Tribes of the United States," page 213): "Tanacharisson, who was the head sachem of the Mingo-Iroquois of the Ohio Valley, was the presiding chief in the first council, or consultation, in which Washington took part. In fact, he was well known among the tribes, and performed at the place of his residence the duties of a *chargé d'affaires* in modern diplomacy." He was faithful to the English interests, and, accompanying Washington on his expedition in 1754, was present at the skirmish mentioned on the preceding page, and claimed to have killed de Jumonville with his own hand.

Just before the fight at Great Meadows the "Half King," Scaroooyady (mentioned on page 227) and several other Indians who were with Washington, withdrew from the latter's command and with their wives and children retired over the mountains into Virginia; but before the middle of August they removed thence to Aughwick (on the site of which Shirleysburg now stands, in Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania). At this place then lived George Croghan, an Indian trader, who for some years had been employed by the Provincial authorities in making treaties and assisting in various negotiations with the Indians. "Next to Sir William Johnson, George Croghan was the most prominent figure among British Indian agents during the period of the later French wars." In the Autumn of 1754 Croghan was in charge at Aughwick of certain Six Nation and other Indians who had left the Ohio region and put themselves under the protection of the Pennsylvania Government.

Under date of September 3, 1754, Conrad Weiser made the following report to the Provincial Council relative to the "Half King" (see Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, IV: 329): "Tanacharisson, otherwise

While the "men of war" west of the Alleghenies were busy during the Spring and Summer of 1754, the "men of peace" east of the mountains were also busy, but in a different manner. On the 30th of May Governor Hamilton issued a commission to John Penn,* Richard Peters,† Isaac Norris‡ and Benjamin Franklin,§ naming them as delegates (the first two to represent the Proprietaries, the Lieutenant Governor and the Council, and the latter two to represent the House, or Assembly) to the Congress called to convene at Albany. "This being deemed a proper time to get a purchase from the Indians of more land," wrote Mr. Peters in 1774,|| "and which was become absolutely necessary by the numbers of people that had come into the Province, and could not be kept within the bounds of the purchased lands, Mr. John Penn and myself were instructed and empowered to make as extensive a purchase as the Indians could be prevailed upon to make." Agreeably to the desire of Lieutenant Governor De Lancey Conrad Weiser was sent with the Pennsylvania Commissioners, to serve as one of the Indian interpreters at the Congress. Weiser objected, however, to acting in the capacity of interpreter-in-chief.

called the 'Half King,' complained very much of the behavior of Colonel Washington to him—though in a very moderate way, saying the Colonel was a good natured man, but had no experience—saying that he took upon him to command the Indians as his slaves, and that he would by no means take advice from the Indians. That he made no fortifications at all, but that little thing upon the Meadows, when he thought the French would come up to him in the open field. That had he [Washington] taken the 'Half King's' advice and made such fortifications as the 'Half King' advised, he would certainly have beaten off the French. That the French had acted as great cowards and the English as fools, and that he, the 'Half King,' had carried off his wife and children (so had other Indians) *before the battle began*, because Colonel Washington would never listen to them, but was always driving them on to fight by his directions."

Early in October, 1754, the "Half King," Scaroooyady and about eighteen other Indians from Aughwick, were at the house of John Harris, an Indian trader at Paxtang, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where, on the 4th of the month, the "Half King" died after a very brief illness. Concerning his death John Harris wrote to Governor Hamilton: "Those Indians that were here blame the French for his death, by bewitching him, as they had a conjurer to inquire into the cause a few days before he died, and it is his opinion, together with his relations, that the French have been the cause of their great man's death, by reason of his striking them lately. * * All the Indians that are here are in great trouble."

Scaroooyady, or Scaronage, alias *Monecatootha*, succeeded Tanacharisson as "Half King." He was an Oneida chieftan who had resided for a number of years on the Ohio. At Aughwick he exercised for the Six Nations a general jurisdiction over the western tribes similar to that performed by Shikellimy at Shamokin. In the Spring of 1755 he accompanied General Braddock on his campaign, at the head of a force of 150 Senecas and Delawares. Before the middle of August following Scaroooyady and a number of other Indians who had survived the disasters of that campaign proceeded to Philadelphia in charge of Conrad Weiser. On the 15th of August, at a meeting of the Council in Philadelphia, Lieutenant Governor Hunter—who had succeeded Hamilton—addressing by name Scaroooyady, Kahkikoton, and other Six Nation Indians who were present, said: "You that are now here, * * * you fought under General Braddock and behaved with spirit and valor during the engagement."

* JOHN PENN, the eldest child of Richard and Hannah (*Lardner*) Penn, and grandson of William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, was born in Philadelphia in 1728. His life, from 1752 to his death in February, 1795, was mostly spent in Pennsylvania. He served as a member of the Provincial Council from 1753 to 1755, when he went to England. In the Autumn of 1763 he returned to this country as Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania for his father and uncle (Thomas), the then sole Proprietaries of the Province. His arrival at Philadelphia, October 30, 1763, was thus chronicled by a writer of the period: "Our new Governor, John Penn, arrived here on the 30th *ult.* and landed at the wharf with little previous notice; and his introduction among us was attended with no ceremony, though a remarkable event happened about two hours after [viz. 1:20 o'clock P. M.] * * * our city being shaken by an earthquake, which broke up most of ye places of worship." Governor Penn held his office until April, 1771, when he was succeeded by the Hon. James Hamilton, previously mentioned, whom he had succeeded in November, 1763. From September, 1773, to September, 1776, John Penn was again Lieutenant Governor—having the distinction of being the last Proprietary Governor of Pennsylvania. He continued in this country during the Revolutionary War.

† RICHARD PETERS (who is also mentioned on page 256) was born in Liverpool, England, in 1711, and was educated at Wadham College, Oxford. About 1735 or '36 he came to this country with his brother William and settled in Philadelphia, where, about 1741, he became Rector of Christ Church. In 1770, being then Rector of this Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia, the degree of D. D. was conferred upon him by Oxford University. In 1741 he became Secretary of the Provincial Council, and this office he held until 1762, when he was succeeded by Col. Joseph Shippen. He died at "Belmont Hill," Philadelphia, July 19, 1776. The Rev. Richard Peters was never married. Richard Peters, 2d, of Philadelphia, Secretary of the Continental Board of War, Commissioner of War, Member of the Continental Congress and Judge of the United States District Court from 1792 to 1828, was his nephew. For an interesting letter written by Judge Peters relative to his uncle Richard, see the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, XXIII : 205.

‡ ISAAC NORRIS was at this time Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, in which body he had been for some time the leader of the strict Quakers, or the "Norris party." He was the son of Isaac Norris (a close friend of William Penn), for whom the town of Norris-town, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, was named, and his wife was a daughter of the Hon. James Logan, mentioned on page 179. About 1740 Isaac Norris, Jr., became a member of the Provincial Assembly, being at the same time one of the Aldermen of Philadelphia. He was annually re-elected to the Assembly during a period of many years, and for a good part of the time served as Speaker.

§ This was the famous Dr. Benjamin Franklin—printer, philosopher and patriot.

|| See original letter of the Rev. Richard Peters to Henry Wilmot, Esq., London (under date of May 18, 1774), in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Albany, which bears the proud distinction of being the oldest city in the United States (having received its charter in 1686), was almost 140 years old, as a settlement, in 1754, and had then borne its present name for exactly ninety years. But it was still a small town, with a population numbering less than 1,000 souls. Gideon Hawley wrote of it in 1753: "This city is very compact. In time of war it is always picketed, and in the many expeditions against Canada it has been the rendezvous of soldiers."

Within the palisaded limits of the town, at the north-east corner of what are now Hudson Avenue and Broadway, not far from the river, stood, in 1754—and for many years after—the old Dutch *Stadt Huis*, or Court-house. A part of the building was used for the city jail, while close at hand, in an open space outside its walls, stood the public pillory and whipping-post. Many historical associations were connected with this building. In it Governor Dongan met the Iroquois chiefs in 1685; Lord Howe's body rested there in state in 1758; the first general Congress of the English Colonies assembled there in 1764; the Declaration of Independence was publicly read there in 1776, and a mob drove the English judges from the Bench; from 1797 till 1805 it was used as the New York State Capitol. In a room of this building the Commissioners, or Representatives, called together by Lieutenant Governor De Lancey, met for the first time on Wednesday, June 19, 1754, and began their work as a Congress.

Twenty-four Commissioners (including Lieutenant Governor De Lancey) were present, representing seven Provinces and Colonies. "It was found that Pennsylvania was not alone in appointing a distinguished citizen to represent her. On the roll of the Congress were the names of Lieutenant Governor De Lancey, of New York, who presided; and from the same Province William Smith, the historian, and the future Sir William Johnson,* not yet made a baronet. * * * Lastly, the two Colonies which had so tenaciously preserved their charter governments through the vicissitudes of more than a century—Connecticut and Rhode Island—had acceded to the repeated solicitations of the home Government, and with unfeigned reluctance, we may be sure, had sent as Representatives men of such wide experience in their colonial concerns as Roger Wolcott, Jr.,† and Stephen Hopkins.‡ 'America,' says Mr. Bancroft, 'had never seen an assembly so venerable for the states that were represented, or for the great and able men who composed it.'"§ Colonel Stone (mentioned on page 19) calls this "the most august assembly which up to that time had ever been held in the western world."

* For his portrait, and a sketch of his life, see Chapter V.

† ROGER WOLCOTT, JR., was the eldest child of Gov. Roger Wolcott (mentioned on page 259), who, as an officer in the military service upon several occasions, as a member of the Governor's Council, as Deputy Governor, as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and as Governor of the Colony, performed many important duties in a satisfactory and noteworthy manner. Besides, he was the progenitor of a famous family. He was born at Windsor, Connecticut, January 4, 1679, and died there May 17, 1767.

Roger Wolcott, Jr., was born at Windsor September 14, 1704. He served in the General Assembly of the Colony as a Representative from his native town; was a Major in the Connecticut troops, a member of the Governor's Council, a Judge of the Superior Court and one of the revisers of the laws of the Colony. He died October 19, 1759, and "his death was felt as a public loss."

‡ STEPHEN HOPKINS was born in Chapumiscook, Scituate, Rhode Island, March 7, 1707, son of William and Ruth (*Wilkinson*) Hopkins. He served as a Representative in the General Assembly of Rhode Island fourteen terms—1732 to '52 and 1770 to '75—and was Chief Justice of the Colony in the years 1751-'55. He was a Delegate to the Continental Congress, 1774-'76, and as a member of that body was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. When about to affix his name to that document he remarked: "My hand trembles, but my heart does not!" In 1731 he laid out in streets and lots the town of Providence, Rhode Island, and took up his residence there. In 1750 he founded the Providence town library. He was the author of various pamphlets. He died at Providence July 13, 1785.

§ From William E. Foster's "Stephen Hopkins, a Rhode Island Statesman."

The Commissioners were detained in the hospitable old Dutch town of Albany for three weeks. On Sunday, June 23d, Commissioner Peters preached a sermon to the members of the Congress. Within the next few days the chiefs of the various Indian tribes who had been invited to a conference with the Congress began to arrive in Albany, until there



"KING" HENDRICK,

the famous Mohawk Sachem, from a picture in oils painted in England in 1710, during Hendrick's visit there.

were 103 of them present. Many of them were accompanied by their families, so that there were altogether several hundred Indians in and about the city for two or more weeks. The first to arrive (on June 27th) was the deputation from the "Lower Castle"* of the Mohawks, headed by *Canadagaia*, or "Johannis Canadagair," their "speaker." The next day the "Canajoharies," or the Mohawks from the "Upper Castle,"† accompanied by several sachems of each of the other nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, arrived and were introduced to the Congress. They were headed by old "King" Hendrick‡ as their "speaker," who, in his opening speech to the Congress, intimated that, in a measure, the Six Nations were divided. He said that the Mohawks were "blamed for things behind their

* "*Tehondaloga*"—the present Fort Hunter, Montgomery County, New York, on the west side of Schoharie Creek, at its mouth.

† The "Upper Castle" of the Mohawks was located at that time in what is at present the town of Danube, in Herkimer County, New York, on the flat just below the confluence of Nowadaga Creek and the Mohawk River. This place is now known as Indian Castle, from the castle or fort which was built there by the Mohawks in 1710. Sir William Johnson built Fort Canajoharie there in 1756, previous to which time a block-house stood there. As early as 1746, and for many years later, this place was indiscriminately called Canajoharie, Canajorha and Canajoharie Castle. It was also known as "Nowadaga." There was a mission church there in 1768—called by writers "the church at Canajoharie"—which Sir William Johnson had assisted in building.

‡ *Soi-en-ga-rah-ta*, or *Tejanoge*, known as "Hendrick Peters" and as "King Hendrick," was born about 1676. He was one of the Indians who accompanied Colonel Schuyler to England in 1710, as mentioned on page 175. For many years he was chief of the Mohawks at the "Upper Castle"; later he was Principal Sachem of the Mohawk nation, and then, for a number of years preceding his death, Senior Chief of the Iroquois Confederacy. Hence his title, "King." In 1751 he was described, by a writer who met him at Sir William Johnson's table, as a "venerable and noble-looking old chief." He was then about seventy-five years of age, and in that same year he spent some time in the Stockbridge Indian mission-school (mentioned in the note on page 257) as a student. Hendrick and all his family were christianized.

On September 8, 1755, the battle of Lake George was fought, when the French and Indian forces under Baron Dieskau were defeated by the Colonial and British forces under command of Maj. Gen. (later Sir) William Johnson and Maj. Gen. Phineas Lyman (mentioned on page 281), aided by their Mohawk allies under "King" Hendrick. This was the most important victory gained upon New York soil prior to the Revolution. "Confidence inspired by the victory was of inestimable value to the American army in the War of the Revolution. Defeat would have opened the road to Albany to the French."

The venerable warrior Hendrick was in the eightieth year of his life when the battle of Lake George occurred. He was a large, corpulent man, and upon that occasion wore a brilliant uniform. While riding at the head of his column of Indians he formed a conspicuous mark for the enemy, and was killed at their first fire. He was succeeded in the office of Principal Sachem of the Mohawks by Nicklaus Brant, father of the famous Joseph Brant; but, says Buell (in "Sir William Johnson," page 158), "as to the other and more exalted distinction which Hendrick had so long held—that of Senior Chief of the Iroquois Confederacy, which was an elective position, not hereditary—it was left vacant for twenty years, until in 1775 Joseph Brant was chosen to fill it." For a further reference to the battle of Lake George and the fall of Hendrick, see note on page 269.

On September 8, 1903, there was unveiled in the State Park on the battle-ground of 1755, at the head of Lake George, a splendid granite and bronze monument erected by The Society of Colonial Wars to

backs" that they did not deserve. Continuing, he said :

"We are looked upon by the other nations as Colonel Johnson's* counsellors, and supposed to hear all the news from him. If we had come *first* to [the conference] the other nations would have said that we made the Governor's speech, and therefore we remained behind. There are some of our people who have large, open ears, and talk a little broken English and Dutch, so that they sometimes hear what is said by the Christian settlers near them, and by this means we come to understand that we are looked upon to be a proud nation—and therefore we staid behind. * * * 'Tis true, and known we are so, that *we the Mohawks are the head of all the other nations*. Here they are, and they must own it. * * But it was not out of pride we Canajoharies staid behind."

The day following the arrival of the deputation headed by "King" Hendrick a considerable number of Stockbridge Indians (see note on page 193) arrived at Albany and were received in conference by the Congress—Timothy Woodbridge, previously mentioned, acting as interpreter for the Indians. The conferences with the whole body of the Indians took place from day to day until the 9th of July, being, as usual in such cases, spread over a good deal of time and conducted with much speech-making and many other formal doings. It was necessary, in the then condition of affairs, for the English to pay court to the Indians—particularly the Six Nations—and there was no surer method of acquiring their good-will than by respecting their ancient mode of holding councils, and paying due reverence to their ceremonial rites and customs.

To smoke a national pipe, to deliver a belt of wampum, to present a chief with a medal or a flag were, in their eyes, acts of the most momentous importance. To do nothing in a hurry, to deliberate slowly, to measure, as it were, the importance of events by the time devoted to the performance of their ceremonies, were to the Indians very pleasing evidences of capacity for negotiation. The Indian orator loved the pomp of ceremonies, and he felt complimented to see a European official respect them. Light talk and flippant manners never failed to be estimated by the old Indian sages at their true worth. They were considered as evidences of the want of sober thought and fixed purpose.

Col. Timothy Pickering, who, between the years 1790 and 1800, as Commissioner in behalf of the United States, conducted several treaties with various Indian tribes, gives† the following account of Indian conferences in general‡ :

"Public conferences with the Indians were accompanied with much ceremony, and the interchange of frequent formal addresses. Almost daily the whole body assembled, and were placed in order; the old men and chiefs in front of the Commissioner, the warriors next behind them, then the younger men; and the women and children in the rear. A speech was expected from the Commissioner and responded to by some famous warrior, or leading chief in the councils of the nations represented at the meeting, selected for the purpose. Silence was observed, and the utmost gravity and decorum prevailed. The speeches were uttered slowly, a sentence or brief passage at a time—the interpreter interposing between them the function of his office. To convey the ideas of the speakers of both sides fully and accurately—especially to make them intelligible to the Indian audience—required great care, skill and experience on the part of the interpreter."

commemorate the victory of the English and Indian forces. The bronze group of heroic figures which tops the monument represents Johnson and Hendrick in consultation before the battle, when the latter demonstrated to the former the futility of dividing his forces. "When Johnson advised to divide the detachment into three parts Hendrick objected, and to express the impracticability of the plan picked up three sticks, and, putting them together, said to the General: 'You see now that these cannot be easily broken, but take them one by one and you can break them at once.'" The sculptor of the monument modeled the figure of Hendrick after the portrait herewith reproduced. The "King" is attired in Mohawk fashion, his hair shaved close to the scalp and crested with the hair of the deer's tail and feathers of the war-eagle—in the manner described on page 142. A buffalo robe richly ornamented is thrown over his left shoulder.

* Sir William Johnson, previously mentioned.

† In "Life of Timothy Pickering," III : 70.

‡ See also page 124, *ante*.

As a result of the Indian conferences conducted by the Albany Congress it was agreed, on the part of the Indians, that they would furnish upon call a force of at least 1,000 picked warriors for general service, provided their commander-in-chief should be Col. William Johnson. And in addition to these the Indians undertook to raise a force of at least 600 more to help repel any attempt the French might make against Oswego, or any other salient point within the territory of the Six Nations. On the other hand, the Indians stipulated that their warriors, when in the field, should receive the same pay, rations and clothing-allowance as the Provincial troops; also, that each warrior, when mustered for actual service, should receive a new blanket, a red flannel shirt, a blue hunting-jacket with red trimmings, and a pair of stout leather or buckskin leggings.

But alliances and compacts with the Indians were not the only matters discussed and determined by this Congress. A "Plan of a proposed Union of the several Colonies [eleven in number], for their mutual Defence and Security, and for the extending the British settlements in North America," was adopted after considerable debate on July 10th—almost exactly twenty-two years before the Declaration of Independence. With reference to this "Plan of a proposed Union"* Benjamin Franklin stated in his autobiography: "In our way thither [to Albany] I projected and drew a plan for the union of all the Colonies under one Government. * * As we passed through New York I had there shown my project to Mr. James Alexander and Mr. Kennedy, two gentlemen of great knowledge in public affairs, and, being fortified by their approbation, I ventured to lay it before the Congress. It then appeared that several of the Commissioners had formed plans of the same kind. * * * Mine happened to be preferred, and, with a few amendments, was accordingly reported. The debates upon it in Congress went on daily, hand in hand with the Indian business. Many objections and difficulties were started, but at length they were all overcome and the plan was unanimously agreed to."

Francis W. Halsey declares† that this "famous Plan of Union * * in an organic sense marks the beginning of the history of the United States; and John Bigelow has characterized it as 'the first coherent scheme ever propounded for securing a permanent federal union of the thirteen Colonies.'" President Garfield, in a speech delivered at Albany, declared that in that city "the germ of the American Union was first planted by Benjamin Franklin in 1754." The fate of Franklin's "Plan" was singular. It was not approved by a single one of the Colonial Assemblies before which it was brought, and no action was ever taken on it in England. It was rejected in America because it was supposed to put too much power into the hands of the King; and it was rejected in England because it was supposed to give too much power to the Assemblies of the Colonies.

Thus, as we have shown at some length, while the first sharp notes of war were ringing out over beyond the Alleghenies, the men of peace gathered at Albany were preparing for war. The Pennsylvania and Connecticut seekers after Indian land-titles were also, at the same time and place, making good use of their opportunities.

* The same is printed in full in Woodrow Wilson's "History of the American People," II: 342-356.

† In "The Old New York Frontier," page 63.

"One day during the public treaty Hendrick held up two belts of wampum, saying that they had been sent by the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania for the purchase of a large tract in south-western Pennsylvania. The Governor of New York immediately wished to know how far north this purchase was intended to extend. He was told that it would include all the West Branch of the Susquehanna, none of which was farther north than $41^{\circ} 30'$. Governor De Lancey then replied that since this matter concerned only Pennsylvania it might *be transacted in private*, and no record thereof should appear upon the minutes of the Conference. The Pennsylvania commission insisted that all their land purchases had ever been conducted in the most public manner, and they desired that this one might be recorded. In this they were overruled by the Joint-Commission (the Congress), and it was decided that the Clerk should take no notice on the minutes of what Hendrick had said. This ruling of the Joint-Commission threw all land negotiations out of the general conference and made them private, thus aiding the plans of the Connecticut agents, and sowing the seeds of distrust and suspicion among the Indians."*

It may, with truth, be stated that this ruling of the Congress benefited and aided the plans of the Pennsylvania agents just as much as it did those of the Connecticut agents. It did not, in any way, hamper or interfere with the rights or privileges of either party. The officers and agents of the Susquehanna Company had openly and freely announced, during many months previously, that they proposed to attempt to purchase the Wyoming lands from the Six Nations. On the other hand, the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, with all their prestige, power and wealth, had been racing to get ahead of and circumvent the New Englanders. As we have previously shown, they had sent "John Shikellimy" early in the Spring of 1754 to some of the Six Nations, to pave the way for negotiations to be conducted later at Albany by Penn and Peters.

About the middle of June Shikellimy brought with him to Albany a certain *Gagradoda*, a Cayugan chief, who, under the influence of Shikellimy, had just persuaded the Cayugas and Oneidas into a willingness to sell lands to the Proprietaries. When Conrad Weiser arrived at Albany a few days later he "took *Gagradoda* to his lodgings, where, for a liberal reward, he engaged him to serve as a private councillor and to direct what measures should be taken to secure the coöperation of the Indians. This kind of lobbying had grown to be quite common among the Six Nations. After a few days spent in sounding the opinions of the most influential Indians, *Gagradoda* reported to Weiser that all the nations except the Oneidas were quite favorable to selling all south-western Pennsylvania. The objecting nation insisted that the affair should be deferred until the arrival of the Mohawks. This movement put the control of the affair into the hands of Hendrick."†

As we have previously stated, "King" Hendrick and his followers did not reach Albany until June 28th, nine days after the Congress had begun its sittings. It was generally understood, by the Pennsylvanians and others, that Hendrick "was anxious to negotiate the sale" to the Susquehanna Company; while the agents of that Company—the men

* Walton's "Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania," page 285.

† From Walton's "Conrad Weiser" (previously referred to), page 285.

who were "on the inside"—were firmly convinced that Hendrick was immovably committed to their interests.* He was well acquainted with, and apparently had great regard for, Timothy Woodbridge, whom he had first met at the Indian mission in Stockbridge. Besides, when the Six Nations had sold certain lands in south-eastern Pennsylvania to the Proprietaries some years previously, the Mohawks received no portion of the proceeds from that sale—it being held that they "had no conquest rights" to the lands in question; and it was now understood that the lands which the Proprietaries desired to purchase were, by right of conquest, strictly Cayuga and Oneida lands, and that in case of a sale of them the Mohawks, as before, would probably not derive any benefit. In the circumstances, therefore, it behooved each party to court the favor and secure the support of "King" Hendrick. As we shall show,† the agents of the Proprietaries won him completely over to their side.

As soon as the Congress had decided that the sale of lands from the Indians to the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania should be neither discussed nor consummated at the meetings of that body, the agents of the Proprietaries arranged to meet the Indians at the house of James Stevenson in Albany; and there, on the 4th and 5th days of July, several conferences were held with some seventy Mohawk and other Indians. "King" Hendrick did most of the talking for the Indians, and from his several speeches‡ we have extracted the following paragraphs:

"We desire you will content yourself with what we shall now grant you. *We will never part with the land at Shamiokin and Wyomink.* Our bones are scattered there, and on this land there has always been a great Council-fire. We desire you will not take it amiss that we will not part with it, for we reserve it to settle such of our nations upon as shall come to us from the Ohio, or any others who shall desire to be in our alliance. * * * We have heard since we came here that our Brother *Onas* and our Brother of New England have had some disputes about the lands of Susquehanna; but we desire you would not differ with one another about it, for *neither shall have it.* We will not part with it to either of you. * * * We have appointed 'John Shikellimy' to take care of the lands. He is our representative there, and has our orders not to suffer either *Onas'* people or the New Englanders to settle there."§

As a result of these conferences at James Stevenson's a deed was executed on July 6th, which was signed by "King" Hendrick, his brother Abraham (mentioned on page 229, *ante*) and twenty other chiefs, representing all the tribes of the Six Nations. This deed conveyed to Thomas and Richard Penn, in consideration of £400, New York currency, all the lands within the Province of Pennsylvania bounded by a line beginning on the west bank of the Susquehanna River at the Kittatinny Mountains; running thence up the river to a point a mile above the mouth of what is now known as Penn's Creek (about four miles south of the junction of the North and West Branches of the Susquehanna); thence a straight course north-west "as far as the said Province of Pennsylvania extends to its western lines or boundaries"||; thence along the said western boundary to the southern boundary-line of the Province; thence along the southern boundary-line to the Kittatinny Mountains, and thence along said mountains to the place of beginning.

* See the deposition of the Hon. Stephen Hopkins, page 291.

† See also Miner's "Wyoming," page 91, and Walton's "Conrad Weiser," pages 283-289.

‡ See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VI: 116, 119.

§ With further reference to this matter see "Pennsylvania Archives," Fourth Series, III: 81.

|| On the 1756 Map of Pennsylvania (reproduced in Chapter V) this north-west line is shown, extending to the south-eastern shore of Lake Erie.

This conveyance, in connection with the previous conveyances from the natives (as hereinbefore referred to) to the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, put the latter in possession of the Indian title to all the lands within the Charter bounds of Pennsylvania except a section in the northern and northern-central part of the Province. That section of *unsold* territory was almost triangular in shape, being bounded on the north by the New York-Pennsylvania boundary-line, on the south-west by the line from the Susquehanna above Penn's Creek to Lake Erie, and on the south-east by the line from the mouth of Mahanoy Creek to the mouth of the Lackawaxen on the Delaware (as mentioned on page 232). Within this unsold section were included, of course, all the lands lying along the North Branch of the Susquehanna, and a small portion of those along the West Branch.

The representatives of the Susquehanna Company at Albany were equally as busy as the agents of the Penn family—but in a different way. They held no public conferences with the Indians, but, in a simple, direct and business-like manner, presented to the principal chiefs of the several Indian nations, whom they were able to approach, the Company's proposals for the purchase of the Wyoming lands. Timothy Woodbridge was early on the ground, accompanied by Maj. Ephraim Williams, Jr.,* and Capt. Joseph Kellogg,† as well as two or three of the most prominent members of the Susquehanna Company. "Deacon" Woodbridge, as the accredited agent of the Company, employed

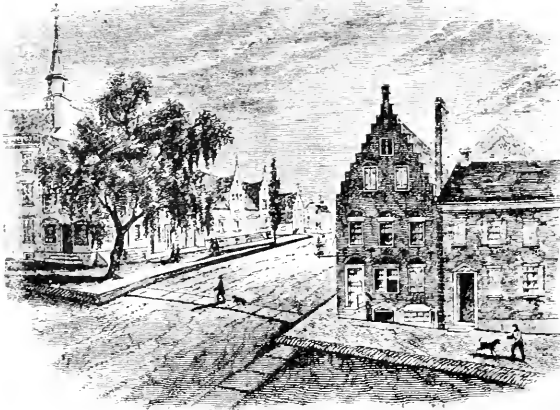
* EPHRAIM WILLIAMS, JR., was the eldest son of Ephraim Williams, Sr. (born in 1691), of Newton, Massachusetts, who was descended from Robert Williams, who early immigrated from England and settled in Roxbury, Massachusetts Bay Province. When the Stockbridge mission (mentioned in the note on page 193) was established Ephraim Williams, Sr., was one of those sent by the Massachusetts Government—under treaty with the Indians—to reside among them, "to anglicize and civilize, and to teach agriculture." In 1737 Mr. Williams (he is entitled "Colonel" by some biographers) removed with his family from Newton—which his father had helped to settle, and where he himself was born—to Stockbridge. Here he lived and labored until the Summer of 1753, when, on account of failing health, he removed to the home of one of his sons, a practising physician at Deerfield, Massachusetts. There he died in the Spring of 1755. He was the father of seven children—his eldest daughter, Abigail, becoming the wife of the Rev. John Sergeant (as mentioned in the note on page 195), and after the death of Sergeant marrying Brig. Gen. Joseph Dwight of Massachusetts.

Ephraim Williams, Jr., was born in Newton and removed with his father's family to Stockbridge. As early as 1751 he had attained the rank of Colonel in the Massachusetts militia. In 1753 he was a Representative in the General Court, or Assembly, of the Province. In 1754 and '5 there was a chain of rude forts extending along the Housatonic Valley for the protection of the feeble frontier settlements of Massachusetts against incursions from the hostile French and their Indian allies, who came down from Canada "through a great and terrible wilderness of several hundred miles in extent." These forts were commanded by Col. Ephraim Williams, Jr.

In the expedition led by Maj. Gen. William Johnson against Crown Point in 1755 Colonel Williams commanded the Massachusetts Provincials, and at the battle of Lake George (referred to in the note on page 264) he fell at the head of his troops. The following account of his death is from Buel's "Sir William Johnson" (page 145): "Early the next morning [September 8th] Johnson sent out about 800 Provincials under Col. Ephraim Williams, and the whole force of Hendrick's Iroquois warriors—led by the venerable chief himself—to find the enemy. * * * Dieskan, advised by his Indian scouts of the movement of Colonel Williams and Hendrick, arranged an ambuscade, and the detachment, when about two and a-half miles from the camp, walked right into it—the column being led by Hendrick and his warriors. * * * Volley after volley was poured with murderous effect upon the Indians in front and upon the left of Williams' Provincials. * * * Colonel Williams was killed a few minutes after Hendrick [see note, page 264, *ante*], being shot through the head as he was in the act of mounting a rock in order better to direct the movements of his men, his horse having been shot under him a few minutes before."

By his will Colonel Williams left a bequest for the founding of a free school. In 1793 this school was incorporated as Williams College, at Williamstown, Massachusetts.

† JOSEPH KELLOGG—known as "Captain" Kellogg as early as 1752—was born at Deerfield, Massachusetts, between 1690 and 1700. He was a brother of Mrs. Rebecca (*Kellogg*) Ashley, mentioned in the note on page 257. Concerning Captain Kellogg and his sister the Rev. Gideon Hawley wrote in 1794 (see "Documentary History of New York," III: 629): "She was captured at Deerfield when that town was destroyed [by the Indians] in 1703, and carried away—being three years old. Her two brothers, Martin and Joseph Kellogg, well known in their day, were both older than their sister, and were taken at the same time. The two boys got away before the sister, who lived in Canada among the Caughnawagas until she was a maiden grown. [The Caughnawagas, so called, were the "Praying Indians"—composed of Indians from various tribes in Canada and the several nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. Their village, or "Castle," called Caughnawaga—"at the rapids"—was located near La Chine Rapids of the St. Lawrence River, not far from Montreal. "King" Hendrick went there on an embassy in 1746.] Rebecca's brothers, however, lived there long enough to be good interpreters, particularly Joseph Kellogg, Esq., who was the best in his day, that New England had, and was employed upon every occasion. For many years he was at Fort Sumner, on Connecticut River, and was at the Albany treaty of 1754, which was attended by a greater number of respectable persons from the several Provinces and Colonies than had met on any similar occasion. In 1756, being persuaded by General Shirley to accompany him to Oswego, as an interpreter, he sickened and died, and was buried at Schenectady."



At the crossing of North Pearl and State Streets, Albany, circa 1830.

The building with the terraced gable, at the north-east corner of the crossing, was the home of John Henry Lydius in 1754.

Col. John Henry Lydius* of Albany to assist in consummating a purchase from the Indians, and all the negotiations with the latter, at that time, were conducted at Lydius' house.

A skeleton form of a deed had been prepared for the use of the "Journeying Committee" in 1753. According to the statements of some writers Eliphalet Dyer had drawn up that form. The present

writer, having compared the same with some original letters now in his possession written by Colonel Dyer in 1776, is of the opinion that the "skeleton form" referred to was written by him. This "form" was pro-

*JOHN HENRY LYDIUS, who was born at Albany in July, 1704, was the son of "Dominië" Johannes, or John, Lydius, who arrived at Albany from Holland in July, 1700, with "Dominië" Bernhardus Freeman, and officiated as minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at Schenectady, New York, from the Autumn of 1700 until some time in 1702 or '3. In December, 1703, in a letter to the Governor of New York, written at Albany, he styled himself "minister at Albany." He had been for about a year a missionary among the Indians, and was to receive for his services from the Governor and Council of the Province, the sum of £60—which he then asked for. He officiated as minister of the Reformed Church in Albany until his death, March 1, 1710.

During his ministry in Albany he occupied the parsonage of his church—later the property and the home of his son John Henry, and shown in the picture on this page. This ancient building with its terraced gable, long known as the "Lydius house," was built expressly for a parsonage for the Rev. Gideon Schaetz, who arrived in Albany in 1652 and became pastor of the Reformed Dutch Church. The materials for the building were all imported in 1657 from Holland—bricks, tiles, iron and wood-work. This fine old mansion was demolished in 1832, when it was believed to be the oldest brick building in the United States. Upon its site Apothecaries' Hall was erected. Upon the opposite corner—shown in the picture referred to above, and long known as "Elm Tree Corner"—stood, in 1754, the home of Philip Livingston, later a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Tweddle Hall was erected in 1860 upon the site of the Livingston mansion.

In early manhood John Henry Lydius entered into business as an Indian trader, and soon acquired considerable trade and good standing with certain tribes. As early as 1736 he was in great favor with "King" Hendrick and his Indians, and had much influence with them.

In the Spring of 1747, during the Old French War previously referred to, Col. William Johnson—then the Indian Agent for the Province of New York—assisted by Lydius, induced the young men among the Mohawks and several straggling tribes in their neighborhood to "take up the hatchet" against the French. In behalf of Johnson and Lydius Col. John Stoddard wrote to Governor Shirley of Massachusetts setting forth the necessity of the Colonies furnishing £600 or £700 to fit out these Indians for war. "We cannot expect," wrote Stoddard (see "Pennsylvania Archives," I: 741), "that either Colonel Johnson or Mr. Lydius should pay this. They have taken a great deal of pains to get the Indians into the war, and have effected more than the Government did in a course of years. If we let this plan drop now it would be fatal for our cause. * * Colonel Johnson and Mr. Lydius are now under a necessity of going forward and fitting out the Indians, so long as they have any substance remaining, and when that is gone the affair will be at an end." Under date of June 1, 1747, Governor Shirley wrote to the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania that the Indians of the Six Nations were "generally engaged in the war against the French, owing in a great measure to the influence and prudent management of Colonel Johnson and Mr. Lydius." He also stated that the General Court of Massachusetts had "committed their share of the affair into the hands of Mr. Lydius, and voted £1,000 to Colonel Stoddard to be used to encourage the Six Nations to prosecute the war."

Conrad Weiser was, personally, in favor of using the Iroquois against the French, but he was jealous of Colonel Johnson and Lydius and their management of Mohawk affairs; and, after he had had an interview with Shikellamy, he wrote Secretary Richard Peters (see "Pennsylvania Archives," I: 749): "Thus far I know, that the Mohocks are the people Colonel Johnson and Mr. John Henry Lydius engaged in the war against the French, and among them some young straggling fellows of the other nations. * * If these two gentlemen had as much judgment as they have pride, they would never have persuaded the Mohocks into a war in a private way; for it may turn out that both their scalps may be taken and carried to Canada."

After the close of the Old French War Lydius was generally entitled "Colonel." Whether or not, at any time, he held this rank in the militia of New York the writer has not been able to ascertain.

According to Pearson's "Genealogies of the First Settlers of Albany" serious charges were brought against Colonel Lydius by the Provincial Council of New York in 1747, to wit: for abjuring his Protestant religion in Canada; for marrying a woman there of the Romish faith; and for alienating the friendship of the Indians from the English. His wife was Genevieve Masse, or Mazie, and they were the parents of three sons and two daughters. Colonel Lydius retired to England in 1776, and died at Kensington, London, in 1791, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. There is a biographical notice of him in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (VI: 383), which has been described as "containing more poetry than truth."

Balthazar Lydius (born 1740) was the youngest child of Colonel Lydius, and spent his life in the Lydius house previously depicted and described. He was an eccentric old bachelor, the terror of all the boys in his neighborhood. He was a tall, thin Dutchman with a bullet head. He was fond of his pipe and his bottle, and gloried in celibacy until his life was in the "sere and yellow leaf." Then he gave a pint of gin for an Indian squaw, and, calling her his wife, lived with her as such until his death in November, 1815.

duced at Albany (the names of the members of the Susquehanna Company, as grantees, having been previously inserted in the document, but not by Colonel Dyer), and, certain changes and additions having been made in and to it by other hands—which will be referred to in detail hereinafter—the deed was duly executed on July 11, 1754, by fourteen Indian chiefs and sachems of various tribes. What purport to be copies of this deed may be found on pages 383-392 of Stone's "Poetry and History of Wyoming," mentioned on page 19, *ante*, and on pages 147-158 of Volume II of "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series. Those copies, however, are not only dissimilar, but neither one is an exact or complete copy of the original document—which is now, and has been for a considerable number of years, in the custody of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia. The following is a full and accurate copy of this Indian deed; and, in addition, reduced photo-reproductions of pages 11 and 12 of the original—specially made for this work—will be found facing page 276, *post*.

"TO ALL PEOPLE TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING: Know Yee that We, KAHK-TOTON, ABRAHAM PETERS, WILLEM TARIGJORIS, BRANT CONWINGOGE, HENDERIK PIETERS (TEJANOGE), CANAGEOGAISE, COGSWIGTJONE, SET JEST-ARARIE, JOHANIS SOGEHOWARIE, JOHANIS CANADEGARIE, NIKES CARIGIAKTADIE, CANAGOUAIESE, JOHANIS SIGNAGERAT, CARIS-TAGO, SENOSSES, A-GWE-IOTA—Being Cheifs Sachems & Heads of The five Nations of Indians called the Iroquois and the Native Proprietors of a large Tract of Land on about and adjaicent to the River Susqueannah between the forty first & forty Third degrees of North Latitude and being within The Limits and bounds of The Charter and Grant of His late majesty King Charles 2nd To the Colony of Connecticut And Whereas a large Number of the Leige & good subjects of His Royall Majesty George 2nd of Great Britain &c King, Inhabitants of His Majesty's English Colony of Connecticut &c. to the Number of about six hundred Have apply^d to us for the purchase of s^d above mentioned Tract of Land for a Plantation to settle upon—

"THEREUPON, WHEREAS a Constant and Cordial friendship from the Time of our Progenetors & Predecessors to this day hath allway been subsisting between us & our Brethren the English subjects of His s^d majesty King George & of His Royall Predecessors Kings & Queens of Great Britain &c The Continuation of which we heartily Desire, and whereas The Enabling & Encourageing our s^d English Brethren to plant & settle in a nearer neighbourhood to us than heretofore may greatly Contribute To our safety and Defence against The unjust encroachments and Insults of The French & Indians in alliance with Them and to The Benefit and Increase of our Trade and also may be very conducive to our obtaining a more full & Clear knowledge of The True God and the Christian religion and thereby fix and Establish a more firm Solid & Lasting friendship with His Majestys English subjects.

"NOW THEREUPON for and in Consideration thereof as also for the further full and ample consideration of The Sum of Two Thousand pounds of currant money of the province of New York To us to our full Satisfaction before The Ensealing hereof Contented & paid, the Receipt whereof to full Content we do hereby acknowledge And Thereupon Do Give Grant Bargain Sell Convey And Confirm Unto—

Hezekiah Huntington, Esq.,	Moses Barnett,	James Dixon,
Roger Wolcott, Jr., Esq.,	John Backus,	Nathaniel Daniels,
Col. Elisha Williams,	Noah Briggs,	Samuell Dorrance,
Phinehas Lyman, Esq.,	Caleb Bates,	Richard Downer,
Daniel Edwards, Esq.,	Jonathan Baker,	Josiah Dean, Jun.,
Col. Samuell Talcott,	Nehemiah Barker,	Asa Douglass,
George Wyllys, Esq.,	Ezra Belding,	Gideon Demming,
Thomas Wells, Esq.,	William Buck,	Joseph Eaton,
Eliphalet Dyar, Esq.,	Jehiel Barnam,	Joshua Elderkin,
Jabez Fitch, Esq.,	Gideon Bingham,	Edward Ewings,
John Smith, Esq.,	Robert Crery, Jun.,	Elias Frink,
Ezekiel Peirce, Esq.,	Benjamin Crery,	Elijah Francis,
Thomas Seymore,	Christopher Crery,	John Gaston,
William Pitkin, Jun., Esq.,	Abijah Crery,	John Grosvenor,
Eleazar Fitch, Esq.,	Giles Churchel,	Ebenezer Grosvenor,
John Fitch,	Robert Dixon,	Stephen Gardner,
Samuell Gray, Esq.,	Barnet Dixon,	Stephen Gardner, Jun.,
Jedediah Elderkin,	David Downing,	Jonathan Gardner,
John Abbe,	John Dixon,	David Griswold,
William Andruss,	John Dorrance,	Elijah Griswold,

Robert Hunter,
 John Hunter,
 Henry Hewitt,
 John Howard,
 Sarah Huntington,
 Stephen Harden,
 John Hough,
 Josiah Horsford,
 Daniel Horsford,
 John Judd,
 William Jackson,
 John Jenkes,
 Joseph Kyle,
 Archibald Kasson,
 Samuell Kason,
 Adam Kason,
 Jeremiah Kenney,
 Moses Kenney,
 Gideon Kenney,
 Nathan Kenney,
 John Kenney,
 Spencer Kenney,
 John Kagwin,
 Hugh Kennedy, Jr.,
 Thomas Kennedy,
 Seth Kent,
 James Kasson,
 John Leavins,
 Ebenezer Larnard,
 Stephen Lee,
 Isaac Lee,
 Edward Mott,
 James Montgomery,
 John Montgomery,
 Gaun Miller,
 Samuell McFarland,
 John Montgomery, Jr.,
 Joseph Moffitt,
 Manassah Minor,
 Thomas Mansfield,
 John Manning, Jr.,
 Josiah Orcutt,
 William Parkes,
 Matthew Patrick,
 Jacob Patrick,
 Joseph Phillips,
 Benjamin Pierce, Jun.,
 Robert Parkes,
 Nathan Parkes,
 Jeremiah Ross,
 Stephen Rude,
 Obadiah Rhodes,
 Noah Stantly,
 John Stantly,
 Timothy Stantly,
 Thomas Snell,
 Lemuell Smith,
 John Stephens,
 Isaac Shepard,
 Jesse Spalding,
 Thomas Stewart,
 John Streater,
 Nehemiah Stephens,
 Andrew Stephens,
 Benjamin Stephens,
 Solomon Stoddard,
 Ebenezer Smith, Jun.,
 Ebenezer Smith,
 Uriah Stephens,
 Joseph Smith, Jun.,
 Samuell Silsby,
 Simon Tubbs,
 Joseph Taylor,
 Phillip Turner,
 Lemuel Taylor,
 Judah Wright,
 Eliphalet Whittelsey,
 Joseph Walden,
 David Waters,
 Isaac Warner,
 William Williams,
 John Wiley, Jun.,
 Thomas Wiley,
 Hugh Wiley,
 James Wiley,
 Ebenezer Wright,
 Isaac Woodworth,
 William Whiting,
 William Churchil,
 Josiah Curtice,
 Nathan Booth,
 Ichabod Welles,
 Phinehas Judd,
 Stephen Skinner,
 William Fitch,
 James Bradford,
 Matthew Patrick, Jun.,
 Nathaniel Wales, Jun.,
 Nathaniel Hovey,
 Prince Tracy,
 Noah Gilbert,
 Daniel Knolton,
 William Huston,
 Moses Fish,
 John Johnson, Jun.,
 William Chandler, Esq.,
 Nathaniel Warner,
 Gershom Durrance,
 Thomas Pierce,
 Samuel Chandler, Esq.,
 Nathaniel Berry,
 Nathaniel Wales, Esq.,
 Zebadiah Farnum,
 Daniel Stoughton,
 Jonas Shepard,
 Matthew Talcott,
 Joseph Church,
 Ezekiel Williams,
 John Humphry, Esq.,
 Roger Hooker,
 Alexander Wolcott,
 Samuel Talcott,
 Thomas Hosmore, Esq.,
 Jonathan Hale, Esq.,
 Abner Moseley,
 Peletiah Mills,
 Daniel Goodwin,
 Jonathan Humphry,
 Jonathan Pettibone,
 Andrew Robe,
 David Phelps,
 Hezekiah Humphry,
 Hezekiah Phelps,
 John Vietes,
 Joseph Welles,
 Timothy Seymore,
 Russell Woodbridge,
 William Stantly,
 Samuell Welles,
 John Watt,
 Benjamin Callwell,
 Alexander Gaston,
 Rowland Barton,
 Alexander Phelps,
 Niles Colman,
 David Barker,
 Benjamin Pumroy,
 John Fitch, Jun.,
 Joseph Warren,
 Seth Dean,
 Samuell Hunter,
 Noah Webster,
 Thomas Howard,
 Zebulon Waterman,
 Ebenezer Leach,
 Penuel Bowen,
 Israel Dimock,
 Abiel Abbott,
 Thomas Stedman,
 James Stedman,
 Ebenezer Griffin,
 Thomas Stephens,
 Thomas Stephens, Jun.,
 Benjamin Lee,
 Stephen Fuller,
 Pault Holt,
 Benjamin Collins,
 James Willson,
 James Douglass,
 John Campbell,
 Hugh Wyley, Jun.,
 Benjamin Parke,
 Bartholomew Arthur,
 Thomas Jones,
 Joseph Taylor,
 John Read,
 William Swetland,
 Peter Swetland,
 Jonathan Harris
 Elisha Scovill,
 Ebenezer Williams,
 Abel Griswold,
 Stephen Jenkins,
 David Dewey,
 Gershom Breed,
 John Newton,
 John Grant,
 Ephraim Gardner,
 Gershome Hinkly,
 Joshua Randsome,
 Miles Gordon,
 Isaac Tracy,
 James Hide,
 Asa Waterman,
 John Baldwin,
 Elijah Backus,
 Phinehas Holden,
 Christopher Palmer,
 Thomas Anderson,
 Allen Willey,
 John Rathbone,
 Daniel Ely,
 David Dodge, Jun.,
 Ebenezer Watson,
 Samuel Stoughton,
 Samuel Welles, Jun.,
 Isaac Sheldon,
 Ebenezer Beacher,
 Oliver Wolcott,
 Elisha Sheldon,
 Ebenezer Marsh, Esq.,
 Samuell Cochrin,
 Benjamin Green,

Ephraim Andross,
 Daniel Turner,
 George Palmer,
 Capt. Uriah Stephens,
 Samuel Orten,
 Jacob Hensdell,
 Thomas Williams,
 Zebulon Stephens,
 Thomas Watton,
 Joseph Bird, Esq.,
 John Holmes,
 John Dean,
 Increase Moseley, Esq.,
 John Hutchinson, Esq.,
 Ebenezer Fletcher,
 Joshua Whitney,
 Samuel Slaughter,
 Robert Hannis,
 Noah Stephens,
 David Whitney, Esq.,
 Jedediah Stephens,
 Jonathan Smith,
 Thomas Parmely,
 Oliver Sanford,
 Azariah Orton,
 Josiah Everitt,
 Francis Everitt,
 Josiah Everitt,
 Timothy Rose,
 Timothy Everitt,
 Silas Storey,
 Hezekiah Hooker,
 Jedidiah Richards,
 Peter Gransan,
 Richard Reat,
 Ebenezer Gransan,
 Daniel Berry,
 John Franklin,
 Robert Walker,
 Edward Spalding,
 Josiah Cleaveland,
 Samuel Lee,
 Elier Andross,
 William Fellows,
 Seth Norton,
 Levi Watson,
 Eliphalet Ensign,
 Lemuel Orten,
 Eliezer Gooden,
 Daniel Willcocks,
 Samuel Gooden,
 Turbel Whitney,
 James Bird,
 Thomas Bird,
 John Miner,
 Joseph Allen,
 James Dunham,
 Robert Wincott,
 Thomas Stephens,
 Joshua Rothbone,
 John Rothbone,
 Elijah Dean,
 John Read,
 Edward Waldow,
 Jacob Rothbone,
 Isaac Gallop,
 Jonathan Wealder,
 Daniel Rothbone,
 Daniel Miner,
 Valentine Rothbone,
 Agur Judson,———“All of The

Wate Henman,
 Zachariah Clark,
 Peter Curtice,
 James Levingworth,
 Jedediah Mills,
 Samuel Defouest,
 Elisha Mills,
 Francis Hawley,
 Edmund Lewis, Jun.,
 Daniel Hide,
 Josiah Lewis, Jun.,
 John Laboree,
 Ephraim Judson,
 John French,
 Jabez Sommers,
 Josiah Robinson,
 Nathaniel Baker,
 Joseph Arnold,
 Benjamin Thompson,
 Daniel Morriss,
 John Andrews,
 Benjamin Rhumsey, Jr.,
 Josiah Wakeman,
 Daniel Sherwood,
 Cornelius Hull,
 Stephen Wakeman, Jun.,
 Thomas Couch,
 Josiah Beardsley,
 Ephraim Bennit,
 Matthew Curtice,
 Jonathan Boothe,
 Caleb Baldwin,
 Jonathan Willard,
 Doctor Moffitt,
 Thomas Stantly,
 Joshua Wills,
 Joseph Hulbart,
 Isaac Sawyer,
 Samuel Flagg,
 Daniel Lothrop,
 John Elderkin,
 Stephen Beckwith,
 Jeremiah Clements,
 Samuel Gore,
 Benjamin Gale,
 William Whitney,
 Barzillai Hendee,
 Isaac Lawrance,
 Joseph Palmeter,
 Malachi Butler,
 Joseph Follet,
 John Spencer, Jun.,
 Elijah Hide,
 Nathaniel Cushman,
 Caleb Hide,
 Obadiah Newcomb,
 Joseph Bingham, Jun.,
 John Strong,
 Noah Dewey,
 Joseph Skiff,
 Jonathan Hall,
 Jabez Dean,
 Joseph Wight,
 Obadiah Gore,
 Abel Clarke,
 Seth Smith,
 John Birchard, 3d,
 Joseph Denison, Esq.,
 Samuel Tracy,
 Ephraim Bill,
 aforesd^d Colony of Connecticut

Thomas Welles,
 Thomas Fish,
 Thomas Branch, Jun.,
 Benjamin Wentworth,
 Simon Huntington,
 Isaac Tracy, Jun.,
 John Wood,
 Oliver Spuer,
 Benjamin Giles,
 Thomas Giles,
 Jonathan Gennings,
 Joseph Billings, Jr.,
 Daniel Lathan,
 Thomas Boles,
 Isaac Saben,
 Benedict Arnold,
 Rachel Milliner,
 Christopher Starke,
 Jonathan Stricklen,
 Seth Alden,
 Macock Ward,
 Elizaz Tallcott,
 Samuel Barnes,
 Jedediah Norton,
 Asahel Drake,
 John Webster,
 Isaac Mosely,
 Nathan Pason,
 Benjamin Newcomb,
 Walter Hewit,
 Simon Backus,
 Robert Kenady,
 John Choate,
 Elisha Tracy,
 William Lothrop,
 Nathaniel Parkes,
 John Edgerton,
 Thomas Wallworth,
 John Bliss,
 John Birchard,
 Jacob Drake, Jun.,
 Silas Wells,
 Constant Catlen,
 Elisha Hale,
 Barnabas Hatch,
 John Cook,
 Jonathan Laneton,
 Oliver Badcock,
 Joseph Lippitt,
 Henry Stephens,
 Ebenezer Grover,
 John Williams,
 Jacob Kimball,
 Joseph Tracy, Jun.,
 Daniel Rockwell,
 George Denniss,
 Samuel Walworth,
 Stephen Billings,
 Samuel Hunn,
 Robert Boyington,
 Ashbel Woodbridge,
 John Wells,
 John Hensdell,
 Jacob Drake,
 Josiah Cowles,
 Reubin Swift,
 John Paterson,
 Solomon Grant,
 Samuel How,
 Hubbard Pride,
 in New England,

AND TO

Jabez Bowen, Esq.,
Jonathan Nicolls, Esq.,
Francis Collgrove,
Daniel Ayrault,
Michael Dorrance,
Jonathan Randall, Esq.,
Robert Hazzard,
Martin Howard,
George Dorrance,
Elnathan Warker,
Job Randall, Esq.,
——of The Colony of Rhodisland In New England afores^d.

Benjamin Bowen,
Philip Wilkison,
Samuel Dorrance,
Amos Stafford, Jun.,
Simeon Draper,
Thomas Mattison,
Thomas Burt,
William Sheldon,
Beriah Brown,
Jonathan Reynolds,
Daniel Lawrence,

Samuel Drown,
Jonathan Morey,
Eliakim Warker,
John Reynolds,
Benjamin Sheffield,
Amos Stafford,
John Bucklin,
Charles Harris,
Richard Charnton,
John Reynolds, Jun.,
Jonathan Hamilton,

AND TO

Daniel Shoemaker,
Abram Fencump, Esq.,
John Panather, Esq.,
Solomon Gennings,
——all of The Government of Pensylvania,

Benjamin Shoemaker,
John Adkins, Esq.,
Daniel Henshaw,

Joseph Skinner,
Samuel Depew, Esq.,
Aaron Depew,

To

Timothy Woodbridge,
John Wing, Jun.,
——of the Province of The Massachusetts Bay,

John Wing,

David King,

AND TO

Hendrick Burghart, Jr.,
Benjamin Ashley,
Abraham Lansing,
Baltazar Lydins,
——all of the Province of New York—being all five hundred and Thirty four in Number.

Aaron Sheldon,
Jacob Roseboom,
Jeremiah Hogeboom,
John Rosa,

Joseph Woodbridge,
Kiliaen De Ridder,
Jonathian Buck,

TO EACH AND EVERY of The persons before and above mentioned & named Two twelve hundred and Twenty Four parts of the large tract or parcell of Land as hereafter described and Bounded.

“AND WE DO ALSO for and upon The Considerations afores^d Give Grant Bargain Sell Convey And Confirm Unto (here $\frac{1}{2}$ rights begin)

Eliphalet Newell,
Jacob Dana,
John Webb,
Oliver Parish,
Paul Hebard,
Hezekiah Huntington,
Ebenezer Bebbens,
Abram Snow,
Eleazer Done,
Joseph Spalding,
Curtice Spalding,
Thomas Brown,
John Eddy,
Judah Fay,
Joseph Alexander,
John Campbell, 3d,
James Campbell, Jun.,
Jacob Simons,
Jeduthun Simons,
Benjamin Parke,
Henry Arnold,
John Wells,
Jacob Sisco,
Hezekiah Demmon,
Samuel Douglass,
James Morris,
Samuel Jackson,
Samuel Gordon,
Gideon Baldwin,
Abel Barnes,
Hezekiah Orten,
John Wough,
Thomas Lyly,
Samuel Norton,
Hezekiah Hooker,
Thomas Fellows,
James Hannas,

Joseph Fellows,
Henry Bass,
Benjamin Follit,
Simeon Dean,
John Steal,
Elisha Steal,
Samuel Church,
Ebenezer Lewis,
Caleb Wheeler,
Jehiel Bryant,
Cotton Fletcher,
John Fellows,
Samuel Ford,
Job Marsh,
John Pirkins,
Thomas Porter,
Andrew Bacon,
Thomas Day,
David Bredwell,
Gideon Lawrence,
Jesse Stevens,
Alexander Hinman,
Nathaniel Crandall,
Joshua Birch,
Eli Colton,
Daniel Alden,
Nathaniel Loomis,
Oliver Crery,
Aaron Crery,
George Crery,
William Crery,
Eben Cheney,
John Cogswell,
John Cone,
John Coleburt,
Abraham Hardeu,
Jonathan Sanger,

Thomas Steal,
Thomas Warner,
Zachariah Bicknall,
John Royce,
Samuel Douglass,
Joshua Dunlap,
Alexander Stewart,
Benajah Bill,
Elias Frink, Jun.,
Joseph Hazen,
Samuel Webb, Jun.,
Seth Wright,
John Larabee,
Nathaniel Hide,
Ephraim Dean,
Phinehas Lewis,
John Strong,
Hezekiah May,
Thomas Wells,
Josiah Griswold,
James Lockwood,
Elisha Williams, Jun.,
Ezekiel Porter,
Samuel May,
Joseph Webb,
Thomas Belding, Jun.,
Samuel Curtice,
John Hart,
William Wadsworth,
Peter Judson,
Ephraim Robinson,
Nehemiah Lewis,
Lott Norton,
David Bigilo, Jun.,
John Young,
Jacob Simons, 3d,
Zebulon Hebard,

Joshua Read,
Gideon Hebard,
Joseph Badcock,
Samuel Bennit,
David Palmer,
Benajah Parkes,
Josiah Parkes,
Gideon Haskell,
Jacob Geers,
Benjamin Geers,
John Read, Jun.,
Elnathan Street,
Constant Casten,
William Manly,

Caleb Moses,
Mark Leavensworth,
John Leavensworth,
John Andross,
Jesse Stephens,
Ezra Stiles,
Jonathan Fitch,
Nathaniel Barnes,
James Case,
Daniel Bull,
Elisha Cornish,
Isaac Petebone,
William Manly, Jun.,
Giles Petebone,

Abram Petebone,
John Barker,
John Spencer,
Samuel Hulbert,
Gideon Burr,
Richard Cooke,
Seth Loomiss,
Joseph Case,
Jonathan Leavingworth,
Thomas Humphries,
Moses Bellamy,
Aron Bellamy,
John Hugens,
Miles Riggs,

—all being of the Colony of Connecticut afores^d to The Number of one hundred & thirty Six Persons—To each one of ye last mentioned persons to ye afores^d Number of one hundred and thirty six The one twelve hundredth and twenty Four parts of The Same large parcell of Land afores^d (of all which aforementioned Persons the sum afores^d was Receiv^d) which said Given & Granted Tract of Land is Butted Bounded & Describ^d as followeth (viz)

“Beginning from the one & fortieth Degree of north Latitude at Ten miles distance East of Suskahana River and from thence with a Northward line Ten miles East of the River To the forty second or beginning of the forty Third degree of North Latitude and so To extend west Two Degrees of Longitude one hundred and Twenty miles— & from thence south to the Begining of the forty second Degree & from thence East to the aforementioned Bounds which is ten miles East of Suskahana River—Together with all and every the mines minerals or ore of what kind soever standing growing being found or to be found upon any part or parcel thereof and all other the Hereditements and appurtenances to the said parcel or tract belonging or in any ways appertaining and the Reversion & reversions Remainder & Remainers &c.

“TO HAVE AND TO HOLD all The above Granted And Bargained Premises (with all The appurtenances thereof) unto all the above & forenamed persons in manner and Proportion afores^d and to Their Heirs and Assigns and to their only proper use benefit & Behoof forever as a free Clear & absolute Estate of Inheritance in fee Simple free of all Incumbrances whatsoever.

“And we the afores^d CA-HIK-TOTON, ABRAM PIETERS, WILLEM THARIGJORIS, BRANT CONWIGNOGE &c &c &c Sachems & Cheifs as afores^d Do Hereby Covenant to and with all the afores^d Grantees and each & every of them that att and until the ensembling & Delivery hereof we are the True Sole and Lawfull Owners of The above Granted Premises and Have good right power & authority to Bargain & sell the same in manner & form as above written.

“And furthermore we the afores^d CAHIK-TOTON, ABRAM PIETERS, WILLEM THARIGJORIS, BRANT CONWIGNOGE Sachems & Cheifs as afores^d do by these presents for us our Heirs & Successors Covenant and promise to and with all & every of the afores^d persons Grantees in this Deed all the above Granted & Bargained Premises and appurtenances Thereof Unto all & Every of ye forenam^d persons, Grantees in this Deed and to their & every of their Heirs & Assigns in Manner & Proportion afores^d forever to Warrant Secure & Defend.

“IN WITNESS WHEREOF We have each of us hereunto sett our marks and affix^d our seals This eleventh day of July In the Twenty Eight year of The Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George ye 2^d of Great Britian &c. King *Ann^o. Domini* one Thousand seven hundred & Fifty Fore.

“Signed Sealed & Delivered }
In presence of }
“Eph. Williams Jun^r }
“Joseph Kellogg. }

“KAHIK-TOTON [Raccoon^{his} mark] *Cheif of the Senekas.*” [L. S.]

“ABRAHAM A PETERS [Sachem of Canajoharie of ye Tribe of ye Bar [Bear].” [L. S.]

“WILLIM [Turtle^{his} mark] THARIGIORIS *Sachem of Canajoharie.*” [L. S.]

“BRANT [Wolf^{his} mark] CONWIGNOGE *Sachem of ye Mohoks.*” [L. S.]

“GAGSWIGTIONE + | + RODHAD” [L. S.]
mark

“His [Turtle^{his} mark] CANAGEGAIE *one of ye Sachems of Onondage.*” [L. S.]

"Signed Sealed & Delivered In Presence of "James Sharpe "Martin Lydius	}	His mark	"SETH () JESTARARIE <i>of ye Mohoks -ye Turtle.</i> " [L. s.]	
		His mark	"JOHANIS C SOGEHOWANE <i>Do. Do.</i> " [L. s.]	
"Signed Sealed and Delivered in Presens of "Sybrant Van Schaick, Jr. "Johannis J. Wendel	}	His mark	"SENOSIES [Turtle] <i>Onider.</i> " [L. s.]	
		His mark	"JOHANIS X CANADEGAIR <i>Bar, Do. Mohok.</i> ," [L. s.]	
		His mark	"NIKES N CARIGIAGTATIE <i>Wolf, Canajoharie.</i> ," [L. s.]	
	}	His mark	"CANAGGAJESE [Turtle]" [L. s.]	} <i>Oniders.</i>
		His mark	"JOHNS [Bear] TEGNAGERAT <i>Bar.</i> " [L. s.]	
		His mark	"AKWEIOTA [Turtle]" [L. s.]	
"March 4, 1755. Signed Sealed and Delivered In Presens of "Sybrant Van Schaick, Jr. "Jacob Van Woert, Junr "Martin Lydius	}	His mark	"[Weasel] CARISTAGO" [L. s.]	
		His Mark	"SCARONAGE () HALF KING" [L. s.]	
		His mark	"SCANERADIE" [L. s.]	
		His mark	"TAGIGEADONT X DRONKERD" [L. s.]	

This deed covers thirteen and a-half pages of paper, foolscap size, and is in the handwriting of different persons. The names of sixteen grantors—including "King" Hendrick Peters—were undoubtedly inserted, in a blank space left for them on the first page of the deed, about the time of the execution of the same; and those names, as well as the names of the several grantors appearing on page 11, are in the handwriting of one and the same person. The amount of the consideration was inserted also at the same time, as well as the date of the execution of the deed—all written apparently by the same person. The description of the land conveyed occupies the first fifteen lines of page 11, and is in the handwriting of two different persons. *All the grantors named in the body of the deed, excepting "King" Hendrick and "Caristago," executed the same on the 11th of July. Hendrick would never sign the deed, but Caristago signed it March 4, 1755, in company with the three other chiefs whose names follow his.*

The first six chiefs who signed the deed did so in the presence of Col. Ephraim Williams, Jr., and Capt. Joseph Kellogg, mentioned on page 269; then five other chieftans came to Lydius' house and signed in the presence of Martin Lydius (Col. John Henry Lydius' second son, aged nineteen years) and James Sharpe, aged thirty-three years—then, and for many years thereafter, a respectable and credible citizen of Albany. Later in the same day (July 11th)* three Oneida chieftans came to Lydius' house and signed the deed in the presence of Johannis

* See page 35 of "The Susquehanna Title Stated and Examined;" a pamphlet published at Catskill, New York, in 1796.

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J. Wendel, a member of a well-known Albany family, and Sybrant Van Schaick, Jr., a son of Sybrant G. Van Schaick who was Mayor of Albany in 1761. March 4, 1755, Caristago, whose name appears in the body of the deed as one of the grantors—as previously mentioned—together with Scaroooyady, or Scaronage, the “Half King” (mentioned in the note on page 262), signed the deed at Lydius’ house, in company with two other chiefs and in the presence of Sybrant Van Schaick, Jr., and Martin Lydius, previously mentioned, and Jacob Van Woert, Jr. An inspection of the deed shows that the name of each chief was signed to it by either Colonel Lydius or one of the subscribing witnesses; that then each chief, with his own hand, attached either his totemic device or his private “mark,” after which a seal of red wax was affixed to the document opposite each signature.

After the European came to this country the sachem or civil head of an Indian tribe, besides presenting a belt of wampum as a pledge of good faith in diplomatic bargains, almost invariably attached his totem,* or that of his clan, to every public paper he was required to sign. It was only the repetition by an American Barbarian of the ancient custom of the Civilized Man in affixing a seal—the common custom of monarchs who, like Indian sachems, could not write their names.

Inasmuch as it was early and often asserted by the opponents of the Susquehanna Company—and more particularly by the agents, dependents and friends of the Pennsylvania Proprietaries, who exhibited a good deal of either ignorance or mendacity with regard to the matter—that the deed of July 11, 1754, had been executed by a small number of irresponsible Indians, of no account, the present writer has taken considerable pains to ascertain, so far as possible, who some of those Indian grantors were. With aid from the Rev. Dr. Beauchamp—previously mentioned—he is able to give the following information: In 1754 the principal sachem of the Eastern Senecas was *Takeghsatu*, *Tagechsadou* or *Sagechsadou*—as his name was indiscriminately written—while *Gahikdote*, *Kahickdodon*, or *Kahiktoton* (“A tree with thorns and fruit upon it”), alias “Groote Young,” was the head of the Western Senecas. Both of these chiefs signed the deed of July 6th to the Penns—the name of Kahiktoton appearing first and that of Takeghsatu second. In the deed to the Susquehanna Company Kahiktoton’s name stands first among the signers; but Takeghsatu’s name does not appear therein. Kahiktoton fought with the English under Braddock, as is shown by the note on page 262. Later in 1755 he removed to Canada, where he lived until his death in 1757. In 1756 the French expected that he would join them with twenty Seneca warriors.

“Abraham Peters,” the second signer of the Susquehanna Company’s deed, was also a signer of the deed to the Penns. He was the younger brother (mentioned on page 229) of “King” Hendrick, and succeeded Nicklaus Brant as principal sachem of the Mohawks at their Upper Castle. He was born about 1691, and his Indian name was *Tyanhasare*, or *Kanosteahse* (often written *Canusta*). He is said to have been “a man of excellent sense and fine talents, but exclusively a civilian, and possessing no reputation as a warrior.” Dr. Beauchamp says “he was the best of the [Peters] family.” In 1768 he was at the Fort Stanwix Treaty (mentioned in Chapter VII), and was the first signer of the

* See pages 103 and 120.

important deed then executed by the Indians to the Pennsylvania Proprietaries. He was the father of "Little Abe," a well-known Mohawk of the Wolf clan and for some years a sachem of the "Lower Castle" of the Mohawks, mentioned on page 264.

Old Abraham Peters was the father also of two daughters, the elder of whom became the wife of Nicklaus Brant and the mother of Joseph, mentioned in note ‡ on page 264. The younger daughter was baptized under the name of Caroline, and according to Buell "received as complete an education as the mission-school at Fort Hunter and a private school in Schenectady could impart." In 1747, when she was twenty-two years old, she was reputed to be the handsomest girl among the Six Nations. About that time she attracted the attention of Sir William Johnson—who then had been a widower with three young children about two years—and she was soon installed as "mistress of his household." As in the case of "Molly" Brant, later, Sir William did not wed this Indian beauty, Caroline Peters, but she lived with him until her death in 1753, and bore him one son and two daughters—William, Charlotte and Caroline. Abraham Peters, then, may be described as having been the common-law father-in-law of Sir William Johnson!

"Willim [William] Tharigioris," the third signer of the Susquehanna Company's deed, was one of the subscribing witnesses to the Penn deed of July 6th. He was *Tarrachioris*, or *Taregiorus*, a Mohawk of the Turtle clan, and resided at the "Upper Castle." He was killed at the battle of Lake George, mentioned on page 281.

"Brant Conwignoge," the fourth signer, was a Mohawk sachem of the Wolf clan, and resided at the "Lower Castle." In a list of Mohawk chiefs prepared in 1754 his name was set down "*Gatewaghnoge*." There were many of the Brants, and their names changed often. Dr. Peck, in his "Wyoming" (mentioned on page 20, *ante*), refers to the deed of July 11, 1754, and states (page 23) with reference to the signers of the same: "Among these 'chief sachems' is the famous Mohawk chief *Brant*, who figured so largely in the War of the Revolution." This statement was based by the author merely on a wild guess, as Joseph Brant, the famous chief to whom he refers—who has been denominated as "unquestionably the greatest of American Indians"—was only twelve years of age in 1754.

"Gagswigitione Rodhad," the fifth signature attached to the Susquehanna deed, represents the name of *Kaghs-waugh-ti-o-ni* ("Wampumbelt lying down"), or "Red Head." He was the Iroquois speaker and sachem of Onondaga. "The fact that he had been a French partizan," writes Dr. Beauchamp, "would account for his using crosses [in making his "mark"], as all French Christian Indians did." He died at Onondaga Castle in 1756, and there, on June 18th, "the full Council of all the nations met, with Sir William Johnson at their head, to perform the grand solemnity of condolence for the death of the great Onondaga chief." Abraham Peters, previously mentioned, conducted the ceremonies* at that time.

"Canagegaie," the sixth signature, stands for *Canatsiagaye*, or "Old Kettle," a prominent Onondaga chief of the Turtle clan. He was a friend of David Zeisberger, the Moravian missionary mentioned on page 220, and was at Fort Johnson in June, 1757.

* For an interesting account of the ceremonies then performed see "Bulletin of the New York State Museum," Vol. VIII, No. 41, page 449.

The ninth signer, "Senosiés," was *Senughsis*, an Oneida sachem of the Turtle clan. He was at the Fort Stanwix treaty in November, 1768, and was one of the few principal chiefs who then executed to Thomas and Richard Penn the deed for the last purchase of lands made by the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania from the Indians.

"Johannis Canadegair," or *Johannes Kanadagaye*, or *Canadagaia*, the tenth signer, was a Mohawk of the Bear clan. He headed the deputation from the "Lower Castle"—as noted on page 264—and was also one of the signers of the Penn deed of July 6th.

The eleventh signature—"Nikes Carigiagtatic"—stands for *Karochyaktatty*, or *Karaghiaghdatie*, alias "Nickas, or Nicholas, Peters." He was a Mohawk of the Wolf clan, was a half-brother of Hendrick and Abraham Peters,* and resided at the "Upper Castle." He was one of the principal sachems at the treaty held at Easton, Pennsylvania, in October, 1758 (see Chapter V), and was the first signer of the important deed (explanatory and confirmatory of the Albany deed of July 6, 1754) then executed by the representatives of the Six Nations to Thomas and Richard Penn.

"Caristago," or *Saristaquoh*, or *Saristagoa*, the fifteenth signer, was an Oneida chief of the Weasel clan. He took an important part at treaties held in 1736 and 1742.

"Scaronage, the Half King," the sixteenth signer, we have already referred to on page 277.

"Scaneradie," the next signer, was *Skaneerade*, or *Scanuraty*, a Cayuga chief, who was also one of the signers of the Penn deed of July 6th.

The territory conveyed by this deed to the Susquehanna Company is plainly and correctly indicated on the "Map of a Part of Pennsylvania" shown in Chapter XI. The consideration named in the deed—£2,000 in current money of New York—was equivalent to 5,000 Spanish milled dollars, or to \$5,450. in American money of to-day.†

It will be noticed that by a specific clause in the deed the Indians conveyed to the Susquehanna Company "all and every the mines, minerals or ore" in and upon the land in question. That there had been for a long time previous to that day a belief in the existence of certain precious ores or minerals at Wyoming, we have shown on page 210. Further, in relation to this matter, we present the following extract from an original, unpublished letter written at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, January 12, 1818, by the Rev. J. G. B. Heckewelder (mentioned on page 42) to Isaac A. Chapman, Wilkes-Barré, and now in possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

"While these Shawanese were settled at Wyoming the white people had come into the country, and as Indian reports say, had been very intent in examining any stones or minerals that glittered; making the Indians sensible that they (the white people) struck medals—such as they produced—and also coined money out of the same. All which had tended to make the Indians distrustful of them, that these were come into their country for the purpose of making themselves rich, and which had probably given rise to the report that the hills adjoining to the Wyoming flats were rich in silver ore, or that these contained 'silver mines' (as the report had been), and which yet to my knowledge *was believed for a great number of years*. Believing this to be the case, they guarded against the white people's coming on the ground; and, indeed, the Six Nations had charged them never to suffer these to go near those hills or mountains."‡

The Susquehanna Company's deed as executed, and herein printed, contains the names of 694 grantees—being 541 whole-share and 153 half-share "proprietors," as the shareholders or members of the Company

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II : 174.

† See note on page 252.

‡ See also, in this connection, the reference to precious minerals and ores in the royal Charter to William Penn, page 245, ante.

were denominated. However, when the deed was carefully examined by the officers of the Company a few weeks after its execution and delivery, it was found that the names of a number of the proprietors (or shareholders) had been omitted from the deed as grantees, while the names of others were incorrectly inscribed, and the following names "ought not to be in the deed," to wit: "Abram Fencump" [Van Camp?], "John Panather," "Solomon Gennings" [Jennings], "Samuel Depew" [De Pui] and "Aaron Depew" [De Pui]. These five men were all residents of Northampton County, Pennsylvania.

The corrections made with reference to the other errors and the omissions referred to were as follows: "Abijah Crery" should be Abijah Cady, "Thomas Kennedy" should be Thomas Kenney, Jr., "Benjamin Callwell" should be Benjamin Colovis, "John Rathbone" should be Jonathan Rathbone, "Samuel Stoughton" should be Lemuel Stoughton, "Hubbard Pride" should be Hibbard Pride, "Elizar Tallcott" should be Elizur Talcott, "Silas Wells" should be William Wells, "Constant Catlen" should be Constant Kirtland, "Ebenezer Grover" should be Ebenezer Grover, Jr., "John Adkins" should be John Atkins, "Daniel Henshaw" should be James Hyndshaw and "Daniel Bull" should be David Bull. "The following names of whole-share proprietors should have been included in the deed":

Joseph Wheeler,	Joseph Parkhurst,	Dennis Reeser,
Samuel Handy,	Joseph Haines,	Jr Drake,
William Levon,	Johns McDole,	Patrick Maconnal,
Pierce Golden,	Lambert Brink,	Anthony Westbrook,
Emanl Gansanby,	Samuel Drake,	Nathan Park,
Duty Gerald,	John Fisk,	Ebenezer Baldwin,
Joseph Griswold,	Abram Thompson,	Ebenezer Tiffany,
Richard Thornton,	Samuel Read,	James Ely,
John Kellogg,	Nathaniel Emerson,	James Jones,
Jonathan Latimore,	Jabez Jones,	Jonathan Root,
Jeremiah Mason,	Lebbeus Harris,	Solomon Hambleton,
Jeremiah Mason, Jr.,	Silas Helmes,	Joshua Smith,
Charles Bulkeley,	John Smith,	Joseph Burt,
Consider Tiffany,	David Bigelow,	John Whitney,
Daniel Burg,	Elijah Johnson,	Charles Dewees,
Charles Foot,	Amos Stiles,	Thomas Lewis,
Daniel Foot,	John Clark,	Joseph Buckley,
	Ephraim Taylor,	

"The following names of half-share proprietors should have been included":

James Perkins,	William Root,	John Chamberlain,
Daniel Kellogg,	Nathan Man,	Ephraim Harris,
Joseph Case,	Joseph Burt,	John Bigelow,
Benjamin Kilburn,	James Tracy,	Asa Bigelow.

In view of these changes it will be seen that the members of the Susquehanna Company at the time of the purchase of the Wyoming territory in July, 1754, really numbered 753—there being 588 whole-share and 165 half-share proprietors.

The original deed shows the erasure of the name "Col. John Henry Lydius" from the list of grantees, and the insertion in its place of the name of Abraham Lansing of Albany. Baltazar Lydius, whose name appears as one of the grantees in the deed, was a brother of Col. John H. Lydius. It will be noticed that the name of *but one woman* appears in the list of grantees—that of Sarah Huntington. She was the widow of Col. Jabez Huntington of Norwich, Connecticut, who was born there January 26, 1691, and died there in 1752.

Hezekiah Huntington—whose name heads the long list of grantees in the deed—was the younger brother of Col. Jabez Huntington previously mentioned, and was born at Norwich in 1696. He was the sixth child of "Deacon" Christopher Huntington (the first male child born in Norwich), who was the son of Christopher, who was the son of Simon, who was born in England and died of small-pox on the voyage to this country in 1633. The last-named was undoubtedly the ancestor of all the Huntingtons in this country in early days. Hezekiah Huntington was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the 3d Connecticut Regiment in 1739. He was a Representative to the General Assembly of Connecticut for a number of years prior to 1752, and then, until his death, was annually chosen an Assistant.* In 1761, in connection with Jonathan Trumbull, William Williams and others he was concerned in a contract to furnish supplies to the Colonial army. He was prominent in all town affairs and the early Revolutionary movements. At the time of his death he was, and had been for some years, Judge of the Norwich District Probate Court, and one of the Judges of the New London County Court. While engaged in his official duties at New London in 1773 he died suddenly. He was buried at Norwich, and on his grave-stone is this epitaph: "His piety, affability, prayers and example, wisdom and experience, endeared him to his friends and the State."

Simon Huntington, another of the grantees, and a descendant of the original Simon previously mentioned, was born at Norwich September 12, 1719, the second child and only son of Ebenezer and Sarah (*Leffingwell*) Huntington. He was graduated at Yale College in 1741, after which he studied theology and was licensed to preach, but abandoned his profession on account of ill health and engaged in business in Norwich. He held various town offices. His death occurred at Norwich December 27, 1801.

Phineas Lyman, the fourth grantee named in the deed, was born at Durlam, Connecticut, in 1716. He was graduated at Yale College in 1738, and from 1739 to '41 was a tutor in the College—at the same time studying law. About 1749 he settled in Suffield, then believed to be within the bounds of Massachusetts, but later determined to be in Connecticut. In 1750, '51 and '52 he was a Representative from Suffield in the General Assembly of Connecticut, and then for seven years served as an Assistant. In 1750-'51 he was charged on the part of Connecticut with the task of assisting to settle the Connecticut-Massachusetts boundary-line. In March, 1755, he was appointed by the Connecticut Assembly Major General and Commander-in-chief of the Connecticut forces sent against Crown Point, and, "relinquishing the most extensive law practice in the Colony, he undertook this office."†

Franklin B. Dexter, in his Yale College Biographies, states (I : 604):

"In the important battle fought at the head of Lake George September 8, 1755, the command devolved on General Lyman almost at the beginning—Lieutenant General (afterwards Sir) William Johnson, his superior officer, having been wounded and obliged to retire. During the whole fight for five and a-half hours Lyman behaved with distinguished bravery, repeatedly showing himself in front of the defenses to encourage his men. Johnson, however, was not generous enough even to mention Lyman's name in his official report of the battle, so that he alone reaped the rewards for the victory."

In the Summer of 1755 a fort was built under General Lyman's direction on the east bank of the Hudson and called Fort Lyman, in his

* See page 248.

† See notes, pages 264 and 269.

honor, but afterwards its name was changed to Fort Edward. In the campaigns of 1756, '57, '58, '59, '60 and '61 he held important commands in the Provincial military service, and in 1762 was in chief command of all the Provincial forces engaged in the expedition against Havana. He died near Natchez, Mississippi, September 10, 1774. For further interesting details concerning his life see Dexter's Yale Biographies previously referred to.

Daniel Edwards, named fifth in the list of grantees, was born at Hartford, Connecticut, April 11, 1701, and was graduated at Yale College in 1720. From 1725 to 1728 he was a tutor in the College, and then, for six years, Steward. From 1729 to 1753 he was Clerk of the Superior Court of Connecticut, and in the meantime—in November, 1734—was admitted to the Bar. In 1742 he removed from New Haven to Hartford, where he continued to practise his profession until his death. In 1755 he was chosen an Assistant, and thereafter was annually re-chosen until his death. In October, 1753, he was appointed an Assistant Judge of the Superior Court to fill an unexpired term, but in May, 1756, he was appointed to a position on the Bench which he held until his death. He was also Probate Judge of the Hartford District for some four and a-half years from March, 1761. He died at New Haven September 6, 1765.

Samuel Talcott, sixth in the list of grantees, was born at Hartford in 1711, the fourth son of the Hon. Joseph Talcott who was Governor of Connecticut from 1725 till his death in 1741, and who had previously held various other important public offices. Samuel Talcott was graduated at Yale College in 1733. He inherited a large estate from his father and made his home in Hartford, where he was intrusted with various public offices by his fellow citizens. He was never engaged in any profession. In May, 1746, he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of a regiment raised for the projected expedition against Canada, and in August, 1755, he was placed in command of one of the regiments raised for the Crown Point expedition—referred to on page 281. He was Sheriff of Hartford County for many years, and after 1759 represented Hartford in the General Assembly for a number of years. He was married in May, 1739, to Mabel, youngest daughter of the Hon. Hezekiah Wyllys of Hartford.

George Wyllys, seventh in the list of grantees, was born at Hartford, Connecticut, October 6, 1710, fifth child of the Hon. Hezekiah Wyllys, mentioned above, and great-grandson of the Hon. George Wyllys, an Englishman of means and rank who became one of the original planters of Hartford and in 1642-'43 served as Governor of Connecticut. George Wyllys, first mentioned, was graduated at Yale College in 1729. In May, 1730, he was appointed to serve as Secretary of the Colony, *pro tem.*, on account of the illness of his father, who had been the incumbent of the office since 1712. In that capacity George Wyllys served until May, 1734, when, his father having died, he was regularly appointed to the office, and, by successive annual re-appointments, performed the duties of the same until his death. He was also Town Clerk from 1732 till his death—having likewise succeeded his father in that office, after the latter had held it for twenty-six years. George Wyllys was Captain in the Connecticut Militia as early as 1738; and in 1756-'57, during the French and Indian War, he held a commis-

sion of Lieutenant Colonel. During the Revolutionary War he was in active sympathy with the Loyalist, or 'Tory, element of the country. He was married to Mary, only daughter of his cousin the Rev. Timothy Woodbridge of Simsbury, Connecticut—a relative of "Deacon" Timothy Woodbridge of Stockbridge. Colonel Wyllys' eldest child was Samuel, born January 7, 1739; graduated at Yale in 1758; appointed Secretary of State upon the death of his father—April 24, 1796—and holding the office until 1810. It will be noticed that this office remained in the Wyllys family continuously for the unusually long period of ninety-eight years. This record was never outdone in Connecticut.

Capt. Thomas Wells, the grantee named next in the list, was a well-known resident of Hartford, and in 1754, '55 and later years was an Assistant. Another of the grantees was William Pitkin, Jr., a son of the Hon. William Pitkin who was Lieutenant Governor of Connecticut in 1765 and Governor in 1766-'69, and who "distinguished himself during the excitement attending the passage of the Stamp Act by his bold, uncompromising advocacy of the cause of the Colonies." William Pitkin, Sr., was one of the Representatives from Connecticut in the Albany Congress of 1754.

William Williams, another of the grantees, was born at Lebanon, Connecticut, April 8, 1731, the son of the Rev. Solomon Williams, who was a descendant of Robert Williams mentioned in the note on page 269. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1751, and in 1755 enlisted in the regiment commanded by Col. Ephraim Williams, Jr. (mentioned on page 269), for the invasion of Canada. In 1756 William Williams was chosen Town Clerk of Lebanon and held the office forty-five years. In May, 1776, the General Assembly of Connecticut appointed William Williams, Eliphalet Dyer, Jedidiah Elderkin and Nathaniel Wales, Jr. (all of them early and active members of the Susquehanna Company), in connection with three or four other gentlemen named, "to be a Council or Committee of Safety* to assist his Honor the Governor [Jonathan Trumbull]† when the Assembly is not sitting, with full power and authority to order and direct the militia and the navy of the Colony." William Williams was a member of the Continental Congress in 1776, and as such signed on the 4th of July the Declaration of Independence.

*The work of this Council was carried on at Lebanon, in a small building, still carefully preserved, which became known as the "Lebanon War Office." Some 1,200 meetings of the Council were held during the years 1776-'81 within the walls of this building, and its oaken floors were trodden by Washington, Lafayette, Rochambeau and many other leaders of renown. The following paragraphs are from an oration delivered June 17, 1896, by the Rev. R. H. Nelson of Norwich, Connecticut, upon the occasion of the unveiling at the Lebanon War Office of a tablet indicating the historic character of the building:

"This quiet town of Lebanon, which lies so remote from the centers of life that historians have followed the example of railroads and have passed it by, has nevertheless played such a part in the fortunes of the country as to have well deserved the name given to it by Lossing—"The focus of Connecticut patriotism and vigilance during the Revolution." The most eloquent defense of this title lies before you to-day in the tablet which is erected to declare that this building was the home and meeting-place of that little band of immortals known to history as the 'Connecticut Council of Safety.' * * *

"To the school-boy and to the superficial reader of history the Revolution is seen on battlefields and in camps, in dashing expeditions and patient endurance and adventure of war. But let the thoughtful lover of his country read the record of the men *who worked behind the scenes*; let him peruse through hundreds of pages the minutes of their meetings, and read there how the men whose memories we honor were contented to supply strength for the fight and to die in the consciousness that, whether known or unknown, they had labored with giant strength for their country's good.

"Read in those records the letters from the heroes in the field, and picture the little band of patriots gathered in this house to consider what might be done in Boston, at Newport, at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, on Long Island or along the Hudson. There see the provision-trains moving out from every Connecticut town; note how companies were mustered on every village green and went marching forth to bear their part in the struggle; read in the hearts of great commanders the new courage brought by wise counsels and by the knowledge of loyal support—and know that the center from which this vast machinery of helpfulness went forth was this very War Office at Lebanon, and the men who operated it were these very members of the Council of Safety, working under one [Gov. Jonathan Trumbull] whose title to a high place on the roll of honor was proclaimed by the Father of his Country, and has been endorsed by a grateful people."

† He, also, was a member of the Susquehanna Company, although not an original member. For his portrait and a sketch of his life, see a subsequent chapter.

He was a member of the General Assembly of Connecticut for over fifty years, being an Assistant, or Councillor, from 1780 to 1804. He was Probate Judge of the Windham District, and also Judge of the Windham County Court, for about forty years. Mary, daughter of Gov. Jonathan Trumbull, was the wife of William Williams. He died at Lebanon August 2, 1811.

Ezra Stiles, another grantee in the Indian deed to the Susquehanna Company, was born at North Haven, Connecticut, November 29, 1727, son of the Rev. Isaac Stiles. He was graduated at Yale College in 1746 at the age of nineteen years, and three years later was appointed a tutor in the College. This position he held until 1755, in the meantime studying law, and in November, 1753, being admitted to the Bar at New Haven. "Besides acquainting himself with the law practice of Connecticut, he aimed to learn the course of judicial proceedings in all the British Provinces. To facilitate the acquisition of this knowledge, he visited several of the other Colonies and sought interviews with the principal legal practitioners."

In 1755, having decided to enter the Christian ministry, Mr. Stiles resigned his Yale tutorship, and in October of that year was ordained pastor of the Second Congregational Church at Newport, Rhode Island.

In 1765 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Edinburgh. July 8, 1778, he was inducted into the office of President of Yale College, and there he served until his death, May 12, 1795. Chancellor Kent said of President Stiles in 1831: "Take him all in all, this extraordinary man was undoubtedly one of the purest and best-gifted men of his age"; and, at a later date, Dr. J. L. Kingsley wrote: "Among the scholars of New England who, in the eighteenth century, were so distinguished by their talents and acquisitions as to deserve the remembrance of posterity, was President Stiles of Yale College."

Noah Webster of West Hartford, Connecticut, whose name appears in the list of grantees, was the father of the famous lexicographer of the same name—who was not born until about four years after the execution of the Indian deed, but who, it was foreordained, was to lend a helping hand,* many years later, to those settlers from New England who were then attempting to maintain their legal right to the Wyoming lands which had been taken possession of and settled by them under the Indian title of 1754.

Benedict Arnold, one of the grantees named in the deed, was Capt. Benedict Arnold of Norwich, Connecticut, who became a proprietor in the Company May 14, 1754, by subscribing for one share. Later he purchased a second share. He was the father of the notorious American traitor, Maj. Gen. Benedict Arnold. November 4, 1763, the latter (then in the twenty-third year of his life) and his sister Hannah, "only surviving heirs of Benedict Arnold and his wife Hannah of Norwich, deceased," conveyed to Christopher Avery of Norwich "said two rights in the Susquehanna Company * * * for a competent sum of lawful money."†

Roger Wolcott, Jr., Alexander Wolcott and Oliver Wolcott, three more of the grantees, were brothers. Of the first-named, as well as of his father, Gov. Roger Wolcott, Sr., mention has already been made on

* See Chapter XXXV.

† See Book "B," page 30, of the records of the Susquehanna Company, mentioned on page 28.



THE HON. OLIVER WOLCOTT.

A photo-reproduction of an original portrait in oils in the State Capitol at Hartford, Connecticut.
By courtesy of *The Connecticut Magazine*.

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pages 257, 259 and 263. Alexander Wolcott, who was graduated at Yale College in 1731, studied medicine and became one of the most celebrated practitioners of his day. He died in 1795. Oliver Wolcott, the fourteenth child of Gov. Roger Wolcott, Sr., was born in Windsor, Connecticut, November 26, 1726. He was graduated at Yale College in 1747, and almost immediately afterwards, having received a commission as Captain in the Connecticut forces, he recruited a company, marched to the northern frontier and took an active part in the French and Indian War then in progress.

In 1751 the county of Litchfield, Connecticut, was erected from the territory in the north-western corner of the Colony, and Oliver Wolcott having settled in the town of Goshen, within the bounds of the new County, was appointed Sheriff of the same. This office he held for twenty-one consecutive years. From 1772 to 1795 he was Judge of the Court of Probate for the District of Litchfield, and from 1773 to 1786 Chief Judge of the Inferior Court of the County of Litchfield. From 1771 to 1786 he was an Assistant in the General Assembly. In October, 1774, he was Colonel of the 17th Regiment, Connecticut Militia. There were then eighteen regiments in the Colony. January 17, 1777, having been appointed Brigadier General of the 6th Brigade of the State of Connecticut by the General Assembly, he was commissioned by the Governor. Colonel Wolcott having been appointed by the General Assembly a Representative to the Continental Congress in October, 1775, was thenceforward until 1784 a member of that body, and as such signed the Declaration of Independence in 1776.

At the breaking out of the Revolution there stood on the Bowling Green, at the lower end of Broadway, New York City, a leaden equestrian statue of King George III. Just one week after the Declaration of Independence had been signed this statue was pulled down, broken into fragments and secretly conveyed to the home of Oliver Wolcott on South Street, in the village of Litchfield, where he had then been residing for some years. There the lead was moulded into bullets, and these were converted by some of the patriotic ladies of Litchfield into 42,088 cartridges for the use of the American army—8,378 of which cartridges were made by Mrs. Laura, or Lorraine, (*Collins*) Wolcott, the wife of Colonel Wolcott.*

In July, 1775, the Continental Congress resolved, "That the securing and preserving the friendship of the Indian nations appears to be a subject of the utmost moment to these Colonies," and thereupon created three Departments of Indian Affairs. The Northern Department was placed in charge of Maj. Gen. Philip Schuyler and Volckert P. Douw, Esq., of New York, Col. Oliver Wolcott of Connecticut, Col. Turbott Francis of Pennsylvania and Timothy Edwards, Esq., as Commissioners. In the following Autumn and Winter these Commissioners held some important conferences and treaties at Albany with the Six Nation Indians, which will be referred to hereinafter. In October, 1784, an important treaty was held with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, New York, at which Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee were the Commissioners on the part of the United States. Further mention will be made of this treaty in a subsequent chapter.

* See relative to this matter an original memorandum in the handwriting of Oliver Wolcott, among his unpublished papers in possession of the Connecticut Historical Society.

In 1786 General Wolcott was elected Lieutenant Governor of Connecticut, and was annually re-elected to that office until 1796, when he was chosen Governor of the State. He served in that capacity one year and was then re-elected. He died in office December 1, 1797.

Oliver Wolcott, Jr., born January 11, 1760, son of Governor Oliver Wolcott, was graduated at Yale College in 1778, in the same class with Noah Webster, Jr., previously mentioned. He held various public offices until, in 1795, he was appointed to succeed Alexander Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. Later he was a Judge of the United States Circuit Court, and from 1817 to 1827 Governor of Connecticut. He died in the city of New York June 1, 1833.

We have gone into the personnel of the Susquehanna Company thus fully in order to impress upon the reader the indisputable fact that the original members—and particularly the leaders and managers—of the Company *were neither irresponsible adventurers nor ignorant nobodies!*

The sale of the Wyoming lands to the Susquehanna Company by the Six Nation Indians led to a long train of difficulties extending through many years. From the beginning to the end of those difficulties the opponents of the Company made vehement assertions as to the spuriousness of the deed alleged to have been executed in favor of the Company, and the consequent invalidity of the latter's title to the valuable and extensive territory claimed. Although the questions raised by these assertions are fully discussed hereinafter (in Chapter XX), yet, in order that the reader may more readily understand various matters referred to in some of the intervening pages, it is deemed desirable to insert at this point a few of the most important statements publicly made for and against the Susquehanna Company's Indian deed at an early day, by men who were presumed at that time to have some personal knowledge of the transactions concerning which they spoke.

When Commissioners Penn and Peters returned to Philadelphia from the Albany Congress they made a full report* to Governor Hamilton and the Provincial Council of their doings—particularly with reference to their conferences with the Indians and the securing of the deed from the latter to the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania. They also stated that "Timothy Woodbridge of Stockbridge and two Connecticut gentlemen were in town [Albany] with intent to negotiate a purchase, and had 1,000 Pieces of Eight,† and were busy conferring with the Indians on this subject at Lydius' house. This Lydius is an inhabitant of Albany, known to have abjured the Protestant religion in Canada, and to be concerned in a clandestine trade with the Caughnawaga and French 'Praying Indians,' and suspected of carrying on a secret correspondence with the Government of Canada." The Commissioners intimated that "the Rev. Mr. Hawley‡ at Onecquago" had been made use of by the Connecticut people to induce the Indians to sell the Susquehanna lands; and they stated, also, that they (the Commissioners) had exhibited to Mr. Woodbridge at Albany the Indian deeds and titles held by the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania for lands within the Province—including the *Susquehanna region*—and that Mr. Woodbridge said he was perfectly satisfied, and would, in behalf of Connecticut, cause no further trouble!

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VI: 111.

† See note, page 252.

‡ See foot-note on page 257.

The Rev. Richard Peters—Provincial Secretary, and Commissioner to the Albany Congress, as previously mentioned—wrote in May, 1774, to Henry Wilmot, Esq., the Proprietaries' London solicitor, as follows* :

"The Connecticut attempt was likewise made known by the Indians to us, and they in their speeches declared their absolute refusal to make any grant to them of any lands they were soliciting for. And indeed, in their public treaty, they over and over declared that they would sell none of the Wyomink country either to them or to us, it being what they had reserved for their own use, and for the reception of such other Indians as would want to come and reside amongst them. * * This will serve to show that at that time there was no Indian deed made to the Connecticut people by the Onondaga Council, and that *if any deed is set up* it must have been obtained in a clandestine manner from private Indians. Indeed, it was then currently reported that one Lydius of the city of Albany had undertaken the matter for the Connecticut people, and as he lived (and I think kept a public-house) at Albany, he made it his business to get the Indians (as they came to trade there) into his house, and by liquor or private bribes, by twos or threes as he could find opportunity, to prevail with them to execute a deed which was lodged with him for this infamous purpose. * * I have further to observe, that the persons to whom this pretended Indian deed was made were private people, and acting in direct opposition to their own laws and in violation of the right, if any, of the Colony of Connecticut to these lands."

In September, 1754, Daniel Claus,† at Albany, wrote as follows to Governor Hamilton at Philadelphia concerning what he denominated "the villainous scheme of John Lydius of Albany, * * to serve the Connecticut people in buying the lands at Susquehanna the said Province [of Pennsylvania] was contriving to buy of the Six Nations the year past."

* * "After the sum of 1,500 dollars being put in his [Lydius'] hands, he went in the following clandestine manner to work, and, with tempting the Indians he could prevail upon with the plenty of dollars, got the following subscriptions to his deed, viz. : *Gahikdote*, alias Grote Young, the head of ye Senekers, *Atsinoughiata*, alias ye Bunt,‡ and *Canatsigaye*, two Onontagas—those he got after the Treaty was over and the Commissioners gone ; suppose when they were drunk. Afterwards he [Lydius], under a vain pretense, took a ride to Canajochery, as he told me himself, * * that he had been there to buy a span of horses ; and by laying down the bag of dollars had Abraham and Nickas (Hendrick's brothers) and *Tarraghioris* to sign. Then he passed in his way home the Lower Mohawk Castle, and invited four of the sachems to his house about some business he had to propose to them ; and when they came there he called one after another into a room by himself and laid the Deed before them and showed them the subscriptions of the other nations and by many false persuasions, with the offer of 20 dollars each, brought them to sign their names—which are : *Tsistarare*, *Canadagaye*, *Sotskiowano* and *Gaweghnog*.

"He also gave a call to the Oneidoes, and accordingly a good many of them who were absent at the treaty came down, when Lydius treated them plentifully with victuals and drink, and then laid 300 dollars before them, saying that with this he only would acquaint them with his intent, and that if they would consent to his proposals he would deliver them £400 more. When afterwards they went off, and, as they in their return told Colonel Johnson, without signing, but that they would first consider about it. He [Johnson] then asked them if they did not think this a very dishonest and dirty action of Lydius. * * * They seemed to be concerned about it, but had nothing else to reply but that the subscription of the other nations and the temptation of the money brought them to consent.

"The night afore last *Canudagaye*, one of the Mohawks who signed ye deed, lodged at Colonel Johnson's, when, after supper, he was called up, and a little while after the Colonel in my presence began about the same affair, and very amiably cleared up to him the villainous and dishonest proceedings of Lydius, and how it would lessen the credit of the Six Nations who, not only many years ago but by treaties held a few years since—yea ! in the very last treaty at Albany—promised the pre-emption of the same lands to *Onas*, and to none else, as they were in his bounds ; and, in case the New England people was to get 'em now, they immediately would settle there and drive the Indians from their best land—which *Onas* would not have done. The Indian was quite stunned, and after

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," X : 177.

† DANIEL CLAU was married in 1761 to the eldest daughter of Sir William Johnson. In the early part of 1754 he was living at "Mount Johnson" (near the present city of Amsterdam, New York) with his future father-in-law, and was employed in and about the latter's store-house. During the war with the French and Indians in 1755 and '6 he was in the military service of New York with the rank of Colonel. In 1761 Sir William Johnson appointed him one of his Deputy Superintendents of Indian Affairs.

‡ This chief, of the Onondaga tribe, signed the deed to the Penns, but did not sign the one to the Susquehanna Company.

a little pause said that when Lydius called him in he argued with Lydius that he should have proposed the thing at the last treaty, when all the nations were present. But Lydius gave a great many vain excuses, and told him the lands *were in Ohio*, and shewed him the subscriptions of the rest who, he said, had nothing against it.

"The Indian added how he believed Lydius was a very bad man, who liked the French better than the English, and, as he supposed, undertook this chiefly to set the two Provinces against one another, that the French might be less hindered in their undertakings. I heard Colonel Johnson give Lydius the character of a very dangerous person in any Province, as he was certain of his being a Roman Catholic, having heard it from a Frenchman who was in Church in Canada when he (Lydius) made his confession to the priest, and would doubt whether Lydius would take the oath of allegiance or no."^{*}

It is very evident, from a perusal of this letter, that Colonel Claus was no friend of Lydius, was strongly prejudiced in favor of the Pennsylvanians, and knew nothing concerning the execution of the deed to the Susquehanna Company except from hearsay.

Under date of September 17, 1754, at Albany, James Stevenson—in whose house the Pennsylvania Commissioners had held their conferences in June and July, as previously mentioned—wrote to Richard Peters as follows[†]:

"I desired my son to give you a hint that Lydius had been up amongst the Indians and procured a deed in behalf of the *Connecticut Government* for the lands, or perhaps only part of the lands, that you purchased for your Government. I am since informed that the fact is true. Above thirty Oneidas are now in town. It is pretended they came to speak with the Commissioners of Indian Affairs; but if my information be right they came down on a message [that] was sent to them by Lydius, and they are mostly at his house. The Commissioners knew nothing of their coming till they were on their way. I am assured by one of the witnesses to the deed that several of our Mohawks signed in Lydius' own house, besides those that signed in their own Castle."

Some months later (May 23, 1755) James Stevenson again wrote Secretary Peters, as follows[‡]:

"Mr. Claus came to town yesterday. After all the inquiry we can make about the affair of Lydius the only information we can get is that one Jacobus Sharpe says he saw three Indians of the Five Nations sign an instrument to which there were many marks of Indians before; that he supposed it to be a deed for lands which at that time was much talked of, to have been purchased by Lydius for New England. But the instrument was neither read, interpreted or explained to them in his hearing. That Lydius' son Martinus was the other evidence [witness]. Jacob Van Woert says he saw *Schoroneados* sign an instrument, but knows not what it was. The paper was [so] folded from the top that it covered the writing. That Lydius spoke to the Indians in their own language, which he [Van Woert] did not understand, and there was no interpreter present. * * *

"There has been one Woodbridge here about three weeks ago. He belongs to Massachusetts Bay Government, but freely owned to me that he was concerned with the Connecticut people in the purchase made by Lydius, which, as I understand, was *by order of the Connecticut Government*. He said he was sure the lands purchased did not come near Pennsylvania's line by many miles, for *he himself had traversed all those woods*. He told me he gave directions to Lydius to take in some few people here for a share. I told Mr. Woodbridge I thought he had better apply to you if he had an inclination to obtain a right of land there."

In December, 1782, when the trial before the Commissioners at Trenton|| was about to take place, the following deposition of William, Earl of Stirling, a Major General in the Continental army, was taken in due form of law for use at that trial.

"This deponent saith that in the Summer of the year 1754 he was in Albany and present at a Congress of the Governors and delegates from all the then Colonies of the Continent. * * That on this occasion several hundred Indians appeared and went into a treaty with the Congress for renewing their ancient alliances, as well as for other purposes. * * * That when the Congress at Albany was near breaking up and most of the principal sachems and warriors of the Indians gone home, this deponent saw at Albany the said Col. [Eliphalet] Dyer and another gentleman from Connecticut, whose name he believes was Seymour or Edwards. That said Colonel Dyer being an old ac-

* From "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II: 174.

† *Ibid.*, II: 171.

‡ See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II: 323.

§ Either "*Scarouage*," or "*Scanradie*," each of whom signed the deed March 4th, 1755, is here referred to.

A full account of which is given in Chapter XX.

quittance he and this deponent soon fell into conversation, and said Colonel Dyer, among other things, frankly told him [Lord Stirling] their business at that place was to obtain a grant from the Indians of the lands on the Susquehanna. That this deponent suggested to him that he thought they were too late; that the Indians of importance were chiefly gone home, and that during the sitting of the Congress the Indians had conveyed the lands he seemed to want to the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania; that he, this deponent, had seen the deeds executed and the consideration paid and delivered and divided among the nations. That said Colonel Dyer then said he must have recourse to his friend Lydius.

"That a day or two afterwards said Colonel Dyer informed this deponent that said Lydius had done his business for him, and had obtained the deed he wanted. That this deponent asked him who had signed and executed it. Said Colonel Dyer replied, 'Indians enough, and I am content.' On inquiry this deponent found that said Lydius had for some days (subsequent to the said purchase made by the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania) privately entertained at his house several of those Indians who remained at Albany, whose names the deponent does not recollect, nor of what nation, but that *they were men of no importance in their nations*; and that from these the said deed was obtained in favor of said Dyer and his associates, since called The Susquehanna Company."^{*}

For a number of years the real facts relative to the number, tribal connections and importance of the signers of the Indian deed to The Susquehanna Company were not generally known outside the Company. As late as 1761 it was frequently stated that "two Tuscaroras, one Oneida and one Mohawk had privately made the deed for the Wyoming land."[†] So much was said and written by the opponents of the Company, regarding the fraudulence and illegality of the conveyance, that the officers of the Company procured certain sworn affidavits from some of the men who had been present at the execution of the deed.[‡] These affidavits were attached to the deed, and all were then recorded, first, on pages 1-15 of Book "B" of the records of The Susquehanna Company, mentioned on page 28, *ante*, and later in the office of the Secretary of the State of Connecticut, in "Book No. 4 of Records for Patents, Deeds and Surveys of Lands," folios 681-688. The first of these affidavits is that of Col. John Henry Lydius, sworn to before the Mayor of Albany, New York, December 23, 1760, and setting forth, among other things, the following:

"That on a certain day during the time of said Congress [of 1754], came into the deponent's mansion-house at Albany Maj. Ephraim Williams and Capt. Joseph Kellogg, Esquires—the said Kellogg, being master of the language of the Mohocks, has often improved as a publick interpreter, and was at this time improved in the abovesaid business of procuring a deed as above. And also the deponent further saith, that on the same day came into his said dwelling-house several of the sachems and principal men of the Mohocks, or Five Nations, so called. One of said sachems name was called *Kahiktoton*, a sachem of the Senecas; another, called *Abraham Peters*, elder [*sic*] brother to *Hendrick* and chief sachem of the Mohock tribe; a third, whose name was *William Tharigeoris*, a Mohock chief, called of the Turkle tribe; a fourth, whose name was *Brant Conwignoge*, a chief or principal man of the Mohocks; a fifth, called a sachem named *Gayswigtone*; a sixth, whose name was *Canagegaie*—two sachems of the tribe of the Anondauehs [Onondagas]. And at that time a deed was produced, being brought to deponent's house by some of those gentlemen from New England, who were endeavoring to obtain a deed of the Five Nations of Indians.

"Said deed lying on the table, the deponent had full inspection of the same, and saw it to be a deed of release and conveyance of a large tract of land lying on the Susquehanna River, to a great number of persons mostly belonging to the Colony of Connecticut. And at the same time the deponent saw all the above-named sachems or principal men sign the said deed, by making their marks thereto severally. And the deponent also, at the same time, saw the said Williams and Kellogg set their hands as witnesses—being both long since deceased—and that the deponent fully believes that the said sachems were well acquainted and thoroughly understood what they transacted; and that the said sachems were, at the time of their signing, sealing and delivering of said deed, *sober and undisguised*."

^{*}From Egle's "Notes and Queries" for 1896, page 1.

[†]See "Pennsylvania—Colonial and Federal," I: 523.

[‡]Colonel Williams and Captain Kellogg, two of the subscribing witnesses to the deed, being dead at this time, their affidavits could not, of course, be obtained.

Under date of August 6, 1761, Colonel Lydius made a second affidavit, in which he set forth :

"That some time in the month of July, 1754, Timothy Woodbridge, Esq., who was employed by the people of Connecticut Colony to make a purchase of the Five Nations of a tract of land lying on Susquehanna, as contained in the foregoing deed, asked my assistance in the prosecution of said purchase, and the said Woodbridge left in my hands a considerable sum of money, to the amount of 1,000 or 1,100 Spanish dollars, to pay such sachems of the Five Nations that should appear to make sale of the aforesaid lands for their several tribes. * * Accordingly, as the sachems of the several tribes came to the deponent's house on said business, the deponent agreed with such as appeared, from time to time, to dispose of their interests in the premises, for such sums as they were satisfied with, and the same was paid by the deponent until the aforesaid sum was paid. Afterward, the deponent sent to the said Woodbridge for further supplies of money to go forward with the said purchase, and received between 400 and 500 dollars as aforesaid ; and still further supplies were remitted, until the deponent was enabled to pay the whole stipulated for with the several sachems of the several tribes—which whole payment, that the deponent made, was to the amount of 1,705 Spanish dollars."

Under date of December 23, 1760, James Sharpe, Martin Lydius, Sybrant Van Schaick, Jr., John J. Wendell and Jacob Van Woert, Jr., severally deposed before the Mayor of Albany as to their personal knowledge of the execution of the deed, and swore that it was "their firm belief that the sachems before-named were well acquainted with, and thoroughly understood, what they transacted ; and that they were sober and undisguised at the time." Sybrant Van Schaick also swore that "when he was called to evidence to the signing of several of the sachems to the foregoing deed, at the house of Col. John Lydius in Albany, he saw a large bag of money delivered to the Indians by the said Lydius, in consideration of said purchase, which bag the deponent judged to contain 300 or 400 Spanish dollars." James Sharpe further deposed "that when he was called to evidence to several sachems signing the foregoing deed of sale, he saw the Indians that signed the said deed counting money in the said Lydius' stoop at his door, and they appeared to be possessed of a large sum." The same James Sharpe, in March, 1794, under a rule of Court granted in the case of Van Horne's lessees *vs.* Dorrance (to be more fully mentioned hereinafter), deposed and said on oath before Abraham Yates, Jr., Mayor of Albany* :

"That July 11, 1754, he was present at the house of John Henry Lydius in Albany when a great number of Indians of the Six Nations sold a large tract of land mentioned in *the deed hereunto annexed*. * * That he the said deponent saw two of the said Indians receive from the said purchasers named in the deed a large sum of money in Spanish milled dollars, for the said lands, which money was carried out of doors in a blanket and divided among all the Indians of the Six Nations then present on the stoop of the said John Henry Lydius ; but what was the exact amount of the said sum of money * * deponent does not know. That he at the same time saw *Jestavaire, Johannes Sagehoware, Senosies, Johannes Canedegair, Nikes, or Nicholas, Carigiaghtake*, principal sachems of the Five Nations of Indians (as the deponent was then informed and verily believes to be true) severally set their marks to, and seal and deliver the said deed. * * He and Martinus Lydius then and there subscribed their names to the said deed as witnesses. Said Martinus Lydius is since deceased. That the said Indians were perfectly satisfied with the aforesaid bargain, and acknowledged in his presence that the same was fairly made, and that they the said Indians were fully paid for the aforesaid lands by the purchasers aforesaid ; and that *the said deed now is in the same state* with respect to the contents thereof that it was in at the time of its execution."

The Rev. Samuel Kirkland,† for many years a missionary among the Six Nations, made a deposition—under a rule of Court—about the same time that the deposition of James Sharpe was taken. The following paragraph is from it‡ :

* The original deposition, being a part of the files of the law-case mentioned, is now (by permission of the United States Court) in the custody of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

† For his portrait, and a sketch of his life, see a subsequent chapter.

‡ See Miner's "Wyoming," page 69, and an article from the pen of Col. John Franklin, over the pseudonym "Plain Truth," published in *The Luzerne County Federalist* (Wilkes-Barré), May 18, 1801.

"That soon after he came to reside among the Five Confederated Nations of Indians, which was in 1765, an Indian chief, with whom he resided near two years in the Seneca country, told him that the Five Nations (or Six Nations as they were then styled) had sold a large tract of land on the Susquehanna, or Wyoming, to the New England people, and had received a large sum of money for it; and that one Lydius, of Albany, was concerned in the purchase as interpreter or principal agent. This information, with many other transactions of a similar nature, the said deponent received from the Indians at their own voluntary motion, while they were giving him an historical account of their country and various negotiations of the white people. The same account of the Susquehanna purchase, and others similar to it, the deponent has frequently heard related by different Indians of the Five Nations, having resided in their territory for near thirty years, and scarce ever absent from them more than three months at a time during that term; and never, to his remembrance, heard any of the said Indians complain of said purchase."

Colonel Franklin, in one of his "Plain Truth" articles (previously mentioned), published May 25, 1801, stated:

"I have also in my possession an affidavit of five Indians, principal sachems of the Mohawk tribe. This affidavit was subscribed to, and the deponents made solemn oath thereto, at Albany June 24, 1763. These deponents swear, 'that in 1754, at a general treaty held with the Five Nations at Albany, * * that while the Indians were attending said treaty a proposal was made by some English persons from New England to make a purchase of the Five Nations of a large tract of land lying on the Susquehanna River; in which proposal, and the land described to be purchased, were included the lands called by the Mohawks *Skaumuhdelwauhnuh* (that is, Wyoming); that in the conclusion of the treaty the sachems of the Five Nations agreed to the sale of a large tract of land lying on the Susquehanna River, and did receive large sums of money therefor; that several of the sachems at that time sealed a conveyance to the said New England people, and from time to time other sachems repaired to Albany and there received their consideration money and sealed the deed; that the said sale was at the time of the said treaty, and has ever since been generally known and received among the Five Nations; and said sale was made and done according to the usages, customs and manners of the Five Nations.

"Further, that *having reviewed the said deed lately* at our Castle, it cannot be denied but that the lands contained in the deed executed to the said New England company ought to be held by them as a good and lawful purchase. Neither do the deponents imagine any difficulty would have arisen about the sale and settlement had it not been stirred up among the Indians by the white people—principally among whom are the Governor of Pennsylvania and Sir William Johnson.'"

In further support of The Susquehanna Company's contention that their deed had been honestly obtained, the following document is introduced. It is a copy of an original deposition to be found among the "Trumbull Papers," referred to on page 29, *ante*, paragraph (6). It was made in 1782 by the Hon. Stephen Hopkins mentioned on page 263, *ante*, and was, without doubt, intended to be used at the Trenton trial. So far as the present writer can learn it has never been previously printed.

"STEPHEN HOPKINS, Esq., of Providence, in the State of Rhode Island, * * aged seventy-five years, deposeth and saith: That some time in the Summer of the year 1754 he was at Albany at a treaty held there with the Indians of the Six Nations, many of the chiefs of whom, from each tribe, were present at that meeting and during the time that the treaty continued. Three gentlemen of the Colony of Connecticut, being agents from a Company since known by the name of The Susquehanna Company, were in treaty with said Indians, or many of them, for the purchase of a certain tract of land lying upon the River Susquehanna and its branches, and fully concluded a bargain with them, and towards the conclusion of said treaty received a deed from them of the said lands.

"That the deponent was present several times where the said Connecticut gentlemen and the Indian chiefs were in treaty about the bargain aforesaid, and, after they had finally agreed, was present at the making and executing of a deed from the chief of the said Indians to The Susquehanna Company, and was also present at the payment of the consideration money mentioned in said deed. That the deponent then thought that the bargain aforesaid was fairly made, as any negotiation with Indians for the purchase of land could possibly be. That the deed was made and signed by the proper chiefs deputed by the several tribes for that purpose. The noted sachem, *Hendrick*, was the principal negotiator* between the said Connecticut gentlemen and the Indians, in making and finishing the bargain aforesaid, as he was also in negotiating a bargain at the same Congress between the same tribes of Indians and the agents of Mr. Penn, the Proprietary of Pennsylvania. That both those bargains with the Indians for several parts of their lands

* See page 267.

were conducted and finished in as open and fair a manner as it is possible for any bargains with the Indians to be carried on and completed."

It would seem, from the testimony thus adduced, that the Indian deed to The Susquehanna Company was obtained, not by means of fraud or trickery, but openly and fairly; and that the full amount of the consideration money stipulated to be paid was duly received by the Indian grantors.

A meeting of The Susquehanna Company was held at Hartford November 20, 1754, and Maj. Roger Wolcott, Jr., Maj. Phineas Lyman, George Wyllys, Esq., Daniel Edwards, Esq., and Maj. Eliphalet Dyer were appointed a committee "to prepare the case of the Susquehanna Purchase lately made of the Indians, and all proper exhibits relating thereto, in order to lay the same before His Majesty for his grant and confirmation." It was also voted to increase the number of whole-share members to 800, and 1,000 dollars was ordered to be sent to Colonel Lydius "in order to complete the purchase, and in compliance with the engagement of the former committee—and more, if necessary fully to discharge said former committee from said Lydius." At this same meeting George Wyllys, Esq.,* was elected Treasurer of the Company, and Samuel Gray,† Esq., was elected Clerk.

(Facsimile of signature written in 1776.)

* See page 282.

† SAMUEL GRAY was born in Lebanon, New London County, Connecticut, April 6, 1722, the eldest child of Dr. Ebenezer and Mary (*Gardiner*) Gray. Dr. Ebenezer Gray (born at Boston October 31, 1697) was the ninth child of Samuel Gray, a native of Dorsetshire, England, and his wife Susannah Langdon of Plymouth, England, who immigrated to Boston, Massachusetts, in 1679. Ebenezer was educated at Harvard College, became a physician and practised his profession at Lebanon and then at Windham. When Windham County was organized in 1726 he was appointed Clerk of the County Courts, and this office he held for a number of years. He was also a Justice of the Peace for some years prior to 1747. He was twice married—first, June 28, 1720, to Mary, daughter of John Gardiner, the third proprietor of Gardiner's Island, and grandson of Lion Gardiner the original proprietor (1639) of the island. (For an interesting account of this island and its owners see an article by George Parsons Lathrop in *The Century Magazine* of December, 1885.) Mrs. Mary (*Gardiner*) Gray died July 27, 1726, and Dr. Gray was married, second, February 20, 1728, to Mrs. Mary Coit, widow of Thomas Coit of New London, Connecticut. Dr. Gray died at Windham September 8, 1773.

In 1752 Samuel Gray was appointed Clerk of the Windham County Court, and this office he held until his death. From 1754 until his death he was a Justice of the Peace in and for Windham County; and in 1755 he succeeded his brother-in-law, Col. Eliphalet Dyer, as Town Clerk of Windham, in which office he continuously served for upwards of thirty years. In 1758 he was first elected to represent the town of Windham in the General Assembly of Connecticut, and between that year and 1770 he served a number of terms as Representative. For many years he was a Deacon of the Congregational Church at Windham. He held the office of Clerk, or Secretary, of The Susquehanna Company until his death. He resided at Windham Green, the present post-village of Windham, and there he died August 3, 1787.

Samuel Gray was married at Windham November 7, 1742, to Lydia (born July 12, 1724; died July 3, 1790), third child of Col. Thomas and Lydia (*Backus*) Dyer, and they became the parents of three sons and three daughters.

Ebenezer Gray, eldest child of Samuel and Lydia (*Dyer*) Gray, was born at Windham July 26, 1743. He was graduated a Bachelor of Arts at Yale College in 1763, receiving in 1766 the degree of M. A.—which same degree was also conferred upon him by Dartmouth College in 1773. Having studied law with Matthew Griswold of Lyme, Connecticut—later, Governor of the State—he was admitted to the Bar. He was in Wyoming Valley in 1769 and 1770, active in advancing the settlements here, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter.

When, in April, 1775, news of the Lexington skirmish reached Windham County, a large number of the enrolled militia of the County assembled and offered to march to the assistance of their Massachusetts brethren. From these men three provisional companies were immediately organized and sent forward to Boston. Ebenezer Gray was a member of one of the companies, and two other members of the same company were William Hovey of Mansfield and Elijah Lincoln. Hovey was a combmaker by trade, and while his company was in camp at Cambridge he made a large powder-horn which he gave to Ebenezer Gray. The latter carved upon the horn several devices, including a rude plan, or plot, of Boston and its suburbs, together with the following inscriptions: (1) "Ebenezer Gray, his horn. Made at Cambridge, 1775." (2) "Made by William Hovey of Mansfield." When, on May 1st, 1775, Ebenezer Gray was appointed and commissioned a Second Lieutenant in the 3d Connecticut Regiment, commanded by Col. Israel Putnam, he gave his powder-horn to Elijah Lincoln, mentioned above. Lincoln used the horn through the siege of Boston and in all his service thereafter until the battle of Germantown, Pennsyl-

The Susquehanna Company having been, apparently, successfully launched, a second land company was organized in the Autumn and Winter of 1754 by a large number of the inhabitants of Connecticut, many of whom were members also of the first-mentioned company. This new organization was named "The Delaware Company," but it soon became generally known as "The Connecticut Delaware Company." Its agents bought, with slight formality, the title of the Delaware Indians to all land lying between the Delaware River and the eastern boundary-line of The Susquehanna Company's purchase (to wit, a line ten miles east of the Susquehanna River), and bounded on the north by the forty-second parallel of latitude and on the south by the forty-first parallel.*

The deed passing the Indian title to this large extent of territory—nearly the whole of the north-eastern section of the present State of Pennsylvania—was executed May 6, 1755, by sixteen "sachems and chiefs of the ancient tribe and nation of Indians called *Ninnepauws*, otherwise known by the name of Delaware Indians." These grantors—whose names are all unfamiliar—were, without doubt, members of the Minsi, or Mousey, clan of the Delaware nation living along the upper waters of the river. The deed purports to have been executed at the nation's "headquarters upon Delaware River." The consideration named in the deed is 500 Spanish milled dollars and certain English goods valued at about 3,000 dollars. The names of the grantees number about 500, and the first name in the list is that of the Hon. Hezekiah Huntington,

vania, when, in the course of the fighting, the horn was torn from the strap, or cord, by which it was suspended, and was lost to its owner. In July, 1841, the *Germantown Telegraph* described the finding of this horn, nearly sixty-four years after its loss. It was found two or more feet under ground, when a grave was being excavated "in the burial-ground attached to the new Lutheran Church" of Germantown.

Ebenezer Gray served through the siege of Boston. January 1, 1776, he was commissioned First Lieutenant and Quartermaster of the Connecticut regiment commanded by John Durkee (see Chapter VIII), and with his regiment marched to New York, where, August 31, 1776, Brig. Gen. Samuel H. Parsons appointed him Brigade Major. January 1, 1777, he was promoted Major of the 6th Regiment, Connecticut Line, and October 15, 1778, he was promoted Lieutenant Colonel of the 7th Regiment, Connecticut Line. He continued in service until June, 1783, when he returned to Windham and resumed the practice of law. He was an early member of the Society of the Cincinnati.

Colonel Gray was married March 30, 1786, to Sarah Standiford. He died June 18, 1795, and she died in 1835. Their children were: (i) *Ebenezer*, born May 16, 1787; graduated at Yale College in 1805; died in 1844. (ii) *Charlotte*, born March 9, 1789; was married to Thomas Lynch, a native of Ireland, and became the mother of Anne C. Lynch, a poetess and writer, who became the wife of Professor Botta, the historian. (iii) *Samuel*, born 1792; died 1836.

Mary Gray, the second child of Samuel and Lydia (*Dyer*) Gray, was born at Windham October 14, 1744, and July 17, 1764, was married to the Rev. Enoch Huntington (born in Windham December 15, 1730), son of Nathaniel, of Norwich, a descendant in the fourth generation of the original Simon Huntington, mentioned on page 281. Enoch Huntington was graduated at Yale College in 1759, and from 1780 to 1808 was a Fellow of the College Corporation, and its Secretary from 1788 to 1793. On the death of President Stiles of Yale in 1795 Mr. Huntington was spoken of as his successor, but ill health compelled him to decline the honor. Having been installed pastor of the First Congregational Church of Middletown, Connecticut, January 6, 1792, he spent there the remainder of his life—dying June 12, 1809. His wife died December 15, 1863. They were the parents of six children, the eldest of whom was Enoch Huntington, born October 19, 1767; graduated at Yale College with high honors in 1785; married November 6, 1791, to Sarah Ward; died in 1826. The fourth child of the last-mentioned Enoch was the Rev. Enoch Huntington, Jr., who in 1825 became Rector of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Wilkes-Barré. (For his portrait, and a sketch of his life, see Chapter XXX.)

Samuel Gray, Jr., fifth child of Samuel and Lydia (*Dyer*) Gray, was born at Windham June 21, 1751. In 1769 and '70 he was a student in the school of the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock at Lebanon Crank, Connecticut, and in the year last mentioned he accompanied Dr. Wheelock and a cavalcade of forty or fifty students through the wilderness to Hanover, New Hampshire, where they cut away the trees, erected a building and established Dartmouth College. Samuel Gray, Jr., was one of the four young men composing the first class graduated at this institution, August 28, 1771, as Bachelors of Arts. In 1774 Mr. Gray received from his Alma Mater the honorary degree of M. A., and in 1775 he received the same degree from Yale College. In December, 1775, he was appointed an Assistant Commissary under Col. Joseph Trumbull, Commissary General of Issues of the Continental Army. He was at Cambridge with the army, and accompanied it to New York. When Colonel Trumbull (a sketch of whom will be found in a subsequent chapter) resigned his office, Samuel Gray, Jr., was commissioned by Congress, in July, 1777, Deputy Commissary General of Issues for the Eastern Department, and in this office he served under Col. Charles Stewart, Commissary General (see Chapter VII for his portrait and a sketch of his life), till near the close of the war. In 1779 he was stationed at Windham. Upon the decease of his father he was appointed Clerk of the Windham County Courts, and held the office for almost forty years. Samuel Gray, Jr., was married at Windham July 2, 1788, to Charlotte (born October 26, 1764), daughter of Col. Jedidah Elderkin—whose portrait, and a sketch of whose life, will be found in Chapter V. Samuel Gray, Jr., died at Windham December 13, 1836, and his wife died there December 13, 1797. They were the parents of three children.

* For the territory included within these bounds see the "Map of a Part of Pennsylvania" in Chapter XI.

mentioned on page 281. Another member was Capt. Robert Dixon (mentioned on page 251), who, in 1768, was a member of the Executive Committee of the Company. Shortly after the execution of this deed John Curtis, Asa Peabody and Joseph Skinner went upon the land (at Cushtunk—later Cochecton—in the present county of Wayne) and formally took possession for the body of grantees.

Tench Coxe, for some years Secretary of the Land Office of Pennsylvania—and in his time one of the most energetic and tireless opposers of the “pretensions made upon the Pennsylvania lands by the unincorporated Companies of Connecticut claimants”—wrote and published in May, 1801, a small pamphlet entitled “An Important Statement of Facts.” On page 15 is this paragraph :

“It is remarkable that the best-informed people of Connecticut and Pennsylvania do not furnish, or cannot procure, any evidences of the pretended Title, or Indian Deed, to ‘The Delaware Company.’ Even Colonel Franklin spoke of that Company’s claim as of no value, before the Committee of the House of Representatives at the last session. Yet the impositions under it have been very gross, and not inconsiderable.”

The original deed to The Delaware Company was recorded about the year 1782 in “Book No. 4,” folio 668, &c., of the Public Records of Connecticut. There is also a MS. copy of it among the “Pickering Papers” (LVII: 21) mentioned on page 29, and a copy was printed, in part, in *The Luzerne County Federalist* (Wilkes-Barré), April 13, 1801.





CHAPTER V.

THE SUSQUEHANNA COMPANY STIRS UP A HORNET'S NEST—SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON AND THE SIX NATIONS—FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR—WYOMING TEMPORARILY DESERTED BY THE INDIANS—INDIAN CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES IN PENNSYLVANIA—THE DELAWARE INDIANS ESTABLISHED AT WYOMING.

“Smiling Peace, bound with victorious wreaths, no longer holds sway over the once fair fields. Instead, grim-visaged War hath turned the merry meetings of the inhabitants into stern alarms, their delightful measures into dreadful marches.”

The agents and counselors of the Pennsylvania Proprietaries at Philadelphia were considerably excited and confounded by the various reports which they received from New York and New England relative to the doings and intentions of The Susquehanna Company. Some of these reports were rather confusing, as we have already shown, but nevertheless they contained sufficient indisputable testimony to the effect that the New Englanders were accomplishing, in a measure, what the Pennsylvanians had determined they should not be permitted to do.

In October, 1754, Conrad Weiser wrote to the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania as follows* :

“As to the Connecticut affair I am clear of opinion that by order of the Governor you should write to Hendrick, putting him in mind of his promise he made the Commissioners of this Province in Albany when he said he would come to us upon any occasion to advise with the Governor as in the presence of the Most High—that the Governor wants to see him in this critical time. Daniel Claus might come—he knows the way by land. If Hendrick refuses to come he may be suspected to have [had] a hand in it, and we must then act by Shikellimy and Jonathan, *as secret as possible*; otherwise, Lydius and that wicked priest at Canajoharie† will defeat our designs. I would advise in the meantime to have belts of wampum provided, and two or three belts all black. You will want a couple to send to the southward before long, and one must be made use of to demolish Lydius' proceeding. Mr. Claus must be ordered to keep *everything relating to this affair as a secret*, and to search very diligently whether Hendrick had any hand in signing the deed to the Connecticut people. If he had not, we shall succeed no doubt. He must have liberty to bring one or more Indians with him.”

Following Weiser's suggestion, Gov. Robert Hunter Morris (who had succeeded Governor Hamilton a short time before) wrote to “King” Hendrick under date of November 15th, stating that it was necessary for him to have a private conference with the “King,” and desiring the latter to make a visit to Philadelphia “in order to consult on some

* See “Pennsylvania Colonial Records,” VI : 248.

† Miner (see “History of Wyoming,” page 97) states that the person here referred to was the Rev. Jacob Johnson—mentioned on page 82, *ante*. This, for several reasons, is very doubtful.

affairs in which *the safety of the Indians and His Majesty's Colonies*" were "very much concerned"! This letter was sent under cover to Daniel Claus, who was directed to consult with Col. William Johnson "as to when to deliver it, and what to say to Hendrick." At the same time Governor Morris wrote to Colonel Johnson as follows*:

"If Hendrick can be prevailed upon to come down, and shall have all these matters laid down properly before him, he would find out a method of laying the whole before the Six Nations, and preventing a settlement of these lands. Should he *be told beforehand* that this is the business that he is sent for, he may decline coming. For this reason it is thought best *not to mention a word of this matter to Hendrick*, but—inasmuch as when he took leave of the Commissioners [at Albany] he made this Government a tender of his services, and declared in a solemn manner that he would at any time come to Philadelphia whenever the Governor should think it necessary to send for him—to write him a general letter, and leave it to you to give him what impression you please of this journey, and to persuade him to take it immediately."

From "Mount Johnson," under date of December 9, 1754, Colonel Johnson† wrote to Governor Morris as follows (see "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VI: 268):

*"Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VI: 251, 252.



SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

From a portrait in the State Library,
Albany, New York.

him by De Lancey & Co., and netted him a considerable fortune, and it is said that "he bought his Greenwich farm of 300 acres with a part of the money." The present Abingdon Square, with its little park, in the city of New York, is a memento of Warren's Greenwich farm—the eldest of Sir Peter's three daughters having married the Earl of Abingdon, for whom the square was named.

William Johnson spent the Winter of 1737-'38 with his annt in New York, but as soon as navigation was opened in the Hudson River in the Spring of 1738 he sailed with a sloop-load of stores and implements and several mechanics for Albany. Thence the party journeyed overland with their material to a point near the mouth of Schoharie Creek, where, on Sir Peter Warren's land, they founded a settlement which became known as "Warrensburg" and as "Warrensbusch." Here William Johnson passed five years. In 1741, however, he purchased a tract of land lying north of the Mohawk River and comprising several thousand acres—upon a portion of which part of the present city of Amsterdam stands. He at once began building upon this tract a substantial stone house (still standing, about one mile west of Amsterdam), which subsequently became known as "Mount Johnson," and later as "Fort Johnson." To this mansion he removed from Warrensbusch in the Spring of 1743, with his wife Katharine (*née* Weisenburg), to whom he had been married in 1739, and their two children—Anne, born in 1740, and John, born in 1742. In 1744 a third child—Mary—was born.

With his removal to Mount Johnson the active and effective public career of William Johnson may be said to have begun. In the Autumn of 1743 he was appointed by Governor Clinton to fill a vacancy on the Board of Indian Commissioners, caused by the resignation of Col. Peter Schuyler; and about the same time he was appointed Colonel of a militia regiment. In April, 1745, he was commissioned a magistrate for the district in which he lived.

In 1744 he established an Indian trading-post on the Susquehanna opposite the village of Oghwaga, mentioned in the foot-note on page 257. When he applied to Governor Clinton for a license he said: "I wish to create this trading-post not any more for the profits it may bring to me than to show by actual example that trade with the Indians can be conducted honestly as well as any other commercial business." This post was maintained for a number of years, being managed for the owner by agents, and a large volume of very profitable business was transacted.

In September, 1746, Colonel Johnson was appointed Sole Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Colony of New York, and about the same time was commissioned a Colonel on the permanent establishment. In the Autumn of 1747 preparations were made in the northern Colonies for an expedition against Canada

† WILLIAM JOHNSON was born in 1715 at Warrenpoint, County Down, Ireland, son of Christopher and Anne (*Warren*) Johnson. Christopher Johnson, who was at that time a local magistrate for the bailiwick of Carlingford, had been from 1692 till 1708 an officer in a regiment of heavy cavalry known as Cadogan's Horse, and in a charge at Oudenarde was wounded in the leg and disabled by a French bullet. His wife, Anne Warren, was the daughter of a Commodore and the sister of an Admiral (Sir Peter Warren) in the British Navy.

William Johnson served for some time as a magistrate's clerk in his father's office, at the same time diligently studying law and history. He was listed for examination in the Spring of 1737 for admission to the Bar, but about that time a new field of work was thrown open to him by his uncle, Admiral Warren. The latter, whose home was then in the city of New York, had purchased some years previously, under a royal grant, a large tract of land in the valley of the Mohawk, west of Schenectady, New York. The settlements of the Palatines (see page 181) and the Holland Dutch were being pushed up the Mohawk Valley, so that by the year 1737 Admiral Warren's lands had become somewhat valuable and were worth looking after. Therefore young Johnson, then in the twenty-second year of his life, sailed for America late in the Summer of 1737 to act as the general agent of all his uncle's real estate interests in this country.

Sir Peter Warren's wife was Susannah, the daughter of Stephen De Lancey, one of the richest merchants in New York, and "the family held leadership in the most refined and aristocratic society of the Colonial metropolis." A few years later Sir Peter was a citizen of considerable consequence in New York. He had then returned from Martinique, where he had captured many French and Spanish prizes with his squadron of sixteen sailing craft. These prizes were sold for

in the ensuing Spring. Sir William Pepperell was selected for commander-in-chief of the Provincial forces, and Colonel Johnson was to be second in command, besides being in immediate command of a brigade of Provincials and 1,000 Indians under "King" Hendrick. The frontier was strongly guarded during the Winter, and in February, 1748, Colonel Johnson took command of the whole line of frontier forts. By April it became known that the war was practically over, and in July news came that preliminary articles of peace had been signed. (See page 224.) The French evacuated Crown Point, the Indians on both sides buried the hatchet, and what was known as the "Old French War," or "King George's War," was ended. Referring in 1755 to this war "King" Hendrick said: "During the time of the last war Colonel Johnson prevailed on us, and we listened to him. He was our Captain when no others did anything. He alone persuaded us, and we obeyed him and engaged in war against the French. We put ourselves under his protection. He promised to live and die with us." ("Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VI: 281.)

In 1746 Colonel Johnson was invested by the Mohawks with the rank of a chief of that nation, the Indian name of "*Warraghi-yag-gey*" was bestowed upon him and he was given a seat in the "Long House" at the Grand Councils of the Iroquois Confederacy. Not long afterwards, dressed in full Indian costume, he led the Mohawk tribe to a council, or conference, at Albany. He frequently accompanied the Iroquois deputies who went to Albany to transact business with the Government, and on all occasions he paid the utmost deference to the ancient ceremonial forms observed by the Indians in transacting public business. He received at his mansion with great ceremony the delegates from various tribes, listened to them patiently and answered them carefully; made them liberal presents, and ordered every attention to be paid to their personal wants. No Indian who came to him ever went away hungry or in want, and no one ever complained that he had not received an audience. He sent formal messages to the head men of the Six Nations desiring their attendance at Mount Johnson whenever occasion required it. This careful attention greatly pleased the Indians. Distance was immaterial to him, as he found it was nothing to them. "No one," states Schoolcraft, "can peruse the history of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland or Virginia—nay, even of the States farther south—from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the era of the Revolutionary War, without observing how intimately the Indian policy of these Colonies was connected with the Iroquois supremacy, and how completely Sir William [Johnson] controlled it through a well-established system of subordinates."

The Rev. Gideon Hawley, in his account of his journey to Oghwaga in 1753 (mentioned on page 257, *ante*), refers to a visit he and his companions made to Colonel Johnson. "Friday," he wrote, "we left Albany for Mount Johnson, about thirty-six miles off, on the Mohawk River, to pay our compliments to Colonel Johnson and obtain his countenance in favor of our mission. At sunset we were politely received by Colonel Johnson himself at his gate. Here we lodged. His mansion was stately, and situate a little distance from the river, on a rising ground, and adjacent to a stream which turned his mill." Dr. Eleazar Wheelock, sometime President of Dartmouth College, writing of Colonel Johnson's life about this period, said: "I have seen at Mount Johnson, and also at Johnson Hall, sixty to eighty Indians at one time lodging under tents on the lawn, and taking their meals from tables made of pine boards spread under the trees. They were delegations from all the Iroquois tribes, come to pow-wow with their great white brother. "They say," said the Baronet to me once, "that it is not right or fair that I should be Superintendent over the Indians and an Indian trader at the same time. Why, bless me, Doctor, my profits from the Indian trade do not reimburse me for my outlay in entertaining these delegations."

A writer in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (London), in 1755, said of Colonel Johnson: "Besides his skill and experience as an officer, he is particularly happy in making himself beloved by all sorts of people, and can conform to all companies and conversations. He is very much the fine gentleman in genteel company; but as the inhabitants next to him are mostly Dutch, he sits down with them and smokes his tobacco, drinks flip and talks of improvements, bear- and beaver-skins. Being surrounded with Indians he speaks several of their languages well, and has always some of them with him. He takes care of their wives and old Indians, when they go out on parties, and even wears their dress. In short, by his honest dealings with them in trade, and his courage—which has often been successfully tried with them—and his courteous behavior, he has so endeared himself to them that they chose him one of their chief Sachems, or Princes, and esteem him as their father."

By the Autumn of 1754 the French and Indian War (referred to on page 261) was well under way, although a formal declaration of war was not made by England until May, 1756. In February, 1755, Maj. Gen. Sir Edward Braddock arrived in this country as commander-in-chief of all the British forces in North America—regular, Provincial and Indian. Within less than a month after his arrival he, in the name and by the authority of King George, appointed to the important post of "General Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the whole of British North America," Col. William Johnson, who, some four years previously, had resigned the office of Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New York. At the same time General Braddock outlined the plans for an expedition for the reduction of Fort St. Frédéric, or Crown Point, then the southernmost fortress of the French on the New York frontier, and as commander-in-chief of this expedition he appointed William Johnson, with the rank of Major General. On the 9th of July, following, occurred Braddock's disastrous defeat in western Pennsylvania.

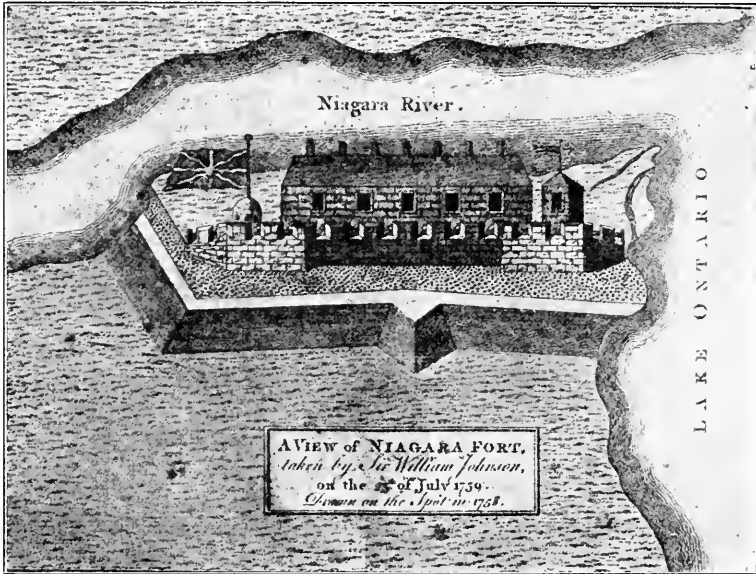
The campaign against Crown Point was begun early in August by the building and garrisoning of Fort Edward, and on September 8th the battle of Lake George was fought. (See pages 264, 269 and 281.) Although this battle was won by the English, General Johnson advanced no farther against Crown Point, but contented himself with building Fort William Henry on the site of his camp. As soon as the news of the battle of Lake George reached England King George created General Johnson a baronet of the hereditary class, and promoted him to the rank of Major General in the British Regular Army, on the Colonial establishment, while Parliament voted him a gratuity of £5,000. He was censured, however, for not pursuing the enemy and capturing Crown Point. The victory at Lake George was the turning point in the ascendancy of the British influence with the Iroquois and their allies, which had been at a very low ebb at the beginning of the Old French War in 1744; and the fame which followed this victory aided greatly in raising Sir William Johnson in the estimation of the Indians. From this date the Indian political horizon in New York began to brighten.

In the Summer of 1756 a royal commission was issued to Sir William Johnson appointing him "Agent and Sole Superintendent of the Six Nations and all other Indians inhabiting British territory north of the Carolinas and the Ohio River"; and at the same time orders were issued "forbidding any Colonial Governor to transact any business with the Indians or hold any communication with them except through Sir William Johnson."

At the beginning of 1758 a powerful French armament at Louisbourg on Cape Breton threatened the New England Colonies, and there was a call for men to defend them. In May an expedition under command of Gen. Sir Jeffrey Amherst was sent to attack Louisbourg, and at the same time an army under General Abercrombie and Lord Howe set out to capture from the French Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point. The French forces were widely distributed, of necessity, since the frontier to be guarded was so vast, but the three points of greatest strategic importance were Louisbourg on the east, Fort Niagara on the west and Fort Ticonderoga in the center. Early in July Abercrombie was defeated at Ticonderoga—losing 2,000 men and retiring almost as if in flight; but on the 25th of the same month Louisbourg was surrendered to Amherst, who, a few months later, became commander-in-chief of all the British forces in North America.

During the Winter of 1758-'59 General Amherst matured plans for a comprehensive invasion of Canada. It was proposed to attack the French in all of their strong posts at once; to fall as nearly as possible at the same time upon Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Niagara and the forts to the south of Lake Erie, while a great naval armament and a considerable body of land forces should attempt the capture of Quebec. General Amherst was himself to lead the attack upon Ticonderoga and Crown Point; for the command

of the expedition against Quebec Gen. James Wolfe was selected, while Gen. John Prideaux was appointed to the command of the Niagara expedition, with Sir William Johnson second in command. Fort Niagara was regarded at this time as the most important post in America, for the reason that it secured the greatest number of communications. It was located on the eastern bank of the Niagara River, at the very entrance of the river into Lake Ontario. The original fort at this point consisted of "a stockade and



FORT NIAGARA IN 1758.
Photo-reproduction of an old print.

cabins" erected in the latter part of the seventeenth century by French troops under the command of the Marquis de Denonville. The stockade had "four bastions," upon which were mounted "two great guns and some pattrerars." (For the locations of Fort Niagara and Fort St. Frédéric, and for a ground-plan of the latter, see the map on page 33.)

The force sent against Fort Niagara consisted of 3,000 white troops and 980 Indians—the latter being directly under the command of Sir William Johnson. (See "Jean Montour," page 206, *ante*.) The siege of Niagara was begun on July 7th, 1759, and twelve days later General Prideaux was killed by the bursting of a shell; whereupon the chief command devolved upon Sir William Johnson. On the 24th of July a severe engagement between the French and English took place at some distance from the fort, resulting in the defeat of the French, and on the following day Fort Niagara, with its garrison of 618 men, was surrendered to Sir William. In the meantime, on July 7th, Fort Ticonderoga had been abandoned by the French and taken possession of by General Amherst, who, on the 14th of August, also gained possession of Crown Point.

August 10, 1760, General Amherst set out from Oswego, New York, with an army of 6,000 Provincials, 4,000 British Regulars and 1,350 Indians to make an attack upon Montreal. The Indians were under the command of Sir William Johnson, and composed the largest force of that race ever assembled on this continent up to that time. (See first paragraph of note on page 164.) On September 9th not only Montreal, but "Canada, with all her dependencies," was surrendered to the Crown of Great Britain. This event practically terminated the war.

Having acquired a large tract of land a little distance north of the Mohawk River, Sir William Johnson built thereon in 1762 a manor-house to which he gave the name of "Johnson Hall." It is still standing, about four miles from the river and about eight miles from "Mount Johnson," near the present city of Johnstown—which he at the same time founded—and is, perhaps, one of the most historic buildings in the United States. Sir William moved into it in the Spring of 1763, leaving "Mount Johnson" and the estate connected with it in possession of his eldest son and heir—afterwards Sir John Johnson. "Johnson Hall" was, in the time of its original owner, the most commodious and imposing edifice west of the Hudson River. It was the scene of many notable gatherings of distinguished people in the British service and famous chiefs of the Six Nations. Gideon Hawley referred to it in 1765 as "a very superb and elegant edifice, surrounded with little buildings for the accommodation of Indians when down upon treaties or conferences with Sir William." (See "Library of American Literature," III: 137, for "Sir William Johnson's Baronial Hall.") Here, until his death, the baronet lived and exercised the duties of Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the District of North America. Intimately acquainted with the mental characteristics, the wants, the wishes and the fears of the Indians, he, as it were, with one hand wielded the power of government in keeping them in order and subjection to the laws, and, with the other, exercised the duties of a Mentor, in teaching them how to promote their own best interests.

Sir William Johnson, who, it is said, had had a presentiment of his death, died of cerebral apoplexy July 11, 1774, after only a few hours' illness. This was about seven months after the tea riot had taken place in Boston, and his admirers believe that had he lived a few years longer the course of the Revolutionary War in the Mohawk Valley would have been changed, and that he would have been found side by side with Washington, enlisted in the cause of independence. "He disappeared from the scene of action at a critical period, when—to employ an Indian allegory—two thunder-clouds, black with anger, seemed rushing into conflict, leaving no one of sufficient capacity to cope with or control the storm." It is thought that Sir William's nature would have revolted at the bloody massacres of settlers at the hands of the red men and Tories, which were incited by his son, Sir John, and his nephew Col. Guy Johnson, together with the infamous John and Walter N. Butler. No other man in this country, however, was under such great obligations to the King—obligations which, had Sir William lived until the breaking out of the

war, he could not have well avoided. Great Britain had lavished on him the highest honors, and he was held in the highest respect by the Indians. His position, therefore, to say the least, would have been embarrassing.

Sir William Johnson was certainly not the least picturesque figure of the French and Indian War period of our Colonial history—that period which has been called the training-school of the Revolution. He was, by all odds, the most remarkable of Colonial New Yorkers, and was a powerful factor at a crucial period of American history. "He was just the man the English Government required in the contest they were waging with the French. "The gifts of his Sovereign, and the facilities he enjoyed for purchasing Indian lands, made him the possessor of great wealth, which, with his military honors, the partiality of his countrymen and his great influence with the Indians, rendered him as near a Prince as anything the backwoods of America have witnessed."

We have already noted the fact (on page 278) that, after the death of Sir William Johnson's wife Katharine, Caroline Peters lived with him as his common-law wife for some six years. About a year after her death—or, in 1754—a successor to her in the affections of Sir William and as "mistress of his household" came from Canajoharie Castle to Mount Johnson in the person of Mary—or, as she is better known, "Molly"—Brant. She was then nineteen years old, was the daughter of Nicklaus Brant (mentioned on pages 264 and 277) and the granddaughter of Abraham Peters, and, therefore, the niece of Caroline Peters, her predecessor at Mount Johnson.

That Molly Brant and Sir William were never married is shown conclusively by the latter's will, wherein bequests are made to six girls and two boys described by the testator as "my natural children by my housekeeper, Mary Brant." It has been generally understood that certain Indian customs in marriage had been observed by Sir William and Molly. Also, it is true that the latter was often called "the Indian Lady Johnson," "the Brown Lady Johnson" and "Lady Molly"; but these were matters of compliment or courtesy only. However, according to a statement made by Col. Daniel Claus a few years after Sir William's death, Molly Brant was "considered and esteemed as his [Sir William's] relic" by the Indians, and "one word from her would go farther than one thousand from any white man whatever." (See Buell's "Sir William Johnson," page 268.) In 1779 Sir Frederick Haldimand was Captain General and Governor-in-chief of the Province of Quebec. (See sketch of his life in Chapter XIV.) In 1760, as Colonel Haldimand, he had served under Amherst in the campaign against Montreal, and was well acquainted with Sir William Johnson. Under date of August 30, 1779, Colonel Claus wrote to General Haldimand, giving an account of "*Molly Brant's* adventures and misfortunes in the King's service," and stating that she had "lived with Sir William Johnson as his wife, and was always so regarded by the Indians." Two days later General Haldimand wrote Colonel Claus that he would "see *Miss Molly* shortly and provide for her wants."

Molly Brant was undoubtedly a woman of ability, and with her Sir William lived happily. After his death she removed to Canajoharie (now Danube), where she lived with her children until the flight of the Mohawks to Canada. After the Revolution the British Government, while it did not recognize the legitimacy of Sir William Johnson's half-breed children born to him by Molly Brant, did recognize her and their right to be beneficiaries under his last will; and so provision was made for her and for them by the Government, as a satisfactory equivalent for the losses they had sustained through the action of the State of New York in sequestrating the Johnson estate.

Molly Brant was the elder sister of the famous Mohawk warrior Joseph Brant, or *Thayendanegea* (born 1742), whose name has been previously mentioned. He early became a *protégé* of Sir William Johnson, and thenceforward until the death of the latter spent much time in his service and near his person. Sir William's dying words were spoken to Brant. Although only thirteen years old at the time of the battle of Lake George (mentioned on page 264), Joseph Brant carried a small fowling-piece presented to him by Sir William, and, with the Mohawks under "King" Hendrick—his great-uncle—took part in the battle. In the campaign of 1759, ending with the capture of Fort Niagara, Brant, then seventeen years of age, served as Lieutenant in the Canajoharie company of Mohawks, and, according to Stone, conducted himself with "distinguished bravery." Later Brant was sent by Sir William Johnson to the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock's school at Lebanon, where he received a good education for the times. It is said that more than one missionary on the New York frontier learned the Mohawk tongue from Joseph Brant; and it was he who made the first translation of the Gospel of St. Mark into his native language. As an interpreter Brant had special qualifications, and during the last few years of Sir William Johnson's life, and for a year or two following his death, Brant was in receipt of a salary as a Government interpreter attached to the office of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

In 1776 Brant visited London, where he entered into an agreement with Lord George Germaine, British Colonial Secretary, to organize the Six Nation Indians in support of the British cause. In view of this promised service Brant was given the rank and pay of Captain. Under date of April 16, 1779, Lord Germaine wrote to Governor General Haldimand, previously mentioned, that "Brant's activity and success give him a claim to every mark of regard. He has been appointed a Colonel of Indians." (See the "Haldimand Papers," British Museum, London.) After the Revolutionary War Brant was in receipt of a pension from the British Government until his death at Brantford, Ontario, in November, 1807.

Francis W. Halsey denominates Joseph Brant "the most interesting Indian who, in that eventful eighteenth century, forever linked his name with the history of central New York." John Fiske declares that he "was the most remarkable Indian known to history." To quote further from Halsey ("The Old New York Frontier," page 327): "He [Brant] was better than the Tories under whose guidance he served, and far better than most Indian chiefs of his time. There was much in the man that was kindly and humane. If he loved war, this was because he loved his friends and his home still more. He fought in battle with the vigor and skill of a savage, but we are to remember that he fought where honor called him. To the story of his life peculiar fascination must long be attached, a large part of which springs from the potent charm of an open personality. In Brant's character were joined strength and humanity, genius for war and that unfamiliar quality in a Mohawk savage, *bonhomie*." Of Brant's humanity in the Pennsylvania-New York border warfare many well-authenticated stories have been recorded. He was a Free Mason, and upon more than one occasion saved the life of an enemy who, in difficulty and danger, threw him the sign of distress.

Anne, or Nancy, Johnson (born 1740), Sir William's eldest child by his white wife, Katharine, was married about 1759 or '60, at Mount Johnson, to Col. Daniel Claus (mentioned on page 287), who was considerably older than she.

John (born 1742), Sir William's only son by his wife Katharine, was knighted in the lifetime of his father, as a special compliment to the latter. Shortly before Sir William's death Sir John made a visit to England, where "he was most graciously received by His Majesty and all the royal family." J. R. Simms says "Sir John was not the amiable-tempered, social and companionable man his father was, and hence was not the welcome guest in all society that his father had been." Early in 1776 Sir John Johnson was arrested at Johnson Hall by the Revolutionary authorities and then released on parole. But a few months later he broke his parole and fled precipitately to Canada, accompanied by a large number of his dependents and tenants. He was made a Colonel in the British army, and soon organized a corps (consisting of two battalions) called the "Royal Greens," composed mainly of refugee Loyalists, or Tories, from the Johnson estate in the Mohawk Valley. From the time of organizing this corps he became one of the most active and one of the bitterest foes that the patriots encountered during the Revolution. Soon after the close of the war Sir John went to England, but returned in 1785 and established his residence in Canada. He was appointed Superintendent General and Inspector General of Indian Affairs in British North

"I have been honored with yours of the 15th *ultimo* by Mr. Daniel Claus, whom I immediately sent to call Hendrick to my house. Upon his arrival I delivered and interpreted your honor's letter of invitation to him, and urged his waiting on you immediately; which when he agreed to, I spoke to him concerning the affair as far as I judged necessary, and I flatter myself it will have a good effect—he having faithfully promised me to exert himself and use his utmost endeavors for the interest of the Proprietaries against the Connecticut attempt. After my expatiating some time on the injustice of their proceedings, more especially so after what passed at Albany last June in public, Hendrick then with some warmth disapproved of them as well as the weakness of those of his brethren who were seduced by Lydius, and promised to do all he could to make them revoke or retract what they had so shamefully done, provided I would assist him and countenance his proceedings with the Five Nations—which I assured him I would with all my interest."

In the meantime Governor Morris and Secretary Peters had been kept pretty busy receiving communications from, and writing to, various people on the important subject of the projected inroads of The Susquehanna Company into the territory coveted by the Penns. Under date of November 13, 1754, Daniel Brodhead, Sr. (mentioned on page 258), wrote from Lower Smithfield, in Northampton County, to Secretary Peters, as follows* :

"I thought it incumbent on me to inform you to what a crisis the New Englanders have raised most of the people of our neighborhood in relation to their selling the lands of Wyomink. Letters came here announcing the fact that *thirteen of the sachems had signed the deed*, and desiring all persons here who were interested to meet at Hartford [Connecticut] on the 20th *inst.*† This occasioned a meeting in our parts to the number of thirty, who had already become adventurers and lodged their money in the hands of one Robert Parkes, to be taken to Connecticut. * * * This appears to be a sort of anarchy, which, if not soon stopped, will, I am afraid, prove very detrimental to the peace of the Province."

Justice Brodhead further informed Secretary Peters that he had issued a warrant for the arrest of Parkes, who, just as he was setting out for Connecticut, was apprehended by the local constable and brought before the Justice. The latter, after a brief examination of the defendant, "left him in care of the constable to get security for his personal appearance at the next Court," according to directions received from Chief Justice Allen at Philadelphia; but the constable let Parkes go, who thereupon departed for Connecticut in company with John Atkins, Esq., a Pennsylvania magistrate and a member of The Susquehanna Company. On the following day J. McMichael of Lower Smithfield wrote to Secretary Peters that most of the people in that locality were "concerned with the New Englanders, and not one magistrate on this side the mountain, except Daniel Brodhead, but what joins them."

Under date of November 20th Governor Morris wrote a long letter to Thomas Fitch, Governor of Connecticut, relative to the situation of

America, and for several years he was also a member of the Legislative Council of Canada. His death occurred at Montreal in 1830.

Mary Johnson (born 1744), the youngest of Sir William's legitimate children, was married in the Spring of 1763 to her cousin Guy Johnson. The latter—who was a native of Ireland—had then, for some years, made his home with his uncle Sir William. In the campaign against Montreal he served as a Lieutenant, and in 1761 Sir William appointed him one of his Deputy Superintendents of Indian Affairs, with the rank of Colonel. In 1766 Sir William built for his daughter and son-in-law a mansion on an estate now known as Guy Park, in the western part of the present city of Amsterdam. This they occupied until their flight to Canada early in 1776. Col. Guy Johnson succeeded Sir William in the office of Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Both he and his brothers-in-law, Sir John Johnson and Col. Daniel Claus, were led by their inclination, as well as by some irritation against the leaders of the patriots, to exert themselves, successfully, to induce the Six Nations to embrace the British cause. The task was rendered easier by the circumstance that the British Government did not spare the presents which were the most effectual means of securing the fidelity of the Indians. The Americans, on the other hand, were too poor to purchase aid.

In due time Fort Niagara, previously mentioned, became the headquarters of the Indian Superintendency under the British, and the rendezvous for scalping and marauding parties. In August, 1779, Governor General Haldimand notified Lieutenant Colonel Bolton, the commandant of Fort Niagara, that "Mr. Johnson, Colonel of the Six Nations, is going to take charge of his civil duties." At the same time Colonel Bolton was informed as to Colonel Johnson's position, and the regard that must be paid him before the Indians. Col. Guy Johnson died March 5, 1788, in London, England, whither he had gone in straitened circumstances.

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VI: 253.

† See the reference to this meeting on page 292.

affairs. This letter having been entrusted to John Armstrong, Esq. (mentioned on page 259), for delivery to Governor Fitch, the latter, upon its receipt, replied as follows* :

"I should be glad it was in my power to do more service than I am at present able to afford, to prevent the ill consequences you have so well pointed out as proceeding from the purchase of those lands on Susquehanna in the manner in which some people of this Colony have presumed to act. I am very sensible that to take any steps to disaffect the Indians in our alliance, or to raise contests between the Governments at this critical conjuncture, must be prejudicial to His Majesty's interest, and greatly detrimental to the safety and peace of these Governments, and therefore ought to be opposed by all. * * *

"I must confess myself to be unacquainted with the scheme proposed by those persons, and know but very little about the steps they have taken, as they never made any application to the Government about the matter. And *who the persons concerned be, or where they live, I know not*, but only in general I have been informed some live in this Government—and, I suppose, the greatest number—some in England, some in New York, the Jerseys and elsewhere. * * * I know of no better way with us at present than to represent the state of the case in some public manner, by which all persons concerned may see the consequences of such a procedure. * * * I shall, therefore, lay this matter before our Assembly for their consideration."

During his stay in Connecticut Governor Morris' private messenger (Armstrong) gathered up all the information concerning The Susquehanna Company it was possible for him to procure from sources outside the Company; and upon his return to Philadelphia he made a report of the same (under date of December 11th) to the Provincial authorities. This report is printed in full in "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VI : 259. The following paragraphs have been extracted from it :

"Received information of Mr. John Lloyd, merchant at Stamford, Connecticut, that Mr. [Jedidiah] Elderkin said, [as] he understood the matter, that an Indian deed was already obtained from several of the Six Nation chiefs; that he the said Elderkin was concerned in the lands; that the purchasers had the countenance of their Government in what they had done, and would settle 400 persons early in the Spring. If the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania had any objections he would be glad how soon the matter had a fair trial and was brought to issue.

"Was informed at New Haven * * * by Capt. David Wooster, Lieut. Nathaniel Whiting and Mr. Thomas Darling that the purchase was entirely of a private nature, contrary to their own as well as our laws; that the Government (as such) had nothing to do with it, and that Mr. Elderkin was certainly mistaken if he so much as insinuated any license to have been given by the Governor for that purpose. To the same import spoke the Governor, the President of New Haven College and sundry other gentlemen. * * * The gentlemen of the committee are Maj. Phineas Lyman, Maj. Roger Wolcott, Col. Samuel Talcott, Maj. Eliphalet Dyer, Mr. Edwards and Mr. George Wyllys. The latter is Secretary of the Colony and Treasurer to the Company. * * * 'Tis said *the Committee are men of great natural understanding, as well as considerable acquirements.*

"There were formerly 500 subscribers at seven dollars each, to which are added 300 at nine dollars each. There are two of the sachems who have refused to sign the deed until they are paid 1,000 dollars more than the other sachems are content with. The generality of the more knowing people despise the scheme as wild and preposterous; but some others mightily cry up the antiquity and extent of their Charter, whereon their claims are chiefly built. * * * When the Governor's letters are laid before the Upper and Lower Houses they will doubtless put a stop to any considerable number coming in the Spring to settle on the Susquehanna lands; yet it is highly probable that as matters are carried to so great a length some number will come."

Under date of December 2, 1754, James Alexander, Esq. (mentioned on page 266), wrote from the city of New York to the Governor of Pennsylvania as follows† :

"I am heartily sorry to hear that the Connecticut people have so far prevailed as to corrupt some of the Northampton [County] people to join them. I believe more vigorous measures will be wanting to nip this affair in the bud than writing to Governors and magistrates, or employing a few rangers as I before proposed. I question if less will do than a superior number to Connecticut men, to apprehend men, women and children that come, and bring them to Philadelphia—the women and children to be shipped off to

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II : 208.

† See folio 37 of the "Penn Manuscripts," mentioned on page 30.

Governor Fitch, the men to be imprisoned till they enter bail or list for Ohio. This done twice or thrice will terrify others from coming, and £1,000 or £2,000 laid out now in this service may save scores of thousands that it may afterwards cost. I doubt not Connecticut will amuse and give good words till a great number be settled, and then bid defiance.”

On December 24th Governor Morris wrote the Hon. Thomas Penn—then the head of the Proprietary family, and residing in England—as follows* :

“The Connecticut affair, notwithstanding what passed at Albany, has taken a very bad turn, and a purchase is actually made from the Indians for the 41° of Latitude, beginning ten miles to the eastward of the East Branch of the Susquehanna, and extending westward two degrees of Longitude. Soon after I returned from New Castle I wrote to Colonel Johnson and sent for Hendrick down to this place, but thought it proper not to write to the Governor of Connecticut till Hendrick had taken some measures with the Six Nations; but, upon being informed that some of the purchasers who had been over to Wyomack to take a view of the lands, had drawn in some of the inhabitants of this Province to join them—who were returned with them to a grand meeting to be held November 20, 1754, at Hartford—I thought it right to state the whole matter in a letter to the Governor of Connecticut, whereupon I wrote a long letter, of which you will have a copy in your box. * * Numbers in this Province are ready to join the Connecticut people and take titles under them.”

About this time John Shikellimy (*Tachnechdorus*)† complained to Governor Morris that “some foreigners and strangers who live on the other side of New York, and have nothing to do in these parts, are coming like flocks of birds to disturb us in our possession of them.” Furthermore, Conrad Weiser wrote the Governor that Shikellimy had come over to Heidelberg from Shamokin to see him, and, said Weiser,‡ “he told me that the Indians about Shamokin had been informed that a lot of people from New England had formed themselves into a body to settle the lands on the Susquehanna, and especially *Schahantowano* [Wyoming], and that against the advice of their superiors. * * And the said chief [Shikellimy] desired to make it known that whosoever of the whites should venture to settle any land at Wyomock, or thereabout, belonging hitherto to the Indians, will have his creatures killed first, and then if they do not desist they themselves would be killed, without distinction—let the consequence be what it would. I found he had intelligence from the Indians up the river that some of the New England people had been there spying the lands.”

Under the convoy of Daniel Claus “King” Hendrick arrived in Philadelphia January 8, 1755, accompanied by the following Mohawk chiefs: Brant (*Conagaratuchqua*),§ Seth (*Otchenuchyata*), Joseph, Johannes (*Tecarryoghan*), his brother Nicholas (*Sagotenyuchta*), Jacob, and Brant’s son Nicholas (*Canadyora*). According to Watson (“Annals of Philadelphia,” II : 163) these Indians, during their stay in the city, occupied the shed in the State House yard mentioned on page 232.

A few days later twelve Cherokee Indians reached Philadelphia on their way southward. Two years previously, while a war was being waged against their nation in their own country by the French Indians, these warriors had been captured by the latter and conveyed to Canada. Having escaped from captivity they were now homeward-bound—being provided with a pass furnished them by the Commissioners of Indian Affairs at Albany, under date of December 9, 1754. The fugitives were kindly received in Philadelphia by both the Mohawks and the Government authorities, and were furnished accommodations in the State House

* See “Pennsylvania Archives,” First Series, II : 224.

† See pages 184 and 267.

‡ See “Pennsylvania Archives,” First Series, II : 259.

§ He was from Schoharie, and had been at the Albany conference of 1754.

yard. The day following their arrival, at a meeting of the Provincial Council with the Indians in the State House, "King" Hendrick, "on behalf of the Cherokees, thanked the Government for their kind reception and generous entertainment; * * and then, in behalf of the Six Nations—as they were in alliance with the Cherokees—made an elegant compliment to the Government for their brotherly and compassionate usage of these distressed Indians, and commended the Proprietaries, Governor and people of this Province as having, *more than any other of the Colonies, manifested on all occasions a particular tenderness and affection for the Indians*"!*

In view of these fulsome phrases it seems unnecessary to state that the Mohawk chieftans were being well taken care of by Governor Morris and his right-hand man Richard Peters. In the language of to-day the "City of Brotherly Love" was, to a degree, thrown "wide open" to the visitors. The brief extracts from the letters of Governor Morris which we have given show that he was a shrewd and politic manager of the Proprietary interests, and knew how to go about the accomplishment of his desires with respect to the "untutored savage." But, on the other hand, Hendrick was in equal measure wily and crafty (Sir William Johnson referred to him only a short time before this as "the politician, Hendrick"), and he was prompted by more than one reason to compliment and flatter the Pennsylvanians at this time.

Governor Morris and members of the Provincial Council held various conferences with "King" Hendrick and his Mohawks, in the course of which Hendrick did all the talking on the part of the Indians. The old "King" complained that the Government of New York did not use the Six Nations well, particularly in land matters. He also stated that the nations of the Confederacy were "divided amongst themselves—some of every tribe being for the English, and some for the French; but we, the Mohawks, boast that we are of the English side." Hendrick was asked to undertake, along with Colonel Johnson, the breaking of The Susquehanna Company's deed. In reply he said†:

"We agree with you that the deed should be destroyed. We agree with you that it is a false proceeding. We will give you our assistance, but you know that we cannot destroy the deed ourselves—that would be another mistake. * * It must be the act of the Council of the Six Nations. We will think of the proper means. We advise the Governor to send for two deputies of every Nation of the Six, either here or at Albany, to kindle a council-fire with them, to consider a way to oblige Connecticut to discountenance the deed, etc."

Daniel Claus and the Mohawks left Philadelphia on their homeward journey January 23, 1755, and reached Albany February 8th. Claus was the bearer of two letters to Colonel Johnson—one from Governor Morris and one from Richard Peters.† The following is an extract from Morris' letter:

"I heartily thank you for the part you have been so good as to take in the Connecticut affair. Hendrick has been very explicit on the subject, and I have entertained him and his companions in the best manner I could. You will give me leave to refer you to a letter you will receive with this, from Mr. Peters, for the particulars that have passed here, and for the plan that we have agreed to prosecute to put an end to this affair—in which I hope for the continuance of your friendly offices. You will observe, we propose that the Six Nations should be invited to send deputies to your house early in the Spring, with full powers to treat and agree upon this matter (relative to the purchase of Lydius,

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VI: 278.

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VI: 277.

‡ See Miner's "History of Wyoming," page 96.

and to prevent the like for the future), when I shall send commissioners to meet them ; and it will give me particular pleasure if you will permit me to name you in the commission."

The following paragraphs are from the letter of Secretary Peters referred to :

"He (Hendrick) told me you had made him a hearty friend to this Province, and would join with and support him in any measures which the Government of Pennsylvania should advise to get rid of this Connecticut deed. * * His Honor, the Governor, gave Hendrick a belt, with a string of wampum tied to it. By the belt he was asked to undertake, along with you, *the breaking of the Connecticut deed*. And for that purpose, and *because there is no other way in the world to get rid of it*, he was further desired to consider with you what will be the best method to procure the meeting of a Council at your house, as soon as possible, to consist of two or three deputies from each nation, and *no more*, in order to consult together of the most effectual manner how to do it. And by the string you are desired to convene such a Council.

"We further intimated to Hendrick, and now inform you, that *to get rid of this deed we cannot devise any other method* that will be effectual, unless the Six Nations in Council *will execute a conveyance to the Proprietaries of all the lands lying within their grant!* * * And to show the Indians and yourself their just intention they propose to name you one of the commissioners, with Mr. Penn and myself. Hendrick seems to approve much of this proposal, and I believe the more you think of the matter the more you will be persuaded that no other way can do the thing effectually. If it meets with your approbation—which I hope it will do—the Governor begs the favor of you to summon a Council at your house, and leaves it to you to fix the time and take such measures with the Indians previous to the meeting as you and Hendrick shall think proper."

Before Colonel Johnson could take up the matter of the Connecticut deed and arrange plans for either "breaking" or ignoring it, other matters of greater importance were demanding not only his attention but that of Governor Morris of Pennsylvania. This year of 1755 afforded but a gloomy prospect for the cause of the Colonies. Never before, perhaps, had they been so boldly threatened by the combined power of the French and the Indians. In February Major General Braddock arrived in this country as Commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America ; in March Colonel Johnson was promoted to the rank of Major General and appointed General Superintendent of Indian Affairs, as previously mentioned ; early in June Braddock's expedition started out, coming to a disastrous end on the 9th of July with "the greatest defeat ever suffered by the whites in frontier warfare" ; in the latter part of June, in response to a call issued by Johnson for a conference with the Iroquois, over 1,000 Indians assembled at Mount Johnson, when and where they were informed that Johnson—their "Brother *Warragh-i-ya-gey*"—had been delegated to command a military expedition which should include 1,000 picked warriors from the Six Nations. Preparations for the expedition against Crown Point now followed ; then came—early in August—the advance of the British and Indian forces under Johnson to Lake George, where, on September 8th, occurred the battle in which "King" Hendrick lost his life. With the death of Hendrick the agents of the Pennsylvania Proprietaries lost their chief mainstay among the Six Nation Indians.

Notwithstanding the fact that all the affairs and undertakings just mentioned, as well as others of importance, were occupying the serious thought and close attention of the American public, Governor Morris continued to find time in which to fidget and fluster about Lydius and The Susquehanna Company. Under date of March 11, 1755, Governor De Lancey of New York communicated to his Council "a letter from Governor Morris of Pennsylvania desiring the countenance of this [the New York] Government in respect to a meeting of the Six Nations of

Indians at Colonel Johnson's this Spring, where Mr. Morris proposes to treat with them by commissioners, and to purchase of them in behalf of the Proprietaries of that Province all the lands within the same, as bounded in the royal Charter. And desiring that John Lydius, who has lately made a purchase of lands within that Government, in behalf of some people of Connecticut, *may be prosecuted for the same*—the charges whereof he [Morris] will defray." * * * In taking action on this communication the Council decided that, "as the charge against the said John Lydius is general, this Board cannot order a prosecution against him by the Attorney General, but that the Government of Pennsylvania might be at liberty to commence and carry on a prosecution against him in the King's name."*

Under date of March 25th Governor Morris wrote to Governor De Lancey†:

"The purchase from the Six Nations of all the lands lying within the King's grant to William Penn is thought to be the only proper expedient to prevent the confusion that might arise from the wild schemes of the Connecticut people, which, if carried into execution, must destroy ye peace of other Provinces as well as that of Pennsylvania. It was the request of Hendrick that a treaty for this purpose might be held at Colonel Johnson's. * * * I propose to take the grant, if we can agree with the Indians, in the express words of Mr. Penn's Charter, and against this I conceive you can have no objections. * * * I am taking measures to obtain evidence against Lydius, and when this is laid before me and approved, I shall then renew my application and take ye legal steps agreeable to your letter, for which I return you thanks as I do for your kindness to Scaroooyady and his unworthy interpreter. This chief is really a man of consequence at Ohio, and will not be thought there to have degraded himself by a too free use of ye intoxicating cup." †

Under date of May 3, 1755, Governor Morris wrote to Major General (formerly Colonel) Johnson as follows‡:

"You may remember the manner proposed effectually to destroy the effect of that clandestine transaction of Lydius, and to prevent the like for the future, was to invite the Six Nations to send deputies to your house to declare their sense of that deed, and to make an absolute conveyance to the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania of all the lands within the limits of their grant from the Crown. * * * I propose that, agreeably to your friendly offer of assistance in this affair, you should invite the Six Nations to your house, either solely upon this subject, or join this with the one you are to send them upon the Public Service. * * * As to the consideration, I think besides a sum of money down there must be an annual payment for a certain term of years, to be agreed on at the meeting. I have orders from the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania to return you their thanks for the part you have taken."

About this time Governor Morris received from England a communication from the Hon. Thomas Penn,|| the head of the Proprietary family. It contained, among other matters, the following:

"We are extremely satisfied with your proceedings in the Connecticut business. As for making a purchase of these worthless Indians, till they have demanded the deed

* See page 54 of "Report of the Regents' Boundary Commission Upon the New York and Pennsylvania Boundary," Albany, 1886.

† See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II : 273, 279.

‡ Early in February, 1755, Scaroooyady, the "Half King" (mentioned on page 262), accompanied by other Indians and an interpreter (probably Andrew Moutour, mentioned on page 206), journeyed from Philadelphia to Mount Johnson, via the cities of New York and Albany, to formally ask, in behalf of the Pennsylvania authorities, for a conference with the Six Nations relative to the purchase (as proposed) of lands within the Pennsylvania Charter limits. This delegation visited the Mohawk country, and it was while passing through Albany early in March, on their homeward journey, that the "Half King" signed the *Susquehanna Company's deed!* (See page 276.) Governor De Lancey met this delegation in New York, when they were en route to or from Albany, and under date of March 18th he wrote Governor Morris: "The interpreter is a lying knave and the chief is turned sot."

§ Secretary Peters, writing to Colonel Johnson in the latter part of January, 1755, relative to the intended visit of the "Half King" to Mount Johnson and the Mohawk Castles, said: "Scaroooyady is a warrior, a brave and stout man, and has an aversion to the French, and wants, without any good reason, to strike them, and secretly purposes to animate the Six Nations to take part in the war. This he will do if he can, though this is not his public errand. * * * I think him a mighty good man, and worthy of all kinds of notice from the Six Nations." (See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VI : 287.)

§ See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II : 298.

|| See Chapter VI for his portrait and a sketch of his life.

from the Connecticut people, I think it is throwing away the consideration money. By Mr. Peters' account the best of them have been dishonest. * * * When a purchase is made *I would not have it in words too particular*, but to extend to the northern boundary of the Province of Pennsylvania, without any mention of a degree, and will be a release of their claim to all the land within that Province. I had rather avoid making the Government of New York privy to it, as they expect we shall confine our purchase to the 42°, whereas *we shall certainly expect three degrees.** I think we should insist that the Six Nations send to the Government of Connecticut and demand the deed. * * * Mr. Peters gave me expectation that he would seize on Lydius and prosecute him. If that can be done, and he has the deed in possession, it might conduce to their giving it up.†

While these conditions of excitement and disturbance prevailed with the Pennsylvanians the agents and officers of The Susquehanna Company went quietly ahead about their business. They did not spend much time in writing letters and talking, but they accomplished a few things of importance to the Company. A good many new proprietors were brought into the Company, shares being disposed of in New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania by duly accredited agents. The following copy of a receipt‡ given by Colonel Lydius shows the form of certificate usually given at this period to the purchasers of shares in the Company :

"*Albany, January 31, 1755.* I the subscriber do hereby acknowledge to have received of Mr. JACOB BRYAN of Burlington, New Jersey, seven Spanish dollars, for which sum he is entitled to one whole share of The Susquehanna Company's Purchase, etc."
[Signed] "JOHN LYDIUS [L. S.]"

May 8, 1755, the General Assembly of Connecticut convened in regular semi-annual session at Hartford, and about the same time a meeting of The Susquehanna Company was also held there. The minutes of that meeting are not recorded in the Company's minute-book, nor are they to be found in the incomplete copy of the "Minutes of The Susquehanna Company" printed in "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII : 3. However, among the "Trumbull Papers" (mentioned on page 29, *ante*, paragraph "6") there is a transcript of the proceedings of the Company at the meeting referred to, in the handwriting of Samuel Gray, the Clerk, and duly attested by him in October, 1782. A copy of the same is now printed for the first time.

"*Resolved*, That the Committee be impowered and desired to pursue and address the Generale Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut in behalf of this Company, for their continuance and approbation of the *erecting a new Colony at Susquehannah*, and of our application to His Majesty for that purpose. That the said Committee do, as soon as conveniently may be, employ a suitable number of persons to go forth, in concurrence with the Indians of whom they purchased, to erect monuments at the north-east and south-east corners of the land already purchased of said Indians. That said Committee procure to be laid out a Township, or Townships, and admit settlers therein upon such terms and under such regulations as they shall judge most advantageous for the Company and safe for the settlers. That they be impowered to build and erect a sufficient fortification, a grist-mill and saw-mill at the charge of the Company in such town, place or places as shall appear to them necessary for the encouragement and security of the first settlers. That the Committee be empowered to make any further additional purchase of land for the benefit of the Company and for the enlargement of said proposed *new Colony*, and take new and further deeds and conveyances of the same from the Indians in the name of the respective proprietors, or members, of said Company.

"That a seasonable address be made to His Majesty for royal grant and confirmation of a sufficient tract of land to said Company, and his approbation and encouragement of our undertaking; and to incorporate the said Company with a Charter of privileges, immunities and government *in form as near as may be of the Constitution of said Colony of Connecticut*. That in order thereto a proper address from the chiefs of

* See page 245 relative to the unsettled New York and Pennsylvania boundary-line.

† From "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II : 370.

‡ From "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VI : 293.

the Six Nations of Indians to His Majesty be procured.* That Col. Samuel Talcott† and Capt. Thomas Seymour be added to the present Committee, jointly with them to carry on this affair."

Within a few days after the adoption of the foregoing resolves the Executive Committee of the Company presented to the General Assembly then in session a memorial setting forth the objects and desires of the Company. The following extracts from the proceedings of the Assembly‡ show the action then taken by that body.

"Upon petition of Phineas Lyman, Roger Wolcott, Jr., Samuel Gray and others, to the number of 850, known by the name of THE SUSQUEHANNAH COMPANY, by their agents GEORGE WYLLYS, DANIEL EDWARDS, SAMUEL TALCOTT, THOMAS SEYMOUR and ELIPHALET DYER, representing that this Colony according to the express limits of its royal Charter is in extent from the Narragansett Bay on the east to the South Sea to the west, and from the sea-shore on the south to the line of the Massachusetts Province on the north; that within and towards the western parts of its limits are, and from time immemorial have been, large numbers of the Indian natives—commonly called the Six Nations—dwelling, improving and claiming a large extent thereof; that a certain large parcel of such their claim—situate and lying on the waters of the Susquehanna, about seventy miles north and south, and from about ten miles east of said river extending westward two degrees of longitude—they the said natives finding *not necessary for their own use*, have, for very valuable considerations, been induced to relinquish and sell to the said petitioners; and that some well-ordered plantation in so near a neighborhood to said nations might most likely be a means to cement and fix them in friendship with His Majesty's subjects; and that they the said Indian nations are desirous such settlements might be promoted and carried on, as being conducive to their interest and safety; and thereupon praying the consent of this Assembly, &c., thereon to erect and settle a Colony for the more effectual securing said Indians in His Majesty's dominions—

"Resolved by this Assembly, That they are of opinion that the peaceably and orderly erecting and carrying on some new and well-regulated Colony or plantation on the lands abovesaid would greatly tend to fix and secure said Indian nations in allegiance to His Majesty and friendship with his subjects; and accordingly hereby manifest their ready acquiescence therein, if it should be His Majesty's royal pleasure to grant said lands to said petitioners, and thereon erect and settle a new Colony in such form and under such regulations as might be consistent with his royal wisdom; and also take leave humbly to recommend the said petitioners to his royal favors in the premises."

We will now return to Wyoming Valley, which we left November 1, 1753—about which time the "Journeying Committee" of The Susquehanna Company arrived on the ground, as described on page 254.

Early in April, 1754, Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania not having heard anything in a long time from the Indians on the North Branch of the Susquehanna, thought it necessary to send Conrad Weiser "to the Delawares and Shawanese at Wyomink" to inquire after their health, to sound them relative to their attitude towards the French and to apprise them of the intentions of the Connecticut people.§ Weiser left his home at Heidelberg April 17th, accompanied by his son Samuel, and arrived at Shamokin the 20th. There Weiser remained while his son, "James Logan, the lame son of Shikelliny,"|| and another Indian proceeded up the river in a canoe with the Governor's messages, which were addressed to "old Nutimus, the chief at Nescopeck," and to "Paxinosa, the chief man at Wyomink." Samuel Weiser and the two Indians returned to Shamokin April 26th, with the information that both Nutimus and Paxinosa were away from home. The messages, with the accompanying strings of wampum, were well received, however, by those who were at home, and it was supposed that "the Indians would have a council together when they all came home, which would be at their planting time."

* A memorandum in the handwriting of Mr. Gray appended to the foregoing transcript states that this address was procured, "with affidavit and certificate," and was sent to England—as will be more fully shown hereinafter. It is probable that the "affidavit" referred to by Colonel Franklin, and mentioned on page 291, *ante*, was a copy of the address now referred to.

† See page 282.

‡ See "Colonial Records of Connecticut," X : 378.

§ See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VI : 24, 34; VIII : 256.

|| See note, page 185.

We have referred on page 238 to the efforts being made in the Spring of 1753 to have the christianized Indians at Gnadenhütten remove to Wyoming, and that as a result Abraham, the Mohegan, and his family had come hither. After Abraham had located in the Valley he added his persuasions to those of the Shawanese, and, says Reichel, "messenger after messenger went down from the Susquehanna to the unwilling Delawares and Mohegans of Gnadenhütten with sinister invitations from the Shawanese to come up to them and plant in Wyoming."

At that time the foremost Delaware Indian in Northampton County north-west of the Kittatinny Mountains was a certain *Tā-dē-ūs-kind*, or *Tec-dy-ūs-ctung*.^{*} He had been converted to Christianity and baptized some years previously by the Moravian Brethren, and was considered by them as a member of the Gnadenhütten community—although he did not spend all his time there. Reichel says ("Memorials," page 220):

* TEEDYUSCUNG, according to his own statement, made in 1756 (see "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II: 724), was born about the year 1706 "among the English, somewhere near Trenton, New Jersey," in which neighborhood his ancestors of the Lenni Lenapé had been seated from time immemorial. He belonged to the Unami, or Wanamie, clan of the nation, whose totemic device was the Turtle. (See page 103.) Teedyuscung was the son of "Old Captain Harris," a noted Delaware chief, who was the father also of "Peter," alias "Young Captain Harris," "Captain John," sometime of Nazareth, Pennsylvania, "Tom Evans," "Nicodemus," alias "Joe Evans," and "Sam Evans"—all of whom were half-brothers of Teedyuscung. (See Reichel's "Memorials," pages 119 and 271, and *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, XXI: 419.) According to a statement written by Count Zinzendorf in September, 1742 (see Reichel's "Memorials," page 92), "Old Captain Harris," having grown aged and helpless, was left by his children to starve to death.

About the year 1750 a number of New Jersey Delawares, from the country along the Karitar River and from the vicinity of Trenton on the Delaware River, emigrated to the wild Indian country north-west of the Kittatinny Mountains, in what is now Monroe County, Pennsylvania. Among these emigrants were "Old Captain Harris" and his family, including Teedyuscung, who, with a few others, established a village on the banks of Poakopohkunk (now Pocopoco) Creek, about twenty miles north-east of the locality where Gnadenhütten was later laid out, and not far from the site of the present village of Brodheadsville. The Delaware village of Meniolagomeka (mentioned in the note on page 311) came into existence about the same time on the banks of Aquansicola Creek, a few miles distant. It is stated in Eggle's "History of Pennsylvania" (page 917) that Teedyuscung was born on the Pocono Mountains, and resided for a long time in what is now Monroe County. The first part of this statement is incorrect, but the latter part is true. In memory of his long residence in that section of Pennsylvania there is a small village named for him in the north corner of Pike County, and in the same county what is now known as Porter's Lake was for a long time called Lake Teedyuscung.

Teedyuscung, who was generally known among the whites as "Honest John," first heard the Moravian missionaries preach in 1742. Impressed by their teachings he later sought admission to fellowship with the Christian Delawares and Mohegans at Gnadenhütten. In 1749 he was admitted to their congregation, but was not baptized until the next year. Loskiel states: "His baptism was delayed some time because of his wavering disposition. But having once been present at a baptism he said to one of the Brethren, 'I am distressed that the time is not yet come that I shall be baptized and cleansed in the blood of Christ.' Being asked how he felt during the baptism he replied, 'I cannot describe it—but I wept and trembled.' He then spoke with the missionaries in a very unreserved manner, saying that he had been a very bad man all his life; that he had no power to resist evil, and that he had never before been so desirous to be delivered from sin. * * He evinced this fervor ever after, and was named '*Gideon*.'" In the record of Indian baptisms for the year 1750 Bishop Cammerhoff made this entry: "March 12th. —To-day I baptized *Tattuskundt*, the chief among sinners."

Teedyuscung was married about 1726 to a Delaware woman, who was baptized "Elizabeth," March 19, 1750, at Gnadenhütten. Reichel and others who have written about Teedyuscung say that he had three sons, as follows: i. *Tachgokanhelle*, born about 1727; baptized "Amos" December 14, 1749; married to *Pinglis* (baptized "Justina"), a Jersey Delaware, whose sister Agnes was the wife of Christian Frederick Post mentioned on page 216. ii. *Kesmitas*. iii. *Onangintolany*, or "Capt. John Jacob," alias "Hans Jacob." Teedyuscung had a son, however, who was known as "Thomas Bull" and as "Captain Bull." Sir William Johnson referred to him by the latter name in 1764 (see Chapter VI, *post*), while Col. (later Gen.) Hugh Mercer referred to him in 1759 as "Thomas Bull." Prior to 1750 "Thomas Bull" had separated from the other members of his father's family and joined the Delawares in the Ohio region. In March, 1759, Colonel Mercer was the English military commander at Pittsburg, and he employed "Thomas Bull" as a spy in the lake region. March 2d the latter left Pittsburg for Venango, La Beuf and Presque Isle. He returned to Pittsburg March 17th, bringing an account of the fort, garrison, etc., at Presque Isle. When he left there he said "he was going to Wyoming to see his father Teedyuscung." (See letter from Colonel Mercer in "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII: 310, 311.) It is possible that "ii. *Kesmitas*" and "Captain Bull" were one and the same person.

Teedyuscung had a daughter who was married to a Delaware named *Machmitawchchink*. In 1753 this son-in-law and Teedyuscung's mother-in-law, *Eydmulh*, each with three children, were living in Meniolagomeka, the Indian village previously mentioned. One of Teedyuscung's grand-children was named "Johnny Swalling." Teedyuscung and his wife Elizabeth were the parents, also, of three children who in 1757 were quite young—one of them being an infant. (See Reichel's "Memorials," pages 265, 275, 356, 360 and 361.)

Chapman says in his "History of Wyoming" (page 26): "*Tadame*, the chief of the Delawares at Wyoming, having been murdered, a general council was assembled, and *Taduscund*, sometimes called *Teedyuscung*, a chieftain residing at Gnadenhütten, was proclaimed chief sachem, who soon after removed to Wyoming." Chapman derived his information from Heckewelder, who was not living in this country at the time Teedyuscung took up his residence at Wyoming, and who, therefore, had no personal knowledge of these matters. Stone, Miner and other writers who followed Chapman followed him in a double sense, and perpetuated the error into which Chapman was led by Heckewelder. We have heretofore referred to this matter, on page 202.

In Rupp's "History of Northampton County, Pennsylvania," there is a biographical sketch of Teedyuscung written by Heckewelder, from which we have extracted the following paragraphs: "* * Before he was raised to the station of a chief he had signalized himself as an able counselor in his nation. * * Whatever may have been Tadeuskund's disposition towards the English at that time [1755], it is certain that it was a difficult task for him, and would have been such for any other chief to govern an exasperated

people entirely devoted to an opposite interest. * * It is said by those Indians who knew him best, and who at that time had the welfare of their own nation much at heart, that his great and sole object was to recover for the Lenni Lenâpés that dignity which the Iroquois had treacherously wrested from them. Thence flowed the bitterness of the latter against him, though he seemed to be promoting the same interest which they themselves supported.

"While Tadenskund was at the head of his nation he was frequently distinguished by the title 'King of the Delawares.' While passing and repassing to and from the enemy with messages, many people called him the 'War Trumpet.' In his person he was a portly, well-looking man, endowed with good natural sense, quick of comprehension and very ready in answering the questions put to him. He was rather ambitious, thought much of his rank and abilities, liked to be considered as King of his country, and was fond of having a retinue with him when he went to Philadelphia on business with the Government. His greatest weakness was a fondness for strong drinks, the temptation of which he could not easily resist, and would sometimes drink to excess."

Maj. William Parsons (mentioned on page 254) wrote in 1756 concerning Teedyuscung: "He is a lusty, raw-boned man, haughty and very desirous of respect and command. He can drink three quarts or one gallon of rum a day without being drunk." (See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II: 724.) Stone, in his "Poetry and History of Wyoming" (pages 72 and 149), has this to say of Teedyuscung: "This chieftan was an able man, who played a distinguished but subtle part during the border troubles of the French War, particularly toward the close of his life. He was charged with treachery toward the English, and perhaps justly; and yet candor demands the acknowledgment that he did not take up the hatchet against them without something more than a plausible reason; while by so doing he was the means of restoring to his people something of the dignity characteristic of his race, but which had almost disappeared under the oppression of the Six Nations. * * He did not long continue upon the war-path, but * * became an early advocate and ambassador of peace, although his sincerity in this respect was questioned by the Moravian clergy and likewise by Sir William Johnson. Still, it must be recorded in his behalf that he appears never to have entirely forfeited the confidence of the Quakers. * * But in regard to the character of Teedyuscung, the sympathies of the baronet [Johnson] were with his own Indians—the Six Nations. Yet in his correspondence, while he labored to detract somewhat from the lofty pretensions of the Delaware Captain, the baronet has conceded to him enough of talent, influence and power among his people to give him a proud rank among the chieftans of his race. Certain it is, that Teedyuscung did much to restore his nation to the rank of *men*, of which they had been deprived by the Iroquois, and great allowances are to be made on the score of his instability of conduct, from the peculiar circumstances under which he was often placed. In regard to his religious character and professions, his memory rests beneath a cloud."

Keichel, in his "Memorials" (page 226), says of Teedyuscung: "The concurrent testimony of his time agrees in representing him as a man of marked ability, a brave warrior, a sagacious counselor and a patriot among his people. Although he was governed by strong passions, and a slave of that degrading vice which was the bane of his race, he was not devoid of feeling, being susceptible of the gentler influences of our nature. Numerous are the anecdotes extant, illustrating his love of humor, his ready wit, his quickness of apprehension and of reply, his keen penetration, and his sarcastic delight in exposing low cunning and artifice. * * His attachment to the Brethren he openly avowed, expressing his determination to keep by them in preference to others of the whites. Elsewhere he exulted in being called a Moravian. Although he had broken his vows and had been unfaithful to his profession, he would frequently, when in conversation with the Brethren, revert to his baptism and feelingly deplore the loss of the peace of mind he had once enjoyed."

Watson, in his "Annals of Philadelphia" (II: 170), says this of Teedyuscung: "He was a frequent visitor to Philadelphia during the years 1750-'60. By means of his intercourse with the whites he had acquired a competent knowledge of our language. He always regarded himself at home in the Norris family, where he was always welcomed. He generally had some retinue with him, and affected the character of something superior as a sovereign. Governor Dickinson used to relate that he attended a treaty where Teedyuscung was a negotiator. While there, at a time when the chief was making an ill-timed speech, being excited by a surplus of strong drink, his wife, who was present, was heard to speak in the most modest and silvery tones imaginable in the Indian tongue. The melody of her tones enchanted every ear. While she spoke she looked steadfastly and with much humility to the ground. Everybody was curious to inquire of the chief what she said. He answered rudely: 'Ho! she's nothing but a poor, weak woman! She has just told me it was unworthy the dignity and the reputation of a great King like me to show myself drunken before the Council.'"

The following is from *The Weekly Magazine*, published in Philadelphia in 1798. "Teedyuscung once observed to a friend that in his conference with the then Governor of Pennsylvania the words of the latter came only from the outside of his teeth, and added, 'I will talk so too.' One evening he was sober, and sitting by the fireside of his friend. Both of them were silently looking at the fire, indulging their own reflections and desiring each other's improvement. At length the silence was broken by the friend, who said: 'I will tell thee what I have been thinking of. I have been thinking of a rule delivered by the founder of the Christian religion, which, from its excellence, we call 'The Golden Rule.' 'Stop,' said Teedyuscung, 'don't praise it to me, but rather tell me what it is and let me think for myself. I do not wish you to tell me of its excellence; tell me what it is.' 'It is for one man to do to another as he would the other should do to him.' 'That's impossible—it cannot be done,' Teedyuscung replied. Silence ensued. Teedyuscung lighted his pipe and walked about the room. In about a quarter of an hour he came up to his friend with a smiling countenance and said: 'Brother, I have been thoughtful of what you told me. If the Great Spirit that made man would give him a new heart, he could do as you say; but not else.'

"After he had settled this difficult point Teedyuscung said: 'Now, Brother, it is no harm to tell you what I was thinking of before you spoke. I thought that the Great Spirit who made the land never intended one man should have so much of it as never to see it all, and another not to have so much as to plant corn for his children. I think the Great Spirit never meant it should be so.' At another time Teedyuscung was under the influence of liquor. His friend said to him: 'There is one thing very strange and which I cannot account for. It is, why the Indians get drunk so much more than the white people.' 'Do you think strange of that?' said Teedyuscung. 'Why it is not strange at all. The Indians think it no harm to get drunk whenever they can; but you white men say it is a sin, and get drunk notwithstanding!'"

A careful reading of all the doings and sayings of Teedyuscung recorded in the various volumes of the "Colonial Records" and "Archives" of Pennsylvania has impressed me with the belief that the Chief was a drunkard; and, like the majority of drunkards—red, as well as white—was garrulous and gabby, untruthful and unreliable. He was a blusterer—a wind-bag—and not a fearless and forcible doer of deeds; a politician, and not a warrior; a crafty, cunning and crooked character, and not in any circumstances the straightforward, noble red man described by some writers.

In April, 1763, the life of Teedyuscung came to a tragic end—which will be described in the next chapter.

On the steep side of one of the heavily wooded hills which skirt the eastern bank of Wissahickon Creek, in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, there juts out a huge, bare rock, which for many years has been known as "Indian" or "Council Rock." The Wissahickon is a tributary of the Schuylkill River, and at the time of the coming of William Penn, and for many years after, the Schuylkill region was Lenni Lenâpé territory. As late as 1732 Allumapees, King of the Lenâpés, or Delawares, was styled in a deed "Sachem of the Schuylkill Indians." (See note, page 187.) According to a local tradition the Delawares frequently held their councils at the rock on the Wissahickon hillside, and there, before they took up

"Thus Teedyuscung became a member of the Christian Church, and yet failed, as so many do, to become a Christian. * * Hence he ill brooked the restraints imposed upon him in the 'Huts of Grace,' and resisted the influence of the Good Spirit that sought to dispossess him of the resentment that burned within his soul when he remembered how his countrymen were being injured by the whites, and how they had been traduced and were being oppressed by the imperious Iroquois. And once, when his untamed Brethren came down from the Minisinks to Gnadenhütten, bringing their unshod ponies and their broken flintlocks to the smithy, they opened their hearts to him wide, and took him into their councils. These intended war. Telling him that the hour was come to prepare to rise against their oppressors, they asked him to lead them and be their king. That was the evil moment in which he was dazzled by the prospect of a crown, and trafficked his peace of mind for the unrest of ambition."

Since the death of Allumapees, recorded on page 187, no chief of the Delawares living east of the Allegheny Mountains had been raised to the dignity of "king" of the nation, or of any part of it, although the Six Nations had given notice in 1748 that they would send a deputation to treat with the Pennsylvania Government about the matter. Teedyuscung occupied the post of "counselor" in his clan at this time (1754), wielding considerable influence; and by his persuasions sixty-five of the Mohegans and Delawares at Gnadenhütten agreed to follow him to Wyoming. They set forth on their journey, via the "Warrior Path" (described on page 237), April 24, 1754,* and were joined by a considerable number of heathen Delawares from the Minisinks. Some days later five more Delawares from Gnadenhütten followed after the main body of immigrants.

Arriving at Wyoming Teedyuscung and his followers established their village on the south bank of the Susquehanna, immediately west of the small creek described on page 59, and within the limits of the present Tenth Ward of Wilkes-Barré.†

In the latter part of June, 1754, the Moravian missionaries John Martin Mack (previously mentioned) and—Roessler visited Wyoming. The following account of their journey, taken from Dr. F. C. Johnson's paper mentioned on page 204, is based on Mack's journal.

their residence in Wyoming. Teedyuscung and his followers held a final Council! It is doubtful whether Teedyuscung ever saw "Indian Rock," and as to his having presided over a Council there, that is highly improbable. After a long interval he succeeded Allumapees as King of the eastern Delawares, but not as Sachem of the Schuylkill Delawares. Be that as it may, the tradition mentioned has held for many years, and in 1856 a large wooden figure of an Indian was erected upon the summit of "Indian Rock," and was named "Teedyuscung." About the same time a thoroughfare in the vicinity—now known as Chestnut Avenue—was called "Teedyuscung Avenue."

At a meeting of the Commissioners of Fairmount Park held in January, 1902, Mr. Charles W. Henry, a member of the body, said: "Indian Rock, on the Wissahickon, is a point dear to every Germantown boy. The statue of the Indian perched on the rock is now fast deteriorating and going to decay, and if it is the pleasure of the Commission Mrs. Henry and myself would like to present to this body a statue suitable for that point. I have consulted J. Massey Rhind, the well-known sculptor of New York, who has prepared a design, sixteen feet in height, which will be sculptured in granite and placed on this rock." The design selected, and in due time executed, represents an Indian warrior "on the watch" and peering at the white stranger approaching. It is a copy—except in one or two particulars—of one of the figures adorning the Corning Fountain in Bushnell Park, Hartford, Connecticut, designed and executed by Mr. Rhind, and erected in 1900. The figure of the Corning Fountain is of bronze, is eight feet in height, and bears a bow in its left hand. The "Teedyuscung" statue on "Indian Rock" in Fairmount Park is sculptured in granite, and the figure is shown with a tomahawk instead of a bow in its left hand. It was formally unveiled and presented to the Commissioners of Fairmount Park June 14, 1902. The picture of the statue facing this page is reproduced from a photograph of the original work of the sculptor as designed for the Corning Fountain.

* See Loskiel's "History of the Mission of the United Brethren," London, 1794.

† For the site of Teedyuscung's town see the facsimile of "A Plot of the Manor of Stoke" shown in Chapter VII, and the "Map of Wilkes-Barré and Its Suburbs" reproduced in Chapter XXVIII. The location of the "ice-pond" referred to on page 59 is shown on the last-mentioned map. This pond was on land owned, or occupied, at one time by "Capt." Gilman Converse—for some years Wilkes-Barré's sole ice-purveyor—and in May, 1861, while he was plowing at this point, he turned up the skeleton of an Indian in a sitting posture. Two years previously three skeletons had been discovered in the same locality.

In January, 1859, Dilton Yarrington, a native of Wilkes-Barré, but then residing at Carbondale, Pennsylvania, wrote: "About the year 1811 Philip Arndt and I took a stroll down the river shore to the bend. [This was near the ice-pond of later years.] Under the bank we found where the action of the high water had laid bare the skeleton of what we supposed to be an Indian. Upon digging with wooden sticks we found a stone pestle, a stone ax, or hatchet, about two dozen arrow-heads and half a dozen stone beads. Philip took the beads and I took the arrow-heads, ax and pestle. The arrows and ax I sold to an agent of Peale's Museum [Philadelphia], in 1822. The pestle I kept, and in 1846 it was accidentally broken at my house in Carbondale. Later I disposed of it to Mr. Chambers." This pestle—which is of large size—may now be seen in the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, into whose possession it passed from Mr. Chambers many years ago.



THE "TEEDYUSCUNG" STATUE, ON "INDIAN ROCK."
Near the banks of the Wissahickon, Fairmount Park, Philadelphia.
From photographs made in 1903.

1910

1911
1912

1913

"June 24.—Set out from Gnadenhütten. All the creeks were much swollen, and hence they did not enter the Valley till the 28th. The Susquehanna had overflowed its banks, so that where people usually dwelt and planted was now swept by a tearing stream. For a time they saw no living being, but afterwards saw a canoe and hailed it; whereupon an Indian came to the shore and set Mack and his companion over. They had many callers, among others Paxinosa's young son. Mohican Abraham was at this time living in the Shawanese town [within the present limits of the Second Ward of Plymouth—as described on page 209, *ante*]. There they met Abraham and his wife Sarah. At the son's request Mack held a meeting in old Paxinosa's cabin. He was not at home. Abraham interpreted. Meanwhile the Delawares and Mohicans assembled and Mack preached to them. Then he had a conversation with the old Gnadenhütten converts. Although Paxinosa was absent, many Indians from up and down the Susquehanna had assembled at his town to take counsel with him in reference to a message to the Five Nations, who had sent them a belt of wampum. This crowd Mack also addressed, on request, after which he was invited to dine in Paxinosa's cabin. Meanwhile, more and more Indians arrived, and at last came Paxinosa.

"Mack thus observes in his journal: 'Wyoming is in a critical condition. The New Englanders, in right of a royal Charter, lay claim to Wyoming. The Pennsylvanians hold it is within the Proprietary grant, and wish the Indians to sell it to them. Thus the Indians are in a dilemma, for if they yield to the solicitations of the Pennsylvanians and oppose the New Englanders who desire to settle here, and threaten to shoot their horses and cows (*and the Pennsylvanians urge them to oppose them*), they know there will be a war, as the New Englanders are a people who refuse to regard the Indians as lords of the soil, and will subjugate them if they refuse to evacuate the Valley. * * * Our convert Delawares and Mohicans have received a message from the Five Nations to send a deputation up to Onondaga to ask of them a district of their own somewhere on the river, and for permission to have religious teachers of their own. There is a general interest in religion among the Indians of the Valley. They desire the Moravians to send teachers to tell them the word of the true God. * * * The recent floods have ruined all the plantations and destroyed the corn and beans.'"

In July, 1754, the Rev. Bernhard Adam Grubé,* a Moravian missionary, visited Wyoming, accompanied by Carl Gottfried Rundt, a Moravian Brother. Grubé's diary of the journey has been preserved, and extracts from it are printed in Dr. Johnson's paper, previously referred to. They are, in part, as follows:

"July 22, [1754].—Brother Rundt and I left our beloved Gnadenhütten at noon to go to Wajomick. John Martin Mack and — Sensemann accompanied us for a mile, and then, after they had sung a few verses for us, took an affectionate leave. It was very warm, and the mountains were very high. Traveled eighteen miles, and camped for the night at the foot of the mountain where Nutimus' hunting-cabin formerly stood. Muschgetters [mosquitoes] tormented us all night. July 23.—Started early and reached Waphalobank [Wapwallopen]. It rained hard and we were drenched, so we passed by Waphalobank and spent the night near the Susquehanna.

"July 24.—We went up the Susquehanna to Thomas Lehmann, an Indian acquaintance. He gave us milk and was very friendly. He told us of a nearer route to Wyoming, this [the east] side of the Susquehanna, which led over the mountains. It consisted of a narrow foot-path, which disappeared after awhile. We had to determine our course by notched trees; but these became scarce, and soon none remained. We turned to the left towards a mountain, from which, to our great surprise, we could overlook the plain [of Wyoming.]† We pushed our way through the forest with much difficulty. Came

*BERNHARD ADAM GRUBÉ was born in Germany in 1715. He was educated at the University of Jena, and came to Pennsylvania in 1746 to join the Moravian Brotherhood. He was first employed in the schools at Bethlehem. In 1752 he was stationed at Meniolagomeka, an Indian town about eight miles west of the Wind Gap, in the present Monroe County, Pennsylvania. Here he studied the Delaware language, and acquired a good working knowledge of it. Some months after his return from Wyoming in 1754 he was sent to Shamokin, where he spent fifteen months in mission work. Then he was dispatched to North Carolina with a colony of Moravians to settle on the tract of 100,000 acres purchased of Earl Granville. In 1758 he was sent to the Indian mission in Connecticut; and in 1760 he removed to Wechquente, on Hoeth's Creek, in what is now Monroe County, Pennsylvania. While here he translated into the Delaware tongue a hymn-book and a Harmony of the Gospels, which for many years were in use at the Moravian missions among the Delawares. In 1765 he retired from missionary work among the Indians, and, after serving as pastor of several rural congregations during a number of years, he died at Bethlehem March 20, 1808. For a more complete sketch of his life, and his portrait, see *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, XXV: 14 (April, 1901).

†The path here referred to started in at the Susquehanna, near the mouth of Little Wapwallopen Creek, about two miles north of Wapwallopen mentioned in the note on page 214. Thence it ran in a north-easterly direction through the present townships of Conyngnam, Hollenback, Sloum and Newport—crossing over Penobscot Mountain into the last-named township at its south-eastern corner. Thence continuing on through a gap in Wilkes-Barré Mountain (through which the main line of the Lehigh Valley Railroad now passes), it ran near the present village of Alden and entered Hanover Township not far from the present borough of Nanticoke. A public highway was laid out along the line of this path about the year 1795. The missionaries Grubé and Rundt lost their way, it would seem, when they attempted to follow this path in July, 1754. They bent their course west of north, and thus struck Honey Pot Mountain (described on page 48), whence they obtained their first view of Wyoming, as recorded in Grubé's diary. See the illustration facing the next page.

to the Susquehanna, where we had to cross a swampy creek*; and then traversing a plain this side of the river, we arrived at a former Nanticoke town. We followed a foot-path to the right, and were soon met by Joachim, Simon and another Indian, who greeted us in a friendly manner, and showed us a fallen tree on which to cross the creek.† Towards evening we arrived at several plantations‡ along the Susquehanna, where we found the aged Moses and his wife and several sisters hoeing corn.§ They came and shook hands and greeted us. Then Moses took us across the Susquehanna to a Shawanese town.¶ We greeted the Brethren and Sisters, who were glad to see us—especially Brother Abraham, who kissed us and gave us a place in the center of his hut. Our Brethren and Sisters [the Mohegans, formerly of Gnadenhütten] were about the only ones in town, as the Shawanese had gone hunting. After an hour the aged Nathaniel returned from hunting, and with him Joshua, the Delaware from Gnadenhütten; likewise Marcus, Jacob's son, Elias, Andrew's son, and Appowagenant. They all took up their quarters in our hut. About twenty-two of us were assembled.

"July 25.—Gideon [Teedyuscung] and his son came from across the Susquehanna and said the visit of the Brethren pleased him very much, and he wished that we might live amongst them. Towards evening the wife of the old Shawanese chief Paxinosa returned home with her children. She greeted us very cordially. We also crossed the river and visited two Delaware huts. Isaac of Nescopeck,¶ who was there, said he had been baptized by Mack at Gnadenhütten. I told him more about the Savior, and then recrossed the river and entered the Shawanese town. Abraham had in the meantime called a meeting, and the hut was quite full. Brother Nathaniel acted as interpreter. At the close of my address I asked them if they would like to hear more about the Savior each night, and they all signified assent with '*Gohanna! Gohanna!*'"

"July 26.—Early this morning we continued our journey, accompanied by Abraham, Nathaniel and Moses, up the Susquehanna for eleven [*sic*] miles. On the way Abraham showed us the place where he intended to build his house—namely, half a mile further on, where Zinzendorf's fourth resting-place had been.** The land is elevated and near a creek. The locality has a large spring, and is not to be surpassed. The land is level and fertile. Wood abounds. There is an outcropping of limestone several miles long and one-fourth mile distant from the Susquehanna.

"In the afternoon we came to the end of Wyoming, where we were taken across the river. We came to a Minisink town,†† which consisted of eleven houses. We called upon the chief, who had told Abraham that if the Brethren should come from Gnadenhütten they should visit him. We were therefore heartily welcomed. They gave us food. Soon after most of the Indians, as well as our Brethren, went into the 'sweat-house.'‡‡ The chief made preparations for a meeting in an empty hut, large enough for two fire-places. The chief summoned all the people. The women sat around one fire and the men around the other. I then sang a few Delaware verses and Nathaniel translated them. I said that I was very glad that they had a desire to hear something about our God, and would therefore tell them words of life. We concluded by singing a few verses, and then retired to our stopping place.

* Muddy Run, or Nanticoke Creek, described on page 55.

† Sugar Notch Creek, described on page 220.

‡ On the Upper Hanover Flats, at and above the mouth of Buttonwood, or Moses', Creek (described on page 56); which stream undoubtedly received its name of "Moses'" from the Mohegan Indian mentioned in Grubé's diary.

§ Count Zinzendorf, in his "Narrative" written in 1742, and previously referred to, states: "Such is their (the Indians) repugnance to labor that, rather than engage in it, they cheerfully undergo severe privation. An Indian that is given to work, you may rely upon it, is either a child of God, or else one that has been infected with the spirit of avarice, the root of all evil, by contact with the whites. It prompts him, however, merely to provide a sufficiency of clothing and of rum; the acquisition of wealth he never entertains."

¶ This was Paxinosa's village, within the bounds of the present borough of Plymouth.

¶ NUTIMUS, mentioned in the note on page 225.

** On the banks of Abraham's Creek, not far from the borough of Forty Fort. See page 210.

†† ASSERUGHNEY, or Adjouqna, near the base of Campbell's Ledge, and referred to on pages 187, 234 and 236.

‡‡ The "sweat-house," or "sweat-lodge," was used by the Indians in taking steam baths for the healing of diseases, and in connection with certain religious rites. The lodge, which was large enough to accommodate several persons at once, consisted of a frame work of poles and boughs covered over with earth and other materials, and having only one small opening at the bottom. Stones were heated and placed in vessels in the lodge containing decoctions of roots and herbs; or, stones having been heated and placed in the center of the lodge, water was dashed over them, and then the Indians would crawl into the steam-filled lodge and sit there for some time.

The following description of a modern Indian sweat-house is from Grinnell's "The Story of the Indian": "Down by one of the sweat-lodges a woman is kindling fires and heating the stones in the center of the lodge and outside. She covers the frame with robes or skins so as to keep the heat in. A bucket of water stands near the fire. Soon half a dozen young men come to the place, and, following them, an older man who carries a pipe. As they reach the lodge they drop their blankets and creep naked beneath the covering. After a little the old man is heard singing his sacred songs, and in monotonous voice praying for the success of those who are about to start on a journey which will be full of danger. The woman passes a vessel into the sweat-house; the water hisses as it falls on the hot stones, and steam creeps forth from the crevices in the covering. Then there is more singing, and other low-voiced mumbling prayers in different voices, and at length, after an hour, the coverings of the lodge are thrown off, the men creep out, rise, and, all wet with perspiration, and bleeding where they have cut themselves in sacrifice, file down to the stream and plunge into its cold waters. This is the medicine sweat, and the young men who have taken part in it are about to start off on the war-path."



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"July 27.—Early in the morning we visited Anton's father, who spoke to us much about his spiritual affairs. After having partaken of a meal in our quarters, we bade farewell and were about to leave, but the chief asked us to remain a little longer, as he wished to summon his people again, for they desired to hear once more about our Savior. They were soon assembled. The people were attentive and quiet and responded to every sentence with a loud '*kehella!*' Before the meeting a man had spoken with the Indian Brethren Abraham and Nathaniel, saying he was a poor sinner and wished to learn to know our God. We took leave of each one and continued on our way rejoicing. On the journey we heard that Joshua, the Mohican from Gnadenhütten, had come. We were surprised, but when we arrived home he had already gone, much to the regret of Abraham. As the Shawanese chief Paxinosa had returned home with his sons we went to visit him. He was very glad to see us. Abraham said Paxinosa desired to have a meeting to-night, because he would like to hear about the Savior. About thirty Indians and the whole family of Paxinosa assembled. The men sat at one end of the hut and the women at the other, while we were in the middle. Then I preached the Gospel to them. Both before and after the address we sang a few Delaware verses. The youngest son of Paxinosa and another Shawanese came to us with two violins, and desired to hear our melodies. We played a little, at which they and our Brethren and Sisters were well pleased. It rained very hard during the night, and as the roof was very poor we became quite wet.

"[Sunday], July 28.—Old Nathaniel awakened us by singing a Mohican verse. Paxinosa visited us, and I read several Delaware verses for him. He prepared his empty hut for us, so that we could speak in private with some of the Brethren and Sisters. Abraham and Sarah spoke very nicely. What grieved them the most was that they had to dispense with the Lord's Supper here. We also conversed with Nathaniel. He said, 'If only the Brethren at Gnadenhütten would again receive me.' He was very humble and penitent. We then spoke with Moses and Miriam, Adolph and Tabea, John and Deborah, and also Joachim, who said, 'I know I am a wicked man, but I cannot help myself.' By this time the hut was quite well filled. The subject of my preaching was 'Jesus accepts sinners.' The unusual attention which was shown made my heart rejoice. In the afternoon we went out on the plain* to see the old Mohican mother.† She was anxious to be baptized, but was not yet decided. She said: 'About twelve years ago, when Martin Mack's wife spoke to me, I felt something of the Savior in my heart. Since then I could not forget it. A year ago I was at Gnadenhütten, and although I felt I was a sinner, I went three times and asked to be baptized. However, I was not baptized, and returned to Wajomic. Ever since that time I have had a longing for the Savior. Mack promised that he would baptize me when he came in the Fall.' I asked whether she considered it proper to be baptized now, and she replied 'Yes.' I told her that the Savior would baptize her to-day and receive her as His child, at which she greatly rejoiced. She grasped our hands and said: '*Oneewe! Oneewe!*'

"When we made preparations for the baptism Sarah‡ clothed the candidate in a white dress. When the people had assembled§ she brought her in and seated her in the center of the hut upon a pounding-block. Upon another block in front of her, which was covered with a cloth, stood the water. There were present about thirty persons, baptized and unbaptized. Paxinosa was present with his whole family. We first sang in the Delaware tongue. Then I spoke about baptism as the Savior gave me utterance. Then followed the singing of a verse, after which I offered prayer in behalf of the candidate. I then baptized her, giving her the name 'Marie.' Not the least disturbance was made.

"July 29.—We had a farewell meeting. Abraham and Sarah accompanied us as far as the plain. We then crossed the plain till we arrived at the great [Nanticoke] fall, where we caught a mess of fish. At night we arrived this side of Thomas Lehmann's place, and encamped on the banks of the Susquehanna for the night. July 30.—We rose early and had ourselves taken across the Susquehanna. With Thomas Lehmann I entered into conversation, making use of the opportunity to tell him the motive of our concerning ourselves so much about the Indians. He understands English well, having had much to do with the whites. We passed Waphallobank, and as it began to rain hard we built a hut of bark in which to pass the night. July 31.—We arrived at Nescopeck, where we lodged with old Nutimus. He and his son Pantes were very friendly. In the afternoon we crossed the Susquehanna and went a distance of four miles to visit our dear old Solomon, whom we found at home with his son John Thomas. They were very glad to see us and have us lodge with them over night. August 1.—Early in the morning we again started for Nescopeck. Solomon kissed us at parting, and asked us to greet the folks at home. At noon we continued our journey and arrived at this side of the Deer Mountain, encamping on the banks of a creek for the night. August 2.—We crossed the other mountains gladly and cheerfully, and at night arrived at our dear Gnadenhütten."

* "Shawnee" Flats.

† The Mohegan woman mentioned on page 209.

‡ The wife of Abraham (*Schabash*) mentioned on page 238.

§ In the cabin of Paxinosa, in the present borough of Plymouth.

In the early Autumn of 1754 Capt. Robert Dixson (mentioned on page 251), Timothy Woodbridge, Esq. (mentioned on page 256), and two or three others representing The Susquehanna Company, came to Wyoming to look over the lands which had been purchased in July. That these men explored the country pretty thoroughly is indicated by the statement made by Mr. Woodbridge at Albany in the Spring of 1755—that he “had traversed all those [the Wyoming region] woods.” (See page 288.) The following account of the visit of these New Englanders was given to Conrad Weiser by Moses Tatemy (mentioned on page 202), interpreter for Teedyuscung in 1756, and is printed in “Pennsylvania Colonial Records,” VII : 432.

“A company of New England men came down the Susquehanna and took openly drafts of all the good spots of land, and perhaps of all. When the Indians asked why they did so they boldly answered that so many hundred families from New England would come and settle there. ‘This is our land,’ said the Indians settled on it. ‘No,’ answered the others, ‘the land is none of yours ; it belongs to the Mingoes. You are only their tenants—slaves—dogs !’ That thereupon the Delawares sent a large body of their people as their deputation to the Mohawks’ country to protest against the New England people, or any other whites, to settle there, and to complain of the Mohawks’ proceedings, and to tell them plainly that if they, the Mohawks, would not prevent the New England people from settling on Susquehanna they, the Delawares, *would go over to Ohio to the French*, in hopes to receive better usage from them. That the Mohawks then denied everything, and said the New England people stole there, and had no leave of them for any lands on Susquehanna, and never would sell them any ; and that neither the New England people nor any whites should ever settle there. That the deputation went home again, and they, the Delaware and Minisink Indians, being so far satisfied ; but that soon they were informed by some of the Mingoes themselves that the lands had actually been sold to the New England people, and that the Mohawks had received large considerations for them, and that the Mohawks had deceived the deputies,” etc.

Loskiel states that “towards the end of 1754 the inhabitants of Gnadenhütten received the following very singular message, brought by Paxinosa [Paxinosa], the old chief of the Shawanese, and Gideon Tadeuskund, who had proved unfaithful to their cause.”

“The Great Head—that is, the Council of the Iroquois at Onondaga—speak the truth and lie not. They rejoice that some of the believing Indians have moved to Wyoming, but now they lift up the remaining Mahikans and Delawares and set them also down in Wyoming ; for there a fire is kindled for them, and there they may plant. But if they will not hear, the Great Council will come and clear their ears with a red-hot iron.”

Loskiel records that Paxinosa then “turned to the missionaries, earnestly demanding of them not to hinder the Indians from removing to Wyoming. Some thought best to repair to Wyoming, while others refused to emigrate. Early in 1755 the Brethren at Bethlehem received authentic intelligence that the removal of the Gnadenhütten Indians to Wyoming did not originate in the Great Council of the Six Nations, but that only the Oneida tribe, with the Delawares and Mohegans, had formed this plan, and falsely ascribed it to the Iroquois in general. It had been likewise discovered that several persons of character in Philadelphia joined them in endeavoring to remove the Christian Indians to Wyoming, hoping that the people of New England would thereby be prevented from taking possession of that place, to which they themselves laid some claim.”

February 11, 1755, Paxinosa, with thirteen Indians (including his wife) in his train, arrived at Bethlehem from Wyoming to demand an answer to the message he had brought on his last visit. Loskiel states that an answer was thereupon given, to this effect : “The Brethren would confer with the Iroquois themselves concerning the intended removal of the Indians at Gnadenhütten to Wyoming.” The Shawanese King and his retinue prolonged their stay at Bethlehem for some

days, and on the eve of their departure for home Paxinosa's wife (to whom he had been married for thirty-eight years, and who had just been converted to Christianity) was baptized by Bishop Spangenberg (mentioned on page 217), receiving the name "Elizabeth." On the day following the baptismal service the Indians set out for Wyoming, accompanied by Christian Frederick Post (mentioned on page 216), who proposed to establish himself in the Valley to minister to the Indian converts here and entertain visiting missionaries.

April 4, 1755, Bishop Spangenberg wrote Governor Morris at Philadelphia that an embassy of Susquehanna Indians was daily expected to arrive at Bethlehem from Wyoming on their way to Philadelphia. A few days later the Indians came, and on April 14th they were received in conference by the Provincial Council—Governor Morris being absent from the city. According to the official records* the Indians present were: "Paxinosa, King of the Shawanese," "Tateuscung, or Honest John, Sachem of the Delawares," "Mamalatasecung,† or Abraham, a Sachem of the Mohegans," "Maseecheinen, a Sachem of the Delawares,"‡ "Tepeschawaunk, a Sachem of the Delawares,"§ "Gootameek, a Sachem of the Mohegans," Scarooyady the "Half King," and several other Indians of lesser importance.

Teedyuscung, who, only a short time before this, had been chosen "Captain," or Chief, by the Delawares who had emigrated with him from Gnadenhütten to Wyoming and settled within the present limits of Wilkes-Barré, was the "speaker" for the embassy from Wyoming. He said, among other things:

"You sent us about a year ago|| by Conrad Weiser or his son a string of wampum to let us know that it was a long time since you had seen us, and that you were afraid our hearts were estranged or changed from you, and that the Chain of Friendship was grown rusty; and to desire that when anything scared or troubled us we should make you acquainted with it; and to assure us that you would be always glad to see us and to assist us. We are now come to acquaint you that our hearts and affections remain still the same towards you."

The members of this embassy remained in Philadelphia some twelve days, and during that time the Council held several conferences with them. The Indians presented the authorities with strings and belts of wampum, and with a package of deer, bear and raccoon skins, and "gave the most solemn and full assurances of their warmest affections towards the Government." Governor Morris and General Shirley having arrived in Philadelphia in the meantime another conference was held, when the Governor presented the Indians with a belt of wampum from Major General Johnson, with the request that the Wyoming Indians should not depart from their habitations, but should remain in the Valley to receive a message from their uncles, the Six Nations, and General Johnson, at Onondaga, whither the latter had gone to consult with the Grand Council of the Confederacy. In his closing speech at this conference Teedyuscung referred to the fact that the uncles of the Delawares had made women of them; and then he said:

"The Covenant of Friendship made by our fathers and grandfathers with the English is bound so fast by a chain about our arms that, let happen what will, we will not break loose, but will be united and stand firm to each other forever. As you are at

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VI: 360.

† This, evidently, was his name in the Delaware tongue; "Schabash" being his name in the Mohegan language.

‡ It is probable that he was Chief of the Delawares occupying the village of Matchasaung, mentioned on page 213. It was either he, or his immediate successor, who was locally known as "Jacob."

§ "Tapescawen," later the private "counselor" of Teedyuscung.

¶ See page 307.

one end of the road, our uncles the Six Nations at the other, and we ourselves are seated in the middle at Wyomink, if any mischief or disturbance should arise, whether before or behind, we shall all be ready to see it and join *to assist and stand by each other.*"

A great drought prevailed in the valley of the Susquehanna from April till July, 1755, so that there was a general scarcity of food in all the Indian towns in and near Wyoming. In May, 1755, Conrad Weiser wrote to Secretary Peters that "the Indians on Susquehanna are starving and have almost nothing to eat, because the deers are scarce"; while the Bethlehem diarists inform us that in June of that year the Nescopeck Indians came to Bethlehem for food, as they were "half starved." In the last-mentioned month Christian Frederick Post, at Wyoming, was so severely injured in one of his legs that an Indian runner was despatched to Bethlehem for surgical aid. Dr. John Matthew Otto* responded, and spent about a week in Wyoming with his patient—being, without doubt, the first physician to visit, or at least to practise his profession in, our valley.

In the latter part of this same month the Moravian missionaries Christian Seidel and David Zeisberger, who had returned from Onondaga a short time before, set out on a tour of the Susquehanna Indian towns to preach to the christianized Indians. They reached Wyoming, via Shamokin, Nescopeck and Wapwallopen, about the same time that news was received here of Braddock's defeat on the Monongahela, as previously mentioned. The famine heretofore referred to was still prevailing in the Valley, and the first care of Seidel and Zeisberger was to relieve Post's wants and those of the Indians by going back to Shamokin for supplies. After a few days spent in the valleys of Wyoming and Lackawanna the Brethren set out for Bethlehem by way of the "Warrior's Path." Loskiel informs us that as they descended Nescopeck Mountain into Sugar Loaf Valley they wandered from the path, in consequence of many trees having been blown down by a recent storm. Owing to this circumstance they were preserved from certain death, for a number of Indians lay in ambush in a laurel swamp through which the path ran at the foot of the mountain, intending to tomahawk the missionaries; but the latter, missing the path, were saved from death. They regained the path near where the borough of Conyngham now stands, and in due time reached Gnadenhütten in safety.

Chapman, in his history of Wyoming, states (page 63):

"In the Summer of 1755 the [Susquehanna] Company having procured the consent of the Colony of Connecticut for the establishment of a settlement * * within the limits of their purchase, sent out a number of persons to Wyoming, accompanied by their surveyors and agents, to commence a settlement. On their arrival they found the Indians in a state of war with the English Colonies, and the news of the defeat of General Braddock having been received at Wyoming produced such an animating effect upon the *Nanticoke* tribe of Indians that the members of the new colony would probably have been detained as prisoners, had it not been for the interference of some of the principal chieftans of the Delaware Indians, and *particularly of Teedyuscung*. The members of the colony consequently returned to Connecticut. During the Summer the Nanticokes removed from Wyoming and united with their more powerful neighbors in persuading the Delaware Indians to unite in war against the Indians."

There are several glaring errors in this passage, mainly due, unquestionably, to the fact that Mr. Chapman obtained the greater part of his information concerning the Delawares, and the other Indians located in Wyoming at the period now under consideration, from Heckewelder,

* He was born at Meiningen in 1714, and studied medicine and surgery at Augsburg. He came to this country in the Spring of 1750 with the "Henry Jorde Colony," and settled at Bethlehem in June of the same year. For thirty years he was physician and surgeon of the Moravian settlements in Northampton County. He died at Bethlehem in August, 1786.

who, as we have previously intimated, was strongly prejudiced in favor of the Delawares. In the first place, the Nanticokes were a peaceable people, and it was their boast that they had never warred against their white brethren.* Besides, as we have previously shown (on page 238), all the Nanticokes in Wyoming had removed to the Province of New York in April, 1753. As for Teedyuscung, as soon as he learned of the triumph of the French and Indians in the Ohio region, he became loud in his boastings and unrestrained in his vindictiveness, and was, as we shall show, one of the first Indians on the Susquehanna to break the peaceful conditions which had so long prevailed there.

Various writers† of Wyoming history, following Chapman in point of time, have stated that representatives of The Susquehanna Company repaired to Wyoming in the Summer of 1755, and, "after taking the latitude and longitude and making an examination of the country, returned home to await the issue of the pending hostilities before proceeding with the project of the settlement." The records of The Susquehanna Company do not contain any information whatsoever on this subject; in fact, for the period extending from May, 1755 (when the meeting mentioned on page 306, *ante*, was held), to February 25, 1761, there are neither minutes of meetings nor memoranda of any transactions recorded in the books of the Company. Judging by this fact one can say with reason, and some degree of certainty, that the affairs of the Company rested *in statu quo* during the time mentioned. However, it is quite certain that in the Spring or early Summer of 1755—before the defeat of General Braddock—a visit was made to Wyoming by some of the proprietors of the land company; but it is not probable that they did anything more than to look the country over, select available or desirable places for settlements and determine upon the shortest and best route by which to make the journey to and from the Valley.

Some local writers have stated that one of the Connecticut visitors to Wyoming in 1755 was a surveyor, who learned at that time, from observations then made with his surveying instruments, that the latitude of Wyoming was $41^{\circ} 14' 17''$. These same writers have mentioned also certain other items of information concerning the Wyoming region, which it is alleged were originally gathered and noted down in 1755 by the surveyor referred to. It may be remarked here that those particular items, as well as the latitude of Wyoming—in the figures just given—were all set forth on Lewis Evans' map published early in 1755, and referred to in the note on page 191, *ante*. Evans gathered his data for that map in the years 1750-'53, prior to the settling of Teedyuscung and his Delawares in Wyoming—as is plainly evident from an inspection of the map (a copy of which is in The Philadelphia Library) and a reading of certain paragraphs on page 715 of Volume II of the "Documentary History of New York State." Therefore, the only *village* named "Wyoming" known to Evans and others in 1750-'53 was Paxinosa's village, mentioned on page 230, *ante*, and it was *that* Wyoming which is indicated on Evans' map, with the latitude correctly given as $41^{\circ} 14' 17''$. It is extremely improbable that the Connecticut surveyor who visited the Valley in 1755 would—unless by mere chance—take his ob-

* See second paragraph of note on page 219.

† See Stone's "Poetry and History of Wyoming," page 139; Pearce's "Annals of Luzerne County," page 60; Egle's *Historical Register*, II: 5 (January, 1884); Munsell's "History of Luzerne, Lackawanna and Wyoming Counties" (New York, 1880), page 33; F. C. Johnson's *Historical Record* (Wilkes-Barré), I: 121, 189, and III: 70.

servations at exactly the same station that a previous observer had used, or at a station in precisely the same latitude. And yet if he did not do this how could he obtain the same results? The inference is plain, and it is that the particular information concerning the latitude, topography, etc., of Wyoming, obtained in 1755 by the surveyor or other representatives of The Susquehanna Company, was gleaned from Evans' map of Pennsylvania and not from personal surveys and observations made on the ground.

Notwithstanding the precarious state of affairs along the Susquehanna in 1755 the Moravian missionary Mack came from Gnadenhütten to Wyoming in the latter part of August. From his diary* we learn that he made Paxinosa's village his headquarters. September 1st he told Paxinosa that he would go up to the Monsey village (Asserughney) to preach, to which the King "gave his consent." Thereupon Mack, Paxinosa and the latter's wife, Elizabeth—who carried along a basket of watermelons—set out for the village at the mouth of the Lackawanna. Arriving there they met Christian Frederick Post, who was spending some time in mission work in that locality. In the evening Mack preached "in a large cabin with three fire-places." The next day he preached again, and on the following day he "visited in different huts"—presumably at Asserughney. About the middle of the following October Mack journeyed again from Gnadenhütten to Wyoming and preached once more at Asserughney. He was so disturbed, however, by a great gathering of Indians, who had come there from all quarters to celebrate the "Feast of the Harvest"—which lasted for days, attended with dancing, carousing, etc.—that he soon left and returned to Gnadenhütten.

The defeat of Braddock was the signal for the uprising of the Delawares, whose affections had been gradually alienated from the English. Allured by the representations of French emissaries, and emboldened by the success of the French arms, the Delawares of eastern Pennsylvania met the Delawares and some of the Shawanese of the western sections of the Province in council on the banks of the Allegheny River, and prepared for war. But first, says Reichel, the Delawares rehearsed their wrongs, "dwelling on the loss of the lands on the Tulpehocken and on the Conodogwinet; but chiefly, and amid bitter denunciations, on the fraud of 1737 [the "Walking Purchase"],† perpetrated, as they maintained, to confirm the deedless purchase of all that tract of country which extended from Tohickon and the Hills of Lechauweki northward and westward as far as the great plains of *Skahendowana*, or Wyoming. Wherever the white man was settled *within this disputed territory*, there they resolved to strike him as best they could with the most approved weapons and appliances of their savage warfare. And that the blow might be effectually dealt, each warrior-chief was charged to scalp, kill and burn within the precincts of his birthright, and all simultaneously, from the frontiers down into the heart of the settlements, until the English should sue for peace and promise redress."

In September, 1756, John Shikellimy informed Conrad Weiser that some months previously the recalcitrant Shawanese and Delawares had employed Scaroooyady, the "Half King," to give their "answer" to the

* See "Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VIII: 178.

† See page 191.

inquiry of the Six Nations as to why they warred against the inhabitants of Pennsylvania; and this the "Half King" did in an open session of the Grand Council at Onondaga, in the presence of Sir William Johnson, in these words :

"The reason why we struck our Brethren, the people of Pennsylvania—you know the first beginning of it better than we do. You and the French quarreled for the lands on the Ohio, and the French came there with a large body of men and beat yours off; and so the Indians on the Ohio were in a manner obliged to come into their measures. They were persuaded to take up the hatchet against the English, and as they came in small parties to the Susquehanna River they prevailed on the Susquehanna Indians to go with them—they being related to one another. Many had their fathers, mothers, sons and daughters on the Ohio, and could not withstand their request. Being one people, they could not resist. * * * But they now see their error, and would be directed by their uncles, the Six Nations."



A WAR-PARTY OF INDIANS RECONNOITERING.

In hostile preparations, and in strengthening their arms with alliances, the inimical Indians of Pennsylvania passed the Summer and early months of Autumn of the year 1755. "October came, and no sooner had the first biting frosts reddened the maples and hardened the yellow corn in the husk, than French Indians—chiefly Delawares and Shawanese—painted black for war, and in bands of two or four abreast, moved eastward with murderous intent. The line of the Blue Mountains, from the Delaware to the Susquehanna, became the scene of the carnival which the exasperated savages held with torch and tomahawk during the latter part of the Winter of 1755. The defenseless settlers were taken as in a snare. They were harassed by an unseen foe by day and by night. Some were shot down at the plow, some were butchered at the fireside; men, women and children were promiscuously tomahawked or scalped, or hurried away into distant captivity for torture or

for coveted ransom. There was literally a pillar of fire by night and a pillar of cloud by day going up along the horizon, marking the progress of the relentless invaders as they dealt out death and pillage and conflagration, and drove before them, in mid-winter flight, hundreds of homeless wanderers, who scarce knew where to turn for safety or for succor in the swift destruction that was come upon them."

In a communication sent by Governor Morris to the Provincial Assembly December 29, 1755, relative to the Indian incursions and barbarities which had then been in progress in Pennsylvania for more than two months, there was this statement* :

"Such shocking descriptions are given, by those who have escaped, of the horrid cruelties and indecencies committed by the savages on the bodies of the unhappy wretches who fell into their barbarous hands—especially the women—as far exceeds those related of the most abandoned pirates. * * * All our accounts agree in this, that the French, since the defeat of Braddock, have gained over to their interest the Delawares, Shawanese and many other Indian nations formerly in our alliance, and on whom, through fear and their large promises of rewards for scalps and assurances of reinstating them in the possession of the lands they have sold to the English, they have prevailed to take up arms against us."

The first blow struck by the savages, sufficiently near to be connected with Wyoming, was on October 18th, near the mouth of what is now known as Penn's Creek,† within the present limits of Snyder County. Here they killed and scalped thirteen men and elderly women, dangerously wounded one man who escaped, burnt and destroyed the buildings of the settlement and carried eleven women and children into captivity. Five days later, near the same locality, a number of the white inhabitants were attacked by a small band of Indians in ambush. Following this occurrence all the settlements along the Susquehanna between Shamokin and Hunter's Mill (some six miles up the river from the present city of Harrisburg)—a distance of fifty miles—were hopelessly deserted.

Within a day or two after the massacre at Penn's Creek Scarooyady, the "Half King," Andrew Montour, the interpreter (mentioned on page 206), and Jagrea, a Mohawk chief, were sent by Governor Morris as messengers to the Indians living along the North Branch of the Susquehanna "to alarm them, and apprise them of the approach of very heavy storms." These messengers reached Paxinosa's village about the 22d of October, and immediately upon their departure northward Paxinosa and some other Wyoming chiefs hurried down the river to Shamokin. While sitting in consultation there with the Indians of that place on October 25th, there came to them forty-nine white people who told them that the "French" Indians were very near, on the other side of the river. The white men went over the river, and had a fight with the invading Indians about six miles below Shamokin.‡ Three or four days afterwards Paxinosa and his companions returned to Wyoming, where they found, at Paxinosa's village, the Moravian Brethren Christian Seidel and David Zeisberger (previously mentioned), who had arrived there on Sunday, October 25th, from Bethlehem. They had been sent for by the Indians to "come and preach the gospel," which they did—preaching twice at Asserugliney.

At that time Christian Frederick Post was still in Wyoming, preaching to the Indians "lately removed there from Gnadenhütten and

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VI : 768.

† See page 268, and the map facing this page.

‡ See the last paragraph on page 147.



MAP OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Photo-reproduction of an original published in London, England, in 1756.

Reproduced by courtesy of the publishers of "Pennsylvania—Colonial and Federal."



other places, to whom the Brethren for many years had preached."* Without doubt Post made his headquarters either at Teedyuscung's town (within the limits of the present Tenth Ward of Wilkes-Barré) or at Matchasaung (mentioned on page 213)—presumably, however, at the former, as the majority of the Indians in that town had formerly lived at Gnadenhütten, under the care of the Moravians. The two towns mentioned, together with Paxinosa's town, "Wyoming," and "Asserughney," "Lechaweke" or "Solocka"—as the Monsey town at the mouth of the Lackawanna was indiscriminately called—were the only towns, or villages, in Wyoming Valley in 1755. With the exception of Teedyuscung's town all these, as well as Wapwallopen and Nescopeck below the valley, are indicated on Kitchin's "Map of the Province of Pensilvania" published in London in 1756—a reduced photo-reproduction of which faces the preceding page.

Under date of November 3, 1755, Governor Morris sent a message† to the Provincial Assembly informing that body (which was then composed almost wholly of Quakers) that a force of about 1,500 (*sic*) French and Indians had destroyed some of the settlements near the Susquehanna, and were then about thirty miles above Harris' Ferry. This invasion, the Governor stated, was "the consequence of Braddock's defeat"; "but," continued he, "had my hands been properly strengthened I should have put this Province into such a posture of defense as might have prevented the mischiefs that have since happened. * * The French have gained to their interest the Delawares and Shawanese Indians, under the ensnaring pretense of restoring them to their country." At that time the Hon. Isaac Norris (mentioned on page 262) was still Speaker of the Assembly, and only a short time previously had declared in debate: "I had rather see Philadelphia sacked three times by the French than vote a single copper for the war."‡

On November 5th Speaker Norris, in behalf of the Assembly, transmitted a reply to the Governor's message, in part as follows§ :

"It is too evident that the back settlers are greatly alarmed and terrified, and that cruelties have been committed upon the inhabitants (*principally within the late purchase made by the Proprietaries the last year at Albany*) by some parties of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians, joined, perhaps—though that is not very clear—with a few of the French Mohawks. * * * In our opinion it requires great care and judgment in conducting our Indian affairs at this critical juncture. * * The Six Nations are in alliance with the Crown of Great Britain, and numbers of them joined the King's forces under General Johnson, who acted with great fidelity and bravery. It seems absolutely necessary on our part to request the Governor to inform us whether he *knows of any disgust or injury the Delawares or Shawanese have ever received from this Province*, and by what means their affections can have been so alienated as to take up the hatchet against us."

This document having been received and considered by the Governor and Council they came to the unanimous opinion that the Assembly did not intend to provide for the defense and security of the Province by preparing and passing certain Bills which the Governor had recommended.

On November 8th Scaroooyady, Montour and Jagrea arrived in Philadelphia, and reported that they had gone on the Governor's mission "as far up the Susquehanna as where the Nanticokes live."|| Scaroooyady stated that about 300 Indians were living on the Susquehanna, "all hearty in the English interest" and waiting impatiently to know what

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II : 459.

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VI : 671.

‡ See Egle's "History of Pennsylvania," edition of 1883, page 88.

§ See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VI : 677.

|| Chenango, or Otsiningo, New York. See pages 219 and 238.

the Government proposed to do. These Indians having heard of Braddock's defeat had been inclined to waver in their loyalty to the English. But, learning of the success of Sir William Johnson and the Indians at Lake George, they were now anxious to go on the war-path with either the Six Nations or the Pennsylvanians. They sent by the "Half King" this message to Governor Morris: "If you will not fight with us we will go elsewhere. We never can nor ever will put up with the affront [the defeat of the Indian allies of the English in western Pennsylvania]. If we cannot be safe where we are, we will go somewhere else for protection and take care of ourselves." The Governor reported to the Assembly:

"These Indians desire that we would put the hatchet into their hands; that we would send a number of young men to act in conjunction with their warriors, and furnish necessary arms, ammunition, etc. They insist upon knowing the resolution of this Government, and to have an explicit answer without delay, that they may prepare to act with us, or take the necessary measures for their own security."

Referring to the message received from the Assembly a few days previously, Governor Morris said:

"You have now been sitting six days, and, instead of strengthening my hands and providing for the safety and defense of the people and Province in this time of imminent danger, you have sent me a message wherein you talk of regaining the affections of the Indians now employed in laying waste the country and butchering the inhabitants, and of inquiring what injustice they have received, and into the causes of their falling from their alliance with us and taking part with the French. Such language at this time and while the Province is in its present circumstances seems to me very extraordinary. * * I am sorry you should send me the Bill I have just now received, when I had heretofore refused my assent to one of the same kind. * * I shall not enter into a dispute whether the Proprietaries ought to be taxed or not."

It seems that the Governor (who, it will be remembered, was in every respect the personal representative of the Proprietaries of the Province,* and bound to look out for their interests) was at loggerheads with the Assembly relative to a Bill for the taxation of real estate—including the lands belonging to the Proprietaries—which that body proposed to enact into a law. Revenues were needed, immediately, for the pay of soldiers and to procure subsistence for them, for the purchase of arms and ammunition, for the erection of fortifications, etc. But the Provincial treasury was empty, and it could be replenished only by issuing bills of credit, based upon certain tax-laws.

The Provincial Council, "astonished to see the obstinacy of the Assembly carry them such lengths as not to enable the Governor to give an answer to Scaroooyady," decided not to beat about the bush, but to explain to the "Half King," from their stand-point, the exact situation of affairs. The "Half King" was amazed, saying the failure of the Governor to send a prompt and favorable reply "would occasion the absolute defection of the Delawares [on the Susquehanna], who, by proper encouragement, might even now be firmly secured to the interest of the Province."

"The cold indifference of the Assembly at such a crisis," says Egle ("History of Pennsylvania," page 91), "awoke the deepest indignation throughout the Province. Public meetings were held in various parts of Lancaster and in the frontier counties, at which it was resolved that they would 'repair to Philadelphia and compel the Provincial authorities to pass proper laws to defend the country and oppose the enemy.' In addition, the dead bodies of some of the murdered and mangled were

* See note, page 212.

sent to that city and hauled about the streets, with placards announcing that these were victims of the Quaker policy of non-resistance. A large and threatening mob surrounded the House of Assembly, placed the dead bodies in the door-way, and demanded immediate relief for the people of the frontiers. Such indeed were the desperate measures resorted to for self-defense." Complaints as to the condition of affairs at this time in Pennsylvania reached also the ears of the Home Government in England, and a report on the subject made by a special committee to the "Privy Council for Plantation Affairs" contained these paragraphs*:

"This is not the first complaint which His Majesty's subjects, inhabitants of that Province [Pennsylvania] have made of the distressed state of it, arising from the Assembly's neglecting to make proper provision by law for putting it into a posture of defense in times of danger and hostility. A like complaint was made to His Majesty in 1742, upon an examination into which it did appear that no laws had ever been enacted in that Province for the defense of it, for the building of forts, for raising or training any militia, or in general for providing against any danger from without, either by Indians, Pirates or other enemies. * * The same system of inaction and neglect of the public safety has ever since prevailed and been pursued by the Assembly."

Within a few days after Governor Morris had sent his last-mentioned message to the Pennsylvania Assembly he wrote to Sir William Johnson, at Mount Johnson, in part as follows :

"The unhappy defeat of General Braddock has brought an Indian war upon this and the neighboring Provinces, and from a quarter where it was least expected—the Delawares and Shawanese, from whom we thought there was no danger, as they had the very last year given us assurances of their continuing quiet and taking part with us when we should ask them to do so; and they made the same promise to the Six Nations. * * * I assure you that all the families from Augusta County, Virginia, to the River Delaware have been obliged to quit their plantations on the north side of that chain of hills which is called the Endless Mountains, and that the Indians are expected to continue their ravages into New York and New Jersey. * * * The defection of the Delawares and the Shawanese *is without the least provocation from us*, but that as they say themselves it is to show the Six Nations that *they are no longer women!* * * * You will see by the enclosed papers that these French Shawanese and Delawares have offered the French hatchet to the Susquehanna Indians, but they have refused to take it."

Sir William Johnson had, at this time, some very well settled ideas of his own as to the reasons for the defection of the Delawares and Shawanese. On July 3, 1755, he had held a public conference with the Six Nations (see page 304), when their principal speaker said †:

"Brother, you desire us to unite and live together and *draw all our allies near us*. But we shall have no land left either for ourselves or them, for your people, when they buy a small piece of land of us, by stealing they make it large. * * * The Governor of Pennsylvania bought a whole tract and only paid for half, and [we] desire you will let him know that we will not part with the other half, but keep it."

With this speech as well as other matters in mind, Sir William wrote in September, 1756, to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, at London, in part as follows ‡:

"The hostilities which Pennsylvania in particular has suffered, from some of the Indians living on the Susquehanna, did in some measure arise from the large purchase made by that Government two years ago [July 6, 1754] at Albany. I have more reason every day, from talking with the Indians, *to be confirmed in this suspicion*. I am inclined to believe, though this purchase was publicly consented to at Albany, some of the Six Nations *are disgusted at it, and others repent their consenting to it*, and that part of them do underhand connive at the disturbances between the Susquehanna Indians and the Province of Pennsylvania, whose raising forces and building forts on Susquehanna River—though it hath very plausible pretenses—is at the bottom bad policy, and really intended to secure lands which it would be more for the true interest of the community to give up—at least for the present.

"I conceive the most effectual method of producing tranquillity to that Province would be *the voluntary and open surrender of that deed of sale; fix with the Indians in the best manner they can the bounds of their settlements, and make them guarantees to*

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII: 272.

† See "Documentary History of New York State," I: 414.

‡ See "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York," VII: 130.

it. I know this land was fairly and publicly paid for, and that the Indians are unjust and unreasonable to recant and keep the money; but if the times and good policy require it, to yield will be more advantageous than to contest."

The Moravian Brethren Seidel and Zeisberger, who arrived in Wyoming Valley on the 25th of October, 1755 (as mentioned on page 320), spent six days at "Wyoming, the Shawanese town, and Lechaweke [Asserughney], the Minising town," and "found the Indians at Wyoming in great fear of the French Indians, and much concerned lest the white people should think that they (the Indians at Wyoming) had had a hand in the late disturbance. At Lechaweke the Indians were entirely ignorant of the whole affair, as there they were all together at their Thanksgiving Harvest-feast." * Seidel and Zeisberger reached Bethlehem November 2d, on their return from Wyoming; and four days later the Brethren John Jacob Schmick† and Henry Frey‡ set out from Bethlehem for Wyoming, which, for some reason or other, they did not reach until the 10th of November. To prevent any apprehension of evil and to avoid animosity on the part of the Indians, neither of the Brethren, contrary to custom, carried a gun. Their business was with "Chief Packshanos, Abraham and Jonathan,§ * * * to salute them and desire their assistance" to conduct Mark Kieffer (a Moravian Brother who had been for some time serving as blacksmith for the Indians at Shamokin) in safety from Shamokin to Wyoming, and send him thence with Christian Frederick Post to Bethlehem. In giving an account of their experiences at Wyoming the Brethren stated|| :

"About noon [of Monday, November 10th] we crossed the Susquehanna and came to Wyoming, where the Indians, as soon as they heard of white people being come, all stood at their doors to see us, and saluted us, and we them; and so we went along until we came to Packshanos their Chief's house, where the Indians came to us, shook hands with us and bid us welcome. * * 'We are old, we can't travel well,' Packshanos and Abraham said. 'But,' said Packshanos, 'I will send my son'; and Jonathan said, 'I am willing to go with him.' * * Accordingly they set out on Tuesday the 11th. Packshanos keeps very good order among his Indians at Wyoming, and no one goes out hunting without first acquainting him when and where he intends to go, when he'll return. &c."

Tuesday morning (November 11th), at sunrise, Schmick and Frey left Paxinos's town on their homeward journey, and about the same time Jonathan and Paxinos's son, Samuel, set off down the river to fetch Kieffer from Shamokin.¶ The latter, however, alarmed at the

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II : 459.

† JOHN JACOB SCHMICK was born at Königsberg, Prussia, October 9, 1714, and was liberally educated for the Church. While in charge of a Lutheran congregation in Livonia he became acquainted with the Moravian Brethren, with whom he united in 1748. He arrived at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in September, 1751, and, being appointed to serve at the Indian mission, turned his attention to the Mohegan language, in which he soon became very proficient. He labored among the Indians at Bethlehem, at Nain (after their dispersion from Gnadenhütten), and then followed them into exile at Philadelphia. In April, 1765, he accompanied Zeisberger and the Moravian Indians to Wyalusing, to found Friedenshütten (see note, page 220)—returning shortly afterwards to Bethlehem; but in July, 1766, he and his wife, Joanna, repaired to Friedenshütten, where they lived and labored until May, 1772. For the first two or three months of this period of nearly six years Schmick was Zeisberger's assistant, but upon the latter's departure from the mission the former succeeded him as missionary in charge. It is said that Schmick usually preached in the Mohegan tongue. He died at Lititz, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, January 23, 1778.

‡ HENRY FREY was, as early at least as 1742, a resident of Skippack, in what is now Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, and belonged to "The Associated Brethren of Skippack," or "Wiegner's Economy," an organization which met at the farm of Christopher Wiegner (near the present Kulpville), "for the worship of God and for religious edification." Some time later Frey removed to Bethlehem, where he joined the Moravian Brethren.

§ JONATHAN was the son of Abraham mentioned above, who was the Mohegan chief Abraham previously mentioned.

|| See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II : 458.

¶ The following paragraph is from an original unpublished letter in the collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, written at Bethlehem, January 12, 1818, by the Rev. J. C. B. Heckewelder (mentioned on page 42), and addressed to Isaac A. Chapman of Wilkes-Barré, then engaged in writing his "History of Wyoming."

* * * "A later chief of the Shawanese nation, named *Paxinos*, became their [the Moravian Brethren's] sincere friend, rendering them at times essential services, especially at the time in 1755 when a banditti of the Six Nations [*sic*] had fell upon the settlers near Shamokin and had murdered fourteen white people, when he, upon application by the Brethren, relieved a Brother named Kieffer who was stationed at Shamokin at the time, by his sending his sons to conduct him in safety to the settlements, and with orders that if they should find that he already was in the hands of the enemy, to take such measures that he be rescued from them."

conditions prevailing in the vicinity of Shamokin, had set out alone for Wyoming. He was met on the way by Jonathan and Samuel, who turned back with him to Wyoming, whence, accompanied by several other Indians and missionary Post (who had then been in the valley for several months), they proceeded over the mountains to Gnadenhütten, where they arrived November 20th. David Zeisberger was then at Gnadenhütten, and, upon receiving certain information from the Wyoming Indians, he hastened to Bethlehem, where he drew up the following statement and made oath to it before Justice Timothy Horsfield, who forwarded the document to the Governor at Philadelphia.*

"22 November, 1755, David Zeisberger upon his solemn affirmation declareth and saith: That Indian Jonathan the day before yesterday came from Wyoming on Sasquahannah River to Gnadenhütten, and reported that the Indians living on the River between Wyoming and Nescopecky had observed and followed the tracks of a considerable number of Indians in their neighborhood until they could discover by their tracks that they had divided and gone several ways in small companies. That the Indians at Wyoming were all of opinion that those Indians they tracked were enemies, and that they would soon attack the settlements upon the Delaware River. That the Wyoming Indians† met in council to consider what was best to be done, and it was decided that Jonathan should come to Gnadenhütten to see if the Indians could safely come down amongst the white people, who they were afraid would suspect them for enemies. If they found they might safely come they would send five or six of their chiefs to the Governor to inform him of what had passed, and of their fidelity to the English. That Jonathan yesterday returned back to Wyoming, and promised to be back in four days to be assured if the Indians could be safely conducted to Philadelphia."

On Sunday, November 9th—the day before Schmick and Frey reached Wyoming—Charles Brodhead of Smithfield Township, Northampton County, son of Daniel Brodhead, Sr. (mentioned on page 258), had arrived at Teedyuscung's town (now Wilkes-Barré)—evidently sent here by Governor Morris, or some one in authority, to interview Teedyuscung. Brodhead found the Indians very uneasy. At his desire they were summoned to meet forthwith in conference, but they did not gather together until about ten o'clock at night. The Indians then formulated a message to the Governor, which they asked Brodhead to carry to Philadelphia with two strings of wampum which they gave him. Teedyuscung referred to the fact that Sir William Johnson had sent word to him and his companions when they were at Philadelphia‡ to return to Wyoming and be still there till they heard from him. Since then they had heard nothing either from Johnson or the Governor or the Six Nations, and they did not know what to do. "And now," continued he, "we hear the hatchets are flying about our ears, which puts us in fears, and makes us believe we are in great danger." Owing to the unsettled condition of the country and to other interferences Brodhead was unable to deliver this message to the Governor until November 29th, at which time he also made the following statement§:

"These Indians settled at Wyomink consist of Delawares, Shawanese and Minisinks,|| and it is my opinion that they are very true to the English interest at this time; though how long they may so continue without receiving the hatchet from us is hard to determine. They show great willingness to join with us against the French and their Indians. The number of warriors at Wyomink on the 9th *inst.* was about thirty, but

* For a copy of the original, made at the time by Justice Horsfield, see "The Horsfield Papers" in the collections of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

† Undoubtedly the Shawanese and Mohegans in Paxinosa's town.

‡ See page 815.

§ See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VI: 751.

|| It seems to have been the custom about this period for many of the whites as well as the Indians to refer to the Minisink, or Monseys, as a separate and distinct tribe of Indians; and, about the same time, the Unami clan of the Delawares was also often referred to in the same manner. For example, in August, 1757, when Teedyuscung was conferring with Governor Denny and his Council he was asked who the Unamis were, and in reply stated that they were "a distinct tribe of Delaware Indians, and Allummapees [mentioned on page 186, *ante*] was formerly King of that tribe." (See "Colonial Records of Pennsylvania," VII: 726.)

much larger bodies of them were higher up the river and branches, many of which I imagine would join with those at Wyomink on receiving proper encouragement from us."

In November, 1756, at a conference held in Easton, Teedyuscung stated with reference to Brodhead's visit to him one year previously, as just described :

"I lived in the middle of the road leading from the Six Nations to Philadelphia, where I was ordered by my uncles to sit down. And there I sat in profound peace, under no apprehension of danger, * * * until all at once a man—Charles Brodhead—an inhabitant of this Province, came to me at Wyoming and told me (as if he had such a message from the Governor) that I had struck my brothers the English; which I denied over and over. And when I could not prevail with him to believe me, I took two handfuls of wampum and desired him to go down with them to the Governor and assure him that it was not I who struck the English."*

This is the language of a blusterer possessed of a guilty conscience. Neither Governor Morris nor Charles Brodhead suspected Teedyuscung of having had a hand in any of the hostilities or atrocities which had been committed in eastern Pennsylvania during October and the first week of November, 1755, and they certainly did not charge him with having had any connection therewith either as a participant or an accessory. Just one week after Brodhead's conference with Teedyuscung at Wyoming (to wit, on Sunday, November 16, 1755) a band of hostile Indians crossed the Susquehanna into Berks County at some distance below Shamokin, where they murdered thirteen persons, burnt a number of houses and destroyed cattle, grain, etc. Some writers (among them Pearce†) have stated that Teedyuscung was the leader of this band—which is highly improbable. Nearly all the hostile incursions from which the white settlers in eastern Pennsylvania suffered during October and November, 1755, were made by Delawares and Shawanese from beyond the Alleghenies, led by either *Shingas*‡ or "Captain Jacobs," two noted Delaware chiefs, or by sub-chiefs or captains under their directions.

At a meeting of the Provincial Council held in Philadelphia November 14, 1755, Scarooady and Andrew Montour were instructed to go with all possible despatch to the Six Nations by way of the Susquehanna; and they were directed as they traveled along to apprise all friendly Indians of the doings of the Ohio Indians, and, wherever they thought it politic, to apply in behalf of the Government for assistance from the well-disposed Indians. They were given a supply of wampum belts and strings. At the same time *Aroas*, or "Silver Heels," a friendly Six Nation Indian (the step-son of "The Old Belt," an old and friendly Seneca chief of some renown who lived on the Susquehanna near Harris' Ferry), was sent by Governor Morris from John Harris' "along the east side of the Susquehanna as far as Shamokin and Nescopeck to observe what was doing by the Indians there." The Governor had recently learned that the Indians on the North Branch of the river had "given the French Indians leave to seat themselves at Nescopeck."

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII : 322.

† See his "Annals of Luzerne County," page 40.

‡ SHINGAS was a brother of *Tamaque*, or "Beaver," the King of the western Delawares. About 1748 and later the town at the mouth of Beaver River—not far from Logstown, mentioned on page 213—was known indifferently as "King Beaver's Town" or "Shingas' Old Town." It was a noted fur-trading station, and the French erected houses there for the Indians after the building of Fort Duquesne. In 1750 and '56 *Shingas*, "Beaver" and "Captain Jacobs" lived at Kittanning, about twenty miles north of Fort Duquesne. (See map facing page 320.) During this period *Shingas* had the reputation of being the greatest warrior among his people, and such a terror did he become to the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania that the Government set a reward of £200 on his head or scalp. In April, 1756, Governor Morris wrote to Sir William Johnson: "The main body of the Delawares live at Kittanning and the other Delaware towns on and beyond the Ohio, and have been the most mischievous, and do still, even so late as last week, continue to murder and destroy." (See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII : 98.)

"Silver Heels" set out immediately. At Shamokin he found no Indians, but upon going up to Nescopeck he saw there "140 Indians, all warriors, dancing the war-dance. They expressed great bitterness against the English, and were preparing for an expedition against them, and he thought they would go to the eastward." He then went on to the house of an uncle of his, between Nescopeck and Wyoming, where he was told that "the Delawares and Shawanese on the Ohio were persuaded by the French to strike the English, and had put the hatchet into the hands of the Susquehanna Indians (a great many of whom had taken it greedily, and there was no persuading them to the contrary); and that they would do abundance of mischief to the people of Pennsylvania, against whom they were preparing to go to war."*

After the defection of Abraham (*Schabash*) and Teedyuscung from the ranks of the Moravian Indians at Gnadenhütten, and the withdrawal of themselves and their followers from that place to Wyoming, the Indians who remained were joined by the Christian Delawares from Meniolagomeka (mentioned on page 308). The land on the Mahoning having become impoverished, and other circumstances requiring a change, a new settlement was shortly afterwards made on the north or left bank of the Lehigh, where Weissport, in Carbon County, is now located. A new chapel was built there and the dwellings were removed from the banks of the Mahoning in June, 1754. The place was called "New Gnadenhütten" and sometimes, also, "Gnadenhütten East," and the Delawares lived on one, and the Mohegans on the other, side of the one long street of the village. The Brethren at Bethlehem took upon themselves the culture of the old land on the Mahoning, made a plantation of it for the use of the Indian congregation, and converted the original chapel into a dwelling, to be occupied by the Brethren and Sisters who had the care of the plantations, and by missionaries passing on their visits to the Indians on the Susquehanna.

Early in the evening of November 24, 1755, when there were fifteen persons in the dwelling-house at Old Gnadenhütten in the valley of the Mahoning, the place was surprised by a band of hostile savages from Nescopeck, eleven of the inhabitants were murdered and all the buildings of the settlement were burnt. Gnadenhütten East was deserted the same night, and the surviving missionaries and their Mohegan and Delaware converts—upwards of seventy men, women and children in number—fled to Bethlehem.

According to a manuscript of David Zeisberger's preserved in the Moravian Archives† "the party that made the assault on Gnadenhütten was composed of Monseys, and numbered twelve. It was led by *Jacheapus*, the chief of Assinissink [a Monsey town in what is now Steuben County, New York]." Another of the Moravian diarists states that old King Nutimus (mentioned on page 225, *ante*) told the Brethren at Bethlehem how he had "advised these Monseys" not to attack the settlement on the Mahoning; but as soon as they had left Nescopeck they took their way thither. It has been stated by several writers that Teedyuscung, on his way to attend a conference at Easton, Pennsylvania, in July, 1757, fell in with "the chief who had commanded the expedition against Gnadenhütten; high words arose between them,

* See *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania*, V : 288.

† See F. C. Johnson's *Historical Record*, II : 77.

when the King raised his tomahawk and laid the chief dead at his feet." In a Moravian account of a conference held at Bethlehem August 27, 1757, between several of the Brethren and Teedyuscung, it is stated that the Delaware King said upon that occasion "that the *Shawanese* brave whom he had killed near Easton on the way to the treaty [of July, 1757], had led the attack on the Mahoning."* The Indian thus killed by Teedyuscung was probably one of the warriors who had aided in the destruction of the Gnadenhütten settlement, inasmuch as *Jacheapus*, the chief of the marauding band, died of small-pox in the Mohawk Valley, in 1765. He had taken part in Pontiac's uprising, and, being captured by the English, died a prisoner in their hands.

It was about the time of the gathering of the Delawares, Shawanese and other hostile Indians at Nescopeck (as previously related), followed by the incursion upon the Moravian settlement on the Mahoning, that Teedyuscung was chosen "King"—not of the Delaware nation, but, undoubtedly, of the Unami, or Wanamie, clan of that nation. He *may* have been chosen King, or Sachem, of the eastern Delawares—King Beaver being at that time the undisputed head of the western Delawares; but that seems improbable, inasmuch as the chiefs of the Monseys at Asserughney and elsewhere along the North Branch of the Susquehanna, and on the upper waters of the Delaware, did not recognize Teedyuscung's kingship and refused to join with him in formal messages to and conferences with the Pennsylvania authorities. However, Heckewelder states† that the chief of the Unami clan of the Delawares was recognized as the head-chief of the nation, being chosen and installed with great ceremony and rejoicing.‡

Elated by the acquisition of a kingly name and kingly power and aroused by the fall of Gnadenhütten, Teedyuscung soon began to busy himself with his tongue and his tomahawk. Always a man of many words he now became a tireless talker about the woes and wrongs endured by the Delawares—all on account of the English. With "rage in each thought, by restless musing fed," he hastened not only to the villages and solitary cabins of the Indians in Wyoming Valley, but to others at a distance, where he incited and encouraged the warriors to put on their war-paint, take up their hatchets and go out with him on the war-path. No longer was he spoken of as "Honest John" or "Gideon," but as "The War Trumpet"!§

Along the northern line of the "Walking Purchase" (referred to on page 194), which had been "fraudulently surveyed so as to embrace a goodly portion of the Minisinks, or upper valley of the Delaware," were laid the first scenes of the relentless warfare carried on by Teedyuscung. It was there that the King, with his eastern Delawares, "mindful of the indignities that had been heaped upon him and his kinsmen of the 'Forks' by the imperious Canassatego at the treaty of 1742, wreaked his long cherished resentment on the whites who had planted in Long Valley, or who were trespassing within the Minisinks west of the Delaware. And thus, within a short month, fifty farms, with their houses, were plundered

* See Reichel's "Memorials," page 348.

† In "An Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania" (ed. of 1818), pages 51 and 53.

‡ In this connection see note (i) on page 325.

§ See Heckewelder's sketch of Teedyuscung in Rupp's "History of Northampton County," page 477.

and burned, and upward of one hundred persons were killed* on the frontiers of Northampton County, on both sides of the Kittatinny Mountains. * * * From their lurking-places in the fastnesses of the Great Swamp† the savage warriors, led by their King in person, would sally forth on their marauds, striking consternation into the hearts of the defenseless settlers, ruthlessly destroying with torch and tomahawk, and then retreating with what booty and prisoners they had taken. * * * Plantation after plantation was pillaged, and before the close of December [1755] the enemy had overrun the greater part of Northampton.”‡ “Teedyuscung, at the head of a scouting party,” states Pearce (“Annals of Luzerne County,” pages 40 and 42), “fired into a company assembled at a funeral. He penetrated into New Jersey, and even approached within a few miles of Easton.”

December 8, 1755, Governor Morris commissioned Charles Brodhead, Aaron De Pui and Benjamin Shoemaker (all previously mentioned) of Northampton County to carry a message to the Indians at Shamokin, Nescopeck and Wyoming, inviting them to a conference at Harris' Ferry on January 1st. The Commissioners were directed to proceed immediately to Wyoming and conduct to Harris' the Indians here who should be willing to go. The invitation was to be extended “to the Indians and their families.” “If they give you a cool reception,” wrote the Governor in his letter of instructions, “then endeavor to discover their true sentiments and future designs. If you cannot get all, get as many of the chiefs as you can to come.”§ Within three days after the issuing

* Capt. JACOB ARNDT, of the Provincial service, commandant of Fort Allen in 1756-57, prepared a list of the inhabitants of Northampton County who had been killed and taken prisoners by the Indians from the beginning of hostilities till the middle of December, 1757, and according to this 114 men, women and children had been slain and fifty-two taken captive. Of the latter, seven were returned by the Indians, or effected their escape.—Egle's “History of Pennsylvania,” p. 192.

† The swamp here referred to covers a large extent of territory in the present township of Buck (formerly a part of the township of Wilkes-Barré). It lies between the Wyoming-Moosic and Pocono ranges of mountains described on page 45, and, “as the crow flies,” is twelve miles south-east of the city of Wilkes-Barré, about twenty-four miles north of the site of Old Gnadenhütten, and about forty-two miles north-west of Bethlehem. It is noted on the map facing page 320, although placed too far north. The Pocono Mountains are thereon noted as the “Cushetunk Mountains.” Nearly in the middle of the swamp is situated that part of it known as the “Shades of Death.”

In April, 1756, Governor Morris referred in a letter to “the Great or Laurel Swamp, through which the Indians pass in their way to and from Wyoming and Nescopeck.” The paths from Wyoming and Nescopeck to the Minisinks on the Delaware (see note, page 189) ran through the Great Swamp, and it was probably over those paths that the hostile Indians traveled when they sallied forth from their various villages to cut off the settlers along the Delaware north of the Kittatinny Mountains. In 1779 a road was made through this swamp, over which General Sullivan's army marched from Easton to Wilkes-Barré (see Chapter XVIII, *post*), and the following extract is from the diary of the Rev. William Rogers, D. D., one of the Chaplains who accompanied the expedition. “This day we marched through the Great Swamp and Bear Swamp. The Great Swamp, which is eleven or twelve miles through, contains what is called in our maps the ‘Shades of Death,’ by reason of its darkness. Both swamps contain trees of amazing height—hemlock, birch, pine, ash, etc. * * * The road through the swamps is entirely new, being fitted for the passage of our wagons by Colonels Courtlandt and Spencer at the instance of the Commander-in-chief [Sullivan]—the way leading to Wyoming being before only a blind, narrow path. The new road does its projectors great credit, and must in a future day be of essential service to the inhabitants of Wyoming and Easton.”

In January, 1787, Col. Timothy Pickering traveled this road on horseback, en route from Philadelphia to Wilkes-Barré, and concerning the swamps mentioned above he wrote as follows: “About — miles from Larner's you enter the Great Swamp. Then, after passing — miles of higher ground, you enter that part of the swamp which is called the ‘Shades of Death,’ and — miles farther you enter Bear Swamp, which is also a branch of the Great Swamp. The swamps are filled chiefly with white pine and hemlock; but there is a mixture of proper spruce, beech, maple, black birch and wild cherry trees. The high grounds between the swamps are but moderate risings, though pretty rocky. What is called the Great Swamp is generally *hard ground*; and all the miry parts on the present route (being what is called ‘Sullivan's Road’)—which is by no means deemed an eligible one—would not together exceed two miles.”

Alexander Wilson thus refers to these swamps in “The Foresters,” mentioned on page 66, *ante*: “The ‘Shades of Death’ is a place in the Great Swamp, usually so called, from its low, hollow situation, overgrown with pine and hemlock trees of an enormous size that almost shut out the light of day.

“But one deep solitude around prevails,
And scarce a cricket eye or ear assays.

* * * * *
Below dark, drooping pines we onward tread,
Where BEAR CREEK grumbles down his gloomy bed.
Through darksome gulfs, where bats forever skim,
The haunts of howling wolves and pautners grin.”

The Great Swamp to-day is a tangled mass of laurel, rhododendron, cranberry and huckleberry bushes, scrub oaks, hemlock roots, fallen trees and bogs endlessly intermingled.

‡ See Reichel's “Memorials,” pages 194 and 221; also Egle's “History of Pennsylvania,” pages 970-972.

§ See “Pennsylvania Colonial Records,” VI: 779.

of this commission Teedyuscung and his marauders had attacked the Brodhead house (as noted on page 258), and some days later they were engaged in scalping or carrying away as prisoners the remaining inhabitants of Smithfield Township and burning their buildings.

Messrs. Brodhead, De Pui and Shoemaker were prevented by the ravages of the savages in Northampton County from executing the commission entrusted to them by the Governor; while Scaroooyady and Andrew Montour, who had been instructed, as agents and messengers of the Province, to set out from Philadelphia for the "Long House" of the Six Nations as expeditiously as possible (see page 326), did not start on their journey until early in December. At Shamokin they came across Jonathan Cayanquiloquo and his wife, whom they took along with them. Jonathan, who was a friendly Six Nation Indian, was the "Jonathan" mentioned in Conrad Weiser's letter printed on page 295. He resided on the Susquehanna in the vicinity of Shamokin and had been employed frequently as a messenger by the Government; but for some time then had been missing from his usual haunts.

The messengers found all the Indians between Shamokin and Wyoming against the English. Arriving at Wyoming about the middle of December they found that Paxinosa, with a number of "fighting men of the Shawanese, Mohegans, Chickasaws and Six Nations, who were determined to adhere to the English," had separated from the rest of the Indians in the valley and retired to a secluded little valley some two miles north-east of Paxinosa's village, where they had erected their cabins.* Here Scaroooyady and his party found, also, John Shikellimy, his wife, his children and his two brothers—one of them being James Logan, mentioned in the note on page 185.

At the time of the arrival of Scaroooyady and his companions at Wyoming a party was being organized at Teedyuscung's town to go over the mountains to pillage the plantations of the white settlers along the Delaware River and procure a supply of provisions, of which the Indians at Wyoming were badly in need. John Shikellimy and his brothers had crossed the Susquehanna and joined this party, and they only awaited the arrival of a band of eighty Delawares, with whom they were to set out. Scaroooyady took Shikellimy aside and upbraided him for his ingratitude to the Pennsylvania Government. The latter said that his agreeing to go on the pillaging expedition "was against his inclination, but he could not help it—they threatening to kill him if he did not go." Nevertheless, owing to the "Half King's" talk, he did not go.

Shikellimy stated that "when the Delawares from Ohio proclaimed war against the English they forewarned all the Indians to come away from the English, and desired them to move up the North Branch of the Susquehanna." A Council was called at Shamokin and it was agreed by the Indians there, chiefly Delawares, to remove to Nescopeck for safety. Shikellimy and his relatives went thither, but after awhile found the Indians there to be in the French interest. "When the said Delawares began to bring in English scalps," stated Shikellimy to Scaroooyady,† "we left the town and came to Wyoming, and here, *on the west side, a few miles from the river*, we gathered to the number of

* This locality was west of what is now known as Ross Hill—between Larksville and "Poke Hollow."

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII: 48.

thirty fighting men of such Indians as would not join the Delawares in murdering the English. Paxinosa, who is chief of the Shawanese of Wyoming, is very hearty in the English interest, and spoke very bold to the Delawares. They told him at last that if he said one word more they would knock him on the head. A certain chief of the Delawares, _____ by name, used all his strength of reason to dissuade the Delawares from listening to the French, but to no purpose. The Delawares silenced him also."

In due time the eighty Delaware warriors arrived at Teedyuscung's town, where Scarooady and Montour had a conference with them and the inhabitants of the town. The "Half King" sought in a speech, accompanied by a belt of wampum, to dissuade them from going to war against the English, but the Delawares pushed the belt aside with their pipe-stems and declared, "in plain terms, that they would pay no regard to what should be said to dissuade them from hostilities against the English." The "Half King," in giving an account of this conference some time later, stated: "They are determined to fight the English as long as there is a man left. It was with much difficulty we got through the settlement of the Delawares. I but just escaped with my life. I shall return to Philadelphia by way of Albany." According to the testimony of Shikellimy the "Half King" was "in the utmost danger of being killed by the Delawares. Whilst he was consulting with the eldest of them in the evening the rest, out of doors, cried out: 'Let us kill the rogue! We will hear of no mediator, much less of a master! Hold your tongue and begone! We will do what we please!'"

Scarooady and his company remained at Wyoming till the war-party had set out from Teedyuscung's town, and then they continued their journey up along the Susquehanna. Before starting, however, they took, in the language of the "Half King," "another step," which—together with their subsequent doings—he described as follows*:

"Seeing our friends Paxinosa and those thirty, that had retreated with him and lived by themselves, were surrounded with enemies and in great danger of receiving mischief from them, we took upon us (as we were members of the Council of the Six Nations and in the execution of a public trust from this Government) to order these friendly Indians to remove their council-fire to Owego. They objected to doing it during the severity of the Winter, and because they had sufficiency of corn to support them through it, but consented to remove in the Spring, and desired we would inform the people at Otsiningo of it, and speak to them to have canoes ready against that time and come and fetch them.

"From Wyoming we came to an Indian town called Asserughney, * * where were about twenty Delawares—all violently against the English—to whom we said nothing, as we saw the badness of their disposition. From Asserughney we came to Chukanning [Tunkhannock], an Indian town consisting of about thirty fighting men, distant from Wyoming about thirty miles. Here we saw a Dutch woman prisoner and a child with her. We likewise saw here the Delaware Teedyuscung, and with him we saw 'Joe,'† the black haired Indian that speaks English, and was his interpreter. Teedyuscung is made King, or Sachem. He told us that he had sent three English scalps with belts to the Senecas, and one belt to the Oneidas, desiring assistance, for he expected the English would destroy him, but had received no answer to either. He then took out a large belt of black wampum, of thirteen rows, 'which,' he says, 'I am now going to send to the Six Nations; and as this is the third time, if they send an answer, well and good; if they do not, I shall know what to do.' The first scalps were sent by a great warrior, *Owislogo*, or 'Cut-finger Peter,' whom they met in the way with twenty Indians.

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII: 65.

† JOE PEOPY, of whom Bishop Spangenberg spoke in 1755 as follows: "Having lived among the Presbyterians, and treacherously been gone from them, hath exasperated them in the highest degree." At Bethlehem, in June, 1756, Peopy declared openly that he was very sorry that he had taken "such a misstep as to leave his English brethren." Later he became a messenger, and then an assistant interpreter, in the Provincial service. He was originally from Cranberry, New Jersey, and became one of Brainerd's Indian congregation. (See note, page 202.) Immediately before the Indian hostilities were begun Peopy resided among the Scots-Irish of the "Craig Settlement," near Lehigh Water Gap.

"From Chinkanning we came to Diahogo [Tioga, mentioned on page 34], fifty miles higher up the Susquehanna, where were fifty cabins and about ninety grown men. We assure you, that all the way from Wyoming to Diahogo a day never passed without our meeting some warriors—six, eight or ten in a party, and twenty under 'Cut-finger Peter'—going after [to join] the eighty warriors whom we saw at Wyoming. All the Delawares who are settled at Wyoming and at Diahogo are in the French interest; and these Delawares, with a party from Ohio, have lately done the mischief on the frontiers [of eastern Pennsylvania]. They have captivated twenty-six persons, mostly women and children, and there are five English captives now at Diahogo."

At Tioga, about January 1, 1756, Scaroooyady met two sets of messengers—one from the Oneidas and Cayugas and one from the Mohawks—despatched at the instance of Sir William Johnson to the Delawares, commanding them to desist from further hostilities and ordering them to attend on the Council then sitting at Fort Johnson.* They (the Delawares) were informed that they "were drunk and did not know what they were doing, and should have their heads shaken till they became sober."† From Tioga Scaroooyady's party went on to Oghwaga (mentioned in the note on page 257), which they reached January 4th. Thence they hastened, as directly as possible, to Fort Johnson, where the Council of the Six Nations was still sitting.

The Wyoming Delawares did not attend this Council, to which they had been summoned by messengers from the Oneida, Cayuga and Mohawk tribes. Reference has been made (on page 303) to the fact that at this period the tribes of the Six Nations were divided in the matter of their allegiance to the whites—"some being for the English, and some for the French." The Senecas, particularly the western Senecas, were strongly inclined to the French. About this time the Delawares had drifted into a sort of alliance with the Senecas, and were largely if not wholly under the control of the latter.‡ Therefore, inasmuch as no invitation or directions relative to the Council at Fort Johnson were sent by the Senecas to the Delawares the latter did not put in an appearance there.

One day, during the meeting of this Council, there was an abrupt and unexpected reference to Col. John Henry Lydius and The Susquehanna Company's land purchase, which was rather startling and disconcerting to at least two persons who were present. Conochguissa, an Oneida sachem, was speaking, and, turning to Sir William Johnson, he said :

"Brother, you promised you would keep this fire-place clear of all filth, and that no snake should come into the council-room. That man sitting there (pointing to Colonel Lydius) is a devil, and he stole our lands; he takes an Indian slyly by the blanket, one at a time, and when they are drunk puts money into their bosoms and persuades them to sign deeds for our lands upon the Susquehanna, which we will not ratify, nor suffer to be settled by any means." * *

Sir William, in his reply to the sachem, said :

"I did promise you I would keep this fire-place free from all filth, and I did desire that no snake should come into this council-room. As to Colonel Lydius, if his coming here is such an offense to you, I am sorry for it. He came of his own accord, without any invitation from me. If Colonel Lydius hath done as you represent—and which I am afraid is in a great measure true—I think he is very faulty."§

In the latter part of December, 1755, Daniel McMullen, a young man twenty-eight years of age, while at work in the woods at the Mini-

* See note, page 296.

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VI : 697 ; VII : 47, 66.

‡ In June, 1757, Sir William Johnson said to a deputation of Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas at Fort Johnson: "I am well pleased that the Senecas, under whose directions the Delawares are, have, upon my application, interposed their influence upon these deluded people, to stop their hostilities."—"Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII : 623.

§ See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II : 560.

sinks, was taken prisoner by five of Teedyuscung's Indians, who, a few days previously, in that neighborhood, had burnt a house, killed eight men and captured a woman. McMullen and this woman were brought to Teedyuscung's town at Wyoming, where they staid two nights and "saw one hundred Delawares and Shawanese with their families, mixed with a few Mohawks." From Wyoming they proceeded to Tioga, where there were 130 hostile Indians. McMullen was kept there in captivity until the following Spring, when he was "sold to French Margaret's daughter* at Canisteo, forty miles north-west from Tioga." From there he escaped in September, 1757.†

A company of Provincials stationed at New Gnadenhütten was surprised and routed, and the settlement (consisting of eighteen log houses, twelve cabins and a large meeting-house, with dwelling rooms) was totally destroyed by a numerous band of hostiles on New Year's-day, 1756. The same day Teedyuscung, accompanied by three of his half-brothers, one of his nephews and several other Delawares from Wyoming,‡ surprised the plantation of Peter Hess in Lower Smithfield, Northampton (now Monroe) County. This was only a few miles from the eastern end of the valley of the Pocopoco, in which Teedyuscung and the other members of his father's family had formerly lived (as mentioned on page 308). Here Peter Hess, his son Henry and several other persons were captured, who, with a considerable amount of booty, were taken Wyoming-ward via the Pocono Mountains and the Great Swamp. The first night they encamped on the mountains, where "the savages killed Peter Hess—cutting him almost in pieces with their knives—and tied the others to trees. They kindled a large fire, but the night was so cold that they could not sleep. At daylight they set out, and arrived at Wyoming in the evening [January 2, 1756]. They found the valley deserted. The party pushed on to Tunkhannock, where they found about one hundred men, women and children, and where the prisoners remained until the cold weather was over. They were afterwards taken to Tioga, and stayed there until they were brought down and delivered up to their friends at the treaty at Easton in the following November."§

About the time the Hess family was captured a young man, a German, was taken prisoner in Northampton County by Teedyuscung's band and later was given by them to a Minisink Indian. At first he was used rather roughly by his captors, but afterwards was treated kindly. He remained in captivity until April, 1757, when the brother of his custodian conducted him to Easton, where he was restored to his friends.||

Early in January, 1756, Courad Weiser, by authority of the Governor, sent "Silver Heels," previously mentioned, and "David, the Mohawk," on a mission to Wyoming.¶ They set out from John Harris' and journeyed as expeditiously as possible to Nescopeck, which they found deserted. A day or two later they "arrived at Wyomink, having waded big creeks and rivers; and, finding it would be as much as their

* "Queen Catharine," mentioned in the note on page 207.

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII: 283.

‡ See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, III: 56.

§ See Pearce's "Annals of Luzerne County," page 43.

|| See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII: 475.

¶ See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII: 47.

lives were worth to enter the Delaware town [Teedyuscung's], they made known the nature of their business to some of the Six Nations, *who lived in a town by themselves, with some Chickasaws and Mohegans*, who, upon considering the matter, thought proper to get the Shawanese to take the thing in hand and speak to the Delawares, and they laid the thing before them, accordingly—*they, likewise, living in a town by themselves.** Paxinosa, their chief, received their message and went to hold a separate council with his people by themselves. After the conclusion thereof they sent for two of the Six Nation Indians, and the Indian called James Logan (see page 330) and another went to them and received and brought back an answer from Paxinosa and his people, in these words :

“We have considered the message brought up by *Aroas* [“Silver Heels”]. We think it is in vain to speak one word more to our grandfathers, the Delawares. I spoke so often to them to the same purpose till at last they threatened to knock me on the head ; and what can I do, since Scaroooyady, a man of authority among the Six Nations, and of great experience and eloquence, could not prevail on them. They would not so much as touch his belts he laid before them. They throwed them on one side with their pipes,† and gave him ill language. So, upon the whole, we must give over, and desire that you will excuse us.”

“Silver Heels” and David, accompanied by John Shikellimy and his wife, set out from Wyoming for Philadelphia, where they arrived February 23d—having gone by way of Shamokin, John Harris’ and Conestoga, where lived Shikellimy’s sister, who joined the party. They appeared before the Governor and Council at the State House on February 24th, when Shikellimy made the following statement‡ :

“Nescopeck is now deserted, upon a rumor that Conrad Weiser, with a large number of men, was coming up to cut them off, and they, the Delawares, fled to Assarockney§ and higher up, and are nigher to Tiaoagon [Tioga], another Delaware town who are enemies to the English. They number not many above one hundred, though some will have them to be 200, but they include the Mohegans, who they hope will join them. There are two or three white men, deserters from Oswego, among them, who blacken themselves like Indians and go to fight with them. There are also some prisoners taken from the English, who they give or sell to one another. I, myself, had two given to me—a boy and a young woman. I gladly accepted them in order to save their lives, and I will, by the first opportunity, deliver them up to this Government. * * * The Delawares are great cowards. As soon as any one of the men was killed by the English they fled ; and if the English had stood their ground they would have put them [the Delawares] to flight in every engagement. *The few Shawanese at Wyoming don’t join the Delawares, but stand neuter.* It is thought the Delawares will leave Wyoming, as they are building canoes, and some say they will go by Tioga to Ohio. They are much divided in council, and have scarce any provisions.”

Shikellimy stated that he was anxious to return to Wyoming “to take care of his family, promising to bring them and his two brothers along with him” back to the white settlements.

In March, 1756, Thomas Moffitt, aged twenty-six years, was taken prisoner by nine Indians at a place near Poughkeepsie, New York, and brought thence to Wyoming. Here the party staid two nights in company with one hundred Indians, and then marched to a place about ten

* Paxinosa and his people had, apparently, at this time returned to their old village, in what is now the borough of Plymouth ; while the Mohegans, Chickasaws and refugee Six Nation Indians (to wit, the Shikellimys and some others) continued to abide in the temporary village back of Koss Hill.

† See page 331.

‡ See “Pennsylvania Colonial Records,” VII : 52.

§ Asserughney, mentioned on page 188. Early in February, 1756, Governor Morris wrote to Col. George Washington, of Virginia : “In a late interview with some Indians at Carlisle I learnt that our enemy Indians have fixed upon a place upon the East Branch of the Susquehanna, called *Nescopeckon*, for their headquarters, from which they send out parties to annoy us.” (See “Pennsylvania Archives,” First Series, II : 565.) On the 4th of the following April Governor Morris wrote to Governor Hardy of New York as follows (see “Pennsylvania Archives,” First Series, II : 606) : * * * *Nescopeckon*, where they have chiefly resided until lately ; but upon some apprehensions of being attacked by us they have moved to a place [Asserughney] covered by a steep mountain on one side and by the East Branch of the Susquehanna on the other, where they think themselves more secure. This I learnt from two Indians that I sent for intelligence up that river, who are lately returned.”

miles west from Wyoming, to which place they retreated with some precipitation—having first hidden their corn amongst the rocks—on hearing that the English were coming against them. After about two weeks they returned to Wyoming, whence, having waited four days until all the Indians living on the North Branch of the Susquehanna were collected together, they marched in a body with their families and effects to Tioga. At Tioga they called a Council, and, being still apprehensive of pursuit from the English, they divided themselves into two parties of about equal numbers. One party removed to the Allegheny River region, and the other, including Moffitt the captive, to Canisteo (mentioned in the note on page 207), where Moffitt was sold to "Queen Catharine." In the following September he escaped in company with Daniel McMullen, mentioned on page 332.

Shikellimy returned from Philadelphia to Wyoming, and was here during the time the Delawares were preparing to move northward, as just mentioned. Accompanied by his wife, his two brothers and their wives and the children of the three families, Shikellimy went down the Susquehanna to the fort at Hunter's Mill (six miles north of the present city of Harrisburg), commanded by Capt. Thomas McKee, where the party arrived on the 3d of April. He reported to Captain McKee and Edward Shippen* that there was "great confusion amongst ye Indians up ye North Branch of Susquehanna. The Delawares are a-moving all from thence to Ohio, and wants to persuade ye Shawanese to go along with them, but they decline going. The Shawanese are going up to a town called Tioga, where there is a body of ye Six Nations, and there they intend to remain." Shikellimy was greatly dissatisfied at being at Fort Hunter, and told Mr. Shippen that "if the Governor thought proper he would go to Wyoming and endeavor to bring down Paxinosa, *who would have come with him, but the Delawares would not permit it.*"

According to a statement† made in the Autumn of 1756 by John Cox, who had been captured by the Indians in February of that year, and in March was taken to Tioga, there were at that time in the last-mentioned place "about fifty warriors belonging to the Delaware, Mohegan and Monsey tribes, and about twenty German prisoners. The Indians frequently went out in parties of twelve to destroy the inhabitants, and as often returned with their scalps, but no prisoners."

April 4, 1756, Governor Morris wrote to Governor Hardy of New York‡: "I wish the Six Nations at the late treaty had come to some vigorous resolutions with regard to the Delawares. * * The French seem to have taken the Delawares under their protection. Our Commissioners have agreed to give a reward for Indian prisoners and scalps, * * and I am pressed to declare war against the Delawares, and by proclamation to offer those rewards. • The Indians here whom I have consulted seem to approve the thing, and will give me their full answer this week." On the 9th of April, at a meeting of the Board of Provincial Commissioners in Philadelphia, it was "*Agreed*, That it be again proposed to the Governor to issue a proclamation as soon as may be, offering rewards for the scalps of enemy Indians; and that this Board are willing to allow the following premiums for the same, *viz.*: For

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II: 615, 634.

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII: 242.

‡ See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II: 607.

every male Indian prisoner above ten years old that shall be delivered at any of the Government's forts or towns, 150 dollars* ; for every female Indian prisoner, or male under ten years, delivered as above, 130 dollars ; for the scalp of every male Indian of above ten years old, 130 dollars ; for the scalp of every Indian woman, 50 dollars."†

The "late treaty" to which Governor Morris alluded, as just mentioned, was the Council held at Fort Johnson in January, 1756, and referred to on page 332. Within a short time after the close of that Council deputies were despatched by the Six Nations to Otsiningo (see note, page 219), who convened there the Delawares, Shawanese and other Indians to the number of 300, from the several towns on the Susquehanna, to whom they delivered a message from the Council, blaming them for taking up the hatchet against the English and ordering them to lay it down immediately. This command the hostiles promised to obey, and arrangements were made for the holding of a general conference of the Indians at Onondaga in the near future.

Before these facts became known to the Pennsylvania authorities, however, Governor Morris, with the approval of the Provincial Council, issued a proclamation of war against the hostile Indians. The proclamation was published at the Court House, Philadelphia, April 14, 1756, in the presence of the Council, Judges of the Supreme Court, and a large body of citizens. The document declared "the Delaware Indians, and all others who in conjunction with them have [had] committed hostilities," to be rebels and traitors to the King. All Indians living northward of a line extending from "Diahoga, or Tohiccon," to "the Indian town called Cushtunk, upon Delaware,"‡ were excluded from the effects of the proclamation, as were also the friendly and peaceable Indians who had removed into the settled parts of the Province. The proclamation set forth also the premiums that would be paid for Indian scalps and prisoners—which were the same that had been recommended by the Board of Commissioners, as previously mentioned. "The Quakers and Moravians exclaimed against the barbarous character of the proclamation," states Pearce ("Annals of Luzerne County," page 44), "and the Assembly was in an uproar. But the War party was gratified, and the frontiersmen began to hope for deliverance from their bloodthirsty foes. The highly excited condition of men's minds at this period, produced by the shocking barbarities of the Indians, must be the only palliating excuse for this most unchristian measure."

When Sir William Johnson learned of this proclamation of war he wrote concerning it to Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, under date of April 24, 1756, as follows§ :

"I am surprised that Mr. Morris, whose Province was so much interested in the result of the Six Nations' embassy to those Indians, * * would not wait to hear the effects of this embassy. What will the Delawares and Shawanese think of such opposition and contradiction in our conduct? How shall I behave at the approaching meeting at Onondaga, not only to those Indians, but to the Six Nations? These hostile measures which Mr. Morris has entered into are throwing all our schemes into confusion, and must naturally give the Six Nations such impressions, and the French such advantages to work on against us, that I tremble for the consequences."

* Spanish milled dollars, or their equivalent. See note on page 252.

† See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II : 619.

‡ See the map facing page 320. Cushtunk is thereon noted as "Station Point." The Indian village of Tohiccon, or Tioga, is not noted, but the Tioga, or "Tohiccon," River is. See, also, page 34.

§ See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII : 116.

The Quakers of Philadelphia, particularly, were greatly exercised because of the declaration of war against the Pennsylvania Indians, and within a few days after the publishing of the proclamation Conrad Weiser and Daniel Claus (who was then Sir William Johnson's Secretary, and was temporarily in Philadelphia), together with Andrew Montour, Scaroooyady and several other friendly Indians who happened to be in the city, dined with a number of prominent Quakers at the home of one of them, where, subsequently, they conferred together relative to the situation of affairs.* As a result, they proposed to the Governor that they should be permitted to send an embassy to the Delawares and Shawanese at Wyoming, to endeavor to effect a reconciliation with them and restore peace to the Province.

At first the Governor consented to this, and then, in view of the declaration of war, he interposed objections to the plan proposed. Finally he resolved to send messengers in his own name to the hostiles, and *Cashioyaya*, or "Captain Newcastle," † *Jagrea* ‡ and "William Locquis" § were selected to perform the service; and under date of April 26th, at Philadelphia, the Governor instructed them, in substance, as follows: You are to let the Indians at Wyoming know that we have heard of the conference which was held at Otsiningo, and that they had promised to hearken to the Six Nations and forbear any further hostilities against the inhabitants of this Province. Let them know, also, *as from yourselves*, that if they are sincerely disposed to peace, and will deliver up the English prisoners in their hands to the Six Nations, lay down their hatchets and abide by the terms that may be agreed upon," peace may be assured, although much blood has been spilled. Assure them that the Delawares who live amongst us have had no mischief done them, but are treated with kindness. "Paxinosa and some other Shawanese and other Indians have not broken faith with us, but endeavored to dissuade the Delawares from striking us. When they could not succeed they separated from them, and now live together in some place near Wyomink. I would have you go to them and let them know the news from Sir William Johnson; and also let Paxinosa know that he and any of the Indians who have continued true to the English would be welcomed if they inclined to come into the Province under the protection of the Government." ||

* See Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, VIII: 275, 293 (November, 1831).

† He was a Six Nation Indian who, when a child, had been formally presented by his parents to William Penn, at New Castle on the Delaware. In August, 1755, Governor Morris publicly conferred on him the name and title of "Captain Newcastle" in remembrance of that event, using these words: "In token of our affection for your parents, and in expectation of your being a useful man in these perilous times, I do, in the most solemn manner, adopt you by the name of 'Newcastle,' and order you hereafter to be called by that name." He confirmed his words with the gift of a belt of wampum of eight rows.

In the Summer of 1756 Governor Denny (Morris' successor) referred to "Captain Newcastle" as one of the few Indians left by Scaroooyady and "The Old Belt" (on their going to Sir William Johnson's) to assist in building a fort at Shamokin, and to be employed in such public business as there should be occasion for. The Governor declared him to be "a sincere and true friend to the English, and an honest and sensible Indian." He died of small-pox at Philadelphia early in November, 1756, while Governor Morris was in attendance at a treaty being held in Easton. His decease was publicly announced by the Governor, who gave the Indians present a string of wampum and eleven black strouds to remind them of the "good man who had been very instrumental in promoting the good work of peace, and to wipe away their tears and take grief from their hearts."

‡ A friendly Mohawk chief (previously mentioned on page 320), who, at this period, was spending considerable time at and about Philadelphia.

§ A "Delaware Indian from the Jerseys," who, early in April, 1756, was sent to a prominent Quaker in Philadelphia by Conrad Weiser, with a letter recommending him as "a person worthy of some notice, and fit to be employed in a message to the Delawares." (See Hazard's *Register*, VII: 275.) A few weeks later a certain Charles Read wrote to Governor Morris as follows (see "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II: 645): "With the Indians now at Philadelphia is one Will. Loguess. He is a fellow on whom no dependence can be had, and is impudent and mischievous in his nature. His father and relations removed about two years ago to Wyoming, where they now are."

|| See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII: 108.

The three messengers were instructed to go to Wyoming by way of Bethlehem, where they would be joined by "Augustus,"* a friendly Delaware who was living there. This they did, setting out from Philadelphia about the first of May. Owing to the badness of the weather the party spent five days and four nights in making the journey from Bethlehem to Wyoming, and upon their arrival here they found that all the Indians had left the valley and gone up the river. Captain Newcastle and his party thereupon proceeded to Tioga, where they found a large number of Indians of different tribes. A council was held—composed of representatives from the various villages thereabout—and Newcastle delivered Governor Morris' message, to which Paxinosa, in behalf of the Shawanese present, made a brief response. In the report of the conference it is recorded that Paxinosa interpreted for the Delawares "because Newcastle talks good Shawanese and Paxinosa talks good Delaware." Teedyuscung spoke at length in behalf of the Delawares, as well as the other Indians present, and was the principal speaker of the occasion. Having washed off every trace of war-paint from his face, he cooed for peace as sweetly and as tenderly as the amiable dove in the ballad. He professed to have had all the fighting he cared for, and was anxious for a "settlement of differences" with the Pennsylvanians. His speech was, in part, as follows:

"Brethren, the Governor and People of Pennsylvania: We rejoice to hear from you. We desire you will look upon us with eyes of mercy. We are a very poor people—our wives and children are almost naked— * * * we are void of understanding and destitute of the necessaries of life.† We the Delawares, the Shawanese, the Mohegans and Monseys give you this string of wampum, and desire that the bitterness which may have gathered in this dark and unhappy time may be removed. * * We have laid aside our hatchet and will never make use of it any more against you or your brethren the English. All our young men have been consulted about this, and all earnestly agree to it."

Captain Newcastle and his fellow messengers left Tioga shortly after this conference and returned to Philadelphia, where they arrived on May 31st. As soon as they had departed from Tioga nearly all the Indians gathered there moved to a locality "about twenty-five miles higher up the river" to plant corn, and there they remained for some time. Teedyuscung, however, did not tarry to take part in the corn-planting, but hurried off post-haste to Fort Niagara (mentioned on page 298) to hold a pow-wow with the French and the western Senecas.‡

About the first of June Sir William Johnson sent *Ogaghradarisha*, an Iroquois sachem, with a message to the Indians at Tioga, summoning them to a council at Fort Johnson; and with a message to Col. William Clapham at the mouth of Armstrong's Creek, in what is now Dauphin County, where he was building Fort Halifax. At Tioga the messenger "found only a few Indians, some sick with the small-pox,

* For some years prior to 1749 he was known as "George Rex," and was Captain of Meniolagomeka, the Delaware village mentioned on page 308. He belonged to the Unami, or Wanamie, clan, his totemic device being a turtle. On the 25th of April of the year above mentioned, while on a visit to Bethlehem, he was baptized by Bishop Cammerhoff and received the name "Augustus." He removed with his people from Meniolagomeka to New Gnadenhütten in 1754, as previously related, and was there at the time of the destruction of Old Gnadenhütten. Since then he had been living at Bethlehem. Early in 1756 Augustus stated that Teedyuscung had occasioned the war then in progress in north-eastern Pennsylvania. (See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II: 729.) Teedyuscung was his brother-in-law.

† Augustus was the step-son of *Wivanukamek*, or "Simeon," a native of Egg Harbor, New Jersey, who had removed north of the Blue Mountains early in the eighteenth century. He was totally blind, and was a medicine-man in high repute among his people.

‡ According to the testimony of John Cox (mentioned on page 335) the Indians and their prisoners at and near Tioga "were in a starving condition during the whole Summer" of 1756, having very little venison and corn and being reduced to the necessity of living upon dog's flesh and the few roots and berries they could collect in the woods. In August about one hundred Indians went to the Ohio region for a supply of food and ammunition. (See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII: 242.)

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII: 223.

many dead and a few others planting corn ;" while "in his passage by Wyoming he saw nothing but empty houses." Arriving at Colonel Clapham's camp he delivered the message referred to on page 188.

On the breaking out of hostilities the inhabitants on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, having but few arms and no organized methods of defense, were struck with a panic and deserted their plantations. After a considerable delay, caused mainly by the failure of the Assembly to act—as we have before noted—laws were passed and money was appropriated for the building of a range of frontier forts and the raising, subsisting and paying of a Provincial force of 1,400 soldiers for garrison and patrol duty. These soldiers were enlisted for one year, and each man received "eighteen pence currency a day, and his victuals found." The cost to the Province of this force, including its officers, was about £70,000 in currency. The inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania and the Counties on the Delaware were estimated at that time to "amount to 200,000, of whom 30,000 may be capable of bearing arms."*

Early in January, 1756, Benjamin Franklin and other Commissioners proceeded from Philadelphia to the site of New Gnadenhütten (see page 327), where, guarded by a force of Provincials, they superintended the erection of a wooden fort. It was completed January 25th, when there was a general discharge of fire-arms, a flag was hoisted, and the place was named "Fort Allen" in honor of the Hon. William Allen of Philadelphia, Chief Justice of the Province, who was a Masonic Brother and intimate friend of Benjamin Franklin, and at that time was Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Free Masons of Pennsylvania. Colonel Clapham having completed Fort Halifax, previously referred to, proceeded with his regiment of 400 Provincials early in July, 1756, up the Susquehanna to Shamokin, where, within the present limits of the borough of Sunbury, he began the erection of Fort Augusta, which he completed before the following Winter.

By advice of the Provincial Council Governor Morris gave public notice early in June that he had "suspended for three months hostilities against the Delaware Indians on the east side of the North Branch of the Susquehanna River, in order to enter into a treaty with them." On the 8th of June the Governor instructed Captain Newcastle to proceed to Tioga with a message to the Indians there, and a few days later Newcastle, accompanied by John Pompshire and two other Delaware Indians from West Jersey, set out from Philadelphia for Bethlehem on horseback. The Governor immediately sent the following notification to Colonel Clapham :

"Having sent the Indian Newcastle again to the town of Diahoga, accompanied by some of the Jersey Delawares, all our good friends—who may, and probably will, return by the Susquehanna—you will, in about a fortnight after this, cause a look out to be kept for them ; and if they return that way you will receive and assist them in their journey. Their signal will be a *red flag with the Union in the corner* ; or if they should be lost, they will carry green boughs or clubbed muskets. They will appear openly and erect, and will not approach you in the night."

The message entrusted to Newcastle for delivery to the Delawares, Shawanese, Mohegans and Monseys congregated at Tioga was in substance as follows † : I am glad to find a good spirit prevailing amongst you. I ratify and confirm all former treaties and engagements. I now kindle a fire and invite you to a council. I will take to the council clothes

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII : 448.

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII : 145 *et seq.*

and provisions for you. As you have laid down the hatchet, and desire the same may be done by us, our messenger carries with him our proclamation for a suspension of hostilities within certain limits. All prisoners must be delivered up. "Agreeably to the repeated advice and request of Scarrooyady and other Indians of the Six Nations, then residing in this Province, I engaged to build a fort at Shamokin for the protection of our friendly Indians, and I now acquaint you with the march of the forces in order to effect this work." The Governor also sent a "particular" message to "Paxinosa the Shawanese King," to the effect that the Governor "had heard by all his messengers of the great fidelity with which he (Paxinosa) had adhered to the English, and that they relied on his giving the best counsel for furthering the good measures now taken." He was particularly invited to the council-fire. With these messages were sent several wampum belts—including one of fourteen rows and one of eight rows with eight strings tied to it.

Captain Newcastle and his party arrived at Bethlehem June 12th, and remained there until the 27th waiting for Newcastle "to recover from some boils" with which he was afflicted. Reichel states, however, that the party was detained by the intelligence that "one hundred men were gone from the Jerseys on a scalping party," they not having been advised of the suspension of hostilities. Leaving their horses at Bethlehem the four messengers set out on foot for Wyoming, where they arrived on the first of July. They found the valley still deserted, but as they went up the river they met at the mouth of the Lackawanna—near the site of Asserughney—*Kolapeeka*, or Samuel, Paxinosa's youngest son, his brother-in-law and two other Shawanese, all formerly of Wyoming, who had come down from Tioga a-hunting. They were out of ammunition, and Newcastle sent them "with a letter to the Brethren at Bethlehem," where they arrived four days later.

When Newcastle and the other messengers arrived at Tioga they found that Teedyuscung (who but a short time previously had returned from Fort Niagara), Paxinosa and a number of the principal men of the Delawares, Shawanese and Mohegans had gone to Fort Johnson in response to the summons brought by *Ogaghradarisha*, as previously mentioned. The messengers therefore awaited at Tioga the return of the Kings, but sent a runner to them at Fort Johnson to hasten their departure thence. The following letter* from Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade (London), written at Albany July 17, 1756, describes very fully the Baronet's conference with Teedyuscung and Paxinosa, which was completed before July 11th.

"The meeting at Onondaga confirmed my suspicions as to the French having infected the Six Nations. At the conclusion of the meeting the Six Nations appeared to be sincerely disposed. * * * The Shawanese and Delawares were there in small numbers, but did not come in sufficient numbers till the congress was closed. The treaty, therefore, was adjourned to my house, and those Indians, with a deputation of Six Nations, came down to Fort Johnson, where were present the said Six Nation deputies, the King, or Chief, of the Shawanese, the King, or Chief, of the Delawares, settled on the Susquehanna and its branches, and a great number of the Molikanders [Mohegans], or River Indians, whom I have lately drawn from the frontiers of this Province and New Jersey to settle near to and under the protection of the Mohawks. *These Indians were originally Delawares*, and are still regarded as brethren by them. * * "

"The Shawanese Chief on behalf of his people denied their having been concerned in any of the late hostilities committed on the southern Provinces. They are and shall continue to be attached to the English. The Shawanese on the Ohio, however, have been many of them seduced by the French and their Indians to join in the late hos-

* From "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York," VII: 118.

tilities. The Delaware King confessed that some of his people had been deceived and deluded by the French and the Delawares who live near Fort Duquesne to join them in their late hostilities; but that the message I sent him by the Six Nations last Winter, and that what passed in our names at the treaty held in consequence at Otsiningo, had opened their eyes, and that from that time his people had laid down the hatchet and ceased from hostilities. He expressed his sorrow and repentance for what had passed. In the most solemn manner he renewed the Covenant Chain of Peace, Friendship and Alliance in behalf of his people, and promised to return such English prisoners who had fallen to his people's share during the hostilities. Both he and the Shawanese King accepted the War-belt, and sung and danced to the War-song with extraordinary fervor; and promised to follow the Six Nations in our favor, and, whenever I should call upon them, to join me in conjunction with the Six Nations.

"I concluded this treaty by *taking off the petticoats, or that invidious name of women*, from the Delaware Nation (which had been imposed on them by the Six Nations from the time they conquered them), in the name of the great King of England, and on behalf of all their brethren, the English, on this continent; and I promised them that I would use my influence and best endeavors to prevail with the Six Nations to follow my example. The deputies of the Six Nations who were present approved of this measure, but said they were not a sufficient number nor properly authorized to do it."

On his homeward journey from Fort Niagara, previous to attending the conference at Fort Johnson, Teedyuscung stopped at Canisteo, where, according to the testimony* of Thomas Moffitt (mentioned on page 334), the King boasted, in a drunken frolic at the house of "Queen Catharine," that "the Indians could make peace, and the Indians could also break peace when made." Moffitt also stated that when Teedyuscung left Catharine's house "he sold an English female prisoner for a horse, with which to perform his journey to Bethlehem." He probably used this horse in the trip from Tioga to Fort Johnson and return, as the journey to Bethlehem was made by canoe as far as Wyoming and the remainder of the way on foot. The party, which set out from Tioga about July 11th, consisted of Captain Newcastle, John Pomphrey and the other two messengers; Teedyuscung, his wife Elizabeth, their three young children and Captain Amos their eldest son; Tapescawen† (mentioned on page 315), the King's private counselor, and a number of other Indians—men, women and children—who were joined on the way by a few others at Tunkhannock, so that when the company reached Bethlehem in the evening of July 17th it numbered upwards of thirty. Paxinos was not with the delegation, he having remained at Tioga.

On July 18th Teedyuscung met in conference with Major Parsons (mentioned on page 254), for the occasion the personal representative of Governor Morris, and to the latter the King dictated a message, in which, for the first time, he formally declared to the English his kingship, in these words:

"This, what I have now in short spoken, is not only from me, but also from my uncle, the Mohawk (meaning the Six Nations), and from four other nations (Unamis, Monseys, Mohegans and Nanticokes), which in all makes ten, and these ten have but *two heads of Kings* between them."

The next day, following instructions previously received from the Governor, Major Parsons, with a guard of Provincial soldiers, escorted Teedyuscung and his retinue from Bethlehem to Easton, where it was purposed to hold the contemplated treaty. Information relative to the presence of the Indians in Easton having been forwarded to Philadelphia, upwards of twenty Quakers of that city resolved to go to Easton with a wagon-load of goods, to be presented by themselves to the Indians. In the meantime the Governor notified Major Parsons that he had

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII: 284.

† *Tapescawen*, or "Samuel," was a brother of Augustus (mentioned on page 338), who was the brother-in-law of Teedyuscung.

found it necessary to change the place of treating with the Indians from Easton to Bethlehem. He wrote :

"You will transport the victuals and liquors provided to Bethlehem. I have ordered Colonel [Conrad] Weiser to call together such detachments of the several companies on the frontier, as can safely be spared, to attend this meeting of the Indians, where it is quite necessary to have a good number of troops. I think it is necessary that you should on this occasion draw together such force from the several garrisons near Bethlehem as they can safely spare. You are to move to Bethlehem with the Town Guard of Easton immediately on receipt of this, where you are to escort Teedyuscung and the other Indians who, I am informed, are now at Easton."

Nicholas Scull (previously mentioned) and Capt. Joseph Insley from Fort Allen conveyed the Governor's orders to Teedyuscung, who thereupon made this response*:

"At a distance of 400 miles from hence I received your invitation to come and make peace. * * Since you sent that message I am come, and will stay *here!* I can't understand what you mean by sending me about from place to place like a child."

The Governor having been informed of the King's attitude in the premises consented to hold the treaty at Easton, and on Saturday, July 24th, he arrived there with his attendants, including several members of the Council. On the next day (Sunday), at 10 o'clock in the morning, the Governor, his suite and others attended public worship and listened to a sermon by the Secretary of the Council, the Rev. Richard Peters, previously mentioned. In the afternoon, in the same building, the Quakers, who had arrived in Easton early in the morning of that day, held a religious meeting. On his arrival in the town the Governor had given an order that "no one should speak with the Indians, and a guard was set near their lodgings to enforce this"; but on Sunday evening Teedyuscung and the most of his retinue visited the inn where the Philadelphia Quakers were staying, expressed regard for and confidence in them, and supped with them. On the 26th the King and his company who had been drinking intemperately for several days before were now sober, and the King said his head and heart were clear and he was ready to enter on business. On the 27th the Governor went out fishing, and the Indians spent the day in drinking so much as to render them unfit for business. Conrad Weiser arrived in Easton on this day, and as it was expected that he would take part in the treaty as "Provincial Interpreter," he stated that he was "a stranger to Teedyuscung, and desired time to be informed of his temper and his expectations." According to a letter written at the time by Major Parsons† "Teedyuscung and his wild company were perpetually drunk, very much on the Gascoon, and at times abusive to the inhabitants, for they (the Indians) all spoke English more or less. The King was full of himself, saying frequently that which side (French or English) soever he took must stand, and the other fall; repeating this with insolence. * * He was the man that persuaded the Delawares to go over to the French and then to attack our frontiers; and he and these [Indians here] with him have been concerned in the mischief done to the inhabitants of Northampton County."

The treaty was formally opened on the 28th. Teedyuscung declared that he had been appointed by ten nations—meaning the Six Nations and those who were then collected at Tioga—"a King, or Sachem, to transact public business, and that whatsoever he did in these conferences

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II: 714, 722.

† See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, II: 724.

would be ratified by the Six Nations, who knew and were consenting to his coming, and were waiting with patience to hear what reception he and his people should find from *Onas*." He said further :

"Hearken to what I say. Abundance of confusion, disorder and distraction have arisen among Indians from people taking upon them to be kings and persons of authority. With every tribe of Indians there have been such pretenders who have held treaties—sometimes public, sometimes in the bushes. Sometimes what they did was come to be known, but frequently remained in darkness. To some they held up their belts, but others never saw them. This bred among the Indians heart-burnings and quarrels, and I can assure you that the present clouds do in a great measure owe their rise to this wild and irregular way of doing business, and the Indians will have no more transactions in the dark. * * At the very time Newcastle came with your last message I was in treaty with the Six Nations, and received from them this authority [exhibiting a large "Peace-belt"]. This belt denotes that the Six Nations, by their chiefs, have lately renewed their covenant chains with us. Formerly we were accounted women, and employed only in women's business; but now they have made men of us, and as such we are now come to this treaty, having authority as a man to make peace."

Captain Newcastle then explained that Teedyuscung had brought this belt with him from the Council of the Six Nations to the Delawares gathered at Tioga early in July, with this message* :

"Cousins the Delawares—You will remember that you are our women; our forefathers made you so, and put a petticoat on you and charged you to be true to us and live with no other man. But of late you have suffered the string that tied your petticoat to be cut loose by the French, and you lay with them and so became a common bawd, in which you did very wrong and deserve chastisement. But notwithstanding this we will still esteem you; and as you have thrown off the cover of your modesty and become stark naked, which is a shame for a woman, we now * * * advise you not to act as a man yet, but be first instructed by us and do as we bid you, and you will become a noted man."

The King then explained the meaning and significance of the belt in his hand—which he purposed to present to the Governor—which was to the effect that the square figure in the middle of it stood for the lands of the Indians; the figure of a man at one end of the belt indicated the English, while the figure at the other end indicated the French. "Our uncles told us," said Teedyuscung, "that both of these coveted our lands." Newcastle advised the Governor to accept this belt without hesitation, and at the same time urged the propriety of returning another by way of response. "The King," he proceeded, "will want abundance of wampum, and if he has it not the cause will suffer." The Governor, the civil and military officers present and the Indians then adjourned to an elaborate feast. Teedyuscung was so pleased with his reception and generous entertainment that, while at dinner, he declared in the warmest manner no endeavors of his should be wanting to promote the good work of peace. After dinner the Philadelphia Quakers came to bid him farewell, and he "parted with them in an affectionate manner." Later, he gave an account of his journey to Fort Niagara. The next day the Governor, taking up two belts of wampum joined together, addressed Newcastle and Teedyuscung and declared them to be messengers of peace for the Province of Pennsylvania in negotiations with the hostile Indians.

May 18, 1756, after a year of open hostility, England had formally declared war against France. The King's proclamation relative to this declaration was first published in Pennsylvania at Easton on Friday, July 30th, during the progress of the Indian treaty. The First Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment (in command of Lieutenant Colonel Weiser), formed in three divisions, the Governor, the members of the Council, other officials, the Indians and a considerable body of citizens

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII: 218.

assembled in the open air to listen to the reading of the proclamation. It was not published in Philadelphia until August.

The results of the Easton treaty, which was closed on Saturday, July 31st, were not definitive, although Teedyuscung gave the assurance that he would exert himself faithfully and to the utmost of his ability in the service of the Province, and that he would do all in his power "to perfect a general peace with the Indians." But, instead of repairing immediately to the Indian country, the King and his retinue journeyed as far only as Fort Allen (New Gnadenhütten). The Captain commanding the fort was in Philadelphia, and a certain Lieutenant Miller was in charge. Teedyuscung had sixteen deer-skins which he said he was going to present to the Governor, but Miller, by a liberal use of rum, secured the entire number of skins for £3. Newcastle, in disgust, left the fort and went to Philadelphia, but Teedyuscung remained behind, demanding more rum, which Miller freely gave him from the Provincial supply. The King and his company continued at Fort Allen, almost constantly drunk and obstreperous and frequently expressing themselves in terms inconsistent with their professions made at Easton. Finally, on August 21st, they set out for the Minisinks, the King purposing to put a stop to the Indian depredations which were being committed there. Elizabeth, the wife of Teedyuscung, accompanied by her three young children, went to Bethlehem to stay, being unwilling to accompany the King on his expedition. From the Minisinks the King and his party came to Wyoming, and then proceeded up the river to Tioga.

In the meantime, at Philadelphia, on the 20th of August, Capt. William Denny had succeeded Robert Hunter Morris* as Lieutenant Governor of the Province. The Proprietaries, desiring to be represented by a "military man with a ready pen," had issued their commission on the 7th of May to Denny, who had been a Captain in the British army. The new Governor, as well as the Provincial Council, becoming apprehensive that Teedyuscung was not sincere in his peace professions (and it being insinuated that the Easton conference was only a ruse on the part of the King to gain time), decided to send Captain Newcastle to the Six Nations "to inquire into the nature of the authorities he [Teedyuscung] said he had received from them, and to learn his character and in what esteem he was with them and how far the several matters mentioned by him in the conferences were to be depended on."† Newcastle being willing to go on this mission was sent via New York City and Albany, bearing letters to Sir Charles Hardy, Governor of New York, and to Sir William Johnson. In due time Newcastle returned to Philadelphia and reported to the Governor that he had had an interview with "*Canyase*, a Mohawk chief, one of the principal councilors of the Six Nations, who has [had] a regard for Pennsylvania." *Canyase* said to Newcastle‡ :

* ROBERT HUNTER MORRIS was born at Morrisania, New York, about 1700, the son of Lewis Morris who was Chief Justice of New York and New Jersey for several years, and Governor of New Jersey from 1738 to 1746. R. H. Morris was Chief Justice of New Jersey from 1738 until his death—it having been decided that his commission "conferred a freehold in the office, and that nothing had been shown to divest him thereof." It was during a part of this period that he held the office of Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania. "He was comely in appearance, graceful in manners and of a most imposing presence. Benjamin Franklin said 'he was eloquent, an acute sophister and, therefore, generally successful in argumentative conversation.'" He was an uncle of Lewis Morris, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and also of Gouverneur Morris, sometime United States Minister to France. He died at Shrewsbury, New Jersey, January 27, 1764.

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII : 222, and "Documentary History of the Colony of New York," VII : 197.

‡ See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII : 297.

"Teedyuscung, on behalf of the Delawares, applied to me as Chief of the Six Nations. I told him that the Delawares were women and always treated as such by the Six Nations; that the Delawares were the most nearly related to the Mohawks, who had given the Delawares protection and had permitted them to sit down and enjoy peaceably the lands on which they were seated. We, the Mohawks, are men; we are made so from above. But the Delawares are women and under our protection, and of too low a kind to be men; and we have observed you, the Delawares, have suffered your petticoats to be cut away by strangers, and are running about naked and doing things that do not become you in the condition you know you are in, subject to us. We have seen you in all your proceedings, and do not approve your conduct. Since you have been so foolish as to obey that stranger's voice and cut off your petticoats, and have taken the tomahawk and now appear in the character of a Man, I join and help to cut off your petticoats, and so far make a Man of you—but do not put a tomahawk in your hand. I know what is for your good, and therefore I will not allow you to carry a tomahawk."

On the 10th of September Governor Denny ordered a further suspension of hostilities against the Indians on the east side of the Susquehanna. A month later Major Parsons wrote* from Easton to the Governor that nine Indian men and one Indian woman with four white prisoners (one of whom was Henry Hess, mentioned on page 333) had arrived at Easton, sent on from Wyoming by Teedyuscung, who, with four other chiefs and a great number of Indians, had arrived there from up the river. The King sent word that he desired to have his wife and children (who were still at Bethlehem) sent to him. Major Parsons proceeded to Bethlehem with some of the Indians and made known the King's desire to his wife, but she decided to remain where she was. Seven of the Indians who had arrived at Easton with the prisoners told Parsons that they "were not subjects of Teedyuscung, but were Minisinks [Monseys], of a different tribe, and had come to visit their Brethren and Sisters who were at Bethlehem, and desired to pass."

Near the end of October Governor Denny was notified that "Teedyuscung the Indian King," John Pompshire and some twenty-five or thirty more Indians—including one Mohawk and two Cayuga chiefs—had arrived at Easton, and that one hundred more Indians, forming a part of the King's retinue, had remained behind, "at a little distance from Fort Allen, with design to see what reception their chief met with." The Governor sent Colonel Weiser to Easton, who met and greeted the Indians in behalf of the Governor, saying, among other things, as he presented Teedyuscung with a string of wampum: "By this he [the Governor] ordered me to wipe off the sweat from your body, occasioned by your long journey, and that it should serve you as a dose of physic, which will act as a vomit to clear your body from that distemper usually occasioned from eating poisoned herbs or roots, and which causes the overflowing of the gall." Weiser concluded by inviting Teedyuscung to proceed to Philadelphia to meet the Governor, but the King refused to go and sent this message:

"Brother, you remember very well that in time of darkness and danger I came in here at your invitation. At Easton we kindled a small council-fire. * * If you should put out this little fire our enemies will call it only a Jack-a-lantern, kindled on purpose to deceive those who approach it. Brother, I think it by no means advisable to put out this little fire, but rather to put more sticks upon it; and I desire that you will come to it as soon as possible, bringing your old and wise men along with you, and I shall be very glad to see you here."

"The Governor was highly incensed over Teedyuscung's attitude and declared to his Council that it was ridiculous to humor the Indians, and that no treaty should be held outside of Philadelphia. Weiser's confidential letters about this time were in no way complimentary to the

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII: 284.

Governor. The Friends sent a memorial to Denny, begging him to finish the peace which Governor Morris had commenced, and offering to furnish a liberal present and asking permission to attend the treaty. The Governor, on condition that a heavy guard [should] attend him and be constantly around him at Easton, concluded to go. He accepted the Indian present from the Friends, and granted them permission to attend the treaty. Just before the Governor reached Easton it was rumored that the Indians whom Teedyuscung had left near Fort Allen were bent on some treachery. Israel Pemberton, the leader of the Quaker delegation at Easton, went out immediately to investigate the report and allay the Governor's fears."*

The treaty was formally opened at Easton on Monday, November 8th. At three o'clock in the afternoon the Governor marched from his lodgings to the place of conference, attended by the members of the Council and by the Commissioners, and "guarded by a party of the 'Royal Americans'† in front and on the flanks, and a detachment of Colonel Weiser's Provincials in subdivisions in the rear—with colors flying, drums beating and music playing; which order was always observed in going to and returning from the place of conference." Besides the Governor, Secretary Richard Peters, Commissioners Benjamin Franklin and John Hughes, and other officials of the Province, there were present at the opening conference: Colonel Weiser, Major Parsons and three other officers of the Provincial forces, Lieutenant McAlpin and Ensign Jeffreys, recruiting officers of the "Royal Americans," Teedyuscung, four chiefs of the Six Nations, sixteen Delawares, two Shawanese and six Mohegans. John Pomphrey, the Jersey Delaware, acted as interpreter for Teedyuscung, who opened the conference by stating that he had kept the promise made by him at the last treaty, having since then informed all the Indian nations of the disposition of the English for peace. On being asked by the Governor whether he, the Governor, or the Province had ever wronged him, and why he and his Indians had struck the English, Teedyuscung proceeded to state that the false-hearted French King had tampered with the foolish young men of his people; but they had taken

* Walton's "Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania," page 340.

† In the Spring of 1756 King George II of England, enabled by Act of Parliament, appointed a number of German, Swiss and Dutch Protestants, who had served as officers or engineers, to be officers of a regiment which was to be called the "Royal American Regiment." These officers embarked for America, to assist in enlisting and commanding such of the "foreign Protestants in North America as should be able and willing to serve with the rest of the forces—it being represented that a number of the foreign settlers in America might be more willing to enter the service if they were commanded by officers of their own country."

The original "Colonel-commandant of the First Battalion" of this regiment was JOHN STANWIX. He was born about 1680, and entering the English army at the age of sixteen years soon became Adjutant of his regiment. In January, 1741, he was commissioned Major in one of the new "marine" regiments. October 4, 1745, he was promoted Lieutenant Colonel of a regiment raised by Lord Granby on account of the Jacobite insurrection. In 1749 he was appointed Esquerry to Frederick, Prince of Wales (father of him who was later King George III of England). In 1754 (the Prince of Wales having died) Colonel Stanwix was appointed Deputy Quartermaster General. His commission as Colonel of the "Royal Americans" (designated on the Register of the War Office first as the 62d Foot, afterwards the 60th Foot, and now "The King's Royal Rifle Corps") was dated January 1, 1756, and later in that year he was ordered to America. He was then about sixty-six years of age.

During the year 1757 Colonel Stanwix was on duty with his command at various points in Pennsylvania. In January, 1758, he was promoted Brigadier General and sent to Albany; later being ordered to "Oneida Portage," where, under his directions, Fort Stanwix (see *post*) was built and named. In June, 1759, he was promoted Major General. In August, 1760, he returned to England, and in the following January was promoted Lieutenant General. In May, 1763, he was appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight, and in October, 1766, while on his way to London, the vessel on which he was a passenger was lost at sea.



up the hatchet chiefly because the English had defrauded them of their lands. He continued :

"I have not far to go for an instance. This very ground that is under me (striking it with his foot) was my land and inheritance, and is taken from me by fraud. When I say this ground, I mean all the land lying between Toliccon Creek* and Wyoming on the River Susquehanna. I have not only been served so in this Government, but the same thing has been done to me as to several tracts in New Jersey, over the river. Two years ago, moreover, the Governor went to Albany to buy some land of the Six Nations, and described the purchase by points of the compass (which the Indians did not understand), including lands both upon the Juniata and the Susquehanna, which they did not intend to sell. When all these things were known to the Indians they declared they would no longer be friends to the English, who were trying to get all their country away from them."

Teedyuscung assured the Governor, however, that the Delawares were nevertheless glad to meet again their old friends the English, and to smoke the pipe of peace with them. He also hoped that justice would be done them for all the injuries they had received. The Governor thereupon offering him redress, Teedyuscung closed the conference by stating that he was not empowered to accept of it, but that he would meet the Governor at some future time, when he would lay before him the extent of the grievances of the Delawares and they could treat for a settlement of all their disagreements and for a lasting peace. The council continued nine days, and Governor Denny appears to have conducted himself with so much tact and judgment as greatly to conciliate the good-will of the Indians. By his candid and ingenuous treatment of them he "put his hand into Teedyuscung's bosom, and was so successful as to draw out the secret which neither Sir William Johnson nor the Six Nations could do"—as some of the Mohawks afterwards expressed it; and "from that time it was generally known that one cause of the alienation of their [the Delawares] friendship was some injustice they had received, or supposed to be done them, in the purchase of their lands."† Relative to the speeches made by Teedyuscung during this conference Moses Tateny said to Conrad Weiser‡ :

"Everything had been agreed upon in the Indian council what should have been said. Teedyuscung had everything in his heart, what to say, before he came to Easton, and there his memory was refreshed; but being too often overcome with strong liquor he spoke confused, though nothing that was wrong or false. He should have given an account of the differences that arose some time ago between the Delaware Minising Indians and the Mingoes [Six Nations], and should have told the Governor how the latter have cheated the former out of a good deal of land on the River Delaware; and that the Mingoes had abused the Delawares greatly in Philadelphia, some years before, as if the Delawares and Minising Indians were their dogs, etc."§

Early in December accounts were received by the Government which led to the belief that some of the Indians who had been at the Easton treaty had, on their way home therefrom, murdered certain white settlers on the frontiers—thus making it appear that Teedyuscung's authority over those Indians was very doubtful. About the middle of January, 1757, George Croghan|| sent Joe Peepy and Lewis

* This was not the Toliccon, or Tioga, River mentioned on page 34 and noted on the map facing page 320, but a small stream heading near the present Quakertown, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and emptying into the Delaware fifteen miles east of that place.

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII: 645.

§ See page 198.

‡ See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII: 432.

|| GEORGE CROGHAN (previously mentioned in the notes on pages 207 and 214) was, next to Sir William Johnson, the most prominent figure among British Indian Agents during the period of the later French wars and the conspiracy of Pontiac. He was born in Ireland and educated at Dublin, and immigrated to America in 1741. Then, or a year or two later, he settled in Pennsylvania near John Harris' Ferry on the Susquehanna. For several years he was an Indian trader, and at the same time was employed in public services for the Province. In 1753 he settled at Aulhwick, in what is now Huntingdon County. In 1755 he was commissioned Captain in the Provincial service. This office he resigned in 1756, and thereupon retired from the service of Pennsylvania. He then went to New York, where Sir William Johnson appointed him one of his deputies in the Indian service, with the rank of Colonel. "When he pre-

Montour, previously mentioned, with a message to the Susquehanna Indians inviting them to attend a council, or treaty, at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Peepy and Montour delivered the message to the Indians assembled in council at Tioga, and immediately two messengers were despatched thence to the Ohio to inform the Delawares and Shawanese there of the proposed Lancaster meeting, and to desire some of them to come to it; but if none should choose to come, then these messengers were to insist that none of the Ohio Delawares and Shawanese should come to war against the English till this meeting was over. Upon their return from Tioga Peepy and Montour reported to Croghan "that all the Susquehanna Indians were disposed for peace except the Monseys, or Minisink Indians"; although the messengers believed that a number of those Indians would come down to the treaty with Teedyuscung.

On the 18th of February, 1757, Zaccheus, a Delaware Indian formerly of Gnadenhütten, arrived at Fort Allen, and on the following day seven Indian women and three children arrived there, all sent as messengers from Tioga by Teedyuscung to announce to Governor Denny that he intended to come the next month to *Easton* to hold a treaty. Early in March Teedyuscung, with a large number of Delaware, Six Nation and Nanticoke Indians, who had come down the river from Tioga and beyond, arrived in the valley of Wyoming. After tarrying here a few days two of Teedyuscung's sons, his half-brothers Captain Harris and Sam Evans and several squaws and children—in all numbering about fifty—set out for Fort Allen, where they arrived a few days later. Captain Arndt, the commandant of the fort, wrote Major Parsons under date of March 31st that these Indians had "built cabins about sixty perches from the fort, where they live and *intend to stay till the King comes.*"* About the same time that the above-mentioned band departed from the valley for Fort Allen, all the Six Nation Indians, the Nanticokes and a few Delawares of the company that had arrived in Wyoming with Teedyuscung, as previously mentioned, proceeded down the river to Fort Augusta, at Shamokin. On March 21st Governor Denny received information† from Maj. James Burd, commanding the fort, that 150 Six Nation Indians had arrived there. These were mostly, wrote Major Burd, "Indians sent by Sir William Johnson to oblige the Delawares to lay down the hatchet, and to be present at the treaty proposed to be held between the Government and the Delawares." Teedyuscung, with a few of his retinue, remained at Wyoming for a time—as is shown by the following extract from a letter written to Colonel Croghan by

sent himself to the Governor's Council in Philadelphia in December, 1756, the Council, knowing Mr. Croghan's circumstances, was not a little surprised at the appointment, and desired to see his credentials."

Late in 1763 Colonel Croghan sailed for England on private business, but being shipwrecked off the coast of France did not reach his destination until February, 1764. Among the "Penn Manuscripts" mentioned on page 30, *ante*, is the original draft of an affidavit prepared by Colonel Croghan some time after his arrival in England. It is, in part, as follows: "George Croghan of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs under Sir William Johnson. * * * now residing in the Parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, county of Middlesex, maketh oath: That he hath been resident in North America for twenty-three years next before his arrival in England, which was in the month of February last. That upon his first arrival in America he traded with the Six Nations and the other Indian tribes dependent upon and tributary to them, and was in such favor and confidence with the Council of the Six Nations that he was, in the year 1746, * * * admitted by them to sit as a councilor in the Onondaga Council then sitting in Philadelphia—which is the Supreme Council of the Six Nations. * * * That he understands the language of the Six Nations and of several other of the Indian Nations, and is acquainted with the manner in which the Six Nations dispose of their country and tracts of land." * *

Colonel Croghan returned to America in 1765. At the beginning of the Revolution he appears to have embarked in the patriot cause, but later he became an object of suspicion. In 1778 he was declared by Pennsylvania a public enemy, and his office of Indian Agent was conferred upon Col. George Morgan. He continued, however, to reside in Pennsylvania, and died at Passyunk in 1782. For copies of several of Croghan's journals, and for a sketch of his life, see "Early Western Travels," Vol. I.

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII: 462.

† See *ibid.*, page 453.

Governor Denny on April 16th*—and then retraced his path up the river.

"I enclose two messages from Teedyuscung, which were delivered to Major Parsons at Easton. You will see by these that there is such a scarcity of provisions at Wyoming that the Chief desires some may be sent to help those who are with him on their journey. I have ordered a supply sent from Bethlehem to Fort Allen, to be carried thence on horseback to Wyoming by the Indians who are already come in."

The Indians, who, as previously noted, had arrived at Fort Augusta, proceeded without much delay down the river to John Harris', where they were met on March 29th by Colonel Croghan, who reported to the Governor that there were "about 160 of them—men, women and children—part of eight tribes." A day or two later they were joined by a few Conestoga Indians, whose village was not many miles distant, and on April 1st a formal conference between Croghan and the Indians was begun. Among the white men present besides Croghan were the Rev. John Elder, Capt. Thomas McKee, John Harris and Hugh Crawford. All the tribes of the Six Nations were well represented with the exception of the Seneca tribe, only a few members of which, and none of its principal chiefs, were present. Robert White, formerly of Wyoming, chief of the Nanticokes, was there with a delegation of his tribe. *Tyanhasare*, or Abraham Peters (mentioned on page 277), *Johannis Sogehowane*, one of the signers of the deed to The Susquehanna Company (see page 276) and "Little Abe" (mentioned on page 278) were there among the Mohawks. Thomas King and Scaroooyady were among the Oneidas, and *Tapescawen*, or Samuel (Teedyuscung's counselor), Thomas Evans (Teedyuscung's half-brother) and Joe Peepy were among the Delawares. Scaroooyady was the principal speaker for the Indians. On April 6th it was decided to remove the council-fire to Lancaster, and the next day the entire company marched thither, being met on the outskirts of the town by a number of the principal inhabitants, who came out to formally welcome the Indians to their midst.

About this time news came down the Susquehanna that up near Tioga there was a band of Shawanese Indians who were minded to descend the river and do mischief. "One of Paxinosa's sons is amongst them," said the bearer of the news, "yet all the Indians agree that Paxinosa himself is a true friend of the English." Almost contemporaneously with the receipt of this news at Lancaster Peter Spelman (a German, who had resided seven years among the Shawanese on one of the western branches of the Susquehanna, where he had married a Shawanese wife) arrived at Fort Johnson, in the Mohawk Valley, and reported to Sir William Johnson that deputies from the "League of the Three Nations" would visit him in a short time, with a body of more than 200 Indians; that, in fact, they were then on the road. Their object was to smoke a friendly pipe with Sir William, after the manner of their fathers, and to offer him assistance in the war against the French. Spelman presented two strings of wampum from the chiefs as the credentials of his authority, and informed the Baronet that the confederacy which he represented was composed of the Nanticokes and Conoys (then one nation),† the Shawanese and the Mohegans, and that their headquarters were at Otsiningo. On the 19th of April these Indians arrived at the south bank of the Mohawk (which was then swollen by the Spring flood), opposite Fort Johnson. The Shawanese were represented

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII: 479.

† See note, page 219.

by Paxinosa and 52 warriors; the Mohegans by Mammatsican, their King, with 147 of his tribe, and the Nanticokes by a chief and 8 warriors. The chiefs having crossed the river in canoes were admitted to a council. Having been addressed in favorable and congratulatory terms by Sir William, who explained to them the true position of the English—as contrasted with that of the French—respecting the Indians, the chiefs, two days subsequently, replied, accepting the offer of the Chain of Friendship, and promising to keep “fast hold of it, and not quit it, so long as the world endured.” In this address allusion was incidentally made to a belt sent the previous year to the unfriendly Indians on the Ohio near Fort Duquesne; and also to a similar belt sent to Tedyuscung, then residing near Tioga. The chiefs formally apprized Sir William of the League formed by their nations, and also that they had concentrated at Otsiningo, where messages were directed to be sent to them in the future.*

The end of April came on, and the Indians who had arrived at Lancaster some three weeks previously were still there awaiting the coming of Governor Denny to open the conference to which they had been invited. Finally the Governor was notified† by the Board of Indian Commissioners that they had been informed that the Indians at Lancaster were very uneasy, and complained of their long detention from their habitations, that their planting season was advancing fast, and that sundry of their warriors were ill of the small-pox. They stated, also, that some of the Indians then at Lancaster had offered not to return to their respective towns, but *to settle at Wyoming and Shamokin*. At length the Governor reached Lancaster, attended by members of the Provincial Council, members of the Assembly, the Indian Commissioners of the Province, Colonel Stanwix of the “Royal Americans,” and by a number of private citizens. Three days later (May 12, 1757) the conference was formally opened at the Lancaster County Court House. “Little Abe” and Thomas King were the chief talkers for the Indians, and the principal speech delivered by “Little Abe” was, in part, as follows‡ :

“Brothers, you desired us to open our hearts and inform you of everything we know that might have given rise to the quarrel between you and our nephews and brothers. In former times our forefathers conquered the Delawares and put petticoats on them. A long time after that they lived among you, our brothers; but upon some difference between you and them we thought proper to remove them, § giving them lands to plant and to hunt on at Wyoming and Juniata on the Susquehanna. But you, covetous of land, made plantations there and spoiled their hunting grounds. They then complained to us, and we looked over those lands and found their complaints to be true.”

The chief thereupon referred to the acts of hostility then recently committed by the Delawares, and to the fact that the Senecas had neglected to put forth any efforts to establish peace and tranquillity; and next, stating the well-understood fact that the Mohawks were the keepers of the “Eastern Door” of the Iroquois Confederacy, he continued:

“We [the Mohawks] took the affair in hand and sent messengers to Otsiningo, and there a council was held, and the deputies we sent charged the Delawares to get sober, as we looked on their actions as the actions of drunken men. They [the deputies] received for answer that they [the Delawares] looked upon themselves as men, and would acknowledge no superiority that any other nation had over them. ‘We are men, and determined not to be ruled any longer as women by you; and we are determined to cut off all the English except those that may make their escape from us in ships. So, say no more to

* See Schoolcraft's “History of the Indian Tribes of the United States,” page 132.

† See “Pennsylvania Colonial Records,” VII: 485, 498 and 499.

‡ See *ibid.*, 521.

§ See page 198.

us on that head, lest we cut off your private parts and make women of you, as you have done of us.' The Delawares said further, that in the meantime, though they did not any longer acknowledge the Six Nations as their uncles, yet they would listen to what the *Senecas* should say to them."*

"Little Abe" then advised that messengers should be sent by the Governor to the *Senecas* to invite them to a meeting with the *Delawares* and *Shawanese* at Lancaster or elsewhere. This was done, and messengers were sent to *Teedyuscung*, also, to inquire as to the reasons for his absence from the Lancaster conference—which was then, on the 21st of May, brought to a close. On May 23d all the Indians (save *Tapescawen* and *Joe Peepy*) who had been at the conference set out on foot from "the Indian camp at Lancaster" in charge of Capt. Thomas McKee, and reached Fort Augusta about June 1st. On the 5th of June these Indians, with the exception of the *Delawares*, left the fort "in canoes, with plenty of flour, rum, etc., sufficient to carry them home."† The *Delawares* loitered around Fort Augusta a few days and then started across the country to Bethlehem, whither *Tapescawen* and *Peepy* had gone on horseback from Lancaster—having been selected to convey the Governor's message to *Teedyuscung*.

"The Cherokee Indians who were serving in the [English] army near Fort Loudon and Fort Cumberland were stoutly opposed to any peace with the Delaware Indians. As a consequence, while the conference was in progress at Lancaster, a number of Indian outrages took place within a few miles of that town. This exasperated the people to such an extent that in one instance they brought the mutilated body of a woman whom the Indians had scalped, and left it on the Court House steps, 'a silent witness,' as they said, 'of the fruits of an Indian peace.' These things, with the absence of *Teedyuscung*, made it impossible to accomplish anything at Lancaster. Presents were given, and the principles of peace expounded among the Indians. This was done by the Friends, who attended in large numbers. The Governor, writing to the Proprietaries, said: * * 'I did not expect such a body of Friends would have attended at Lancaster, where the Secretary counted above 100 in the Court House at one of the conferences, and some one told me there were 140.' "‡ Relative to the activity and influence of the Pennsylvania Quakers at this period Stone has this to say ("Poetry and History of Wyoming," page 119):

"Efforts for a more general pacification were therefore continued, under the auspices of the Quakers. Indeed, these people, in whatever related to Indian affairs, formed almost an independent branch of the Pennsylvania Government. They enjoyed more of the confidence of the Indians than the officers of the Government did—especially of *Teedyuscung*; and, in their great solicitude to protect the red man's interests, they not unfrequently embarrassed the designs and proceedings of the Governor."

Under date of May 22, 1757, Edward Shippen, at Lancaster, wrote to Maj. James Burd at Fort Augusta as follows§ :

"We have had May meetings of the Indians here, to whom valuable presents have been given by the Governor and the Quakers; but as *Teedyuscung* and the Indians who were expected along with him were not come, a very handsome part is reserved for them. * * It appears to me that unless the Militia Act be passed we of this borough shall, in less than a month, become the frontiers. The Quakers want to have the choosing of officers. Several Quaker preachers, with all the principal men of that Society, attended the treaty. The Indians assisted this Government to send a message to the *Senecas* and to *Teedyuscung* to come down with the *Shawanese* and the *Delawares* to hold a treaty

* See page 332.

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII : 597.

‡ From Walton's "Courad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania," p. 349.

§ See "The Shippen Papers" (Philadelphia, 1855), p. 78.

with their brothers the English; hinting, at the same time, that it would be very prudent in us to give up some points respecting some late purchases, rather than not to bring about an accommodation of matters—especially considering that we either would not or could not fight—and they made no doubt but a peace might, by such means, be made between us. According to their judgments Mr. Jacob Gary, an Indian trader, is employed to go to Diahoga to invite these Indians down."

On June 16, 1757, Sir William Johnson held a general conference with the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas of the Six Nations, in the course of which he made an earnest and eloquent speech relative to the failure of these tribes to come to the support of the English in their warfare against the French—particularly, since at Onondaga, in the Summer of 1756, he had sharpened the hatchets of the Six Nations and had painted and feathered their warriors for action. "Have not the French hurt us?" said Sir William. "Is not their ax in our heads? Are they not daily killing and taking our people away? Have not some of your nations, both to the southward and northward, joined the French against us? Nay, some of you, by your own confession, have gone out by yourselves and struck the English. Have you not now several of our people prisoners amongst you, whom you conceal from me?" The conduct of Teedyuscung (he being known to be under the influence of the Senecas, as previously mentioned) was then severely censured by Sir William, and the Senecas were charged by him to take the subject in hand and talk to Teedyuscung, and, should they find him in fault, "make him sensible of it."*

About the 4th or 5th of May two Indian messengers, Nathaniel and Zacharias, had been sent from Bethlehem in search of Teedyuscung. They bore a message from the Governor to him, inquiring as to the reasons for his failure to proceed to Lancaster to take part in the projected conference. The messengers not finding the King at Wyoming, where he had been in March and April (see page 348), continued their journey to Tioga, and thence "to Passekawkung,† where they came to Teedyuscung's habitation—having been twenty-six days in performing their journey." Teedyuscung and the messengers immediately set out for Pennsylvania, and "at a place about one hundred miles above Tioga" they met, on June 10th, Tapescawen and Joe Peepy who had left Bethlehem on the first of the month to convey to the King the message with which they had been entrusted at Lancaster, as previously mentioned. Tapescawen and Peepy remained with Teedyuscung, while the other two messengers hurried forward to Bethlehem (where they arrived June 18th) with the information that the King and his retinue would set out from Tioga for Easton about the 19th of the month. They also bore this message from the King: "When I arrive at Wyomink I desire you may send four or five horse-loads of provisions there—not by white people, but by Indians."

These messengers, upon their passage through Wyoming (about June 15th), met here the large company of Six Nation and other Indians who had left Fort Augusta on the 5th of June. They, learning that Teedyuscung and his company would arrive in a few days, determined to await here his coming. A day or two later there arrived in the Valley two young men who had escaped from captivity among the Indians—Abraham Miller and George Ebert. The latter, who was only sixteen

* See Schoolcraft's "History of the Indian Tribes of the United States," page 230, and Stone's "Poetry and History of Wyoming," third edition, page 118.

† Presumably a village in the country of the Senecas, in what is now western New York.

years of age, had been an inhabitant of Lower Smithfield Township, in Northampton County, where, with several other persons, he was taken prisoner some six weeks previously by "French" Indians. The prisoners were marched "to a place a day's journey beyond Tioga," from which place Ebert and Miller escaped in the night of May 13th and "the next afternoon came to 'French Margaret's'* at Tioga. They stayed with her four weeks—she concealing and supporting them. She then advised them to start home. In three days they arrived at Wyoming by water, and there *the Indians directed them the way to Fort Allen*; but they missed their way and came to Fort Hamilton."†

In due time Teedyuscung and his retinue reached Wyoming. Tarrying here a few days they set out for Fort Allen on June 29th, accompanied by the majority of the Indians who had come up from Fort Augusta—the remainder of that company continuing their journey up the river to New York. On July 4th Captain Arndt at Fort Allen wrote to Justice Horsfield at Bethlehem :

"These are to inform you that Detiuscung is arrived here yesterday evening, and there be at present about 200 Indians with him, with young and old. Detiuscung is intended to stay here about five or six days, and in this time he expects 100 *Senecas* here, and then is intended to go to Easton."

Teedyuscung and his company remained at Fort Allen for some days and then went forward to Easton—numbering in all 54 Indian men, 37 women and 64 children. A few days later there arrived at Easton—via Wyoming and Fort Allen—45 men, 35 women and 39 children of the Seneca (chiefly) and other tribes of the Six Nations. Two of this company were chiefs and principal men formally deputed by the Seneca tribe to attend on this occasion; and among the other Indians were old King Nutimus and "French Margaret," previously mentioned.

Governor Denny, accompanied by members of the Council, by certain of the Board of Indian Commissioners and by a large number of gentlemen from Philadelphia—among whom the Quakers predominated—arrived in Easton on the 20th of July, and the next day the conference with the Indians was formally begun. Colonel Weiser and Colonel Croghan were in attendance, and there were about 300 Indians present—including the representatives of the "ten nations" in whose behalf Teedyuscung claimed authority. John Pomphrey interpreted for Teedyuscung. The latter, instigated it is said by some of the Quakers, asked for a clerk, or secretary, considering it to be proper that he should have a copy of the proceedings, to be kept with the council wampum of the Delawares. The Governor declared to Teedyuscung in open conference: "No Indian chief before you ever demanded to have a clerk, and none has ever been appointed for Indians in former treaties. Nay, I have not even nominated one on the part of the Province; therefore I cannot help declaring it against my judgment." However, Joseph Galoway and others, of the Board of Commissioners, stated to the Governor: "Teedyuscung appears to us to have an undoubted right as a King and Chief of a nation to have a clerk or secretary to take down minutes of the transactions of this important affair." The Governor then grew angry with the Commissioners, and charged them with bringing all this trouble upon him, saying: "Your presumption on this occasion, either

* See note, paragraph "(1)," page 206.

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII : 621.

as Commissioners or private subjects, to receive any complaint or application from the Indians, and taking upon you to remonstrate in their behalf to me, is illegal, unconstitutional, introductive of the greatest confusion and mischiefs, and the highest invasion of the just rights of the Crown."

Teedyuscung continued his demands for a clerk—declaring that if he could not have one he would leave town. The Governor's defense of the Proprietary privilege to keep all the records was finally overruled, and he said to Teedyuscung: "I am afraid by your showing so little confidence in me and the King's Deputy Agent [Col. George Croghan], that you have hearkened to idle stories or the singing of birds, though you advised me against it. However, to give you fresh proof of my friendship and regard, if you insist upon having a clerk, I shall no longer oppose it." Teedyuscung thanked the Governor and apologized for any rudeness he had shown, desiring that the past might be forgotten; and with cheerfulness he said, "Let us proceed with all our power in the great work of peace." The King thereupon chose as his clerk Charles Thomson* (then about twenty-eight years of age and Master of

* CHARLES THOMSON, previously referred to on page 104, was born at Maghera, county Derry, Ireland, November 29, 1729, and consequently was in the twenty-eighth year of his life when he became Teedyuscung's secretary and adviser.

In 1740, his mother being dead, he, one brother and three sisters set sail for America with their father, who died on the voyage. The children were put on shore at New Castle on the Delaware by the Captain of the vessel, with but very slender means of providing for themselves in a strange country. Charles being exceedingly anxious to secure the advantages of an education, his brother, some years later, furnished him, from one school-term to another, with money to pay for his tuition and board. It was his good fortune to enter the school of the Rev. Dr. Alison, a man of high character and much classical learning, who at that time was located at Thunder Hill, Maryland. In the same school, at that period, Thomas McKean (afterwards Governor of Pennsylvania), George Read, of Delaware, and several others who in later life became distinguished personages, also were educated.

In those times of simplicity books were very scarce, so that a single Greek lexicon served the whole school. One of the boys who had been in Philadelphia brought back to the school a volume of *The Spectator*, which young Thomson read with great delight; and on being told by the owner of the book that a whole set of *The Spectator* could be bought in the city at a price which his little store of cash would permit, he set off the next day, without asking leave, walked to Philadelphia, and, having possessed himself of the treasure, returned to the school without delay. At this school he obtained a knowledge of Greek, Latin, mathematics and such other acquirements as enabled him, while still a very young man, to occupy with credit the position of Principal of the Friends' Academy at New Castle, previously mentioned. There he remained for some time, when he was selected to fill the more important position of Principal of the Friends' Public School, located on Fourth Street, below Chestnut, Philadelphia.

Owing to his relations with Teedyuscung he became very much interested in Indian affairs. He gained the confidence of the Indians, was admitted to their councils and "obliged to enter deep into their politics and investigate their claims." He was, in fact, adopted into the Delaware nation about the year 1758 and given the name of *Wegh-zeu-lan-mo-end* ("The Man of Truth"). He took minutes in shorthand of various conference proceedings, and these were so accurate as to be preferred by the Board of Indian Commissioners to the official records, and so just to the Indians as to win their profound gratitude.

After teaching school for a number of years Charles Thomson was married to a daughter of James Mather, of Chester, Pennsylvania, and went into business in Philadelphia. His wife dying a few years later, he was married a second time September 1, 1774, to Hannah, daughter of Richard Harrison of Merion (in what is now Montgomery County, Pennsylvania), and granddaughter of Isaac Norris, Sr., mentioned on page 262.

Charles Thomson's political principles were early of a most republican cast, and it is said that he began the opposition to the Stamp Act in Pennsylvania. On September 3, 1774, the First Continental Congress met in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, and was organized by the choice of Peyton Randolph of Virginia for President, and Charles Thomson, not a member, for Secretary. Many years later Mr. Thomson gave the following account of his induction into this office. (See *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania*, XI: 408.) "I was married to my second wife on a Thursday. On the next Monday I came to town to pay my respects to my wife's aunt, and the family. As I alighted in Chestnut Street the door-keeper of Congress (then just met) accosted me with a message from them requesting my presence. Surprised at this, and not able to divine why I was wanted, I, however, bade my servant put up the horses, and followed the messenger to the Carpenters' Hall and entered Congress. Here was indeed an august assembly! Deep thought and solemn anxiety were observable in their countenances! I walked up the aisle, and standing opposite to the President I bowed and told him I awaited his pleasure. He replied: 'Congress desires the favor of you, sir, to take their minutes.' I bowed in acquiescence, and took my seat at the desk. After a short silence Patrick Henry arose to speak. I did not then know him. He was dressed in a suit of parson's grey, and from his appearance I took him for a Presbyterian clergyman, used to haranguing the people. He observed that we were here met at a time and on an occasion of great difficulty and distress; that our circumstances were like those of a man in deep embarrassment and trouble, who had called his friends together to devise what was best to be done for his relief—one would propose one thing and another a different one, while perhaps a third would think of something better suited to his unhappy circumstances, which he would embrace and think no more of the rejected schemes, with which he would have nothing to do. I thought that this was very good instruction to me with respect to taking the minutes. What Congress adopted, I committed to writing; with what they rejected I had nothing further to do. But even this method led to some squabbles with the members, who were desirous of having their speeches and resolutions—however put to rest by the majority—still preserved upon the minutes."

The Second Continental Congress convened at Philadelphia May 10, 1775, and Charles Thomson was duly elected Secretary. In this important and honorable station he served, by successive elections, during the ensuing fourteen years, without a break, and with great reputation to himself and advantage to the cause of the country. The value of his great integrity was apparent in the implicit credit with which the

the Friends' Public School in Philadelphia), conducted him to the table and seated him beside the Governor's secretary; "whereupon he sat down and began taking minutes, without asking permission of the Governor, who took no further notice of it."

Mr. Thomson, in writing to a friend about this matter some days later, stated* :

"That an affair of such weight should be transacted with soberness, all will allow. How, then, must it shock you to hear that pains seem to have been taken to make the King [Teedyuscung] drunk every night since the business began. The first two or three days were spent in deliberating whether the King should be allowed the privilege of a clerk. When he was resolute in asserting his right, and would enter into no business without having a secretary of his own, they at last gave it up and seem to have fallen on another scheme, which is to unfit him to say anything worthy of being inscribed by his secretary. On Saturday, under pretense of rejoicing for the victory gained by the King of Prussia and the arrival of the fleet, a bonfire was ordered to be made and liquor given to the Indians to induce them to dance. For fear they should get sober on Sunday and be fit next day to enter on business, under pretense that the Mohawks had requested it, another bonfire was ordered to be made and more liquor given them. On Monday night the King was made drunk by Conrad Weiser; on Tuesday by G. Croghan; last night he was very drunk at Vernon's, and Vernon lays the blame on Conin and G. Croghan. He did not go to sleep last night. This morning he lay down under a shed, about the break of day, and slept a few hours. He is to speak this afternoon. He is to be sure to be in a fine capacity to do business! But thus we go on. I leave you to make reflections. I for my part wish myself at home."

Teedyuscung certainly "placed large confidence in Charles Thomson, and doubtless accepted his guidance in many things. The Governor and his party were quick to charge Charles Thomson with all of Teedyuscung's whims and obstinate rulings, especially his attitude on

public received whatever was published with the sanction of his name. His services were also very great in the Congress in a variety of ways—such as reconciling the members, repressing extravagances and detecting errors in whatever came within the sphere of his business. He also had charge of the Secret Service maintained by the Congress. Washington called him "the soul of Congress," and John Adams styled him "the Sam Adams of Philadelphia—the life of the cause of Liberty!"

The Declaration of Independence was adopted by the Representatives in Congress at Philadelphia July 4, 1776. It was then ordered that the document be authenticated, printed and sent throughout the country to "be proclaimed in each of the United States and at the head of the army." In accordance with this order the Declaration was authenticated by having written under it the following: "Signed by Order and in Behalf of the Congress—JOHN HANCOCK, President. ATTEST: CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary." With this addendum it was immediately printed in the shape of a broadside, copies of which were distributed broadcast throughout the country as expeditiously as possible. The Declaration was first read in public at Philadelphia on July 8th in the State House yard, where, in the presence of a great concourse of people, John Nixon read aloud one of the printed broadsides—the people declaring their approbation by three huzzas. Eleven days later Congress resolved that "the Declaration, passed on the 4th, be fairly engrossed on parchment, * * and that the same, when engrossed, be signed by every member of Congress." On the 2d of August, the Journals of Congress say, "the Declaration being engrossed, and compared at the table, was signed by the members." The original manuscript, thus signed, is carefully preserved in the office of the Secretary of State at Washington. It is, with the exception, of course, of the signatures, *in the handwriting of Charles Thomson*; but nearly the whole of it is now almost illegible.

Charles Thomson was the confidential friend of every leader in the Colonies throughout the Revolutionary struggle, and on the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, assisted in organizing the new Government. Early in April, 1789, he was deputed to bear to Washington at Mount Vernon a letter from the President of Congress informing him of his election to the Presidency of the United States. Washington wished to retain Mr. Thomson in the service of the Government; but, to use his own expression, "the suitable hour for retirement had now come."

In December, 1789, Col. Timothy Pickering was paying a visit to Judge Richard Peters (mentioned on page 262) at Belmont, and to his wife he wrote as follows: "The next day Mr. Peters and I went to see Charles Thomson, who lives six or seven miles above him. We dined there. He has fitted up a small stone house very neatly, and has a fine farm of 600 acres, on which he intends to live the residue of his days. * * * Mr. Thomson has been in the public service ever since the year 1774, with a handsome salary, yet he seriously declares he has not benefited in point of wealth; on the contrary, he says his fortune is rather impaired. On the arrangement of the new Government no office was provided for him. He retired from Congress about August last, I think somewhat chagrined. But this will wear off; and as he and his wife have a competent fortune they will live more happily than ever in their present retirement. He is a man of sense and learning, and, in the intervals of attention to farming, will indulge his taste for reading. He is now revising his translation of the Bible."

Charles Thomson was in some respects one of the most interesting characters of the Revolutionary period. "His life has never been written, because he deliberately destroyed the materials for it. He knew more of the inside history of the great struggle than any other man, it is asserted, but never opened his lips about it, burning his papers before his death and calmly insisting that his secrets should die with him. He was the soul of truth and honor; frank, ingenuous, much beloved of his friends, serene, companionable and quiet, yet evidently capable of emotions of the very strongest sort." He gave twelve years of hard labor to the preparation of a translation of the Septuagint, which was published in four volumes in 1808 and stands as a monument to early American scholarship. He also published "An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians. He also published "An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest," and was the author of several other pamphlets. He died at his home "Harrison"—the place mentioned in Colonel Pickering's letter—in Bryn Mawr, Lower Merion Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, August 16, 1824, in the ninety-fifth year of his age. He left no children.

* See *Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, XX: 422.

the old land dispute. Weiser and Croghan each declared that Teedyuscung himself was ready to drop all land controversies, and would have done so had it not been for Thomson and his crowd. But in this Croghan and Weiser were either mistaken or their advice was rendered merely to please the ear of the Governor. * * * One afternoon the Governor decided not to confer with the Indians. In the journals of the Conference he assigns as a reason that Teedyuscung was drunk. Charles Thomson in his report says Teedyuscung was not drunk. This action of the Governor inflamed the Indians until they put on their war-paint and loaded their guns. This revolt among the Indians Peters and Duché report as alarming the white people of Easton. 'Many of them went to the riotous Indians and endeavored to quiet and disarm them, but they would suffer nobody to do it till the Quakers came, and to them they immediately submitted, and delivered up their arms as readily and submissively as common soldiers would to their officers.'**

The conference had been in progress some time when Teedyuscung formally said:

"This is the time to declare our mutual friendship. Now, Brother the Governor, to confirm what I have said I have given you my hand, which you were pleased to rise and take hold of. I leave it with you. When you please, Brother, if you have anything to say as a token of confirming the peace, I shall be ready to hear; and as you rise, I will rise up and lay hold of your hand. To confirm what I have said I give you these belts."

To this the Governor replied:

"We now rise and take you into our arms, and embrace you with the greatest pleasure as our friends and brethren, and heartily desire we may ever hereafter look on one another as brethren and children of the same parents. As a confirmation of this we give you this belt."

The Governor then gave the King a large belt of white wampum with the figures of three men worked in it, representing His Majesty, King George, taking hold of the King of the Five Nations with one hand, and Teedyuscung, the Delaware King, with the other; and marked with the following letters and figures: "G. R.," "5 N." and "D. K."—for King George, Five Nations and Delaware King.

On Saturday, August 6th, the conference being still in progress, Paxinosa, with Abraham (*Schabash*) the Mohegan chief, arrived at Easton with about fifty or sixty of their people. Conrad Weiser and Richard Peters went to them, and with a string of wampum bade them welcome. Teedyuscung and the deputies of the Six Nations did the same thing. On the next day (Sunday) Teedyuscung, taking out the Peace Belt that had been delivered to him by the Governor, repeated over what had been said on it, informing Paxinosa and Abraham of the peace concluded by him between the English and the ten several nations he represented—repeating over the names of those ten nations. Following Teedyuscung's speech to Paxinosa and Abraham the Governor said to Paxinosa:

"You have been frequently invited by this Government to come and give us the pleasure of a visit. I am glad to see you. * * We have often inquired after you, and always heard you continued to be our hearty friend and a lover of peace."

The most important matter broached by Teedyuscung at this treaty was contained in the following speech†:

"We [meaning Teedyuscung and his clan of the Delaware nation] intend to settle at Wyoming, and we want to have certain boundaries fixed between you and us; and a certain tract of land fixed which it shall not be lawful for us or our children ever to sell,

* From Walton's "Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania," pages 355 and 367.

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII: 678.

nor for you or any of your children ever to buy. We would have the boundaries fixed all round, agreeable to the draft we give you, that we may not be pressed on any side. And as we intend to make a settlement at Wyoming, and to build different houses from what we have done heretofore—such as may last not only for a little time, but for our children after us—we desire you will assist us in making our settlements, and send us persons to instruct us in building houses and in making such necessaries as shall be needful; and that persons be sent *to instruct us in the Christian religion* (which may be for our future welfare) and instruct our children in reading and writing; and that a fair trade be established between us, and such persons appointed to conduct and manage these affairs as shall be agreeable to us.”

In reply to these matters the Governor said :

“The Proprietaries have never granted away any lands, although within the limits of this Province, without first purchasing them of the Indians. And having never bought of them the lands between Shamokin and Wyoming they have, therefore, never laid claim to them under any Indian purchase; and in the name of the Proprietaries I now disclaim all such right—of which I would have you take notice. I am pleased you have made choice of that place. It is perfectly agreeable to me, and I assure you I will heartily concur with you in using all the means in my power to have those lands settled upon you and your posterity.”

Teedyuscung then expressed a desire that the Governor would send people to Wyoming during the coming Fall or early in the next Spring, and that a little fort might be built here. The Indians would then move down from Tioga, about the beginning of May.

The conference at Easton came to an end on Sunday, August 7th, and in the afternoon of that day the Governor and his attendants left for Bethlehem, en route to Philadelphia. The next day over a hundred Indians—among them Paxinosa and “French Margaret”—reached Bethlehem, escorted by Colonel Weiser and a detachment of Provincials commanded by Capt. Jacob Arndt of Fort Allen. On the 9th of August Teedyuscung, his family, Abraham the Mohegan chief, old King Nutimus and many others arrived at Bethlehem from Easton. “Some of these unwelcome visitors halted for a few days,” says Reichel,* “and some proceeded as far as Fort Allen and then returned, undecided as to where to go and what to do. During the month full 200 were counted—men, women and children—among them lawless crowds who annoyed the [Moravian] Brethren by depredations, molested the Indians at the Manakasy, and wrangled with each other over their cups at ‘The Crown.’ ”†

Teedyuscung tarried at Bethlehem for two or three days, when, having been provided by the Province with a new saddle and bridle, and a supply of snuff, ginger-bread, soap and other luxuries—in addition to the gifts which he had received at the treaty—he proceeded to Fort Allen. His wife and their three young children remained behind at Bethlehem, and for their occupancy a cabin was built at the expense of the Province. On August 15th and 16th many of the Indians set out from Fort Allen for Tioga and the country beyond. On the 17th, accompanied by their followers, Paxinosa, Abraham and Teedyuscung—the latter “very glad and joyful,” as Captain Arndt wrote at the time

* “Memorials of the Moravian Church,” page 327.

† An inn—originally the cabin of a Swiss squatter—which stood until about 1860 near the site of the Union Station of the Lehigh Valley and North Pennsylvania Railroads in South Bethlehem. In 1794, says Reichel, “the sign-board, emblazoned with the British Crown, that had often served as a mark for the arrows of the wild Indian boys of Teedyuscung’s company, was taken down and the old hostelry was converted into a farm-house.” Referring to the time “when Teedyuscung and his hangers-on were constantly on the wing between Fort Allen and Easton and Easton and Fort Allen, playing at toss and catch with Governor Denny and his men of State, or beguiling them at numberless treaties and conferences (by soft words and the music of Indian oratory) into a hope for peace when there was war,” Reichel states, in his story of “The Rose Inn”: “Ever and anon did these ghastly, gaunt and ominous birds alight in a flock at ‘The Crown,’ invade the sanctity of the landlord’s private apartments, the tap-room and the larder, and clamor for victuals and drink. They would come at all hours of the day, and even the midnight air was known to sound with the rustling of their wings.”

—left Fort Allen for Wyoming, on their way to Tioga. When about twenty miles above Wyoming, near Tunkhannock, this company was met by three Indian men and a boy who had a message, accompanied by a Peace Belt and a four-fold string of wampum, for Teedyuscung from two of the principal chiefs in the Ohio region. The King immediately delivered into the hands of one of his sons and the four messengers abovementioned the large belt given him at Easton, directing them to carry it, with a message which he dictated, to the Ohio chiefs. Then, leaving his companions, the King forthwith retraced his way to Bethlehem, where he arrived August 25th.

At Bethlehem Teedyuscung spent a couple of days with his wife and children, meanwhile holding a conference with Bishop Spangenberg, J. Martin Mack and other Moravian Brethren—Augustus (“George Rex”), the christianized Delaware chief formerly of Meniolagomeka (see page 338), serving as interpreter. The following interesting account, in part, of that informal interview is from Reichel’s “Memorials of the Moravian Church,” page 347 :

“Teedyuscung resumed by asking the following question : ‘Why cannot the Indians who love the Savior remove to the Indian country and plant along the Susquehanna? The Brethren surely can visit them, preach to the men and women and instruct the children.’ Brother Spangenberg rejoined by saying that, in case our Indian Brethren and Sisters were to remove there, they would require a town of their own and in it a school and a church where the Gospel could be freely preached. For this he would stipulate in advance. And furthermore, he would make it a condition that all Indians who should be desirous of hearing of the Savior should be at liberty to come to the town ; and on the other hand all that were disinclined to His service, or did wickedness, or were seducers, should be excluded.

“Teedyuscung took no exceptions to these conditions, assented to all that had been said, and then expressed a wish that the Indians who loved the Savior might live together. ‘If there be any likelihood of this coming to pass,’ resumed Brother Spangenberg, ‘I desire that the settlement be made in the valley *where the Shawanese had their seats fifteen years ago*’; and if the owners of the land make us a proposal to buy, Brother Mack and myself will gladly go up to Wyoming and view the place and select a spot.’ * * *

“In course of conversation Teedyuscung stated that during hostilities the wildest reports prejudicial to the Brethren had been in circulation among the Indians. It was currently believed by them, among other things, that the Brethren had decapitated the Indians that had fallen into their hands, had thrown their heads into sacks and sent them to Philadelphia. This charge, and others equally extravagant, had so exasperated the Indians that a number of them had conspired to attack the Brethren’s settlements and cut off the inhabitants without regard to age or sex. That Paxinosa and he, the King, had on one occasion persuaded 200 warriors, who had banded together for this purpose, to desist from their intention until they had certain assurance of the truth of the charge. * * * Throughout the interview the King was animated and strictly attentive. He was naturally quick of apprehension and ready in reply. In the course of the conversation he frequently alluded to his baptism, and to his former membership in the mission, observing in this connection—with apparent regret—that he had lost the peace of mind he once enjoyed, but he hoped, however, that it would return ; and that it was his sincere desire to remain in connection with us in preference to any other people among the whites.”

Teedyuscung proceeded from Bethlehem to Philadelphia, and on August 30th appeared before the Governor and Council, to whom he repeated the message he had received from the Ohio chiefs. It was to the effect that they were sorry for having struck the English, and concluded with these words : “We will not lift up our hatchet to break the good work you (Teedyuscung) have been transacting.” Teedyuscung stated that he had sent them “an answer for himself as well as the Delawares, Shawanese, Mohegans and Unamis.” Asked by the Governor whether the Monseys, or Minisinks, did not join in the answer, he said “No.” In the course of the interview Teedyuscung said† :

* In 1742, within the present limits of the borough of Plymouth. See pages 180 and 209, *ante*.

† See “Pennsylvania Colonial Records,” VII : 726.

"Paxinosa, the Shawanese King, Abraham, the Mohegan Chief, and James Davies,* one of the Unamis, when it was agreed that I should go to Philadelphia to let the Governor know the good news I had received, spoke these words: "Teedyuscung, you must go soon to Wyomink. You must go and live there, and we three nations will soon come to you. Be sure you let the Governor know this, and desire him to build a little fort at Wyomink for the safety of our wives and children."

The Governor immediately notified the Assembly of the news brought by Teedyuscung, and of his desire to have arrangements made for settling and protecting the Indians at Wyoming. In reference to this latter matter the Assembly, on September 1st, sent a message to the Governor containing the following:

"This request appears to us so reasonable and necessary for securing the frontiers of this Province from the inroads of the enemy, by settling the Indians at Wyoming, that if your Honor has power (as you have declared your inclination) to have those lands settled upon them and their posterity, in the manner they have proposed, we shall immediately prepare a Bill."

To this the Governor forthwith replied†:

"Sensible of the expediency and many advantages that will result to the Province by settling the Indians at Wyomink, and appropriating to them a sufficient quantity of land for planting and hunting, * * I shall write the Proprietaries and desire that they would not only send me powers to confirm those lands to the Indians, but that they would solicit the Six Nations—who have the Indian right—to join with me in such confirmation."

A few days later the Assembly, by a committee, communicated to the Governor its sentiments on the subject under consideration in the following words:

"It gives us pleasure to find that the Ohio Indians are willing to join in the peace concluded at Easton, and that the Shawanese, Mohegans and Unamis are desirous of settling on Sasquehannah and have requested your Honor, by their several chiefs, to build a fort. * * We are of opinion a compliance with this request should not be postponed a moment longer than necessary; therefore we request you, with all expedition, to proceed to build such a place of security as shall be agreeable to the Indians, and as many houses as they shall stand in need of—at the place nominated by Teedyuscung—for their comfortable living and safety."

One week later the Governor and the Council held a conference to arrange for the sending of proper persons to Wyoming to build a fort and houses here for the Delawares. It was urged that as Mr. John Hughes‡ had offered his services and had been recommended by the Assembly for the performance of this work, the business would be clogged were Hughes' tender to be refused and the work be put under the care of any other person. On the other hand it was stated that, as he was known to be a violent partizan and "to have uncommon bitterness against the Proprietaries and the Administration, it was not doubted but he would give unfavorable impressions of both to the Indians, and set the latter against the former. It was, therefore, recommended that the Governor should engage Conrad Weiser to assume the management of the matter on foot. Colonel Weiser, however, declined the appointment—giving his reasons therefor. At the same time he advised that the Six Nations should be made acquainted, through Sir William Johnson, with the project and "be told that it was done at the request of the Delawares; and that *we claim no right, by means of that fort, to the lands of Wyomink*, but leave the fort to be possessed and defended by the Indians."

* Evidently the chief of the band of Unamis, or Wanamies, who had occupied the village of Matchasaug, referred to on pages 212 and 213.

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII: 727, 730, 734.

‡ He was then a member of the Provincial Board of Indian Commissioners. In 1765 he was the Stamp Tax Collector in and for Pennsylvania, and in September of that year he and many of his friends opposed the sending of commissioners, or representatives, from the people to a congress to be held in New York for the purpose of remonstrating to the Home Government against the Stamp Act.

The Governor and Council accepted Weiser's excuses and advice, and it was decided to have John Hughes go to Wyoming; but, in addition, it was resolved to "try if Edward Shippen and James Galbraith could be persuaded to undertake the journey and joint care with Hughes of the business." Therefore, on October 5, 1757, Governor Denny issued a commission to John Hughes, Edward Shippen,* the Rev. Charles

* EDWARD SHIPPEN, 2d, born at Boston, Massachusetts, July 9, 1708, was the eldest child of Joseph Shippen (born at Boston February 28, 1679; died at Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1741) and his wife Abigail Grosse (married July 28, 1702; died at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, June 28, 1716).

Joseph Shippen, above-mentioned, was the sixth child of Edward Shippen and his first wife, Elizabeth Lybraud, of Boston. He was Grand Master of Free Masons in Pennsylvania in 1738-'40. The last-mentioned Edward Shippen was born in Yorkshire, England, in 1639, and immigrated in 1668 to Boston, where he engaged in mercantile pursuits. Having embraced Quakerism he was persecuted therefor, and for conscience sake, and in response to an invitation from William Penn, he removed to Philadelphia in 1694. He was elected Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly July 9, 1695, and in 1701 became the first Mayor of Philadelphia—being named for that office by William Penn in the charter granted by him October 25th. It is said that Mayor Shippen "had the biggest person, the biggest house and the biggest coach in the Province, and his property in Philadelphia stretched unbroken from Sixteenth Street to the Delaware River." He died at Philadelphia October 2, 1712.

Edward Shippen, 2d, grandson and namesake of the last-mentioned (and Wyoming Commissioner in 1757), removed with his parents in 1704 from Boston to Philadelphia, and thence to Germantown in 1716 with his father and the other members of the family after the death of Mrs. Abigail Shippen. Later he returned to Philadelphia, where, for a number of years, he was engaged in mercantile pursuits—dealing largely in supplies for Indian traders. In 1744 he was Mayor of the city. Prior to 1750 he laid out and named, in that part of Lancaster County which is now Cumberland County, the town of Shippensburg—the oldest town, except York, west of the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania. In May, 1752, Edward Shippen removed to the borough of Lancaster, where he was appointed Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas of Lancaster County. This office he held till 1778. He was also one of the Judges of the Lancaster County Courts under both the Provincial and the State Governments; and during the French and Indian War he was a Paymaster of Army Supplies. In 1746 he was one of the founders of "The College of New Jersey" (Princeton University), and for twenty years was a member of its Board of Trustees. He died at Lancaster September 25, 1781.

In 1764 Judge Jasper Yeates—whose wife was a granddaughter of Edward Shippen—wrote of the latter, then in the sixty-first year of his life, as follows: "I know none happier in their temper and disposition, or any who have a greater fund of pleasantry and good humor than the old gentleman. In a minute he relates to me ten different stories, interlarding each narrative with choice scraps of Latin, Greek and French." Another, who knew him well, wrote of him later: "He was in truth a many-sided man. One found him reading, with enjoyment, Telemachus in the original French; quoting Latin verses in his correspondence with Robert Cooper, the minister; ordering in London in 1749 a bust of Pope and Ovid's 'Epistles,' with ye best notes;" a subscriber to the Philadelphia Academy, afterwards the University of Pennsylvania."

Edward Shippen was twice married, his first wife being his step-sister Sarah Plumley, to whom he was married at Philadelphia September 20, 1725. Their fourth child was *Edward Shippen, Jr.* (the third of the name), who was born at Philadelphia February 16, 1729. In 1746 he began the study of law under the direction of Trench Francis (Attorney General of Pennsylvania, 1744-'52, and Recorder of Philadelphia, 1750-'54), and at the end of two years went to London to complete his studies. In 1750 he was there admitted a Barrister of the Middle Temple, and shortly afterwards returned to Philadelphia and began to practise his profession. About the time of his father's removal to Lancaster he was appointed Prothonotary of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty for the Province. These offices he held for several years, and in the meantime was appointed a member of the Provincial Council. About 1775 he was appointed President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia. Upon the breaking out of the Revolution he gave up his various offices, and during the war lived in comparative retirement in Philadelphia, being a loyalist—although not offensively so. No act of disloyalty was charged against him by the Americans, but he was required in 1776 to give a parole to stay within certain limits. (See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," XI: 38.) During the occupation of Philadelphia by the British Major André was a guest at his house. In October, 1753, Edward Shippen, Jr., was appointed President Judge of the various Courts of Philadelphia County. In 1791 he was appointed one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the State, and became Chief Justice of the Court in December, 1799, by appointment of Governor McKean, who had just resigned the office to assume that of Governor. Judge Shippen held this office until about the close of 1805, when he resigned it. He died at Philadelphia April 16, 1806.

Judge Edward Shippen, Jr., was married November 29, 1753, to Margaret (born 1735; died 1794), sixth child of Trench Francis, previously mentioned, and his wife Elizabeth Turbutt, a native of Kent County, Maryland. Elizabeth ("Betsey"), eldest child of Judge Edward and Margaret (Francis) Shippen, was born September 15, 1754, and was married in December, 1778, to her first cousin Maj. Edward Shippen Burd (see *post*); and Margaret ("Peggy"), sixth and youngest child of Judge and Mrs. Shippen, was born June 11, 1760, and was married April 8, 1779, to Maj. Gen. Benedict Arnold, mentioned on page 284.

Sarah Shippen, fifth child of Edward and Sarah (Plumley) Shippen, was born in Philadelphia February 22, 1730, and about 1750 was married to James Burd. He was born at Ormiston, near Edinburgh, Scotland, March 10, 1726, the third son and youngest child of Edward Burd. In 1747 or '48 he immigrated to America. In 1752 and '53 he and his wife were living on Edward Shippen's property at Shippensburg. In April, 1755, he was appointed a commissioner with George Croghan and others to lay out a road from Harris' Ferry on the Susquehanna to the Ohio River. As early as February, 1756, he held a commission as Captain in the Second Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel Clapham. In July, 1756, Captain Burd was promoted Major of this Battalion (which then and later was commonly called the "Augusta Regiment"), and was stationed at Fort Augusta, Shamokin. In February and March, 1757, and later he was in command of this fort. January 2, 1758, he was promoted "Colonel commanding the Second Battalion," and in the following November was at Loyalhanna.

In 1759 Colonel Burd was sent into what is now Fayette County, Pennsylvania, to continue the cutting of Braddock's road, where incomplete, as far as the junction of Redstone Creek with the Monongahela River, the present site of Brownsville. At that point, in October, 1759, "Fort Burd" was constructed. It long continued to be the favorite rendezvous for those who kept watch upon the movements of the Indians inhabiting the head-waters of the Ohio. From its location the fort became more widely known as "Redstone Old Fort." At the beginning of the Revolution Colonel Burd was very active in the efforts made to raise troops for the American cause, and September 18, 1775, he was commissioned Colonel of the Fourth Battalion (composed of seven companies), Lancaster County Associates, of the "Pennsylvania Associated Battalions." Dissensions in his battalion, reluctance on the part of the soldiers to serve anywhere else than in their own immediate neighborhood, and his own great disappointment at not receiving a commission as Brigadier General, induced Colonel Burd to resign his commission in December, 1776.

In 1758 Colonel Burd purchased 600 acres of land in Paxtang, Lancaster County, now Lower Swatara Township, Dauphin County, six miles below Harrisburg, and there in 1760 he erected a stone house, which

Beatty (a Presbyterian clergyman) and James Galbraith*, as "Agents and Commissioners on the part of the Province, to construct such a fort and build as many houses as shall be necessary for the residence, security and protection from their enemies of Teedyuscung, the Delaware Indians and the Ten Nation Indians considered with them at the late treaty at Easton; and in such form, place and manner as shall be most agreeable to Teedyuscung and the other Indians who shall be present." The Commissioners were instructed by the Governor to "consult with the Indians and contrive and accommodate matters to their satisfaction." Commissioner Hughes insisted that the workmen, as well as the Provincial troops who would accompany the party to Wyoming as a guard, should be placed under his sole orders. This, however, was denied by the Governor and Council as an "absurd demand."

Under date of October 23, 1757, at Harris' Ferry, Capt. Joseph Shippen wrote to his brother-in-law Maj. James Burd, at Fort Augusta, as follows†:

"The Governor, agreeable to the promises made the Indians at Easton, has appointed John Hughes, Edward Shippen, James Galbraith and Henry Pawling, Esquires, Commissioners for constructing a stockade fort and building a number of houses for the accommodation of the Indians at Wyoming, which is an affair of great consequence, to be done immediately. The Governor has ordered a party of three companies to be detached from the Western Battalion to escort the above Commissioners to Wyoming and to accomplish the work there; and he has appointed Captain Mercer‡ and myself to be two of the

still stands. He called his plantation "Tinian," and there he made his home until his death, which occurred October 5, 1793. His wife died there September 17, 1784. They were the parents of seven children, the eldest of whom, Sarah Burd, became the wife of Judge Jasper Yeates of Lancaster County. Edward Shippen Burd, the second child, who was married to his cousin Sarah Shippen, as previously noted, was a Major in the American army during the Revolutionary War. Mary Shippen Burd, third child of Col. James and Sarah (Shippen) Burd, became the wife of Peter Grubb of Lancaster County.

Joseph Shippen, sixth child of Edward and Sarah (Plumley) Shippen, was born at Philadelphia October 30, 1732, and was graduated at Princeton College in 1753. In 1756 he was commissioned Captain of a company in the Second Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, later commanded by his brother-in-law, Colonel Burd. May 28, 1758, he was promoted Major of this Battalion, and later in that year he took part in the expedition commanded by General Forbes (see § below). In 1759 he was with the army of General Stanwix (mentioned on page 346). In the Spring of 1760 he went to Europe, returning to Pennsylvania in the Autumn of 1761. The next year he was appointed to succeed the Rev. Richard Peters (mentioned on page 262) as Secretary of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, and this office he held for a number of years. About 1773 he removed to Chester County, and in 1789 was appointed Judge of the Courts of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. September 29, 1768, he was married to Jane, daughter of John Galloway of Maryland. Colonel Shippen died February 10, 1810.

For other matters of interest concerning the various members of the Shippen and Burd families see Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, IV: 241 (October 17, 1829); *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, XXIV: 257, et seq., and Egle's *Historical Register of Pennsylvania*, II: 214.

* JAMES GALBRAITH was the son of James Galbraith, Sr., of Scots-Irish descent and an early settler on the banks of Swatara Creek in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. James Galbraith, the younger, was elected Sheriff of Lancaster County in 1742 and '43. He was a Justice of the Peace for many years, and took an active part in protecting the settlers of the County from the onslaught of the savages in 1755. In 1760 he removed from the Swatara to Pennsborough Township, Cumberland County. During the Revolution he was appointed County Lieutenant for Cumberland County, but being too aged for active duty he served as an adviser to others who did the routine work of the office. Every one of his sons became prominent on the side of the patriots in the Revolutionary War. His wife was the only daughter of the Rev. William Bertram, who had settled near the Swatara in 1757.

† See "The Shippen Papers" (Philadelphia, 1855), page 99.

‡ The Rev. Charles Beatty having declined the appointment tendered him, Henry Pawling was named in his stead; but he, it seems, either refused or failed to act with the other Commissioners.

§ HUGH MERCER was born in Aberdeen, Scotland, in 1720. He was educated at the University of Aberdeen, became a physician, and later was appointed an Assistant Surgeon in the army of Prince Charles Edward—in which capacity he took part in the battle of Culloden in 1745. He immigrated to America in 1747 and settled near what is now Mercersburg, Franklin County, Pennsylvania. He served as Captain under Col. George Washington in the Braddock expedition in 1755, and was wounded in the shoulder at the battle of the Monongahela. Being pursued by Indians he found refuge in the hollow trunk of a tree, and then wandered alone through the wilderness one hundred miles to Fort Cumberland.

In August, 1756, Lieut. Col. John Armstrong (previously mentioned), commanding the "First Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment," was appointed to lead an expedition against the hostile Delaware and Shawanese Indians at Kittanning on the Allegheny River. One of the Captains in the "First Battalion" was Hugh Mercer, and at the close of the campaign he was presented by the corporation of Philadelphia with a medal, "for his gallantry and military skill proved in a distinguished degree by his destruction of the Indian settlement at Kittanning." December 4, 1757—a few days after his return with the Commissioners to Fort Augusta from Wyoming—he was promoted Lieutenant Colonel of the "First Battalion," to succeed John Armstrong, who had been promoted Colonel. In 1758 he accompanied Gen. John Forbes on his expedition into western Pennsylvania, and for some time was in command of the "First Battalion." In June, 1760, he resumed the practise of medicine—locating at Fredericksburg, Virginia, where he continued to reside till the breaking out of the Revolutionary War. He was married to Ann Gordon, of Virginia, who bore him three sons and one daughter.

Colonel Mercer organized and helped to drill the Virginia militia in 1775, and the minute-men the next year. He was then appointed Colonel of the Third Regiment of Virginia. In June, 1776, at the sug-

officers upon this service. The bateaux are to be employed in carrying provisions, tools, etc., for this expedition to Wyoming. The Commissioners will be here on Friday [October 28th], and are to make no delay; therefore I am sent up with orders from the Governor to detain all the bateaux at Hunter's till they come up. But upon consulting with Captains [John] Hambright and Mercer I have concluded it is most prudent to suffer the bateaux to go up to Augusta with the present loading, as you will be in great want of salt."

After his interview with the Governor and Council (mentioned on page 358) Teedyuscung returned to Bethlehem, where he remained with his wife and young children (the family being maintained by the Moravian Brethren at the expense of the Province) until October 7th, when he again went to Philadelphia. There he spent four or five days, during which he was informed by the Governor of the appointment of the Wyoming Commissioners. Teedyuscung was also present at a conference between the Governor and several Cherokee, Mohawk and Seneca deputies, with whom the Governor was negotiating in order to secure their aid to gain over certain tribes to the English cause. Again repairing to Bethlehem Teedyuscung remained there until October 27th, when, accompanied by twenty other Indians, presumably Wanamies—among whom were his half-brother "Captain Harris," John Pomphrey and Moses Tatemy—he set out for Wyoming. The valley was then, and had been for some time previously, wholly unoccupied.

On November 3d John Hughes, Edward Shippen and James Galbraith, three of the Wyoming Commissioners, wrote to Governor Denny from the fort at Hunter's Mill as follows:

"The company from Weiser's battalion has not come, but we have agreed to set off this day with Captain Mercer's company and a party of fifty men who came down with the bateaux from Fort Augusta; having left directions for that company [of Weiser's battalion] to follow us immediately."

A few days later the Commissioners mentioned above, convoyed by about 150 officers and men of the Provincial forces, under the command of Captains Joseph Shippen, Hugh Mercer and another whose name has not been ascertained, set out from Fort Augusta for Wyoming. In a number of bateaux and canoes, manned by some of the Provincials, were conveyed tools and provisions for the use of the expedition, while the Commissioners, and the troops not detailed to duty in connection with the boats, marched on horseback and on foot over the old Indian trail leading from Shamokin to Wyoming. When the expedition had arrived within a few miles of Wyoming it was met by Teedyuscung, accompanied by some of his people, who "showed the way to the spot he had pitched upon for the town," and said he desired the Commissioners "*not to erect a fort, but only some houses.*"* The site selected by Teedyuscung for the erection of these houses was the one, lying within the present

gestion of General Washington he was commissioned by Congress a Brigadier General in the Continental army and assigned to the command of the flying camp. He accompanied Washington in the retreat through New Jersey, led the column of attack at the battle of Trenton, and advised the night march on Princeton (January 3, 1777), in which he commanded the advance. General Mercer's brigade marched some distance, and only discovered the enemy when turning the buildings behind which the latter (three regiments of British) were posted, and then they were not more than fifty yards off. Mercer, with great courage, immediately formed his men and poured in a heavy fire upon the enemy; but the latter, being greatly superior in numbers, returned the fire and charged bayonets. In the fierce onset Mercer had his horse shot under him, and was himself felled to the ground by a blow from the butt end of a musket. Although surrounded by the British he arose and, refusing to surrender, defended himself with his sword; but, after a brief struggle, in which he was repeatedly bayoneted, he fell to the ground mortally wounded. He was then removed to a neighboring farm-house within the enemy's lines. In the meantime his brigade, which had been effectually broken up, had begun a disorderly retreat, but Washington having rallied it and Cadwalder's brigade, they moved forward and began a very heavy platoon fire on the march. Soon after the battle Washington, receiving news of General Mercer's condition, despatched to General Cornwallis a flag of truce with the request that the bearer thereof—Maj. George Lewis, Washington's nephew and aide-de-camp—be allowed to remain with and care for Mercer. This was permitted; but after several days of suffering the General died on the 12th of January. His funeral at Philadelphia was attended by 30,000 people. Later the St. Andrew's Society of Philadelphia erected a monument to his memory in Laurel Hill Cemetery.

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, III: 318.

limits of the Tenth Ward of Wilkes-Barré (as described on page 310), upon which had stood the wigwams of himself and his tribesmen prior to their desertion of the valley in the previous year. The business of erecting the houses was immediately begun, all the work being performed by a detail of the Provincials, while the remainder of the force did guard and picket duty, fearing an incursion of hostile Indians.

The Commissioners subsequently reported to Governor Denny that, after they had listened to Teedyuscung's desires, they set the men to work; and, when they had "covered in two houses and set up six more," Teedyuscung let the Commissioners know "he was satisfied, as he intended to go to Bethlehem immediately and live there all Winter, in which time he thought it not improbable but some straggling, ill-affected Indian might burn them down. However, be that as it might, he designed to return in the Spring and settle there, when he would have the business completed." It was now about the 20th of November, and the Commissioners, escorted by the Provincials, departed without delay for Fort Augusta, leaving the houses in possession of Teedyuscung and his Indians.* The latter did not remain here very long, however, but set out for Bethlehem, whence Teedyuscung, Moses Tateny and John Pompsire proceeded to Philadelphia, where, on December 1st, they were admitted to an interview with the Governor and Council. Teedyuscung then said:

"When the Commissioners arrived at Wyoming there were but thirteen Indians there. I advised with the Commissioners whether it would not be better if they only began to build some houses now and would finish them in the Spring. They agreed with me. The Indians were all out hunting, so we all left and returned home."

Teedyuscung and his two companions then left Philadelphia for Burlington, New Jersey, "on business," having first received from the Governor of Pennsylvania a passport and an order on the Indian Commissioners to pay the King "£10 for his journey, and something proper for Pompsire and Moses Tateny." Teedyuscung having previously signified to the Moravian Brethren at Bethlehem his desire to spend the Winter at Bethlehem, permission for him and his family to do so was reluctantly granted. Therefore, upon his return from New Jersey, a lodge was built for him near "The Crown" inn. "There he held court and gave audience to the wild embassies that would come from the Indian country—from the land of the implacable Monsey, from the gates of Diahoga and from the ultimate dim Thule of Allegheny or the Ohio country." In addition to Teedyuscung and his family nearly one hundred Indians spent the Winter of 1757-'58 in the neighborhood of "The Crown," states Loskiel. Reichel says ("Memorials," page 215):

"Government was imposing an additional burden upon the Brethren when it committed this lawless crowd to their keeping; and although aware of this, its assurance that their knowledge of Indian character rendered them desirable custodians, and that at Bethlehem the hated Indians would be safe, outweighed all other considerations. In vain did the Brethren deprecate this measure as one that was likely to cause them serious inconvenience, to prove hurtful to the welfare of the Christian Indians, and to involve themselves in difficulties with their neighbors. Their repeated appeals to the Governor, to the Assembly and to the Commissioners for relief were ineffectual. 'We are at a loss how to act,' Bishop Spangenberg writes to Governor Denny, 'with those Indians that come out of the woods and want to stay at Bethlehem. They are very troublesome guests, and we should be glad to have your Honor's orders about them. Our houses are already full, and we must be at the expense of building winter houses for them if more should come—which likely will be the case if we are to believe the accounts of those who are here. Furthermore, we are told that some of our neighbors are growing uneasy at our

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, XVIII: 609.

receiving such murdering Indians, as they style them. I fear we shall be obliged to set watches to keep such of them off as are disposed to quarrel with, or may attempt to hurt, any of them."

At a meeting of the Governor and Council in Philadelphia January 18, 1758, Teedyuscung, his son John Jacob, his counselor Tapescawen and other Indians attending without were summoned to the Council-room, where the King said: "I entreat you to enable me to make the fire enkindled at Easton blaze up high, that it may be the better seen by all the Indians, and that they may be brought to join in this good work—which will be attended with expense; and this, as I have it not myself, must be provided by you." The Governor then addressed a letter to the Indian Commissioners, as follows: "Teedyuscung, in coming on this visit, has incurred expenses for himself and company, with their horses, which you will please defray." This was given to the King, and, with his retinue, he departed very well pleased. At this time William Edmonds, the Storekeeper at Bethlehem, acquainted the Governor with the fact that the law allowed an Indian "but one-half a gill of rum in twelve hours, except at treaties; but when Teedyuscung brings intelligence to Bethlehem it is impossible to avoid giving him more." Mr. Edmonds desired "to receive orders on this head."

Under date of January 20, 1758, Col. James Burd, at Fort Augusta, wrote to Capt. Joseph Shippen, at Lancaster, as follows* :

"Since January 1st several small parties of Delaware Indians have arrived here with skins to trade at the store.† * * * Job Chilloway, brother to Bill Chilloway, came here t'other day from the Munsey country, at the heads of the Cayuga Branch, above Diahoga. He was born and bred at Egg Harbor [New Jersey], is a very sensible fellow, and speaks the English language perfectly well. He appears to be a strict friend to the English interest. His releasing Armstrong's wife from the enemy Indians last Summer, and the prudent precautions he used in sending her here, is a confirmation of my good opinion of him. He assures me that the only Indians on the Susquehanna who are our enemies are those of the Munsey nation, and they are determined to continue the war against the English."

On Saturday, March 11, 1758, Teedyuscung made his appearance in Philadelphia with three Indian deputies from Tioga. Notified of their presence in the city the Governor, on Monday morning, sent his compliments to them by Secretary Peters, who, by a string of wampum, "wiped the snow out of their eyes and ears, cleansed their throats," etc. Twelve o'clock of that day was fixed upon as the time for their reception by the Governor; but a little before that hour Moses Tatemy and Isaac Still,‡ interpreters for Teedyuscung, came with a message from the latter to the Governor, to the effect that the deputies had very weighty matters to communicate, and he (Teedyuscung) would bring his clerk, Charles Thomson, with him to the interview. The Council considered the matter and advised the Governor to send word to Teedyuscung that

* See "The Shippen Papers," page 106.

† In July, 1757, the Province of Pennsylvania opened at Fort Augusta a store, which was under the control, or direction, of the commandant of the fort. In the following September Major Burd, then in command, fitted out "John Tedyonskunik, a *big Indian*, with one regimental coat, one gold-laced hat with cockade, one ruffled shirt, one yard of scarlet shalloon and one pair of buckles, at an expense of £6, 5s. 6d." This "big Indian" was Teedyuscung's son John Jacob, who, shortly after the Easton treaty of July and August, 1757, was preparing to set out with a message from his father to some of the Ohio Indians.

‡ ISAAC STILL, according to Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia" (II: 171), was "a celebrated Indian of good education—a leader of the last remains of the Delawares adjacent to Philadelphia. He was a Christian man of fine morals and much good sense, and was employed as agent and interpreter in French as well as in English in many important missions to distant Indians." He was said to have traveled farther into the unknown wilds of the West than any other individual of his time—having seen, as he claimed, the Rocky Mountains and "the white Indians" (the Mandans, perhaps, described on page 94). For a considerable time he and his family dwelt in a wigwam on a part of James Logan's place—later called "Indian Field"—near Philadelphia, and in the meantime Isaac's only son, Joshua Still, was educated in a school at Germantown.

In May, 1769, Isaac Still took possession of a 200-acre tract of land on the flats at Sheshequin (on the Susquehanna, about twenty-four miles north of Friedenshütten mentioned in the note on page 220). This

there was not to be a public treaty, but simply a private conference, "and none have ever been admitted into private conferences between the Governor and Indians, but the wise men and counselors on both sides." Tatemy and Still were called in, and this reply was given to them to carry to the King. It was then after one o'clock. In about half an hour Teedyuscung returned "with a most insolent answer from Teedyuscung, to the effect that he was tired of waiting, was at his dinner, would bring his clerk to the interview or else not speak to the Governor at all." Tatemy was told that the Governor would let Teedyuscung know what he would do and when the latter should come.

The question was again brought before the Council for consideration, and Secretary Peters "was desired to set the matter in its true light to the Indians in private conversation; and Mr. [William] Logan, who had arrived in town, was desired to assist in it, as he was better acquainted with these Indians." It was unanimously decided that Teedyuscung's clerk should not be permitted to sit in Council. If the King desired a public conference, he might be indulged with one in the Council-chamber at the State House, when his clerk might come, as well as any other person.* Teedyuscung refusing to recede from his demand, the only way out of the difficulty was to decide to hold a public conference, and it took place at the State House on March 15th. Governor Denny, several members of the Council, the Speaker and various members of the Assembly, a large number of citizens, Teedyuscung, his half-brothers Captain Harris and Sam Evans, his counselor Tapescawen, his interpreters Moses Tatemy and Isaac Still, Willamegicken,† a messenger from the western Indians, and several other Indians were present. Isaac Still interpreted for the King, and Charles Thomson acted as his clerk—not only on this particular occasion, but at each of the succeeding conferences which took place between the Governor and Teedyuscung at Philadelphia in the Spring of 1758.

Early in the conference Teedyuscung produced a large calumet pipe, and, having filled it with tobacco, rose up and said to the Governor :

"At the treaty at Easton you desired me to hear you, and publish what passed there to all the Indian nations. I promised you to do it. I gave the halloo, and published it to all the Indian nations in this part of the world—even the most distant have heard me. The nations to whom I published what passed between us have let me know that they had heard and approved it, and, as I was about so good a work, they sent me this pipe—the same that their grandfathers used on such good occasions—and desired it might be filled with the same good tobacco, and that I, with my brother the Governor, would smoke it. They further assured me that if at any time I should perceive any dark clouds arise, and would smoke but two or three whiffs out of this pipe, those clouds would immediately disappear."

The King having lighted the pipe first smoked it himself; then giving it to the Governor the latter and each member of the Council and Assembly present smoked it in turn. Then the King took up a wampum belt of ten rows, having in the middle figures of two men

land was donated to him by the Proprietary Government for services rendered in the capacity of runner and interpreter during the Indian wars. But, evidently, he did not long remain at Sheshequin, for Watson says that in 1771 he moved into Buckingham Township in Bucks County, "purposing there to collect his scattered tribe and move them off to the Wabash, 'far away,' as he said, 'from war and rum.'" This he effected in the Autumn of 1775, having in his company about forty persons, mostly women and children; as the men—particularly the young and active—numbering about twenty, had gone on before. Years afterwards a gentleman who had witnessed their departure referred to Still as having been a fine-looking man, wearing a hat ornamented with feathers. The women of the band were all bareheaded, and each was loaded with a large pack on her back, supported by a broad strap across her forehead.

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII : 30, 31.

† The name of this Indian was sometimes written "Willemegihany" and sometimes "Willemeghikink." He was known to the whites as "James," and was a prominent brave of the Allegheny Delawares. See page 374, *post.*; also, "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, III : 415, and "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII : 148.

grasping one another by the hand, which Teedyuscung said represented himself and the Governor. At each end of the belt were two figures representing the sun rising and the sun setting, and between these figures were eight figures in white wampum representing eight Indian nations who had "taken hold" of the belt. Proceeding with his speech Teedyuscung said* :

"I promised I would give a halloo. I have done it, and all the nations you see represented by this belt which I now hold in my hand have heard whatever you and I have talked together when we were promoting the good work. I have made all these nations as one man. All the Indian nations from the sunrise to those beyond the lakes, as far as the sun sets, have heard what has passed between you and me, and are pleased with it; and they have said to me, 'Now, Brother Teedyuscung, we see that you and your brothers the English have been talking about what is good. We therefore send you this belt to let you know that we have taken hold at the two ends of this belt, and we desire you and your brothers the English to take hold of the middle; and always, when you are consulting about what is good, to hold it fast, as our lives and safety will entirely depend upon it. As ten nations joined before, and now eight more† have taken hold of the Covenant Chain, we make in all now eighteen nations who have hold of this belt. * *

"I am heard now by all the Indians, and they are pleased and have said to me: 'Brother Teedyuscung, you are now promoting what is good. We have looked and inquired who has been the cause of the darkness. There are three [parties] concerned—English, French and Indian. We have found one of these three has been the cause of it, and he shall die. The man is a Frenchman.' There is a good deal of news going backwards and forwards; but, though it be so, I, Teedyuscung, have stopped his ears and blinded his eyes, so that, though the news runs right before his breast, he shall hear nothing of it. That is, though the Indians who have joined me live behind the French and must pass them to come to us, yet they (the French) shall know nothing of what passes between us. Now, Brothers, as I have blinded the eyes of the French and stopped their ears, I hope you will do the same. * * The Indians who live back encourage you and me. They have said to me: 'Do you, Teedyuscung, and your brothers press on and don't be discouraged. It is a work of great moment which you have undertaken. When you begin a great work you can't expect to finish it all at once. Therefore, do you and your brothers press on and let nothing discourage you till you have entirely finished what you have begun.' Now, Brother, as for me, I assure you I will press on, and the contrary winds may blow strong in my face, yet I will go forward and never will turn back, but continue to press forward until I have finished; and I would have you do the same. * * Though you may hear birds singing on this side and that side, you must not take notice of that, but hear me when I speak to you and lay it to heart, for you may always depend that what I say shall be true."

Just at this time there was a feeling of unrest and insecurity throughout the country. On the northern confines a powerful French force threatened the New England Colonies, as noted on page 297. Furthermore, news had been received only a short time previously to the effect that the King had issued his commands for a large force to be raised in Pennsylvania and the Colonies to the south, to take the field under the command of Brig. Gen. John Forbes as soon after the 1st of May as possible. Therefore, two days after Teedyuscung's conference with the Governor the Assembly sent to the latter a notification in part as follows‡ :

"We find that far distant tribes of Indians have freely entered into our alliance, and wait for nothing—but the faithful performance of the Articles of Peace stipulated on your part at the treaty held at Easton—to join heartily in the British interest. On this important occasion, when the peace of this and the neighboring Colonies and the success of His Majesty's arms in the ensuing campaign seem deeply interested in your deliberations, we do assure you that, to effectuate these good purposes and strengthen your hands, we will cheerfully contribute everything which can be reasonably expected from us to confirm the Indians in their good dispositions toward us."

A week after this conference the Governor and Council met to consider a proper reply to Teedyuscung's speech. This having been care-

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII: 32.

† The Secretary of the Council noted on the minutes of the conference that the eight nations, then referred to by Teedyuscung, were: "The Ottawas, who live north-west of Fort Detroit; the Twightwees; the Chippewas; the Toawaws, living south of Lake Erie; the Caughnawagas; the Mahoowas, living on an island in one of the lakes; the Pictotomaws, living westward of Detroit, and the Nalashawawns, living north of New England."

‡ See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII: 39.

fully prepared it was publicly spoken the same day (March 22d) at the State House by the Governor, who, at the same time, delivered to Teedyuscung "the great Peace Belt." The King responded with some general remarks, and then presented to the Governor and had read aloud a paper which had been written by Charles Thomson and signed by the King. It was as follows* :

"BROTHERS : We formerly told you that we desired to be instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, and requested that we might have ministers and schoolmasters supported among us for that purpose. We now renew our request, and, as many of our brethren are ready to lay hold on the Chain of Peace, we think it necessary to inform you that less than two ministers besides schoolmasters will be insufficient for that purpose ; and though we expect our brethren the English will support them, yet as they are designed for the benefit of us and our children, we judge it both reasonable and necessary that we should have liberty to choose them ourselves, after having made the best inquiries we are able into the characters of those who are to watch for our souls, and to whose care our eternal interests are under God to be committed. This, brothers, is an affair that deserves your most serious attention, and we hope it will be seriously considered by our brethren, the English.

"Brothers, you are wise men. You tell us the Christian religion is good, and we believe it to be so—partly upon the credit of your words and partly because we see that some of our brother Indians who were wicked before they became Christians, live better lives now than they formerly did. But, brothers, we have got bodies as well as souls, and though our time in this world is short, it is nevertheless necessary to provide for ourselves and families while we are in it. This is what our own reason and experience teacheth us, and we are confirmed in our sentiments by the universal practise of Christians as well as Indians. And, since we see that our brethren the English manage the affairs which concern their worldly estates and interests with more wisdom than the Indians do, our next request is that our brethren will support two honest men amongst us to be our counselors and instructors in temporal affairs, and at the same time to be the guardians of our interests. And that we may be the more certain that we are not deceived by our counselors, we think it necessary to have the choice of them ourselves. We desire to have two, that if one of them should prove a dishonest man the other may prevent his imposing on us. And we hope our brethren, the English, will put the support of our counselors on such a foundation as will leave them under no temptations to betray our interests for the sake of their own temporal gain ; and as an additional security for their acting honestly we shall judge it necessary, before admitting them into our service, that they solemnly swear after the English manner that they will conscientiously perform the trusts reposed in them, according to the best of their skill and understanding.

"Brothers, these are things that appear to us so just and reasonable that we hope our brethren, the English, who profess to have a sincere regard both for our temporal and eternal interests, will readily agree to them. A friendship that is founded on justice and equity, where a proper regard is had to the interests of both parties, may reasonably be expected to prove durable ; and such we desire may be the friendship between us and our brethren the English. But a peace that is founded on injustice and deceit must end whenever the fraud is discovered.

"Brothers, these are things that lie heavy on our hearts. Let them sink deep into the hearts of our brothers ; and if they act conformably to these sentiments both they and their children, as well as we and our children, will feel the good effects of them till the sun ceases to shine and the rivers to run."

[Signed] "TEEDY^{his} USCUNG."
mark

On March 25th the Governor held a final conference with Teedyuscung and his retinue, during which he stated that the matter of providing schoolmasters and ministers for the benefit of the Indians under Teedyuscung, when they should be settled at Wyoming, had been laid before the Assembly and would be acted upon in due time. Continuing, the Governor said† :

"I think proper that our Peace Belt that I gave you the other day should be sent with the greatest despatch, and in the safest manner you can, to the Indian towns on the Ohio, and the other towns which have not entered into our alliance. Take with you this, my calumet pipe, for our friendly Indians to smoke out of. It is the pipe our old Proprietor, William Penn, smoked in (on his first arrival in this country) with all the Indians that then entered into a covenant chain with him, and has been preserved by his

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII : 47.

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII : 54.

order to this day for that good purpose. I recommend it particularly to the Delawares, our brethren, and their grandchildren, the Shawanese, to smoke out of it heartily, as it has now been filled with the same good tobacco; and they, the Delawares and Shawanese, will then remember their mother country—for the ground in Pennsylvania is the ground they came out of. * * * You may remember that at first, when the clouds were beginning to be dispelled, a little foot-path was opened [passing] by Fort Allen to Wyoming for our messengers to pass through with messages. But as now the clouds are entirely dispelled between us and the Indians on the Susquehanna, I think it necessary to open a great road; that is, from Diaboga and the heads of the Susquehanna down to Fort Augusta, called by the Indians Shamokin."

Teedyuscung having expressed some dissatisfaction with this suggestion respecting a road, the Governor stated that it was intended to be only in the nature of "a proposal for him to consult the Indians at Wyoming upon." A day or two later Teedyuscung and his Indian companions left Philadelphia for Bethlehem; but on the 10th of April the King, his sons Amos and John Jacob, one of his nephews, his counselor Tapescawen, Isaac Still, *Essowyonaland*, or "Daniel" (a messenger from the Wanamies), and other Indians made their appearance in Philadelphia. Two days later, accompanied by Charles Thomson as clerk, they met the Governor and Council in conference at the State House. Teedyuscung, having talked for some time concerning the Easton Treaty of 1757, the recent Philadelphia conference and the news lately received regarding the disturbances among the Indians in the West, said:

"I desire you and the rest of the English not to trouble yourselves to go against the Ohios. I will do it myself. They are all within my dish. Leave them for me. I will give them one blow, and if any escape that I will drive them to the sea for you. * * * I will take notice of all those that pretend to join us, and if they do not do right I will run my hand down their throats and bring up their hearts and lay them before you, for may be it was they that did this mischief. * * * The next time we meet I shall talk freely about our private affairs—namely, about our building and settling at Wyoming."

This conference was continued the next day, when Teedyuscung was informed that an army had been raised by the English, and that it would not be possible to send him and his Indians alone to fight the hostile Indians on the Ohio. However, Teedyuscung could accompany the soldiers; but, as some of the enemy had been murdering certain white settlers on Swatara Creek in Lancaster County and carrying off others into captivity, he was pressed to return to Bethlehem, where a number of his young braves were loitering, and send a party of them out to scour the frontiers. He was urged, also, to take steps to have delivered up all prisoners who had been taken and were still held captive. The King agreed to use his utmost endeavors to collect as many of the prisoners in the Indian country as he could and bring them in. As to going "to the front" with the English soldiers he said: "I will not enlist under your Captains and officers, but I will have Captains of my own. My son [John Jacob], here, is one of my Captains. We will join with you, but we will have Captains of our own."*

Teedyuscung and his Indians again returned to Bethlehem, and on the 17th of April the King sent a number of Delawares from Bethlehem to Fort Allen to join Captain Arndt's soldiers in ranging the frontiers. At the same time he despatched, by way of Fort Allen, his son John Jacob, as Captain, accompanied by his (Teedyuscung's) son Amos, Paul and John, brothers, and Isaac—all Delawares—"to the three Indian nations over Allegheny, viz.: the Delaware, Shawanese and Qualianoquesie—of which last Castareega is Chief." Teedyuscung delivered to

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII: 89.

these messengers: First, four strings of wampum, to acquaint the said nations that he had twice received good news from them, and had lately heard that they inclined to be at peace with the English. Second, a large black belt, with five strokes across it made of white wampum. Third, a white belt, with black strokes across, set with black wampum. Fourth, a white belt, set with black wampum across.

Teedyuscung remained at Bethlehem, and Justice Horsfield wrote on April 18th: "I never before was so much convinced of Teedyuscung's zeal for the English cause." Five days later, however, a soldier came to Bethlehem from Fort Allen with a letter from Captain Arndt in which he stated that he was having trouble with the Indians sent to the fort by Teedyuscung—the messengers (who were still there) as well as those who were to range being continually drunk, having brought with them some casks of rum from Easton. When the casks had been emptied, the five messengers continued their journey to the West.

On the 1st of May Teedyuscung appeared once more in Philadelphia, accompanied by his seemingly inseparable companions—Tapes-cawen and Isaac Still—and the next day they were received by the Governor. The chief object of this visit was that the King might say to the Governor*: "The Indians want to see the houses built at Wyoming, and then they will remove there. All the Indians expect that the houses will be built this Spring; and if they be not, they will blame me much, and say it is my fault." In reply to this the Governor reminded Teedyuscung that the escort that attended the Wyoming Commissioners in the previous Fall had consisted of three of the Provincial companies, and the soldiers were employed in erecting the houses. He then asked the King how much time it would take, with the same number of men, to complete the work begun, and the King replied, "Three weeks." Brig. Gen. John Forbes, in command of His Majesty's troops in Pennsylvania, being then in Philadelphia, Governor Denny immediately communicated with him in reference to this subject. On the following day General Forbes replied as follows:

"I really think Teedyuscung's demands ought to be agreed with, as he has the public faith for the making such a settlement; although I would *parry off all convoy of troops*, as ax-men and carpenters will answer all his purposes. I think he and his tribes ought to be our guards for those back settlements this Summer, as we shall want all the troops somewhere else."

Upon receipt of this communication Governor Denny forwarded it to the Provincial Assembly, accompanied by the information that he proposed to send to Wyoming the same gentlemen who were appointed in 1757 to erect the houses there. The same day (May 3d) the Speaker of the Assembly replied to the Governor as follows:

"We much approve of your designs in sending the same gentlemen that were appointed last year, to finish the houses begun at Wyoming at Teedyuscung's request; and as the more expeditiously this measure is executed, the sooner we shall have an Indian barrier in that quarter, we hope no time will be lost in despatching them."

The next day (May 4, 1758) the Governor addressed to Messrs. John Hughes, Edward Shippen, James Galbraith and Francis Tomlin the following communication†:

"GENTLEMEN: Teedyuscung having demanded the performance of the engagements by this Government in building houses, clearing ground and making some other improvements at Wyoming, and having fixed the time for doing it to be within three weeks after this date, and the Assembly having very much approved of my inten-

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII: 101.

† See "The Shippen Papers," page 117.

tion to employ the gentlemen already commissioned, and recommended it to me to use the utmost despatch in forwarding this work, I make you acquainted therewith, and desire you would once more undertake the journey to Wyoming and superintend the finishing of the buildings and other works to be done there in consequence of my promises.

"I must particularly desire of Mr. Hughes, as he is in town and one of the Provincial Commissioners, to settle everything with them [the Provincial Indian Commissioners] respecting the number of carpenters and workmen, as well as the sums of money necessary to be engaged and provided for this service; and further, that he will confer with Teedyuscung, and fix with him such matters as he shall think proper should be previously agreed upon, and to give notice thereof to the other Commissioners, that they may conform thereto, so as not to miss of one another, or to suffer anything necessary for the work to be left behind. I understand that the provisions for the Commissioners and their company must be sent from Fort Augusta, together with the tools and many other things which were left there. The Commissioners who go by Augusta will take them with them. And if no Commissioners go by the way of Fort Augusta, they are nevertheless to give directions that the provisions be sent in bateaux to Wyoming; and the commanding officer at that fort is hereby ordered to yield obedience to the directions of the Commissioners, and send them up with a proper escort, to consist of an officer and twenty men, which is to return to the garrison immediately on delivering the provisions, etc., to the Commissioners at Wyoming.

"You are to act agreeable to my commission of the 5th day of October last. If it shall happen that only one Commissioner can attend, the person attending is hereby invested with the same power and authority as if the whole were present. * * If Mr. Hughes should choose to go by way of Fort Allen, and a convoy be wanted for him and his attendants, Captain Arndt, or the officer commanding there, is hereby ordered to send along with them fifteen or twenty of his men, with an officer, for a guard—who are to conduct them to Wyoming, make no stay there, and return forthwith to the Governor. I recommend it to you to take care that everything be done in the premises that the Government stands engaged to do, as far as in your power. You will consult the Indians in the course of the work, and act to their satisfaction."

On the 5th of May, Teedyuscung being still in Philadelphia, he was notified by the Governor that all that he had requested would "be complied with, and with the utmost despatch." He thereupon hastened to Bethlehem, and there, says Reichel, "when the swelling of maple buds and the whitening of the shad-bush on the river's bank betokened the advent of Spring, there were busy preparations going on in 'Teedyuscung's company over the water' for their long-expected removal to the Indian Eldorado on the flats of the Winding River. It was the 16th of corn-planting month [May], the month called *Tauwinipen*, when the Delaware King, his Queen, his counselors and his warriors, led by the Commissioners, * * took up the line of march for Fort Allen; beyond there to strike the Indian trail that led over the mountains to Wyoming Valley. * * And on the going out of these spirits 'The Crown'* was swept and garnished, and Ephraim Colver, the publican, had rest."

Shortly before this Conrad Weiser reported to Governor Denny that some Indians from the Susquehanna had just informed him "that a Delaware family that came from Tioga had settled on Susquehanna River between Wyoming and Fort Augusta, and more would soon follow; but they would not be commanded by Teedyuscung, who is reported as one that *wants to make Englishmen of the Indians*, and that his way of acting was disagreeable to the Indians about Tioga. Further, that the Indians about Tioga are well affected to the English, and in no danger of breaking with them again."

Edward Shippen and James Galbraith would not consent to go to Wyoming again as Commissioners, and Francis Tomlin was unable to go. Therefore the Governor commissioned John Hughes and Henry Pawling (previously mentioned in connection with this business) to proceed with the proposed work without delay. These gentlemen joined

* See page 357.

each other at Bethlehem on Monday, May 15th, and the next day set out for Wyoming, accompanied by their workmen and escorted by Tee-dyuscung and upwards of one hundred Indians—men and women, old and young, and a numerous brood of children. Under date of June 7, 1758, Mr. Hughes made the following report to Governor Denny* :

"At Bethlehem I met my companion Mr. Pawling, and the next day [May 16th] we marched with between fifty and sixty carpenters, masons and laborers. After a very fatiguing journey we arrived at Wyoming on the 22d, and the next day we put the hands to work. As the bateaux did not arrive from Fort Augusta at the time appointed, we were brought to a very short allowance in provisions, etc. For several days we had no bread at all. We kept the business going forward as well as we could until the 27th [of May], when Joseph Croker, one of our masons, was killed and scalped by six of the enemy Indians.† This misfortune made our people very uneasy. The bateaux arrived the next day with provisions, which enabled us to carry on the work until we finished ten (10) houses, mostly 20 x 14 feet in the clear, and one of them [presumably for the King] 24 x 16 feet, of squared logs and dovetailed. We also ploughed some ground for them to plant in, and we split some rails to fence it. After which they [the Indians] thought it proper to let us know that as it was late in the season, and the grass was grown very high, we might return [home] until a more favorable opportunity—which we complied with, leaving there Friday, June 2d, and getting safe home Tuesday evening, June 6th."

The houses thus erected—which included those begun in November, 1757—stood in the locality previously described (see page 363), and the expense of erecting them amounted to 1,800 Spanish milled dollars. This settlement was thenceforth known as the town, or village, of Wyoming—the site of the old Shawanese village of Wyoming having been deserted since the Spring of 1756, when Paxinosa and his followers removed thence to the vicinity of Tioga, as previously mentioned.

At Philadelphia, June 5, 1758, the Provincial Council was summoned by the Governor to consider proper messages to be forthwith sent to the Senecas and to the Indians on the Susquehanna, who had "grown dissatisfied and were for leaving their habitations, especially our old friend Paxinosa and his family and friends." It had been discovered by the Government that the cause of this sudden disaffection among the Susquehanna Indians was due to the presence in the Province of the Cherokees from the South. "The men of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, joining with Virginia and Mr. Atkin, the Southern Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Crown, had secured the alliance of the Cherokees and other southern Indians. Their presence at Carlisle and Cumberland excited the Six Nations and the Delawares. If their old enemies were friends to the English, they, the northern Indians, would go over to the French." Some of the Susquehanna Indians asserted that they had heard that "the Cherokees were sent for by their brethren, the English, to cut them all off the Susquehanna; and that the English were going to settle and build a fort at Wyoming."

This information was brought by Benjamin, a Mohegan, to Bethlehem on May 29th. He lived near Bethlehem, but five weeks previously had received word from his sister—a widow with three children, who lived in the Nanticoke town at Otsiningo (see note, page 219)—that he should fetch her and her children to their friends at Bethlehem. He accordingly set off. From Bethlehem to Wyoming he saw no Indians, although he heard some at a little distance from him, "but had no mind to show himself unto them." Near Tioga [at Seekaughkunt] he found Paxinosa with all his family, including his sons-in-law, and Paxinosa

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII : 134.

† So far as we now know this was the first death of a white man—from either a natural or any other cause—to occur in Wyoming Valley. The Indians who committed this murder were western Shawanese. (See page 374.)

told Benjamin that all the Indians were in a hurry to remove from the Susquehanna because they had heard that the English had very bad designs against the Indians, and that those who did not fly from the Susquehanna would be murdered. Paxinosa said that he was going with his family to his land at the Ohio, where he was born. They had heard that the English would settle Wyoming under the pretense that it would be for the good of the Indians; but their intentions were quite the contrary, for they would build a fort there and take the land from the Indians. Benjamin said that he had tried to pacify Paxinosa, and had told him what Teedyuscung had accomplished with the Government; "but Paxinosa was quite deaf to hear anything in favor of the English, saying that they pretend well and mean ill." It seems that Paxinosa had been invited to attend a meeting of the Great Council at Onondaga, at which it would be determined what side the Indians should take; but as he had resolved to go to the Ohio he did not go to Onondaga. Paxinosa and his eldest son tried to persuade Benjamin to go with them to the Ohio.

On his way back to Bethlehem Benjamin saw in the Susquehanna, about twelve miles above Wyoming, four canoes and two floats with which strange Indians had crossed the river. Later he saw the Indians themselves. At Wyoming Benjamin did not go near the place where the Commissioners and their party were engaged in erecting the houses for Teedyuscung and his people. But not far from there he met the King, "with whom he sat down and related all that he had seen and heard at Diahoga and Ceningo, and on his way; at which Teedyuscung seemed quite amazed—particularly that the Maquas [Mohawks] did now act in such a manner."*

In pursuance of plans adopted at the meeting of the Council held on June 5th, as previously noted, messages were duly prepared by Governor Denny and Brigadier General Forbes, jointly, addressed (1) "To Teedyuscung and the Indians at Wyoming," and (2) "To the Susquehanna Indians." These messages related to the coming into Pennsylvania of the Cherokees (some of whom were just then in Philadelphia), and to the building of the houses at Wyoming for Teedyuscung and his band. Accompanying the messages were various belts and strings of wampum, to be delivered, according to Indian custom, to those to whom the messages were addressed. The message to Teedyuscung was, in part, as follows† :

"We are informed that the Indians about Diahoga and Otsiningo are very uneasy with respect to two matters. (1) That great numbers of Cherokee and other southern Indians should come so far north. (2) That we have assisted you in settling at Wyoming. The Cherokees have come from their country on invitation of the King and the southern Provinces to help the English General in the present expedition against the French. There is now in this city a deputation of Cherokees on their way with messages to the Six Nations; and they have likewise a particular message to you and the Delawares. Respecting the building of the houses at Wyoming—you are so well acquainted with our motives and good intentions that you are quite able to answer for this measure to the Six Nations; and we desire you to take all possible care to set this matter in a true light everywhere, as it is done entirely at your request and for the good of your Indians.

"As the way to Wyoming is now open, and we are convinced of your sincerity in doing us all the service in your power, we now send you some white men with these messages, and we depend on your protecting and seeing them safely conducted through the Indian country. We know that *the Senecas are your particular friends*.‡ We would, therefore, have you send this belt to them as an invitation to send some of their chief

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII : 126.

† See *ibid.*, 129.

‡ See page 332.

men to confer with us about these matters. We hear there are many parties of Indians scattered up and down in the woods near Wyoming. We desire you will endeavor to call them together and find out what errand they have come upon.”

Charles Thomson (see page 354) and Christian Frederick Post (see page 216) were selected as messengers for the Government, and, having accomplished their mission as best they could, they made a full report* thereon about the 17th of June. The most important parts of the report here follow :

“On Wednesday, June 7, 1758, having received the messages for the Indians, and instructions from the Governor, we set out [from Philadelphia] for Wyoming. Next day we reached Bethlehem, having engaged on the road Moses Tatemy and Isaac Still to accompany us. From Bethlehem we took three other Indians, and on Friday arrived at Fort Allen. As we had been informed on the road of some bad news sent to the Governor by the Captain at Fort Allen, we inquired the particulars, and were informed that on Tuesday last two Indians came to the fort express from Teedyuscung at Wyomink, to let them know that on Sunday last were seen a party of enemy Indians, about seventy-eight in number, directing their course towards the Minisinks. This discouraged our Indian companions, and as they had been all along against our going into the Indian country, this made them much more averse to it; whereupon we called them together next morning and made them acquainted with the purport of our messages and the necessity of our going. With this they were satisfied, and it was concluded we should go; and having settled every thing regarding the way and manner we should travel we left Fort Allen about twelve o'clock. * *

“On Sunday morning [June 11th] we set forward pretty early, and by twelve o'clock reached the Nescopeck Mountains,† within twelve or fifteen miles of Wyomink. Here we met twelve Indians traveling down to Bethlehem. They left Wyomink the day before, and had been six days from Chenango [Otsiningo], a town of the Nanticokes on Susquehanna. There was one Nanticoke—a son of Capt. [Robert] White;—one Monsey Captain, one Delaware, four Mohicans and two squaws. Upon meeting with them we spoke and inquired the news, and from several questions asked we learned that Teedyuscung was well and at Wyomink; that all was quiet among the Nanticokes; that their principal men were at the Council at Onondaga which was not yet broke up; that Paxinosa was still at Seekaughkunt, but was preparing to go somewhere.

“Being informed of our going to Wyomink with good news to all the Indians they told us they thought it was by no means safe for us to proceed—that strange Indians were thick in the woods about Wyomink; that a party was seen but four days before whose language none of the Delawares understood, nor did they know of what nation they were. This alarmed our Indians. They pressed us to turn back with this company and make all haste to Fort Allen, and two of them would go and invite Teedyuscung to come to us there. This we objected against on account of losing time, and proposed following what had been at first agreed upon; that was, to go forward to the Wyomink Hills, within seven or eight miles of the place, and there wait till two of the company went forward and informed Teedyuscung of our coming, and learned of him whether it would be safe to go to the town. The Indians we met thought it dangerous to proceed any farther, as they had seen fresh tracks crossing the path in two or three places between this and the town, and at one place not half a mile from where we then were. Upon this it was proposed to go back to the east side of the hill and there lodge till two of our Indians went and invited Teedyuscung to come and meet us; and the friendly Indians we met agreed to stay with us till he came up. From further conversation with one of the company, after we had been some time together, we were informed that 200 of the Six Nations had set out with a resolution to go to war against the English, and that he and his company had seen sixty of them; none of his company understood their language, but they made signs that they were going against the Minisinks.

Next day [June 12th], between eleven and twelve o'clock, Teedyuscung, with Tapescawen, Captain Augustus, § Sam Eyanis, Kelkapugh, or Isaac, a Captain of the Monseys, Welawarnick, or Moses, || a Mohegan, Gootameek, or Moses, Jr. (mentioned on page 315), and David came to us. At first we expostulated with Teedyuscung about the road being shut, and told him that, though we were come with good words to all the Indians, we could not go to his town to deliver them. He said it was not his fault. We put him in mind that the road had been opened by a belt of wampum from Wyomink to us, and that it was his business to keep it open from his town to Fort Allen, as we kept it open from Fort Allen to Easton or Philadelphia. We further took notice that it was the custom of all nations to suffer messengers of peace to go backwards and forwards safe and unmolested, and that unless this was practised two nations once at war could

* See “Pennsylvania Colonial Records,” VIII: 132, and Hazard’s *Register of Pennsylvania*, VIII: 145-148.

† The range of mountains shown—in the far background at the right—in the picture facing page 236.

‡ See page 219.

§ Teedyuscung’s brother-in-law, George Rex, mentioned on page 338.

|| Without doubt the Moses mentioned on page 312.

never be at peace again. To this Teedyuscung replied that what we said was right, but that the Six Nations and not he had blocked up this road; that 200 of them had gone to war in different parties; that they had passed through several towns on the Susquehanna; that at these towns the Delawares endeavored as much as in them lay to dissuade them from going to war against the English, but they would not hear them; that these 200 were chiefly of the Seneca nation and from three towns that lay near the French. They said they had heard the words Teedyuscung had sent them, but they were now out and would not turn back, but would strike the English this one time more. * * * From one of these parties a few Shawanese, upon hearing that the English were building a fort at Wyomink, went down to see whether it was so, and these were they that killed the young man when the workmen were there.*

Teedyuscung further told us that a report had prevailed among the Indians up the Susquehanna and through the Seneca country and along the Allegheny that the English were building a fort at Wyomink with 800 men; that this was confirmed by the Shawanese party that had been down. At this it was proposed that some one should go and know for certain whether it was really so, and boldly ask the English what they meant. Though this seemed dangerous, yet one Willemeghikink† (James)—a Wanamie, who lives in a town of the Senecas near the French fort at Niagara, and is a Captain on the Ohio under Tessawhenund, the Chief of all the Delawares on the Allegheny—offered to go, though it should cost him his life. Not many days after the English left Wyomink [June 2d] he came there and was informed of the true state of affairs, and three days ago [June 9th] left there in order to return and inform the Indians thereof. * * *

After dinner we told Teedyuscung our orders were to deliver our message at Wyomink; that being dissuaded from going farther we had stopped here and sent to desire him to come to us, and now he was come we desired to know what we should do. He said he was glad we did not come to him; that he had seen fresh tracks as he came along, and he thought it best we should deliver the messages here. Whereupon we sat down, and, taking out the belts and strings, delivered the messages distinctly. After they had been read and interpreted once, in order to impress them deeper in his mind we gave him the substance of each belt and string in other words, and then entered into conversation on every part. By this means, everything being repeated again, he seemed to comprehend every part and to be much pleased with the whole. With respect to the Cherokees he said, if the messenger should recover and be inclined to see him he might come by the way of Bethlehem, and from thence some Indians would conduct him and his company safe up to Wyomink. On the belt to remove the uneasiness respecting the settlement of Wyomink, he said he hoped that was already removed, or would be upon the return of Willemeghikink and his company, which consisted of thirty men from several towns of the Six Nations. * * * As to calling together the parties about Wyomink and learning their business he did not know how that could be done, as neither he nor any of his people understood the language of some of the parties; but that he would do what he could in the matter.

We then told him * * * that our orders were, after we had delivered the messages to him and his people at Wyomink, to proceed farther with the messengers Teedyuscung should send along, and carry these belts to the other nations. He said it had often been asked by the Senecas why none of the English accompanied the messages sent to them. We told him there would hereafter be no occasion for such a question—we were now ready to go, and would set out with those he sent along as soon as he pleased. On this he was silent. We then told him if he had any doubts he might take time to consider the matter, and that we would proceed with him to Wyomink and lodge there over night. After musing some time he said he thought we could by no means proceed to the Seneca country that way, as many war parties were out. * * * He said before we could go with safety a road should be opened. We again mentioned our going up to Wyomink and staying there till his messenger came in, or at least over night. Whereupon, after consulting his council, he took out some strings of wampum, and by two forbade us to go any farther, for fear of some mischief befalling us.

He [Teedyuscung] said: *Brother, the Governor*—I am glad to see your messengers in the woods, and am glad to hear and receive such great and good words here in the wild bushes. * * * When I hear of anything you shall hear it. This makes me tell your messengers to go back from this place, and not to go forward. What makes me not invite your messengers to my house is that I don't yet know the design of these Indians that lie squatting in the bushes; and if any ill should befall these messengers, that would darken the heavens and make great clouds between us. * * * Now, Brother, when I live here I am very uneasy; even at night I cannot enjoy rest. I see a great deal of mischief done, and some who have done the mischief came past my door. Now I am afraid if your people follow them, and come as far as where I live and find me, they will think it was I did it, and so fall upon me. The Indians have sent to see what was doing at Wyomink, and they have sent me word that a great number of them will be with me in eleven days, and many of those all this Summer—all the Wanamies and Mohegans and many others having resolved to come and live with me. Now, Brother, I desire to know what I shall do, for I have no provisions for them. I beg you would help me, and if you

* See page 371.

† See pages 365 and 377.

will give me any assistance of that sort I desire I may have it from Shamokin, not from Fort Allen. My young men can soon go down the river in canoes and fetch it from Shamokin, but the journey to Fort Allen is very difficult. I desire I may have some Indian corn with the flour. I am likewise in want of powder and shot. I would cheerfully go with your messages, which are good, but every day I expect messages from different parts. However, I will send by some trusty persons, and I assure you the Senecas' belt shall be delivered to the chief man in eight days.'

"We next inquired how the chief man of the Senecas was affected to the English. He said the chief man was our friend. * * We next inquired of Teedyuscung what he had heard of the prisoners—whether he might hope to see them soon returned. He told us that a few days ago one Nenachechunt, a Chief of one of the towns on the Allegheny, had come to him at Wyomink to know whether the English were willing to include him in the peace, and whether Teedyuscung desired the prisoners should be returned. And, being assured of the truth of both these articles, he said there were a good many prisoners in his town, and he would take care they should be restored; and that he and his people would come down and settle with Teedyuscung at Wyomink.

"But from what we learned from the Indians the case of the prisoners is this: All that are taken are looked upon by the Indians as the private property of the captors, and are either given away to those families who have lost any men in the war, or are sold to others as we sell slaves. And many of those that have been taken, we are informed, have been sold and bought several times. Now, as the Indians have no public fund to redeem them out of the hands of private persons, and as we have none of their people prisoners to exchange for them, it will be next to impossible to procure the return of the prisoners, without offering a price for them and redeeming them ourselves. * *

"As it now grew late, and it was considered we could not go forward, we thought it best to return back part of the way, especially as our provisions began to grow scarce and there was no pasture for the horses in the place we now were. * * Tuesday [June 13th] in the afternoon we arrived at Fort Allen, the prospect of which was hid from us, by bushes growing on the bank of the river, till we came just upon it. * * At Mr. Horsfield's [in Bethlehem] we met one Captain Neilson of the Provincials, who, after expressing himself with great bitterness against Teedyuscung, declared that if he met him or any of his people in any of the courses he should be ordered to take, let them come on what occasion or with what pretense soever, he would kill them without asking any questions. He was also inquisitive to know in how many days a party of stout, active men could go to Wyomink, and expressed himself as if he had a desire to send out a party to destroy that town. * * We have only to add that all the Indians are removed from Tioga and Owego; that Paxinosa, with about one hundred men, lives yet at Seekaughkunt; that the Nanticoke tribe has but about fifty fighting men, and that they live chiefly at Chenango."

With reference to the Cherokees who were in Philadelphia at this time—as stated in the message borne to Teedyuscung by Messrs. Thomson and Post—it may be said: They composed a deputation charged by their nation with the duty of delivering certain messages to Teedyuscung and his people and to the Six Nations. Upon the arrival of this deputation in Philadelphia their chief had been taken ill, and in consequence the party was detained in the city. When the chief recovered he decided that he and his companions would go on to the "Long House" of the Six Nations by way of New York City and Albany. This they did, and in consequence it was necessary to procure the services of a trustworthy messenger to carry from Philadelphia to Wyoming the message intended for the Delawares. Christian Frederick Post was selected by Governor Denny to perform this service.

This message from the Cherokees to the Delawares was signed by two of the principal chiefs of that nation, and was, in part, as follows*:

"NEPHEWS—We have to acquaint you that we have received a tomahawk from our elder brother, the English, and are going along with them to the war against the French and the Indians that are his allies. We are going to war along with our brother, the English, but as for you, you need not be uneasy or apprehensive of our doing you any mischief, for we love you as ourselves, from the heart, and will not hurt you; for we look upon you as ourselves. * * * Nephews, listen to us. We do not desire you should go to war at all. Formerly *you used to wear a petticoat*, and did not use to go to war; and we do not now desire you to go to war. You may stay at home, and we will fight for you. We are resolved to go to war along with our brother, the English, in order that you need not go to war.

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII : 135.

"Nephews, we are sorry there should have been a *kind of shyness between us and you* for a good while past. We suppose other Indians may envy our peace, friendship and good understanding, and tell strange stories; but we desire you, our nephews, may not give credit to such. We earnestly request that you would come and see us the ensuing Spring, at some of our towns, that we may have the opportunity of conversing more freely. * * * You know, or can have a clear guess, how many of your country people are living on the Ohio among the French. We earnestly desire you would endeavor to bring them away, for the tomahawk we have received from our elder brother is exceedingly sharp." * * *

Post set out from Philadelphia on June 21, 1758, and in the evening of the following day arrived at Bethlehem. There he found the Indians who, earlier in the month, had accompanied himself and Charles Thomson from Nescopeck Mountain to Bethlehem. The next morning (June 23d) Post and these Indians proceeded to Fort Allen, and thence they continued their journey on Sunday the 25th. Post's diary of this journey is printed in "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII: 138-143, and is, in part, as follows:

"*June 26.*—Lodged at night on a hill beyond Nescopeck River. There was a violent gust of rain, and we had no other cover over us but the heavens, and all that fell from thence came upon us. *June 27.*—Came to the town [Wyoming] on this [the south-east] side of the river about two o'clock in the afternoon. My Indian companions called out,* on which a great number of Indians came out of their houses—many with painted faces, and upwards of forty strangers of different tribes, some of whom I knew. I observe that they are upon their guard, and have scouts out. We went to Teedyuscung's house, which was as full as it could hold. He told me that some of their people were gone to Shamokin a little before our arrival. I met there a captive woman, Cobus Decker's daughter, from the Jerseys, near Minisink; and an Indian trader, Lawrence Bork of Lancaster County, who has been with them the whole time of the war.

"When we had been awhile there Teedyuscung called the men together. First I told them, in general, the intents of my coming, and told Teedyuscung my instructions and gave him, with a string of wampum, the Governor's answer [to the message carried by Thomson and Post from Teedyuscung to the Governor]—with which they all seemed well pleased. I then read to them the Cherokees' speech and repeated it three times, that they might get the full meaning of it. Augustus interpreted it, and they were well pleased and satisfied and very attentive to the words which they heard, and returned many thanks for the same. I then delivered the belt. Then Teedyuscung showed me two chiefs and several other Indians from Allegheny, who purposed to go down to Philadelphia; but the idle reports which they had all along heard had made them suspicious and afraid. I told them I was very glad to see them, and as I had been twice married amongst them I had a great love towards their nation, and would speak very free with them, and they might believe me.

"After we had discoursed awhile together they shook hands with me and told me: 'Brother, we are very glad to see you, and have a long time wished to see some of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania with whom we, ourselves, could speak; for we cannot believe all that we hear, and know not what is true and what is false.' Then the rest of the people, women and children, came to see me, and welcomed me to their town. But, unhappily, a woman had bought five gallons of rum of somebody in Easton (I did not know his name, but supposed he was a Jew), with which most of them got drunk. Two beat their wives almost to death, and I know that those who suffer such abuse must sigh and groan to God against those who sell them the liquor.

"[*Wyoming*] *June 28.*—The Indians from Allegheny came early to visit me; invited me to their fire, and to breakfast with them on bear's meat and turkey. At breakfast they asked me many questions, which I gave them a true answer to. They said that the Indians, through the many idle reports they had heard from time to time, were grown suspicious of the English, and could not believe that they would make peace with them; and hence they were resolved to stay with the French. That they were sorry that they had gone to war against the English, and wished often to have seen some messengers from the Government with whom they could have spoken, for then they would have long left off the war against them. They complained strongly that they *never had heard any satisfactory account of the peace made at Easton* [in July and August, 1757], nor of any treaties that had been held; nor had they received any belts till now lately. They all passed by the Mohawks, but did not go into any of their towns. I assured them the English were not in fault, for they had often sent the messages, belts and invitations to them, that they might come down and speak together.

* "According to the rules of Indian politeness you must never go into a town without sending a previous message to denote your arrival; or, standing at a distance from the town and hallooing, till some come out to conduct you in. Otherwise you are thought as rude as white men."—*Early Western Travels*, I: 193.

"*Kutaikund*, one of their chiefs, who lives this side the Allegheny, said that he was very old, but those two who are just now come from Allegheny (pointing to *Kekeuscung** and *Pisquetomen*†) wish to know the truth of affairs. Then, lifting up his hands to Heaven, he wished that God would have mercy upon them and help them, and bring them and the English together again and establish an everlasting ground and foundation for peace between them. He wished further that God would move the Governor's and people's hearts towards them in love, peace and union. He said further that it would be well if the Governor sent somebody with them at their return home, for it would be of great consequence to them who live above Allegheny to hear the Governor's mind from their own mouths. * * *

"*June 29.*—We set off from Wyoming, in all about fifty, and came that day about twenty miles. *June 30.*—About eight miles the other side of Fort Allen we met with the Indian messenger with a message from the Governor of the Jerseys. They all sat down by their fires, and the messenger acquainted them with his message. At night we arrived at Fort Allen."

In view of the information brought by Post it was deemed advisable by the Government to send him on an embassy to the Delawares in western Pennsylvania; preliminary to which, however, it was considered necessary to hold a conference with Teedyuscung and the chiefs from the Allegheny then at Wyoming. They were accordingly summoned to Philadelphia, and under date of July 5th the Governor issued the following proclamation, or "advertisement"‡:

"*Whereas*, a number of friendly Indians, conducted by Teedyuscung the Delaware chief, are now on their way to this city, in order to hold a treaty with the Government; and it is absolutely necessary for the well doing and despatch of business that they be debarred from drinking spirituous liquors—*Therefore*, all persons, other than such as are appointed to take care of the Indians, are strictly enjoined and prohibited from selling or giving any spirituous liquors to these Indians."

The conference with Teedyuscung and other chiefs having been held it was arranged that Post should set out from Philadelphia without delay, accompanied by *Willamegicken* and *Pisquetomen*, previously mentioned, and certain other Indians. On July 15th Post proceeded to Germantown, where he found all the Indians drunk. The following paragraphs, descriptive of Post's experiences at this time, are from his journal.§

"*July 16, 1758.*—This day I waited for the said *Willamegicken* till near noon, and when he came, being very drunk, he could proceed no farther, so that I left him and went to Bethlehem. * * * *July 19.*—With much difficulty I persuaded the Indians to leave Bethlehem. *20th.*—Arrived at Fort Allen. *21st.*—I called my company together to know if we should proceed. They complained they were sick, and must rest that day. This day I think Teedyuscung laid many obstacles in my way, and was very much against my proceeding. He said he was afraid I should never return, and that the Indians would kill me. About dinner time two Indians arrived from Wyoming with an account that Teedyuscung's son, *Hans Jacob*,|| was returned, and brought news from the French and Allegheny Indians. Teedyuscung then called a council, and proposed that I should go only to Wyoming and return to Philadelphia with the message his son had brought. I made answer that it was too late. * * * *22d.*—I desired my companions to prepare to set out, upon which Teedyuscung called them all together in the fort and protested against my going. His reasons were that he was afraid the Indians would kill me or the French get me. * * * 'It is plain,' said I, 'that the French have a public road to your towns, yet you will not let your own flesh and blood, the English, come near them, which is very hard; and if that be the case, the French must be your masters.' Immediately after I had spoken thus three rose up and offered to go with me the nearest way."

Post, accompanied by *Pisquetomen* and the other Indians, extended his journey to *Kuskuskis*, previously mentioned, then the home of King

* KEKEUSCUNG, whose name signifies "The Healer," was accounted a great warrior, and in earlier years had often joined the Six Nations in their wars against the Cherokees.

† PISQUETOMEN was a Delaware captain and counselor of some note who lived on the Allegheny River; or, perhaps, at *Kuskuskis*, an important center for Delaware Indians, on the Mahoning Branch of Beaver River, in what is now Lawrence County, Pennsylvania. *Pisquetomen* accompanied Post on his embassy to the western Delawares in July, 1758, and returned with him. He again accompanied Post on his embassy to the same Indians in October, 1758, after the treaty at Easton.

‡ See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, III: 437.

§ See "Early Western Travels," I: 185.

|| Capt. John Jacob, who had been despatched by Teedyuscung in April to the Delawares and others on the Allegheny. See page 368.

Beaver (see page 326). The latter was informed by Post that Teedyuscung had said that he had "turned the hatchet against the French by advice of the Allegheny Indians." This information seemed to annoy King Beaver, and the next day he and his captains called on Post privately and wanted to hear what Teedyuscung had said about them. "I read to them," states Post in his journal, "what Teedyuscung had said, and told them (as Teedyuscung had said he would speak so loud that all at Allegheny and beyond should hear it) I would conceal nothing from them. They said they never sent any such advice, as mentioned, to Teedyuscung, nor ever sent a message at all to the Government. * * * In the afternoon the Indian kings and captains desired me to read them the writings that I had. First I read part of the Easton treaty to them, but they presently stopped me and would not hear it. I then began with the Articles of Peace made with the Indians there, and they stopped me again and said they had nothing to say to any treaty or league of peace made at Easton, nor had they anything to do with Teedyuscung. * * I then showed them the belts and strings from the Governor, and they again told me to lay aside Teedyuscung and the peace made by him, for that they had nothing to do with it." Evidently Teedyuscung had been enlarging upon his own importance, and to this end giving unwarrantable information, when, in March, 1758 (see page 366), he reported to the Government what he had been accomplishing.

While Post was performing his important work in the Ohio region Teedyuscung was urging the Senecas and some of the other Six Nations and the Minisinks to consent to send deputies to a great peace conference. As a result of Teedyuscung's efforts there arrived at Wyoming in the latter part of July, 1758, five Minisink chiefs and *Eyendeegen*, or "John Hudson,"* a Seneca chief. Having spent several days with Teedyuscung they proceeded onward, accompanied by Capt. John Jacob and Sam Evans—Teedyuscung's son and half-brother, respectively. On August 3d this party arrived in Philadelphia, and there arrangements were made for holding a treaty at Easton. It was understood that this treaty was to be held, chiefly, for the adjustment of land boundaries, and for the purpose of extending and brightening the Chain of Friendship—not only between the Indians themselves, but between their nations collectively and the whites.

September 12, 1758, Governor Denny informed the Assembly that a general meeting of Indians in conference had been agreed upon, to take place at Easton; that he had just received intelligence that many Indians had already arrived on the frontiers—128 having reached Fort Allen, where they intended to remain till the opening of the conference; that the Governor of the Jerseys had agreed to attend, and that Sir William Johnson and the Governors of New York, Maryland and Virginia had been invited to be present. The Assembly formally approved the project and appointed a committee of eight of its members to attend the conference. By the middle of September Teedyuscung and a number of Indians from Wyoming had arrived in Easton, where they proceeded to make themselves at home while waiting for the coming off of the important event which had brought them thither. On September 25th, at a meeting of the Provincial Council in Philadelphia, there was read a

* See foot-note, paragraph "(i)", page 207.

letter from Conrad Weiser "giving an account of the ill behavior of Teedyuscung and the Indians at Easton." Whereupon it was resolved that the Rev. Richard Peters (Provincial Secretary) be requested to go there immediately to keep the Indians in order. It was also ordered that there be prepared and printed a proclamation prohibiting the sale of rum to the Indians.

When the conference was formally opened on Sunday, October 8th, there were in Easton in the neighborhood of 500 Indians—males and females, young and old; there being, according to the official records, some 350 exclusive of those from Wyoming. Among the whites who were present were Governor Denny, members of the Council and of the Assembly, the Commissioners for Indian Affairs in New Jersey, Conrad Weiser, George Croghan, and a large number of Quakers from Philadelphia. Stone, Miner, Pearce and other writers of Wyoming history have stated that Sir William Johnson, also, was present. He was not, but was represented by Colonel Croghan, one of his Deputies. Governor Bernard of New Jersey joined the conference when it had been in session three days, and demanded that the Monseys deliver up the captives taken from his Province. All the tribes of the Six Nations took part in the treaty; but the Mohawks were represented by only one man—Nikes Carigiagtatie, mentioned on page 279, *ante*—who was accompanied by his wife and two sons, while the Cayugas were represented by a single chief, *Kandt*, or *Tokahoyon*, alias "Last Night." The Senecas were represented by Takeghsatu (mentioned on page 277, *ante*), "the chief man of all the Senecas," by Sayenqueraghta (mentioned on page 235), "a war captain," by six other chiefs, thirty-seven other men, twenty-eight women and several children. Of the Nanticokes and Conoys, Chief Robert White, thirty-seven men and women and eighteen children were in attendance. *Saguhsyont*, alias "Thomas King," a chief of the Oneidas, was the principal man of his tribe present. He lived at Oghwaga, mentioned in the note on page 257. Tuteloes, Chugnuts, Wapings, or Pumpions (from Goshen, New York), Mohegans (with old Abraham from Wyoming at their head), Monseys and, last of all, Teedyuscung "with the Unanimes" from Wyoming, were the other Indians in attendance. Capt. Andrew Montour interpreted for the Six Nations, and for the Delawares Isaac Still and Moses Tatemy served.

Early in the conference Takeghsatu, the Seneca, who was the principal speaker on the part of the Indians, addressed himself to Governor Denny and the Pennsylvanians in these words* :

"Brethren—I now speak at the request of Teedyuscung and our cousins, the Delawares, living at Wyoming and on the waters of the River Susquehanna. We now remove the hatchet out of your heads that was struck into them by our cousins, the Delawares. It was a French hatchet that they unfortunately made use of, by the instigation of the French. We take it out of your heads and bury it under the ground, where it shall always rest and never be taken up again. Our cousins, the Delawares, have assured us they will never think of war against their brethren, the English, any more, but will employ their thoughts about peace and cultivating friendship with them, and never suffer enmity against them to enter into their minds again."

Two or three days later Nikes, the Mohawk, stood up and, addressing himself to Governors Denny and Bernard, said† :

"We thought proper to meet you here to have some discourse about our nephew Teedyuscung. You all know that he gives out that he is a great man and Chief of ten nations. This is his constant discourse. Now I, on behalf of the Mohawks, say that we do not know he is such a great man. If he is such a great man we desire to know who

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII : 181.

† See *ibid.*, 190, 191.

made him so. Perhaps you have; and if this be the case, tell us so. It may be the French have made him so. We want to inquire, and know whence his greatness arose."

Takeghsatu, on behalf of the Senecas, spoke next, as follows:

"Brethren, I for my nation say the same that Nikes has done. I need not repeat it. I say we do not know who has made Teedyuscung this great man over ten nations, and I want to know who made him so."

Then Assarandonquas spoke on behalf of the Onondagas, and said:

"I am here to represent the Onondagas, and I say for them that I never heard before now that Teedyuscung was such a great man; and much less can I tell who made him so. No such thing was ever said in our town as that Teedyuscung was such a great man."

Then, in the same strain, spoke Thomas King (Chief of the Oneidas) "in behalf of the Oneidas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Nanticokes and Conoys and the Tuteloes." Under this combined attack upon his kingly pretensions Teedyuscung sat like a stoic and said never a word in reply; but Governor Denny arose and denied that he had made Teedyuscung "a great man." He said further:

"After the Delawares had gone to war against the English the Five Nations advised them [the Delawares on the Susquehanna] to sit still.* After this the Governor of Pennsylvania invited the Delawares to meet in council at Easton. We received an answer to our message from Teedyuscung as a chief among the Delawares. At the time appointed he came and told us that he represented ten nations, amongst which the Five Nations were included; that he acted as Chief Man for the Delawares, but only as a messenger for the United Nations [meaning the Six, formerly the Five, Nations], who were his uncles and superiors. We believed what your nephew told us, and therefore made him a counselor and agent for us. I must do him the justice to declare to you that at our former public treaties Teedyuscung never assumed any such power [or authority over the Five Nations], but on many occasions when he spoke of you called you his uncles and superiors."

Governor Denny was followed by Governor Bernard of New Jersey, who said:

"I know not who made Teedyuscung so great a man, nor do I know that he is any greater than a chief of the Delaware Indians settled at Wyoming. The title of 'King' could not be given him by any English Governor, for we know very well that there is no such person among Indians as what we call a King. And if we call him so we mean no more than a sachem or chief."

Five days after this discussion Teedyuscung arose in the public conference and, addressing himself to the deputies of the Six Nations, said:

"Uncles, you may remember that you have placed us at Wyoming and Shamokin—places where Indians have lived before. Now I hear that you have since sold that land to our brethren, the English. Let the matter now be cleared up in the presence of our brethren, the English. I sit here as a bird on a bough. I look about and do not know where to go. Let me, therefore, come down upon the ground and make that my own by a good deed, and I shall then have a home forever. For if you, my uncles, or I, die, our brethren, the English, will say they have bought it from you, and so wrong my posterity out of it."

In response to this Thomas King (Chief of the Oneidas), speaking in behalf of the Six Nations on the following day, addressed himself to the Delawares in these words:

"By this belt Teedyuscung desired us to make you, the Delawares, the owners of the lands at Wyoming, Shamokin and other places on the Susquehanna River. In answer to which we, who are present, say that we have no power to convey lands to any one; but we will take your request to the Great Council for their sentiments, as we never sell or convey lands before it be agreed upon in the Great Council of the Six Nations. In the meantime you may make use of those lands in conjunction with our people."

Later, in the open conference, Thomas King presented Teedyuscung with a string of wampum and said†:

"This serves to put Teedyuscung in mind of his promises to return prisoners. You ought to have performed it before. It is a shame for one who calls himself a great man to tell lies."

* See page 315.

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII: 221.

"Last Night" and Nikes, the Mohawk, in behalf of the Six Nations, promised to satisfy the English as to the return of captives, adding: "If any of them are gone down our throats, we will heave them up again." Then Takeghsatu, the Seneca, told Teedyuscung that, the Six Nations having promised to return all captives, the Delawares and Monseys must do likewise.

One of the most important matters disposed of at this treaty related to the lands purchased by the Pennsylvania Proprietaries at Albany in 1754, as described on page 268. Great dissatisfaction having existed for some time among the Six Nations concerning the extent of that purchase, the Proprietaries finally authorized Richard Peters and Conrad Weiser to release and re-convey to the Six Nations all the territory lying to the northward and westward of the Allegheny Mountains which had been conveyed to the Proprietaries by the deed of July 6, 1754; "provided they the said Six Nations did fully stipulate and settle the exact and certain bounds of the residue of the said lands included in the before-mentioned purchase." Proper conveyances were duly executed at Easton, and this matter, which had threatened to cause considerable trouble, was thus laid to rest.

During the progress of the Easton conference one of the Seneca chiefs in attendance died. He was publicly interred—the Indians and a number of the inhabitants of the town attending his funeral. On October 26th—the business of the treaty having been finished, after eighteen days of speech-making—"some wine and punch were ordered, and the conferences were concluded with great joy and mutual satisfaction." The Indians were supplied with hats, caps, knives, jewsharps, powder, lead, paints and walking-sticks (by which name the Indians sometimes referred to rum). In addition, Teedyuscung and other chiefs received each a military hat trimmed with gold lace, a regimental coat and a ruffled shirt. Evidently all the Indians from northern Pennsylvania and New York had come to Easton by way of Wyoming, inasmuch as they desired, at the conclusion of the treaty, that they might be furnished with wagons to carry the infirm and the sick, as well as their goods, "at least as far as Wyoming, where," as they said, "we have left our canoes; and then we will discharge the wagons."

Teedyuscung and his followers were now, at last, settled at Wyoming—satisfactorily to all concerned, apparently—their town being known as Wyoming, as previously mentioned.* Within a very short time after the Easton treaty Abraham (*Schabash*), the Mohegan chief, his family and a number of other Mohegan families erected their cabins at the site selected a long time before by Abraham, on the banks of the stream later known as "Abraham's Creek,"† near the present borough of Forty Fort. About the same time the Wanamies who had formerly dwelt at Matchasaung‡ renewed their settlement there, and in the course of time the level stretch of country upon which their village stood became known as "Jacob's Plains"—from the name of the then, or a later, chief of the band located there. Paxinosa and his Shawanese did not return to the Valley, but late in July, 1758, set out for the Ohio region from Seekaughkunt, where, and in the vicinity of which, they had been living since the Spring of 1756, when they forsook Wyoming.§

* See pages 317 and 371.

† See pages 194, 208 and 312.

‡ See pages 213, 315 and 321.

§ See pages 371, 372, 373 and 375.

Christian Frederick Post met some of these Shawanese when he visited the Indian towns on the Ohio in the latter part of August, 1758.* In his journal he wrote† :

"We set off for Fort Duquesne, and went no farther this night than Logstown, where I met with four Shawanese who lived in Wyoming when I did. They received me very kindly and called the prisoners to shake hands with me, as their countryman, and gave me leave to go into every house to see them—which was done in no other town besides."

Miner erroneously states‡ that the Shawanese were represented at the Easton treaty of October, 1758; while Chapman and some later writers give a fanciful account of the final departure of the Shawanese from Wyoming. But Pearce effectually disposes of this unsubstantial story in the following paragraph§ :

"Mr. Chapman and all other writers on Wyoming have given an account of what they call the 'Grasshopper War.' It is said to have occurred between the Delawares and Shawanese on the flats below Wilkesbarre, and to have been a contest of the most sanguinary character. It resulted in the *expulsion of the Shawanese from the valley*. As the story goes, a few Shawanese squaws, with their children, crossed the river into the territory of the Delawares, and, with a number of the Delaware women and children, were gathering wild flowers, when a Shawanese child caught a *grasshopper*, which was claimed by a child of the Delawares. A struggle ensued, in which the women took part. The Shawanese being worsted, returned home and reported what had taken place, when the warriors armed, and, crossing the river, a terrible battle ensued, in which hundreds on both sides were slain. We can find no record of any disagreement between the Delawares and Shawanese. All statements made respecting them represent these two peoples living in peace and entertaining the Moravian missionaries, from 1742 to 1756, when they all departed for Diahoga. Neither party had hundreds of warriors to lose, for the whole number from Shamokin to Tunkhannock, including the Monseys on the Lackawanna, did not exceed 350. We therefore conclude, if there ever was a 'Grasshopper War' it was a very small affair, and probably closed as it commenced—with a few blows and scratches among women and children."

* See page 378.

† See "Early Western Travels," I : 201.

‡ "History of Wyoming," page 49.

§ "Annals of Luzerne County," page 51.

By the beginning of the year 1763 it was believed by those competent to judge that nearly all the Shawanese in this country were located in the valley of the Ohio. They were estimated by Sir William Johnson and Col. Henry Bouquet to number at that time about 500 warriors, or a total population of 2,500. Early in 1763 they broke out in open hostility to the English, and, with certain Delawares, invested Fort Pitt at the forks of the Ohio. Later in the same year they joined in Pontiac's uprising. In January, 1772, Sir William Johnson wrote (see "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," X : 21) that the Shawanese, and certain other Indian tribes mentioned, "have been and are to be considered as dependents on the Five Nations, and having nothing to do with the western Indians further than in an intercourse common with all Indians in time of peace." During the Revolutionary War the Shawanese rallied under the British flag, and were fierce and cruel enemies to the Americans. Their fealty to the King's cause, it was asserted at the time, was cemented by a promise that their allies would stand by them and never consent to a peace which did not make the Ohio River the western boundary of the Colonies.

In 1795 the main body of the Shawanese nation was located on the Scioto River—another part of the nation having crossed the Mississippi, and still another having gone south. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the principal chief of the Shawanese was *Tecumseh*, declared by George Catlin as "perhaps the most extraordinary Indian of his age." He was one of three brothers—triplets—born at old Chillicothe, on the Scioto, in Ohio, in 1768. For some time prior to 1809 *Tecumseh* had been endeavoring to induce all the western tribes to abstain from whisky, return to the customs and weapons of their ancestors, embody themselves in a grand confederacy to extend from the Province of Mexico to the Great Lakes, and unite their forces in an army that would be able to meet and drive back the white people who were continually advancing on the Indians and forcing them from their lands towards the Rocky Mountains.

The territory of Indiana was erected in 1809, and William Henry Harrison was appointed its Governor. In the same year he held a treaty with certain Indian tribes, by which a tract of land on the Wabash above Terre Haute was ceded to the Federal Government. *Tecumseh* held that all the lands belonged to all the tribes, and none could be sold without the consent of all. Governor Harrison invited the chief and his followers to a friendly conference at Vincennes in 1810. During this conference (which just escaped ending in a massacre) *Tecumseh*, referring to the treaty of the preceding year, said: "What! sell a country? Why not sell the air, the clouds and the great sea, as well as the earth? Did not the Great Spirit make them all for the use of his children?" Governor Harrison, with 2,000 men, went up the Wabash and established a post at Terre Haute in the Summer of 1811; and, on the 7th of the following November, having marched up the river some distance farther, fought with a large force of Indians commanded by *Tecumseh*, and won the battle of Tippecanoe. During the war between the United States and Great Britain in 1812-'14 *Tecumseh*, with the rank of Brigadier General, commanded the Indian allies of the British. He was killed fighting bravely at the battle of the Thames, in Canada, October 5, 1813.

One of *Tecumseh's* brothers was, in his way, almost as famous as the great warrior himself. This was *Ten-squat-a-way* ("The Open Door"), better known as the "Shawnee Prophet." He was an emissary of evil in the interest of his brother; and his name, "The Open Door," was intended to represent him as the way, or door, which had "opened for the deliverance of the red men from the oncoming whites." He was blind in his left eye. As a speaker he was fluent, smooth and plausible, and was pronounced by Governor Harrison the most graceful and accomplished orator he had seen amongst the Indians. But he possessed neither the talents nor the frankness of *Tecumseh*, and was sensual, cruel, weak and timid. The following picture of the "Prophet" is a reduced reproduction of a drawing made by George Catlin from a portrait painted by himself in 1831 on the Kansas River. The "Prophet"



TENSQUATAWAY.

was an extensive polygamist, having an unusual number of wives, whom he forced to work for him. After the death of *Tecumseh* the "Prophet" dropped to the dignity of an ordinary Indian, and quietly passed away." In 1811 *Tensquataway's* town on the Wabash above Terre Haute was known as the "Prophet's town."

According to a report made by the Rev. Jedidiah Morse in 1822 (see page 163, *ante*) there were then 800 Shawanees (or *Shawnees*, as they had come to be known) living at three different places in the State of Ohio, and 1,383 on the Meramec River, near St. Louis, Missouri, and at Cape Girardeau on the Mississippi, about eighty miles south of St. Louis. In 1825 the Shawnees in Missouri ceded their lands to the Government, and in 1831 those in Ohio did the same and went to new homes in Indian Territory. Those who removed from Missouri settled in Kansas, where, about 1840, two bands—the "White Turkeys" and "Big Jims"—seceded from the main body of the tribe and located in the northern part of Indian Territory, on the southern section of the reservation now occupied by the Kickapoos. (As to the supposed relationship between the Shawnees and Kickapoos, see page 177, *ante*.) During the Civil War these Shawnees roamed and returned to Kansas; but in 1867 they removed to the vicinity of their old location in Indian Territory—now Oklahoma. Since then they have been officially known and designated as "Absentee Shawnees." Those of the Shawnees who emigrated direct from Ohio to Indian Territory (as previously mentioned) are designated as "Eastern Shawnees." In 1869 the Shawnees who had remained in Kansas since first settling there in 1825 became incorporated into the Cherokee Nation in Indian Territory (see pages 163 and 165), under an agreement containing this clause: "That the said Shawnees shall be incorporated into and ever after remain a part of the Cherokee Nation, on equal terms in every respect, and with all the privileges and immunities of native citizens of said Cherokee Nation." In 1890 these Cherokee Shawnees numbered 694. For a number of years the "Eastern Shawnees" have been located at the Onapaw Agency in Indian Territory. They numbered 80 in 1886; 79 in 1890; 100 in 1902. The "Absentee Shawnees," on the Pottawatomie Reservation in that part of Indian Territory which is now Oklahoma, numbered 775 in 1886; 640 in 1890; 687 in 1902.

About the year 1840 George Catlin wrote as follows concerning the Shawnees: "This tribe and the Delawares, of whom I have spoken, were neighbors on the Atlantic coast, and alternately allies and enemies, have retrograded and retreated together, have fought their enemies united and fought each other, until their remnants that have outlived their nations' calamities have now settled as neighbors together in the western wilds, where, it is probable, the sweeping hand of Death will soon relieve them from further necessity of warring or moving, and the Government from the necessity or policy of proposing to them a yet more distant home. In their long and disastrous pilgrimage both of these tribes laid claim to and alternately occupied the beautiful and renowned valley of Wyoming; and after straying the Susquehanna's lovely banks with their bones and their tumuli, they both yielded at last to the dire necessity which follows all civilized intercourse with natives, and fled to the Allegheny, and at last to the banks of the Ohio, where necessity soon came again and again and again, until the Great Guardian of all red children placed them where they now are. There are of this tribe remaining about 1,200, some few of whom are agriculturalists, and industrious, temperate, religious people; but the greater proportion of them are miserably poor and dependent, having scarcely the ambition to labor or to hunt, and a passion for whisky drinking that sinks them into the most abject poverty."





CHAPTER VI.

MORE INDIAN CONFERENCES AND POW-WOWS—ATTEMPTS AT SETTLEMENT IN WYOMING BY THE WHITES UNDER THE SUSQUEHANNA COMPANY—DEATH OF KING TEEDYUSCUNG—FIRST MASSACRE OF THE WHITE SETTLERS—WYOMING FORSAKEN BY THE INDIANS.

“Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations; ask thy father, and he will shew thee; thy elders, and they will tell thee.”—*Deuteronomy*, XXXII: 7.

Early in the year 1759 preparations were under way in New York, Pennsylvania and elsewhere to carry out General Amherst's plans* for a simultaneous and formidable attack upon the principal strongholds of the French and their Indian allies. In March Brigadier General Stanwix (see page 346) arrived in Philadelphia, having been ordered there by General Amherst to succeed Brigadier General Forbes in command of the King's troops in Pennsylvania and to the southward. Under date of May 31st General Stanwix suggested† to Governor Denny “that it would be proper to send with all expedition Christian Frederick Post and Isaac Still with proper messages to the Indians; at the same time ordering them to proceed by the way of Wyoming, and to take four or five of the best disposed and most faithful Indians with them from thence, such as King Teedyuscung shall recommend.” Within a day or two thereafter Governor Denny sent Post and Still to Wyoming with a written message addressed to “Teedyuscung, the Delaware Chief, and to all the Indians at Wyomink.” The message contained, among other matters, the following‡:

“Mr. Frederick Post and Mr. Isaac Stille wait on you to inform you of what has passed at Allegheny, in consequence of the messages sent from Easton.‡ Their proceedings have given us great satisfaction, and I hope they will be agreeable to you. I have ordered them to hide nothing from you, being desirous you should be made acquainted with all the particulars that are worthy your notice. * * * Isaac Stille chose to stay all Winter among the Indians, that he might spread far and wide the good tidings of the peace established at Easton between us. He is but lately returned. * * * I request you would be so good as to let all the Indians round you know that we have a most hearty love and regard for them. * * * I rely much on the continuance of your zeal

* See last paragraph on page 297.

† See “Pennsylvania Colonial Records,” VIII: 341.

‡ See “Pennsylvania Archives,” First Series, III: 622.

§ Immediately after the close of the conference at Easton in October, 1758, Post was sent by the Pennsylvania authorities to the Indians on the Ohio and Allegheny Rivers in Western Pennsylvania, to inform them of the treaty consummated at Easton. Isaac Still was one of Post's companions on this mission, although he did not return with Post—who arrived at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on his homeward journey, January 10, 1759.

and service. You know you are the counselor and agent of this Government, and I choose you should say for it, on this and all occasions, what you judge proper and necessary to engage your and the other tribes of Indians in the interest of the English. * * You are to hear and see for us. I therefore desire to be informed of what has happened among the Indians in any place where you or your young men have been or have heard from."

Immediately on receipt of this message Teedyuscung set off for Philadelphia, accompanied by two Mohegans. Being received by the Governor on June 11th Teedyuscung said, among other things*:

"Agreeable to my engagements at Easton I have spread far and wide the news of the peace there concluded. I have given the halloo, and many distant nations have heard it and let me know that the peace was extremely to their minds. * * I received this string of wampum from the Unamis on and beyond the Ohio. They had heard of the good work, and it gave them the utmost satisfaction. I received another string from the Indian nations settled on the heads of the Susquehanna. They likewise expressed their joy at the conclusion of a peace with their brethren, the English. * * Here are two Mohiccons from the Susquehanna. They came with me from Wyoming. They brought me a string from the Mohiccons and Wapings,† assuring me that they were heartily disposed for peace, and would put themselves under Teedyuscung and join with him and the Governor of Pennsylvania in the good work of peace. * * * I have a small complaint to make. My uncles, the Mohawks, have sold lands that they have not the least pretensions to—no, not to the value of a hickory-nut! I mean the Minisink lands. These always belonged to a tribe of the Delawares, and our uncles had nothing to do with them and could not dispose of them."

Teedyuscung's reference to the sale of the Minisink lands was based on what he had heard relative to the purchase made by The Delaware Company in 1755, as described on page 293; but he had, apparently, been misinformed as to all the facts in the case, inasmuch as it was not the Mohawks, but the Delawares themselves, who had executed the deed conveying these lands to the whites.

October 4, 1759, Teedyuscung, his half-brother "Tom Evans" and "Abraham Locquis,"‡ accompanied by several attendants, having come to Philadelphia from Wyoming, were met in conference by Governor Denny and several members of the Council—Isaac Still acting as interpreter. Teedyuscung's visit was chiefly for the purpose of informing the Governor as to the situation of affairs among the Indians on the Susquehanna. Among other things he said§:

"Almost all the Indians are looking at us. They all see us both sitting together, and consider us as the first who began to make a Peace; are glad of it, and desirous we should finish it entirely. * * In what we have done I think we have acted with so much sincerity towards each other that the Peace will be everlasting. I am a King. You are a King. Your people or my people might otherwise say that we had made a false Peace; but now, that they have been witnesses of our mutual sincerity, they must and will acknowledge that we are a good people. * * I hear from the outside of the country all that is doing in the back parts, and I always let you know what I hear, be it great or small. * * There are not above five prisoners among the Delawares on the Susquehanna River. The Monseys have a great number, but they join the Mohawks, and will deliver them together to be counted among the Delawares. The Mohawks have a great many prisoners among them. The English hold frequent conferences with the Mohawks, but I never know what passes between the English and the Mohawks."

Returning from Philadelphia to Wyoming Teedyuscung, accompanied by a seemly retinue, set out in a few days for Otsiningo (see note, page 219) to attend a great meeting of Indians to be held there. This meeting, it was understood, was to be preparatory to a general council which the western Indians purposed holding on the Ohio in the Summer of 1760, and to which Teedyuscung and the other chiefs on

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII : 345.

† The "Wappingers," a small Algonkian tribe (see page 100) who, about the middle of the seventeenth century, and earlier, were located in what are now the counties of Ulster and Dutchess in New York, in close proximity to the territories of the Mohegans and the Minisink or Monseys. Where they were located in 1759 we have not been able to discover, but it was undoubtedly in New York, and probably on or near one of the branches of the Susquehanna River.

‡ The father of "William Locquis" mentioned on page 337.

§ See Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, IV : 75 (August 1, 1829).

the Susquehanna had already been invited. Two messengers from the Ohio Indians—*Tangoocqua*, or “Catfish,” and “Joshua”—were in attendance at the Otsiningo conference, and at its close accompanied Teedyuscung to Wyoming.

July 19, 1759, Thomas and Richard Penn,* the Pennsylvania Proprietaries, appointed and commissioned the Hon. James Hamilton†

* WILLIAM PENN, the Founder, was married a second time at Bristol, England, March 5, 1696, to Hannah Callowhill (born 1664; died 1736). Three of their children were: (i) *John* (known as “the American”), born January 29, 1700; died October 25, 1746. (ii) *Thomas*, born at Bristol, England, March 9, 1702. (v) *Richard*, born January 17, 1706; died 1771.

(ii) *Thomas Penn* was in his seventeenth year when his father died. He resided in London till 1732, when, setting sail for Pennsylvania, he landed at Chester on the 11th of August. The Governor of the Province, various members of the Council and a large number of citizens rode from Philadelphia to Chester to meet and welcome this son of the Founder. There was a general anxiety to see the visitor, for, since the brief stay of William Penn, Jr., twenty-eight years before, and his angry departure for home, there had been none of the family of the Founder seen here. The company of welcome, together with Thomas Penn, dined at Chester, and then set out for Philadelphia. When they arrived near the city they were met by the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen, with a great body of people, who extended a civic welcome.

During Thomas Penn's residence in Philadelphia the State House, now Independence Hall, was built; the “Walking Purchase” (see page 194) was consummated, and the great Indian treaty of 1736 (see page 192) took place in the Friends' Meeting-house, at the corner of Second and Market Streets, Philadelphia. Thomas Penn, while in Pennsylvania, took a somewhat active part in the affairs of the Province—especially with regard to the treaties and conferences with the Indians. Late in the Autumn of 1741 he returned to England.

The death of (i) *John Penn* in 1746 left Thomas Penn the holder of three-fourths of the Proprietary and family estates in Pennsylvania and Delaware, and thenceforward for almost thirty years—until his death—he was the chief of the Penn family and a figure of the first importance in the public affairs of Pennsylvania. April 6, 1772, there was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* (Philadelphia) the following, dated “London, December 21, 1771”—shortly after the death of (v) *Richard Penn*, whose son John (mentioned on page 262, *ante*) had thereupon become a co-Proprietary with his uncle Thomas in the Pennsylvania and Delaware estates. “Mr. [Thomas] Penn of Spring Garden is now the richest subject in Europe. His estate in the Province of Pennsylvania alone was, in the year 1759, estimated on his own principles at ten million pounds sterling; and his dignity and power are not less than his enormous wealth, for he is absolute Governor, Proprietor and Captain General of Pennsylvania, and nominates his Lieutenant Governor and all his Judges, Justices, militia officers, etc., during pleasure.”

After his return to England from Pennsylvania Thomas Penn lived in London most of the time until his death; but during the latter years of his life he owned—and occupied during a portion of each year—a handsome estate at Stoke-Poges in Buckinghamshire. He was married in 1749 or '50 to Lady Juliana Fermor, fourth daughter of the first Earl of Pomfret, whose seat was at Easton-Neston, in Northamptonshire. (See note, page 254.) A daughter of Thomas and Lady Juliana Penn became the wife of Stuart, Archbishop of Armagh. Thomas Penn died in London March 21, 1775, and was buried at Stoke-Poges.

The portrait of Thomas Penn facing this page is a reduced photo-reproduction of a portrait in oils (owned by The Historical Society of Pennsylvania), copied from an original (in possession of the Earl of Ranfurly) which was painted at the time of the marriage of Mr. Penn. It represents “a perfectly dressed and somewhat precise gentleman, in the costume of the middle of the eighteenth century. He wears an embroidered grayish lilac silk coat and breeches, and a long white satin waistcoat. He stands at the open door of a wainscoted room, with an uncarpeted wooden floor. Through the door-way an antechamber can be seen, with a window opening upon a pleasant country view.”

† JAMES HAMILTON, the first *native-born* Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, was born at Philadelphia in 1710, the son of Andrew Hamilton, a native of Scotland, who had settled in Accomac County, Virginia, about 1697. Prior to 1710 Andrew Hamilton had married and removed to Philadelphia. In 1717 he was appointed Attorney General of Pennsylvania, and in 1721 became a member of the Provincial Council. In 1727 he was appointed Prothonotary of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania and Recorder of the city of Philadelphia. From 1737 to 1741 he was Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court at Philadelphia. He was an able lawyer and eloquent advocate, and through his successful defense in 1735 of the editor of a New York newspaper, who had been charged with “false, scandalous and malicious libel,” the freedom of the press was established in this country. Andrew Hamilton died in Philadelphia August 4, 1741.

James Hamilton succeeded his father as Prothonotary of the Supreme Court, at that time the most lucrative office in the Province. In 1735 he succeeded Benjamin Franklin as Grand Master of Free Masons in Pennsylvania. From 1735 to 1740 he was a member of the Provincial Assembly; from 1746 to 1747 he was Mayor of Philadelphia, and in 1746 and '47 a member of the Provincial Council. Early in 1748 he visited England, and while there was commissioned (March 17, 1748) by Thomas and Richard Penn, the Proprietaries, Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania. His appointment was approved by the King in Council May 12, 1748, and on the 23d of the following November Hamilton, having returned to Philadelphia, assumed the reins of government. He served in the office of Lieutenant Governor until October, 1754, when, having requested to be relieved of his duties, he was succeeded by Robert Hunter Morris. In 1756 and '57 James Hamilton again served as a member of the Provincial Council.

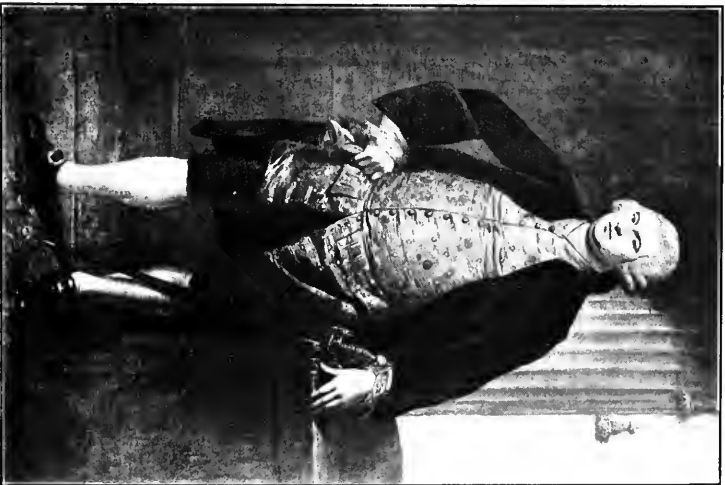
Having entered upon the duties of Lieutenant Governor a second time in November, 1759, he continued in the performance of them until November, 1763, when he was succeeded by John Penn, mentioned on page 262, *ante*. From May 4 to October 16, 1771, and from July 19 to August 30, 1773, James Hamilton was, as President of the Provincial Council, acting Lieutenant Governor. He was unfriendly to the American Revolution, and shortly after the promulgation of the Declaration of Independence he and several other Philadelphia loyalists were required by the new Pennsylvania Government to give their paroles to stay within certain limits. August 15, 1777, the Supreme Executive Council of the State agreed, on motion, that these loyalists “have the bounds prescribed in their respective paroles enlarged to the whole State of Pennsylvania.” (See “Pennsylvania Colonial Records,” XI: 38.) Some time after the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British in June, 1778, James Hamilton removed to the city of New York, where he died August 14, 1783.

Hamilton's home in Philadelphia was known as “Bush Hill.” The property, which had formed part of the Springettsbury Manor, and lay along the north side of what is now Buttonwood Street, between Sixteenth and Eighteenth Streets, consisted of a splendid mansion (built by Andrew Hamilton in 1740), surrounded by a beautiful and attractive garden. When John Adams was Vice President of the United States he lived for two or three years—*circa* 1790—in the mansion, and during the yellow-fever epidemic in 1793 it was used as a hospital. Later it became a tavern, and in 1808 was, with the exception of its walls, destroyed by fire.

The portrait of former Governor Hamilton facing this page is a reduced photo-reproduction of a portrait in oils owned by The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



THE HON. THOMAS PENN.



THE HON. JAMES HAMILTON.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

"Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania and the counties of New Castle, Sussex and Kent on Delaware," to succeed Lieutenant Governor Denny. The latter had been for some time hampered in the performance of his duties by the hostility of the Provincial Assembly,* and in consequence not only the people of the Province but the Proprietaries were dissatisfied with his administration of affairs. Finally, having been accused of accepting bribes to betray the interests of the Proprietaries for those of the Crown—in the matter of approving and signing certain Acts of the Assembly for public supplies and for re-emitting bills of credit—he was removed from office. Returning to England he was appointed to an important position in the army, which he retained till his death, about 1766.

November 17, 1759, the commission of Lieutenant Governor Hamilton was publicly read at the Court House, Philadelphia, and once more he took up the reins of government. He had scarcely got them well in hand when the ubiquitous Teedyuscung appeared in Philadelphia (on December 3d), accompanied by his half-brother "Tom Evans," "Daniel" (mentioned on page 368), "Catfish" and "Joshua" (the messengers from the Ohio, mentioned on page 386) and four other Indians, men and women. With the Indians were four white prisoners (two elderly women and two boys) who had suffered "a tedious captivity" among the Delawares on the upper waters of the Susquehanna; and these, together with six horses which had been stolen by Delawares from Pennsylvanians, were turned over to Governor Hamilton by Teedyuscung. In thanking the King for the return of the captives and the horses the Governor said†: "I have a just sense of the kind part you have taken in promoting the good work of peace, and shall be ready at all times to do you any service in my power."

Returning to Wyoming it is probable that Teedyuscung spent the remainder of the Winter here; but with the coming of Spring he repaired to Philadelphia, and March 29, 1760, had, in company with Moses Tatemy, Christian Frederick Post and others, a conference with Governor Hamilton. Exhibiting a wampum belt of nine rows, two feet in length, upon which was represented a road passing through twelve towns, Teedyuscung said:

"I received this belt from all the warriors and young men who live on the Susquehanna River, with a message pressing me to be strong and telling me they would reach out their hands and lift me on my legs to help me along; and that they were sitting and waiting for me, and desired I would be with them in six weeks, and they would collect themselves together from all their towns and meet at Otsiningo and there hold a council before my going to the great council over the River Ohio. I desire Frederick Post and another white man to go with me; also Moses Tatemy. I expect you will provide me with horses and other necessaries, and a sufficient quantity of wampum."

* In May, 1758, in reply to some strictures which Governor Denny had made relative to the Provincial Assembly, that body sent a long and fierce message to the Governor. (See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII: 107-109.) The following passages have been extracted from it. "You assert that we seemed determined to see the Province brought to the utmost destruction, rather than that the fingering of the public money should not be in a few leading men of our House. * * * The great relish for fingering public money, we apprehend, is rather to be found with the Governor; and we should be glad his connection were such with the people that we could safely confide in him. But when he looks on himself only as a passenger, and regards not whether the barque entrusted to his care shall sink or swim—provided *he* can by any means reach the shore—it is our indispensable duty to take every measure in our power to preserve that economy and public justice in the laying out and appropriating the people's money for which this Government has ever been so very remarkable. * * * Thus having answered all the material parts of your unkind message, filled with the grossest invectives and misrepresentations, we must assure you that we are desirous to submit our merit to the test of our actions. * * * Have you not continually usurped an arbitrary power of amending our Money Bills, and thereby repeatedly violated one of the most essential rights of the people? * * * Have you not retarded and obstructed the granting of supplies to the Crown by tenaciously adhering to your instructions [from the Proprietaries]? Have you not had under your command 1,400 men, and yet permitted the most trifling parties of Indians to depopulate a great part of the Province, and captivate and murder the inhabitants, while our troops have been inactive in our forts?"

† See "Pennsylvania Archives," Fourth Series, III: 5.

The King and his companions remained in Philadelphia until April 3d, when they were formally received in conference by the Governor and the Council, and it was arranged that Christian Frederick Post, John Hays (a young Scots-Irishman who resided in Allen Township, Northampton County, in the neighborhood of Bethlehem), Moses Tatemy and Isaac Still should accompany Teedyuscung in his journey to the great council on the Ohio. They were to take with them copies of all the treaties and minutes of conferences theretofore made and held by the Pennsylvania authorities with Teedyuscung, and the latter was "to be fitted out with a good suit of clothes, hat, etc., that he may make an appearance answerable to the occasion." To Post Governor Hamilton said: "You are to take all the care in your power that Teedyuscung sets out time enough to be present at the opening of the council, and that he takes with him the wampum given him to use on this occasion." It was directed, also, that "necessaries be provided for Teedyuscung and his company," as per the following list*: "Two dozen shirts, two dozen handkerchiefs, one dozen blankets, one dozen strouds, one dozen pairs of shoes, one dozen hats, three good, strong [pack] horses, vermilion, knives, ribbons, awls, needles and thread, ten tin cups, one pound of tea, one-half bushel of salt, two axes, one dozen breech-clouts, two half-barrels of powder, and lead in proportion, thirty pounds of swan shot and pigeon shot, pipes and tobacco." The Government proposed, also, that Nutimus (who was then living near Tioga, as stated on page 226) and Paxinosa (who had removed to the Ohio region, as previously mentioned) should accompany Teedyuscung to the council, and that "each should have a strond and a shirt sent to him."

On the 8th of May John Hays was joined at his father's house by Post, who had come from Bethlehem, and the next day the two set out for Fort Allen. Hays kept a diary of the journey, and from it† we learn that the travelers left Fort Allen in the morning of Saturday, May 10th, and, traveling all day till late, "through a vast desert," lodged at night in the woods. In the evening of Sunday the 11th they reached the village of Wyoming, where they were informed that Teedyuscung had that morning started on his journey; but a runner was immediately sent after him to inform him of the coming of Post and Hays. On Monday the King returned to Wyoming, and, wrote Hays, "we had several conferences." According to the diarist—"Tuesday the 13th we [they] wrought at making belts and strings of our wampum. Were used very kindly. 14th.—Very rainy weather, so that we could not set out; so we followed our old business of belt making. 15th.—Weather the same, so that we were obliged to lie by as before, and make belts. 16th.—Designed going, but Teedyuscung would not go until he had a field of corn planted first, and we all assisted him and planted it this day." Early in the morning of Saturday, May 17th, the company set off from Wyoming on horseback. In the cavalcade were fourteen persons, as follows: Teedyuscung, his sons "Captain Amos" and "Captain Bull," Christian Frederick Post, John Hays, Moses Tatemy, Isaac Still, "Anondounoakom, son of the Chief of the Minisinks," and six Miuisink, or Monsey, Indians. Three pack-horses—furnished by the Government—carried the supplies that would be needed by the travelers en route.

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, III : 717.

† See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, III : 735.

They traveled smartly, and about one o'clock crossed the Lackawanna. Continuing their course along the east, or left, bank of the Susquehanna, they set up their "tents at night in an old Indian town called *Quelootama*." On the 19th they arrived at *Quihaloosing*, or *Machhachloosing*, later known as Wyalusing.* This was a Monsey town, of "about twenty houses full of people," which had been established about 1752 on the east bank of the river nearly a mile below the mouth of Wyalusing Creek. The Chief of the town was *Papoonhank*, who, according to John Hays, was "a very religious, civilized man—in his own way." Post preached to the people of the town, at the request of their Chief, in the evening of the 19th and again the next evening. At this town there were three white captives—two girls and a boy—and several horses stolen from the inhabitants on the frontiers, and at the request of Teedyuscung Papoonhank agreed to deliver up all of them to the Government—which he did, at Philadelphia, on the 11th of July. On May 23d the travelers arrived at Assinmissink† (mentioned on page 327), and the next day, writes Hays, "the Indians began to sacrifice to their god, and spent the day in a very odd manner, howling, dancing, raveling like wolves, and painted frightfull as Devils. 26th.—The Indians having got rum, got drunk, all in general, except some old men. Teedyuscung behaved well on this occasion, for when his son brought in the keg with rum he would not taste it. 27th.—A messenger from the Mingo town told us they bid us welcome to this town, but if we came any farther they would roast us in the fire. They bid us go home the way we came, and come no farther. They desired that none of the nations on the Susquehanna should give up their prisoners. June 1st.—Still at Assinmissink. We sent a message by Moses Tatemy and 'Captain Bull,' Teedyuscung's son, to the Mingo again. June 6th.—Set off for Passeckachkunk, and came to James Davis' about noon. Dined with him. Proceeded on; lodged on the bank of the West Branch. June 7th.—Sent Bull before us early; we all followed; passed several little towns and arrived at Passeckachkunk‡ about four o'clock, after crossing the river five times. This town stands on the south side of the river and is in two parts, at the space of a mile distance, where there are two sorts of people. The nearest part is peopled with Wanamies (*Quitigon* is their Chief), and the upper part is Mingo. We halted at the lower town."

Here the party remained until June 16th, when Post and Hays received final orders from the Mingo to go home. On the 19th, therefore, they retraced their way as far as James Davis', being accompanied by Moses Tatemy and four Mohawks as guides and protectors. Then Tatemy left them and rejoined Teedyuscung. Remaining at Davis' a couple of days Post and Hays proceeded to Assinmissink, where they had a conference with *Egohohowni* the "Governor" of the town. On the 23d they breakfasted at "French Margaret's" (see page 206), and in the evening reached Tioga. On the 27th they arrived at Wyoming, and on the 29th at Fort Allen.

Teedyuscung and the other members of the party continued their journey unmolested, and on the 12th of August were present at the great council held in the English camp before Pittsburg. Among

* See pages 171 and 220.

† Near the confluence of the rivers Canisteo and Tioga.

‡ Without much doubt this was "Passekawkung," mentioned on page 352.

those who took part in this council were Brigadier General Monckton, commanding the King's forces in the Southern District; Col. Sir John St. Clair, Col. James Burd, George Croghan, Capt. Andrew Montour (interpreter), and large numbers of the Six Nations, Twightwees, Ottawas, Shawanese, Wyandottes, Pottawatomies and Delawares. Of the latter, 202 warriors, 168 women and 191 children were present, representing all the clans, or sub-tribes, of the nation. At the close of the council Teedyuscung and his retinue returned to the East without delay, and on September 15th the King reported to Governor Hamilton at Philadelphia:

"I have been a long way back—a great way, indeed—beyond the Allegheny, among my friends there. When I got as far as the Salt Lick Town, towards the head of Beaver Creek,* I stopped there and sent messengers to the chiefs of all the Indians in those parts, desiring them to come and hold council.† It took three weeks to collect them together; and then, having a large number gathered together, I communicated to them all that had passed between me and this Government for four years past—at which they were glad, and declared that this was the first time they had had a right understanding of these transactions."

Three days after making this report Teedyuscung appeared before the Governor again and announced that he had got ready to set out for Wyoming, when he heard some bad news. Continuing he said‡:

"Yesterday I was told that some of the New England people are gone on the west side of the Susquehanna, with intent to settle the lands at Wyomink. If this should be the case then all the pains that have been taken by this Government and me will be to no purpose. It is the Indians' land, and they will not suffer it to be settled. I therefore desire the Governor will send a smart letter to the Government where those intruding people came from, to forbid this proceeding, and tell their Governor plainly that if they do not go away the Indians will turn them off. These people cannot pretend ignorance, and if they shall then continue on the lands it will be their own fault if anything happens. If the Governor can't, the Indians *will* put a stop to it."

The Governor said he had received the same information a few days before, and had ordered the Sheriff and some of the magistrates at Easton to go to the place where it was said the New Englanders were settling, "inquire into their pretensions and proceedings and warn them off." The "place" referred to was at and near Cusketunk (later Cocheton), and the "New Englanders" were the proprietors of The Delaware Company, or their authorized representatives, who were taking possession of their "rights" in the territory purchased from the Indians. (See pages 293 and 294, and "Map of a Part of Pennsylvania" in Chapter XI.) On October 8, 1760, Aaron DePui, Lewis Klotz, John Moore and Lewis Gordon, by direction of Governor Hamilton, journeyed to Cusketunk to gather information as to the situation there. A week later they made their report to the Governor,|| setting forth that they had ascertained that "the Government of Connecticut, about six or seven years previously, granted unto about 800 or 900 persons power to purchase a tract of land from the Indians. In consequence, those proprietors empowered two of their number, — Elderkin and — Whitney, to purchase from the Delaware Indians. The purchase was made about six years ago." The report then continued as follows:

"Some of the proprietors are — Fitch (son of the Governor of Connecticut), Isaac Tracey, Jabez Fitch, Elisha Tracey, Benajah Parks, Hezekiah Huntington, Daniel Skinner, Timothy Skinner, Benjamin Ashley, John Smith and Nathian Chapman, who

* See map facing page 320.

† This was in July, prior to the council held in the camp before Pittsburg. Teedyuscung claimed that ten nations—among them the Twightwees, Owendats, Shawanese, Chippeways and all the clans of the Delawares—were present at this council on Beaver Creek. (See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII: 497.)

‡ See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII: 500.

§ It was the Delaware, and not the Susquehanna, River to which Teedyuscung referred.

|| See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII: 561.

have accordingly laid out and surveyed the said large tract of land in the Province of Pennsylvania, and at Cushetunk have erected three townships, each of which is to extend in length on the Delaware ten miles, and in breadth, eight miles. In the middle township a large town is laid out, consisting of eighty and odd lots—200 acres in each lot—to each of which a water lot of ten acres appertains. On the lowlands are built three log houses, one saw-mill, one grist-mill almost finished, and about thirty cabins for working people. Their number at present is about twenty men, besides women and children. About twenty more are gone home for want of provisions—but they are in full expectation to be joined by one hundred families, at least, in the Spring. It is strongly affirmed that every individual member of the Upper House, and the chief part of the Lower House, of the Assembly of Connecticut are interested and concerned in the said purchase. The Governor has not yet thought proper to suffer his name to be made use of, but his son is one of the proprietaries. The lands are sold for eight or ten dollars in hand for 200 acres—twelve whereof to be cleared and improved and a house built in three years; otherwise, to be forfeited.”

February 10, 1761, Governor Hamilton wrote to Governor Thomas Fitch, of Connecticut, and to Sir William Johnson, relative to the situation of affairs at Cushetunk. His letter to Sir William was, in part, as follows* :

“I am further to acquaint you that we are like to have a fresh trouble, and I am afraid a renewal of the Indian war, from a most wicked revival of the Connecticut claims. Those *restless spirits* have actually come at the close of the last Summer [1760] and laid out townships on the west side of the Delaware River, on lands *not purchased of the Indians*, and left some of their people to retain possession during the Winter, intending to join them with vast numbers in the Spring and to carry all before them by force. * * * Accordingly I have wrote Governor Fitch† to use his influence to recall the people already settled, and to prevent others from coming. * * * As I expect nothing Governor Fitch can say or do, or that my letter, will avail anything, I was thinking to write an account of this unhappy proceeding to General Amherst,‡ and desire his interposition with the Colony of Connecticut.”

Ten days later Governor Hamilton issued a proclamation requiring the settlers at Cushetunk to remove from the lands. He drew particular attention, in the document, to the fact that “Teedyuscung, the Delaware Chief, hath [had] made a very earnest and formal complaint and remonstrance” against the intruders, insisting that they be immediately removed by the Government, and declaring that if it were not done “the Indians would come and remove them by force.”

It must be admitted that the Pennsylvania authorities—both the executive and the legislative—were very anxious to avoid doing or permitting to be done anything that would cause trouble with, or even uneasiness on the part of, the Indians. They went so far in this matter as to pass an Act in April, 1760, inflicting a penalty of £50 and twelve months' imprisonment on any inhabitant of the Province who should hunt, or follow, wild beasts, etc., beyond the limits of the territory purchased from the Indians by the Proprietaries. On the other hand, however, both Governor Morris and Governor Hamilton, in opposing the “pretensions and proceedings” of The Susquehanna Company and The Delaware Company with reference to their purchases within the Charter limits of Pennsylvania, did not have in mind so much the fact that these purchases gave offense to certain blustering and fault-finding Indians, as that the purchasers had violated the law of the Province, which, under the royal Charter, provided that “no person whatsoever had any right to purchase lands of the Indians within the limits of that Charter without a license first obtained from the Proprietaries.”

April 6, 1761, Teedyuscung, several Delawares and two “Wapings”§ from Wyoming were received by the Governor and Council at Philadel-

* See “Pennsylvania Colonial Records,” VII: 571.

† See “Pennsylvania Archives,” Fourth Series, III: 51.

‡ See the last two paragraphs, page 297.

§ See page 385.

phia. Isaac Still acted as interpreter at the interview, and Teedyuscung spoke, in part, as follows* :

"You may remember that when I was here in the Fall I informed you that some New England people were settling the Indian lands near Cushetunk. * * I have not heard anything from you since that time, and our people are become so uneasy at this new settlement that several of them are moved away to other places. Some of the Wapings were coming to settle at Wyoming, but being disturbed at what they hear, they have sent their King that they may hear what you have to say. So many stories were brought to Wyoming that I myself was almost ready to leave my house ; but I thought I would come and see you first and consult with you about it. About three weeks ago Robert White [Chief of the Nanticokes] came to our town, along with Thomas King [Chief of the Oneidas], and told us that they had been at Cushetunk among those people, and that Sir William Johnson had sent to warn them off, if they intended to settle there. They said they had bought the land from some Indians who were at the last treaty at Easton, and they would settle there. They said likewise, that in the Spring, when there would be plenty of grass, they would come and *settle the lands at Wyoming*, and that Thomas King had given them leave† to settle the Wyoming lands ; and if the Indians who lived there should hinder their settlement they would fight it out with them, and the strongest should hold the land. Robert White added that they told him they should be 4,000 strong in the Spring, and would all come to Wyoming."

The Governor then told Teedyuscung what he had done in the matter, and the King expressed great satisfaction thereat. Then he asked the Governor what should be done if the New Englanders came to Wyoming. "Do not suffer them to settle," answered the Governor. "That is, collect the ancient and discreet men of your nation and go to the settlers in a peaceable manner, and endeavor to persuade them to forbear settling those lands."

Capt. James Hyndshaw,‡ of Northampton County, who had been requested by Governor Hamilton to make a tour of investigation to and through the country roundabout Cushetunk, reported to the Governor on the 29th of April that he had found Moses Thomas to be the chief man of the settlement. He was erecting a mill for grinding corn, and when Hyndshaw was there Thomas had just issued a call for a meeting of the inhabitants to elect a magistrate and other officers. The people claimed to be settlers "under a Connecticut Right." A number of houses were already erected, and a block-house was being built. Hyndshaw was informed by some Indians whom he met at Cushetunk "that the Connecticut people had been marking trees for twenty miles from the Delaware in the way towards the Susquehanna"; and he was told by "Nathan Parkes, one of the new settlers at Cushetunk, that they had also laid out lots for a town at a place called Lackawaxen§ [within the bounds of a tract of land purchased from the Indians by the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania], and they intended to settle it in like manner under the Connecticut Right."

At Norwalk, Connecticut, under date of May 7, 1761, Governor Fitch of Connecticut replied to the communication which he had received some time previously from Governor Hamilton. After devoting considerable space to references to The Susquehanna Company he wrote|| :

"Thus, Sir, you see that the Assembly have been so far from making a grant of those lands that they rather disclaim them, and leave those who have any challenges by purchase, or former grants, to conduct and manage as they think proper. This Government, as such, has no concern in those affairs, nor has it any inclination or disposition to interest itself in any dispute about those lands ; and, although the purchasers may, most of them, live in Connecticut, yet, as they act in a private capacity, and even out of the Government, we can do nothing only by advice relative to their conduct under another jurisdic-

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII : 595.

† See page 396. ‡ See pages 254 and 280.

§ On the Delaware River, within the limits of the present Pike County, Pennsylvania. See "Map of a Part of Pennsylvania," in Chapter XI.

|| See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII : 626.



most Sincerely Yours

Eliphalet Dyer

COL. ELIPHALET DYER.

Photo-reproduction of a portrait in the possession of The Connecticut Historical Society.

BY
OF
UNBATION

tion. * * * I have lately heard that there is another set of purchasers, called The Delaware Company, but I know but little about them, * * * but am ready to think that the families you mention are under *that* Company.'

Immediately upon receipt of this letter Governor Hamilton wrote to General Amherst, in very much the same strain that he had written to Sir William Johnson three months previously.*

At Windham, Connecticut, February 25, 1761, The Susquehanna Company met for the first time in almost six years—if we may judge by the records of the Company.† In the interim there had been many shares disposed of and new "proprietors" admitted to the Company by its Executive Committee. At the meeting just referred to Col. Jonathan Trumbull, Col. Samuel Talcott, Col. Eliphalet Dyer, John Smith, Esq., Capt. Uriah Stevens and others were appointed a committee to inquire into the expediency of joining with The Delaware Company in making an application to the King for either a grant of, or a confirmation of the title to, the lands purchased by the respective Companies from the Indians. It was also voted to send an agent to the Court of Great Britain to represent the Company in its business with the Crown; and, at a meeting held on the 9th of the next April, Col. Eliphalet Dyer‡ was appointed such agent, with a salary at the rate of £150 per annum.

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," Fourth Series, III: 80.

† See page 317, *ante*.

‡ ELIPHALET DYER was born September 14, 1721, at Windham, Connecticut (mentioned on page 249). He was the second child and only son of Col. Thomas Dyer by his first wife Lydia, second daughter of John and Mary (Bingham) Backus of Windham, to whom he was married October 24, 1717. The other children of Col. Thomas and Lydia (Backus) Dyer were: (i) *Mary*, born January 31, 1719; married in 1741 to Stephen White; died May 27, 1802. (ii) *Lydia*, born July 12, 1724; married to Samuel Gray (see page 292). (iv) *Eunice*, born June 5, 1727. Mrs. Lydia (Backus) Dyer died October 25, 1751, and Col. Thomas Dyer was married (2d) to Mehetabel Gardner, October 10, 1752. She died November 1, 1753, and Colonel Dyer was married a third time, in October, 1754, or '55, to Sarah Walden. Colonel Dyer, who was a native of Weymouth, Massachusetts, had settled in Windham about 1715. He was often elected to represent Windham in the General Assembly of Connecticut. He died May 27, 1766.

ELIPHALET DYER entered Yale College in 1736 at the age of fifteen, and was graduated a Bachelor of Arts in 1740, in a class numbering twenty-one. Three years later the degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon him by his Alma Mater, and in 1744 he was given the same degree by Harvard College. In 1757 the degree of LL. D. was conferred upon him by Yale College. After leaving college he studied law at Windham, and was admitted to the Bar there in 1746. The same year he was appointed a Justice of the Peace by the General Assembly. He was already Town Clerk of Windham, and these two offices he held for a number of years—being succeeded as Town Clerk in 1755 by his brother-in-law Samuel Gray (see page 292). He was elected an Assistant (a member of the "Upper House" of the General Assembly of Connecticut) in 1762, and by successive re-elections was continued in that office until 1784. He was appointed and commissioned a Captain in the Connecticut Militia in 1745, and was promoted Major of the Fifth Connecticut Regiment in May, 1753. In August, 1755, he was promoted "Lieutenant Colonel of the Third Connecticut Regiment, and Captain of its Second Company, to go in Sir William Johnson's expedition against Crown Point." (See page 297, *ante*.) This regiment at once joined the forces at Lake George, and did good service during the remainder of the campaign. In March, 1758, Eliphalet Dyer was commissioned Colonel of the Connecticut regiment sent against Canada. (See page 297, *ante*.)

In August, 1763, Colonel Dyer went to England as agent of The Susquehanna Company. He failed in his mission—as will be shown more fully hereinafter—but while in London he received from the Commissioners of Customs of the Crown the appointment of Comptroller of Customs at the port of New London, Connecticut. He appointed a sub-agent in London to look after the affairs of The Susquehanna Company, and, depositing the documents of the Company in his hands in the custody of that gentleman, Colonel Dyer returned home in October, 1764. In September, 1765, he was the first named of the three commissioners from Connecticut to the Stamp Act Congress. In 1774 he was Lieutenant Colonel of the 5th Regiment, Connecticut Militia. In December, 1775, he was appointed Brigadier General of the Militia of the Colony, but declined the appointment. As noted on page 283, *ante*, he was one of the original members of the Connecticut "Council of Safety," and his connection therewith continued until the close of the war. December 18, 1776, Colonel Dyer was appointed with others a committee on behalf of Connecticut to meet committees from the other States of New England at Providence, Rhode Island, on the 23d of December, to consult as to raising an army for the defense of the New England States against a threatened invasion by the British.

In July, 1774, Colonel Dyer, Silas Deane and Roger Sherman were appointed by the General Assembly of Connecticut delegates to the First Continental Congress, which met at Philadelphia in September, 1774. (See page 354.) These delegates were present, and took part in the proceedings of the Congress. Colonel Dyer was chosen in November, 1774, a delegate to the Congress of 1775, and in October, 1776, was chosen to attend the Congress of 1777. This last appointment he declined, however, in the following letter addressed to the General Assembly of Connecticut (see *American Archives*, Fifth Series, III: 475): "*Hartford, November, 1776*. Conscious as I am of my utmost exertions for to promote the interest of the United States, as well as of this State in particular, in every department in which this Assembly has been pleased to entrust me with, yet the approbation with which my conduct in the General Congress of the United States has met with, in their reappointing me a member of that respectable body, gives me the greatest satisfaction. Yet, considering my ill state of health, as well as some others of my family, the present particular situation of my affairs—occasioned principally by my long and almost constant absence for years past from my family, on public service—obliges me, though with great reluctance, to decline a service to which I was appointed at your sessions in October last—attending the General Congress at Philadelphia; and which I flatter myself will not be disapproved, as it is the first instance of my ever declining any trust, post of danger or trouble to which I have been appointed by this State." Colonel Dyer was elected a Representative to each of the Congresses from 1778 to 1782, but did not attend the sessions of 1778 and 1780.

From 1774 to 1793 Colonel Dyer was a Judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut—being Chief Judge during the last four years of this period. He withdrew from public life with his resignation from the

Bench in 1793; but his mental powers continued with unusual vigor until his death. John Adams, in his caustic sketches of the members of the Congress of 1775, wrote: "Dyer is long-winded and roundabout, obscure and cloudy, very talkative and very tedious—yet an honest, worthy man, who means and judges well." Charles Miner, in his "History of Wyoming" (page 81), has this to say of Colonel Dyer: "This gentleman was one of the most eminent lawyers of Connecticut. Of good form, of pleasing address, an ardent advocate of the Connecticut claim [to Wyoming]. A countryman hearing him plead before the Court went away and said: 'No man need ever speak again'—meaning he could not be surpassed. On one occasion, when, in the Connecticut Assembly, he was endeavoring to awaken the House to strenuous efforts in behalf of their Wyoming settlement, a wit penned this impromptu:

'Canaan of old, as we are told,
Where it did rain down manna,
Wa'n't half so good, for heavenly food,
As Dyer makes Susquehanna.'

His voice was a fine tenor, which he modulated with art, and he was an agreeable and effective debater."

Colonel Dyer was married May 9, 1745, to Huldah (born 1730), daughter of Col. Jabez and Huldah Bowen of Providence, Rhode Island, and they became the parents of five children, as follows: (1) *Thomas*, born November 22, 1747. (2) *Amelia*, born November 25, 1750; married (1st) to Col. Joseph Trumbull—a sketch of whose life will be found hereinafter—(2d), in 1785, to Col. Hezekiah Wyllys, fourth child of Col. George Wyllys, mentioned on page 282, *ante*. (3) *Benjamin*, born October 1, 1753. He became a physician, was married in 1783 to Mary Marsh, and had ten children. (4) *Oliver*, born December 22, 1755; died June 6, 1778. (5) *Jabez*, born December 24, 1757; died July 30, 1779.

Col. Eliphalet Dyer died at Windham May 13, 1807, and his wife died there February 12, 1800.



East side of South Main Street, viewed from near the corner of Public Square, in 1858.

ed with having been the first person in Wyoming Valley to cultivate the *love-apple*, now so universally known as the *tomato*. Until the early part of the last century—say about 1820—this now so-much-used vegetable was but little cultivated either in England or America, and then only for the sake of its pretty colors or as being *good food for pigs*!

Upon locating in Wilkes-Barré Mr. Dyer became a school-teacher, at the same time taking up the study of law. He was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County in 1802, and shortly thereafter gave up his school. In 1806 he was appointed a Justice of the Peace, and by successive re-appointments held the office for more than forty-five years—during all of which time and thereafter he was commonly known and spoken of as "Squire" Dyer. He was noted for his almost-indecipherable hand-writing, and many amusing tales have been told by lawyers and officers of the County Court of earlier days concerning Squire Dyer's inability, upon occasions, to read what he himself had some time previously written. The original of the accompanying facsimile was written by him in 1810, and the words are: "Rec'd pay in orders & cash. Thos. Dyer."

Squire Dyer was a member of the Board of Trustees of the Wilkes-Barré Academy from 1807 to 1838, and for seven years was President of the Board. In 1810 he was its Treasurer. In February, 1811,

he was appointed by the Commissioners of Luzerne County Treasurer of the County. In the Autumn of 1812 a Mr. Dubois, a portrait painter temporarily located in Wilkes-Barré (and whose studio was on South River Street, next door to the Phoenix Hotel), painted, on the order and at the expense of the members of the Luzerne County Bar, a portrait of Squire Dyer—then

"the oldest living member of that Bar." Upon the completion of the portrait Samuel P. Collings, Esq., of Wilkes-Barré, wrote as follows concerning it: "Any one acquainted with the original (and that embraces every person who has ever lived in Wilkes-Barré) will recognize at once the striking truthfulness of the likeness. The design is most excellent. The old table—the well-worn and oft-thumbed books—

*Rec'd pay in orders &
cash
Thos. Dyer*

In 1758 Jared Ingersoll, a prominent lawyer of New Haven, Connecticut (of whom fuller mention is made hereinafter), went to England. Before going a copy of the Act of the Connecticut Assembly relative to The Susquehanna Company was given to him by Judge Daniel Edwards (mentioned on page 282), who asked him to inform himself, in the best manner he could, "of the sentiments of people in power, and others in England, upon the matter." "This," wrote Mr. Ingersoll,* "I took care to do, and upon my return home in 1761 I communicated to the Company, by letter, fully and frankly what I had met with; and as everything I had to communicate wore a very discouraging aspect, I took the liberty to advise them to give up early a project which I thought in the end must prove abortive. This step brought upon me a suspicion, among many of the adventurers, that I had been bribed in England by Mr. Penn." The discouraging letter of Mr. Ingersoll, thus referred to, reached The Susquehanna Company about the time of its selection of Colonel Dyer as agent.

the bundle of papers—and even the horn-headed cane, are all to the life, and as much a part of the portrait (to those who are familiar with the peculiar habits of Squire Dyer) as the face. The exhibition of shrubbery from the open window is also extremely *à propos*, as illustrative of the well-known fondness of the subject for the cultivation of fruits and plants." This portrait has hung for many years, now, in the Court House at Wilkes-Barré, and is still in a good state of preservation.

About 1823 Thomas Dyer was married to Elizabeth (*Sayers*)—born in Edinburgh, Scotland, April 6, 1779—widow of Silas Jackson of Wilkes-Barré. She died April 9, 1849. The Squire died at Wilkes-Barré September 21, 1861, aged eighty-eight years and eight months. His remains lie in Hollenback Cemetery, and upon his grave-stone the date of his birth is given as "January 21, 1771." This is an error, as the public records at Windham, Connecticut, give "1773" as the year. Besides, on January 21, 1856, Squire Dyer celebrated at his home in Wilkes-Barré the eighty-third anniversary of his birth. (See *The Record of the Times*, Wilkes-Barré, January 23, 1856.)

The following memorial, written by Edmund L. Dana, Esq., at the time of Squire Dyer's decease, was adopted by the Bar Association: "When professional men of distinction are removed by death, it is eminently proper that surviving professional friends should record the event and give to their memories the tribute of a respectful notice. On Saturday, the 21st *inst.*, THOMAS DYER, Esq., having attained the advanced age of ninety [*sic*] years, ceased from the labors of a long and honored career as a lawyer, extending through a period of more than half a century. He was probably the oldest, and in the maturity of his powers was one of the ablest, lawyers in northern Pennsylvania. Ever a diligent and persevering student, endowed with a singularly tenacious memory, his knowledge of law was comprehensive in extent, and in degree accurate and profound. Uniting a vigorous mind with a strong and healthy physical organization, he encountered fearlessly and successfully the most intricate branches of his favorite science.

"Although he had for some years prior to his decease withdrawn from active professional effort, he continued to enact and exemplify the maxim of his favorite author—'*nulla dies sine linea*': nor were his habits of reading and annotation suspended until loss of sight disabled him from the pursuit of his favorite study. The margins of the books in his well-worn library are crowded with his notes and references, and wherever important subjects are discussed the text for pages is covered with a synopsis of all the authorities, ancient and modern, concurrent as well as dissenting, until the identity of the original treatise is lost, the usual relation reversed, and the reader has become the author. A rigid and systematic economist of time, he found leisure for an enlarged course of general reading, giving, in his selections, especial prominence to metaphysical science and theology. Of the Bible he was a diligent and earnest student, and in addition to its religious uses—in which his friends believe he attained a saving interest—he was fond of tracing to its precepts, as to the fountain-head, all the broad and leading principles of the law.

"For many years he held, by successive appointments under different Governors of this State, and, upon the adoption of the amended Constitution, by election, the office of a magistrate in this borough, and brought to the discharge of its duties a degree of ability, integrity and industry which would have adorned our highest judicial station. Holding in such esteem and reverence the law and its mission, he could not and did not suffer its process, under his hands and administration, to be debased into mere litigation, or to be made the instrument of covert malice, or to be used successfully for any other purpose than the assertion of right and the restraint and punishment of the wrong. Without dissent, without exception, the public have accorded to him the character of an able, impartial and conscientious officer."

The following was written by the Hon. John N. Conyngnam (for many years President Judge of the Courts of Luzerne County) upon the occasion of the death of Squire Dyer: "There are but few now here who can speak of his earlier days from personal knowledge. The writer of this notice looks back upon an acquaintance of upwards of forty years. Even then the early frosts had begun to sprinkle the head which later years had shown so thoroughly whitened. He can personally tell of his intellectual ability, his unwearied industry, the kindness of his heart and the warmth of his affections. It was only to those who were intimately acquainted with him that the true nature of his character was well known. * * * Familiarly known among the lawyers as the 'Chief Justice' he was often, from his great experience, consulted by his brother Justices, and even by Judges on the Bench, for his practise under and construction of certain Acts. His duties as a Justice prevented his giving much attention to the practise of the law; yet he was a sound and thoroughly read lawyer. * * His wonderful memory made him in truth a living index and table of the law, open to the inquiry of every one who in a proper spirit sought for legal information.

"Mr. Dyer was a *home* man. He rarely for many years went abroad. Occasionally he had been accustomed to attend the sittings of the Supreme Court, and became well acquainted with the old Judges on the Bench, and they, we know, honored the honesty of his character and the depth of his legal learning. * * A disease of the eyes, brought on by his continued reading many years since, finally led in his total blindness. He was so deaf, too, that nothing but the accustomed voice of warm affection could be heard—yet he complained not. His burden was lightened and his affliction lessened by the constant care and devoted affection of an adopted daughter, who, with singular devotedness, in connexion with her husband, ministered unto the aged and soothed the weary and declining days of an old man's pilgrimage."

* See his letter in *The Connecticut Courant*, March 15, 1774.

July 29, 1761, Governor Hamilton informed the Provincial Council that some time previously he had received belts from a very large number of Indians of the Six Nations and their dependents who, at the time they despatched their messenger to him with the belts, had progressed as far as "Wyomink" on their way to Easton to hold a treaty, "in consequence of an invitation from this Government." The Indians desired that the Governor should meet them at Easton, but that, first, he should send them "wagons, provisions and paint." The Governor further informed the Council that he had just been notified that these Indians had arrived at Easton. Within the next day or two the Governor, certain members of the Council and a number of citizens proceeded from Philadelphia to Easton, where, on Monday, August 3d, a conference was begun—and was continued, with various adjournments, till August 12th—with deputies from the Onondaga, Cayuga, Oneida, Mohegan, Tutelo, Delaware and Nanticoke-Conoy tribes—men, women and children to the number of about 400, increased later to near 500.* Teedyuscung was there with an imposing retinue of 100 Wyoming Delawares. The principal speaker of the conference was "Seneca George," who represented himself as speaking "in behalf of seven nations, and all their cousins, captains and warriors." *Tokahaion*, a Cayuga chief, was also one of the speakers. Referring to the land on the Susquehanna River the latter said :

"We have heard that this land has been sold, but we do not know for certain by whom. The Six Nations have not sold it, and never intended it as yet. Whoever has sold the land stole it from us, and only did it to fill their pockets with money. We have heard that two Tuscaroras, one Oneida and one Mohawk—*four stragglng Indians*—have sold it, unknown to the Six Nations. Thomas King, an Oneidan, was one of those who sold the land."†

When it came the turn of Teedyuscung to speak he said :

"My uncles, the Seven Nations, that sit here now, desire me to leave Wyomink, for fear. I answer I will not leave it so suddenly; but if I should see any danger I will endeavor to jump out of the way of that danger. My uncles have now put some tobacco in my pouch. They tell me I must steadily look towards the mountains, and if I see English brethren coming over the mountains I must light my pipe and come to them (the Mingoes), and they will receive me. It is about three years ago that I desired my uncles would give me a deed for the lands at Wyomink, but as they have not done so I believe I shall get up and leave. Uncles, you may remember some years ago at our council-fire you took me by the hairs of my head and shook me and told me to go and live at Wyomink, for you gave me the land there, where I might raise my bread and get my living.‡ Now again you desire me to move off from thence, and would place me somewhere else. The reason why I complied with your first request was because I thought you would give me the lands at Wyomink in the room of some of our lands you had sold the English."

To Teedyuscung's speech the Governor responded :

"I shall be very sorry if you remove from Wyomink. This Province has cheerfully and at considerable expense assisted you to build houses and make your settlements there commodious to you as long as you live. There you will always find us disposed to assist you."

From Easton Teedyuscung and five other Delawares, King "Last Night" and six others of the Nanticoke-Conoys, "Seneca George," and a dozen or more Indians went to Philadelphia, where, on the 26th of August, they had a conference with the Governor. Among other things they asked that Joe Peepy and Isaac Still should be stationed at Wyoming, in order that they could, at any time, accompany messengers sent by the Government to the Six Nations. Various other requests were

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII: 629.

† See pages 392 and 400.

‡ Teedyuscung here spoke of himself in a representative capacity—he, the King, standing for his tribe. It was not he who was taken by the hair of the head and shaken at the Indian conference of 1742, but Nutimus, the then principal chief of the eastern Wanamies. See page 199, *ante*.

made. "Last Night" asked that a deed might "be drawn for the lands [at Wyoming] to Joe Peepy and Isaac Still, not for themselves, but for the Delawares, that they may take it and get it signed by the Six Nations; for we are afraid those lands may be taken from us by the New England people lately come to Cushetunk."

In a report made to the Provincial Assembly relative to the Easton conference just referred to, Governor Hamilton stated* :

"Being conscious that no such invitation [to attend a treaty] had been given them by me, I was uncertain what to do. But, on considering the ticklish situation of our affairs with those people, together with an information I had just before received that a dissatisfaction was prevailing among them on account of some supposed neglect from the English, * * I decided to meet them."

In a letter† dated Philadelphia, August 15, 1761, Secretary Richard Peters gave General Monckton a brief account of the "grand meeting" at Easton at which Governor Hamilton and the authorities of Pennsylvania had been "amusing themselves" with an assemblage of Indians. Peters then continued as follows :

"The Connecticut settlement was spoken of, and the Pennsylvania dignitaries gave to the Indians their views in reference to that settlement. This was related to them in its naked truth; and they were, moreover, told that those vagrants settled those lands under color of Indian purchases, and they were asked if they had sold the lands to the New England people. They denied it, and mentioned that some private Indians had taken upon them to sell it. A string was given them to carry to the Onondaga Council, and to request that, in full Council, they would reprove their young men and declare those sales void. In short, presents were made as usual, and a large number of Quakers attended and were as busy as ever."

Under date of September 16, 1761, Governor Hamilton issued a second proclamation‡ against the New England settlers at Cushetunk, enjoining upon them to "immediately depart and move away from said lands"; and setting forth that Teedyuscung had "made a very earnest and formal complaint and remonstrance" against the intruders. Also, that "the chiefs of the Six Nations who where present at the treaty held at Easton did, in the most earnest manner, renew the said complaint and remonstrance, and insist that this Government should afford them its aid in obliging the said intruders to remove."

October 1, 1761, Teedyuscung, "*Nimeham*, or *Nunetiam*, Chief of the Opies,"§ Gootameek (the Mohegan sachem mentioned on page 373) and Isaac Still (acting as interpreter) had a conference with Governor Hamilton at his residence, "Bush Hill," in Philadelphia. Nunetiam claimed to be Chief of the Wapings, and produced a certificate issued by Governor Clinton of New York relative to the good behavior of those Indians towards the English in 1745; also another document (on parchment) of the same character issued in 1756 by Sir Charles Hardy, then Governor of New York. Teedyuscung, addressing Governor Hamilton, said|| :

"These Chiefs of the Mohickons and Opies are come to settle at Wyoming, and I have taken them by the hand. * * They are willing to live at Wyoming, and I have told them not to mind any disturbances which have happened of late, for it often happens that *when children play together they fall out and quarrel!*"

Ten days later the Governor received the abovementioned company of Indians at "Bush Hill" again, when he gave them an answer to their speeches delivered at the previous interview. He said¶ :

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," Fourth Series, III : 107.

† See "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society," Fourth Series, IX : 300-440.

‡ See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII : 668.

§ The Wapings, or Wappingers, mentioned on page 384.

|| See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII : 668.

¶ See "Pennsylvania Archives," Fourth Series, III : 112.

"You tell me that the Chiefs of the Opies and Mohickons, with many of their nations, hearing of the kindness of this Government to all the Indians, are desirous to come and settle at Wyoming, where you have taken them by the hand and bid them welcome. I have heard a good character of the Opies and Mohickons, and am, therefore, well pleased at their coming to settle with you at Wyoming, and I bid them welcome. * * * Brother Nunetiam, you tell me that you are come to join yourself to Teedyuscung, and place yourself with him at Wyoming, and will agree to all that he and I shall agree upon. I am glad to hear that you will settle at Wyoming. I therefore take you by the hand and bid you heartily a welcome, and you may be assured of being always used with kindness by this Government while you behave well. Having seen your certificate from the Governor of New York, I acknowledge you to be Chief of the Opies."

Early in March, 1762, David Zeisberger (see page 220) was employed to carry certain letters from Sir William Johnson and Governor Hamilton to Teedyuscung at Wyoming, informing the latter that Sir William proposed to hold a conference at Easton, Pennsylvania, in the coming Summer with Teedyuscung and other chiefs living on the Susquehanna. Zeisberger set out from Christiansbrunn on horseback March 16th, and by nightfall had reached the north side of the Blue Mountains, where he found a large encampment of Delawares and Nanticokes. "His heart was strangely stirred as he sat again by a camp-fire in the wilderness, with members of that race around him to convert whom was the exalted mission of his life." The next morning he proceeded on his journey, but was obliged to employ one of the Delawares at this encampment "to show him the way to Wyomink, as the whole country was covered with snow, and the weather was the severest he ever knew."* After three days of hard and perilous riding in forests obstructed by great drifts and through snow banks from which it was almost impossible to extricate the horses, Zeisberger and his guide arrived at Teedyuscung's house in Wyoming. Having delivered the letters which he bore to the King, he turned his attention to the former Moravian converts whom he found at Wyoming. The most of them had not heard the gospel preached since the breaking out of the war. More than one backslider was reclaimed—among them George Rex, or Augustus (previously mentioned), Teedyuscung's brother-in-law, who, on the occasion of a subsequent visit to Nain, near Bethlehem, was readmitted to the Church. While at Wyoming Zeisberger met, also, ten Onondaga warriors on their way south to resume hostilities against the Cherokees—the prosecution of which had been interrupted by the French and Indian War. Teedyuscung complained to Zeisberger of the considerable expense he was under at Wyoming in "*entertaining passing Indians.*" He said they "ate him out of house and home, and that he thought of leaving and settling at Wapwallopen." Zeisberger returned to Bethlehem March 24th, and went thence to Philadelphia with Teedyuscung's answer—receiving £10 for his services. He passed through Wyoming again, and made short visits here, twice in May, once in June and once in July, 1762, on his way to and from Papoonhank's town at Wyalusing—mentioned on page 389.

In May, 1762, Teedyuscung went to Philadelphia, where he was told that if he would withdraw his charges against the Proprietaries relative to fraud in connection with the "Walking Purchase," there "was £400 in it for him. Teedyuscung then came into conference, saying what he had been saying for five years—that he did not want Sir

* See the "Documentary History of New York," IV: 200. Further, we read in the "Pennsylvania Colonial Records" that March 28, 1762, a party of Cayuga Indians arrived in Philadelphia, having come from their town in New York by way of Wyoming and Bethlehem, and they reported to Governor Hamilton that they had "found the road very bad, on account of deep snow, cold weather," etc.

William Johnson to arbitrate the dispute. Teedyuscung further said that he had never charged 'the Proprietaries with fraud, but had only said that the French had informed them [the Delawares] that the English had cheated them of their lands; and his young men desired him to mention it at the treaty of Easton, and that he did it to please them and was sorry it had reached their hearts.' The Governor told him that if he would acknowledge this in public he would make him a present, not on account of the lands (which had been bought and paid for), but on account of his needy circumstances.* Thereupon, Teedyuscung having made a public acknowledgment as desired, Governor Hamilton presented him with £400†; upon which Isaac Still, the interpreter, remarked that this was, indeed, a trifling sum about which to have had such a great dispute. "The Governor, then, to quiet their dissatisfaction with the smallness of the bribe, said that the dispute should go before Sir William Johnson"; when, if it were found that the Proprietaries had not cheated the Indians in the matter of the "Walking Purchase" the Governor would not be under obligations to pay Teedyuscung a single farthing.

June 15, 1762, Sir William Johnson, accompanied by Col. George Croghan and others, together with Governor Hamilton and various officials of the Pennsylvania Government, met Teedyuscung and a number of chiefs of the Monseys, Wanamies and Mohegans in conference at Easton. Apparently the most important business transacted was the securing from Teedyuscung an admission that he had been in error in charging that forgery had been committed in connection with certain land conveyances. During the progress of this conference the following authentic information was received by Governor Hamilton relative to the settlement at Cushtunk: "Sixteen families are settled on the river, and their whole settlement extends seven miles. There are in all forty men holding lands under New England. Some have got four or five acres of Indian corn, some three, some two. No wheat. They live in pretty good log houses, covered with white pine shingles or boards."

Among the "Physick Papers" in the collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania are certain documents relating to the Easton conference of 1762. The following extracts from some of them are interesting.

"The Proprietaries of Pennsylvania to Robert Levers, Dr. For sundries sent up by waggon to Easton for the use of the Governor and his Company, to wit: June 14, 1762. $\frac{1}{2}$ cask Madeira wine, £16, 5s.; 10 galls. Jamaica spirit @ 7/6, £3, 15s.; a cagg, 3s. 9d.; 1 c. Hyson tea, £1, 10s.; a cannister, 1s. 2d.; 4 loaves double refined sugar—27 lbs. 15 oz. @ 1/8, £2, 6s. 8d.; 4 lbs. ground coffee, 8s.; 1 box of lemons, £4; 15,850 grains of wampum @ 30s., £23, 15s. 6d.; 7,000 do. @ 40s., £14. Total, £66, 5s. 1d. July 7, 1762, received payment of the foregoing account from Richard Peters. [Signed] Robert Levers."

Under date of Saturday, June 12, 1762, George Arnstrong—who seems to have been an agent of the Government—wrote and delivered the following paper to John Hays, who was an inn-keeper in Northampton County, not far from Fort Allen. Hays was probably the father of John Hays mentioned on page 388, and at this time Arnstrong was at his house, having arrived there June 11th with Teedyuscung and his retinue of thirteen Indians, en route from Wyoming to Easton.

"You are to give the Indians who are coming to the treaty provisions until they set off for Easton; and if any of them are very tyr'd or sick, give them a Gill of rum per

* See Walton's "Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania," page 380.

† Undoubtedly in Pennsylvania currency, equivalent to 1,066 $\frac{2}{3}$ % Spanish milled dollars. See *, page 252.

Day, as no syder or Beer is to be got, and you must keep a true account * * and you must be careful not to exceed the quantity of rum lest the Indians shou'd be Drunk & perhaps commit some Mischief. You must not entertain the Indians longer than Monday morning, or till the last of them comes this length."

Hays had—according to his account, duly rendered—fourteen Indians at breakfast and forty-three at dinner on Saturday, June 12th, and forty-three at breakfast the next morning. Some of these, evidently, were "very tyr'd or sick," as thirty-eight half-gills of rum were dealt out on Saturday and thirty-nine on Sunday.

About the 1st of August, 1762, there came down the Susquehanna to Wyoming a fleet of canoes containing 381 Indians—Oneidas, Senecas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Nanticokes and Conoys—and their belongings. Tokahaion, the Cayugan (mentioned on page 396), seems to have been the leader of this large company, who were on their way to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, to attend a conference arranged for by Governor Hamilton. These Indians from the north remained at Wyoming a few days and then continued their voyage down the river, accompanied by Teedyuscung, Tapescawen, Augustus, Joe Peepy and 172 other Delawares from Wyoming.*

They reached Lancaster August 13th, and found that the conference had been begun on the previous day by the Governor with a large number of Indians from beyond the Ohio—Delawares, Tuscaroras, Shawanese, Kickapoos, Twightwees and others—of whom King Beaver (mentioned on pages 326 and 328) was the principal speaker. These western Indians delivered into the hands of the Governor seventeen white prisoners, who had been captured principally in south-eastern Pennsylvania. Early in the conference—after the New York and Wyoming Indians had been received—Governor Hamilton formally stated that in June Sir William Johnson had gone to Easton, "by order of the King," to inquire into Teedyuscung's complaint that the Proprietaries had "defrauded the Delawares of a tract of land lying on the Delaware between Tohiccon Creek and the Kittatinny Hills"; and that, Sir William having examined certain writings and records then produced, "Teedyuscung was convinced of his error and acknowledged that he had been mistaken, and desired that all further disputes about land should be buried underground." A few days after this announcement had been made Teedyuscung arose in the conference and said† :

"Before all these Allegheny Indians here present I do now assure you that I am ready and willing to sign a release to all the lands we have been disputing about, as I told you I would at Easton."

Two or three days before the close of the conference Thomas King, the Oneidan (whose name is frequently mentioned hereinbefore), referred in open conference to the sale of the Wyoming lands to The Susquehanna Company. He said, among other things‡ :

"It is very well known that the land was sold by the Six Nations. Some are here now that sold that land. It was sold for 2,000 dollars, but was not sold by our consent in public council. It was, as it were, stolen from us. Some people said that my name was to it§ ; on which I went down immediately to Connecticut to see whether it was or not, and found it was not. I brought a paper back from Connecticut which I will show to the Governor. Had I not gone down to Connecticut the lands would have been all settled up to Wyomink as far as Awicka [Owego], twelve miles on this side Chenango [Otsiningo]."

King being asked whether the lands at Cushtunk were "a part of the lands stolen from the Six Nations," answered that they had nothing

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VIII: 723, 730.

† See *ibid.*, 740.

‡ See *ibid.*, 765.

§ See page 396, *ante*.

to do with them—"those lands belonging to the Delawares." Then, addressing himself to Teedyuscung, King said:

"Cousins, as you have swallowed down your throats all your own country, and your uncles, the Six Nations, have made a fire for you at Wyomen, we desire you to go and sit by that fire and watch it and see that no people come there to steal our country; and if any should come, we desire you will give us immediate notice, that we may take some measures to remove them."

The Lancaster conference came to a close on August 29th, when the New York Indians immediately proceeded homeward by way of the Susquehanna, and a few days later the Wyoming Indians set out from Lancaster for Wyoming.

Directing our attention towards Connecticut now we find that a largely-attended meeting of The Susquehanna Company was held at Hartford May 19, 1762, when, among other doings, the following resolution was adopted:

"*Voted*, That, for the promotion and encouragement of the speedy beginning a settlement of our Susquehanna Purchase, there be liberty for one hundred of the purchasers of the said Susquehanna Purchase, by themselves personally, and not by substitutes, to enter upon, and under the Company to hold and improve, a tract of land within said Purchase, ten miles square and easterly of and adjoining the Susquehanna River. * * * * To be held and improved by them and their heirs *as a gratuity from this Company* over and above their respective shares in the rest of the Purchase."

It was provided, further, that these pioneer settlers should hold the lands thus granted in equal shares; "or, a like proportionable part thereof by any lesser number of said purchasers not under fifty." None of the said persons was to be permitted to enter upon and hold said lands except such as should be approved by a committee to be appointed by the Company. The entry upon the lands was to be made within four months from that time, and "the said one hundred men, or a lesser number not under fifty," were to "continue thereon, holding and improving the same, for and during the term of five years." It being reported to the meeting that Colonel Dyer, who had been appointed the Company's agent some thirteen months previously,* had not yet gone to England, and that the committee instructed to prepare the Company's case had not done so, it was thereupon

"*Voted*, That the committee take immediate steps to prepare the case and forward it to some competent person in England; and that Timothy Woodbridge, John Smith, Stephen Gardner, Amos Stafford, John Jenkins, Thomas Darling, Thomas Hill and Daniel Lawrence be a committee to direct and inspect the settlements to be made on the Susquehanna land."

Within a short time after this meeting was held some sixteen shareholders, or proprietors, of The Susquehanna Company proceeded to Wyoming Valley, arriving here while Teedyuscung was at Easton in conference with Sir William Johnson and Governor Hamilton†—as is shown by an original affidavit made by Col. George Croghan in 1764, and now to be seen among the "Penn Manuscripts" (folio 71 *et seq.*), previously mentioned. The matter is therein referred to by Colonel Croghan in these words:

"This deponent was present at a conference held by Sir William Johnson at Easton, Pennsylvania, with several tribes of the Delaware Indians, * * * at which conference Teadiuscung, their Chief, acquainted Sir William Johnson and Governor Hamilton (then present) that some of his young men was *just come from Wyomen* and informed him that several other white people from New England were come to settle upon their lands, and joined some‡ that had settled there before. That he [Teedyuscung] did not understand what the white people meant by settling in their country, unless they intended to steal it from them, for that neither they nor the Six Nations had sold it, and desired that Sir William Johnson would take some measures to have the white people removed."

* See page 393.

† See page 400.

‡ The settlers at Cushetunk are here referred to.

This advance party of sixteen settlers selected the site of the old Indian town Asserughney,* at the mouth of the Lackawanna,† as the place at and near which the first ten-mile tract of the Company should be located; and there the members of the party encamped, intending to await the arrival of the remaining settlers.

Another meeting of The Susquehanna Company was held July 27, 1762, when it was resolved that the number of the prospective pioneer settlers upon the Wyoming lands should be increased to 200—the additional hundred to occupy a ten-mile tract on the west side of the river, opposite the first tract, and upon the same terms; and further, it was

“Voted, That all [of the 200] shall have three months from this date to begin the settlements; and that Col. Eliphalet Dyer, Col. Eleazar Fitch and Joseph Chew be a committee to wait on Sir William Johnson to lay before him the case of our Susquehanna Purchase, make application to him for what intelligence can be had from him relating to said affair, and, if possible, gain his friendship and interest so far as is consistent with the general good.”

As soon as possible the “committee to direct and inspect the settlements to be made on the Susquehanna land”—the *Directing Committee* we shall call it—entered upon its work, and by the middle of August, 1762, had enlisted a company of ninety-three capable and resolute men, who, in conjunction with the sixteen “pioneers” who had already gone forward, formed a body of 119 prospective settlers eager to occupy and open up the Wyoming lands in pursuance of the resolutions adopted by The Susquehanna Company, as previously mentioned. Some of these men were residents of New York (chiefly in Orange County), others were of Rhode Island, of Pennsylvania and of New Jersey, but the large majority hailed from Connecticut. Those who lived in Rhode Island and eastern Connecticut rendezvoused at Windham, and near the end of August they set out thence on horseback for Wyoming Valley, led by John Smith, Stephen Gardner and John Jenkins of the Directing Committee. This nucleus received daily accessions as the party moved slowly through southern Connecticut into New York—crossing the Hudson River at or near Fishkill, and proceeding through Orange County to the Delaware River. Pennsylvania was entered near the mouth of Lackawaxen Creek,‡ and in that locality were met the sixteen “pioneers” whom we left, about the middle of June, encamped at the confluence of the Lackawanna and the Susquehanna. When Teedyuscung and his followers had returned to Wyoming from the Easton conference, about the 20th of June, they repaired without delay to the encampment of the New Englanders at the mouth of the Lackawanna to remonstrate against the coming of those “intruders” and to warn them to retire from the valley.§ In the circumstances the “pioneers” deemed it advisable to remove to the banks of the Delaware, in the neighborhood of the Cushtunk settlement, there to await the coming of the main body of the Susquehanna settlers, with whom they would unite.

During the first week in September this combined company of 119 settlers arrived on the eastern bank of the Susquehanna, at the mouth of the Lackawanna. There were neither women nor children in the caravan; nor were there any carts or wagons. The journey from the Delaware to the Susquehanna could be made only over a rough and narrow trail, or

* See page 187.

† See page 406.

‡ See map in Chapter XI.

§ See Stone's "Poetry and History of Wyoming" (Third Edition), page 141.

path, and so the travelers came hither, some on horseback and some on foot, bringing with them only such necessities—including firearms, axes and a few simple agricultural implements—as they could easily carry. They moved down the river to the north, or right, bank of Beaver Brook—later known as Mill Creek—||—and there, near the river, just beyond the present northern boundary of the city of Wilkes-Barré, within the limits of what was afterwards the township of Wilkes-Barré and is now the township of Plains, they began the first settlement by white people in Wyoming Valley.

Unfortunately the names of all those first settlers have not been preserved. Neither Chapman nor Miner gives even a partial list of them; but the latter writer, in explanation of the omission, makes the following statement (“History of Wyoming,” page 54): “Strange to say, although my inquiries have been faithfully pursued, wherever the least prospect existed of obtaining information, they have proved fruitless, and I am unable to state from what towns in Connecticut they came, or who were their principal leaders.”

One of those first settlers was Parshall Terry, ¶ and in April, 1794, he made an affidavit for use in the case of Vanhorne’s Lessee *vs.* John Dorrance, in the Circuit Court of the United States. In that affidavit is given a very brief account of the first settlement at Wyoming, accompanied by a list of fifty-seven of the settlers. The original affidavit is now in the custody of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, but a copy of it, containing several errors, is printed on page 136 of Henry M. Hoyt’s “Brief of a Title in the Seventeen Townships in the County of Luzerne,” published in 1879. Fifty-five of the fifty-seven names contained in that affidavit are printed, also, on page 535 of Pearce’s “Annals of Luzerne County,” edition of 1866. In April, 1783, in response to a request made by a committee representing the Pennsylvania Assembly (see Chapter XXI, *post*), Zebulon Butler, Nathan Denison, John Jenkins, Obadiah Gore and others at Wilkes-Barré prepared a list of sixty-nine of the original Wyoming settlers of 1762. A contemporaneous copy of that list, in what appears to be the handwriting of Zebulon Butler, is preserved among the unpublished “Trumbull Papers,” mentioned on page 29, *ante*. From that list, the “Terry” list and other authentic sources we have been able to compile the following list of seventy-three names of the original Wyoming settlers.

* Benjamin Ashley,	‡ Job Comstock,	* Stephen Gardner,
† James Atherton,	* John Comstock,	† Daniel Gore,
‡ Daniel Baldwin,	† Benajah Davis,	† Obadiah Gore, Jr.,
* Isaac Bennet,	* Ezra Dean,	‡ Gershom Hinkley,
† Thomas Bennet,	§ John Dorrance,	‡ Isaac Hollister,
‡ Thomas Bred,	* Simeon Draper,	‡ Nathan Hollister,
† William Buck,	* Benjamin Follet,	‡ Timothy Hollister,
§ Nathaniel Chapman,	* Elkanah Fuller,	‡ Timothy Hollister, Jr.,
‡ David Colton,	* Rodolphus Fuller,	‡ David Honeywell,

|| See pages 57 and 58.

¶ He was a native of New London County, Connecticut, having been born near the town of New London August 8, 1734. He died at Palmyra, New York, May 15, 1811.

* Was dead in April, 1783, but, according to a memorandum made by the Wilkes-Barré committee on its list, previously mentioned, certain of his heirs were then residing in Wyoming and were “personally present” at that time.

† Was alive in April, 1783, and, according to a memorandum on the list of the Wilkes-Barré committee, then resided in Wyoming and was “personally present.”

‡ We know that many of those whose names are thus marked had died, or been killed, prior to 1783. “The greater part of these,” wrote the Wilkes-Barré committee in April, 1783, “are represented by persons who are now absent. It is not in our power, at present, to inform [you] of their respective cases.”

§ In the “Terry” list of 1794, but not in the list made up by the Wilkes-Barré committee in 1783. At that time he was either dead (without heirs or legal representatives) or was out of the valley.

✧ Emanuel Hower.	✧ George Minor,	✧ Wright Smith,
✧ Austin Huut,	✧ Silas Park,	✧ Amos Stafford,
✧ Nathan Hurlbut,	✧ Abel Peirce,	✧ Eliphalet Stevens,
✧ Simeon Hurlbut,	✧ Ezekiel Peirce,	✧ Uriah Stevens,
✧ John Jenkins.	✧ Samuel Richards,	✧ William Stevens,
✧ Joshua Jewett,	✧ Daniel Robins,	✧ Daniel Strait,
✧ Oliver Jewett.	✧ Minor Robins,	✧ Nathaniel Terry,
✧ Moses Kimball,	✧ Ebenezer Searle,	✧ Parshall Terry.
✧ Daniel Lawrence,	✧ Ephraim Seeley,	✧ Job Tripp,
✧ Gideon Lawrence,	✧ Benjamin Sheppard,	✧ Ephraim Tyler,
✧ Noah Lee,	✧ Benjamin Shoemaker,	✧ Ephraim Tyler, Jr.,
✧ Stephen Lee,	✧ Jonathan Slocum,	✧ Isaac Underwood,
✧ Thomas Marsh,	✧ John Smith,	✧ Jonathan Weeks,
✧ Rev. William Marsh,	✧ Matthew Smith,	✧ Jonathan Weeks, Jr.,
✧ David Marvin,	✧ Oliver Smith,	✧ Philip Weeks.
	✧ Timothy Smith,	

Within a day or two after the arrival of the New Englanders at Mill Creek the Six Nation and other New York Indians returning from the Lancaster conference (see page 400) arrived at Wyoming. Learning from the Indians here of the presence of white men in the valley, with the intent of making a settlement, Thomas King, the Oneidan, and some of the other Six Nation chiefs went up to Mill Creek and had a conference with John Smith, Stephen Gardner and John Jenkins, the members of the Directing Committee then on the ground. The Indians protested against the intrusion of the settlers into the valley and insisted that they should withdraw. After considerable discussion the settlers agreed that within the course of a few days they would return to their homes, and that early in the next Spring they would send their representatives to Albany, New York, to meet the chiefs of the Six Nations in a conference relative to the Wyoming lands. A formal invitation to such a conference was then drawn up by John Smith and placed in the hands of Thomas King, who promised to deliver it to the Great Council at Onondaga. Having spent about ten days in the valley all the settlers set out for their homes—except about twenty-five, who remained behind to break up several acres of ground on Jacob's Plains and sow some wheat. About the middle of October these men also departed from the valley. The following paragraph, from the affidavit of Parshall Terry previously referred to, relates to the doings of these first settlers:

"On their arrival at Wyoming they encamped at the mouth of Mill Creek, on the banks of the Susquehanna, where they built several huts for shelter; that they cut grass and made hay on Jacob's Plains; that they were shortly after joined by many others; that their whole company on the ground were 150, or upwards; that they continued on the ground, according to his best recollection, about ten days; that the season being far advanced, and finding that it would be difficult to procure provisions at so great distance from any inhabited country, the Committee of the settlers, *viz.*, John Jenkins, John Smith and Stephen Gardner, thought proper and advised us to return, which was agreed to, and the greatest part of the company withdrew—the deponent being one. That a small number were left on the ground, who tarried some time longer, as the deponent understood. The deponent further saith that at the time they withdrew they secured their farming utensils on the ground, to be ready for the Spring following, as they expected to return at that time."

The following interesting paragraphs, copied from an original document among the "Penn Manuscripts," folio 69 (see page 30, *ante*), is now printed for the first time. It is a report from Stephen Sayre to Lord ———, and was written in the latter part of the Summer of 1762.

* * * "Upon a meeting with the Iroquois in the year 1754 they [The Susquehanna Company] endeavored to effect a purchase of those lands with Hendrick their Chief, but

! See Stone's "Poetry and History of Wyoming" (Third Edition), page 393.

were disappointed by the false insinuations of Sir William Johnson. Nevertheless they did effect it the same year, and obtained a firm deed for a tract on the Susquehanna, * * * for which tract they gave a large sum of money. * * *

"Mr. Gray, Clerk of the Company assembled May 19, 1762, declares that the business of the meeting was to determine if possible to throw in a settlement upon the said lands, and they have accordingly obtained votes of above one hundred families who promise to proceed immediately, and in defiance of Mr. Penn and his emissaries to plant themselves down on the said lands. * * * The said committee have formed another committee, who are to take care that *proper and wealthy persons only* are admitted to make this first settlement, as well as to give them proper directions in what manner to govern themselves in this critical affair. Their last resolve was to endeavor to get this ratified at home [in England], as soon as it can demand the attention of the Ministry; and they are of the opinion that the speedy settlement of some part will have great weight to determine it in their favor. Another circumstance, from which they promise themselves great advantage, is that their Province [Connecticut] has supported the present as well as the late war with a truly British spirit and vigor, while, on the other hand, the inhabitants of a certain Proprietary Government [Pennsylvania] are *stained with infamy* by the ravages of dastardly wretches, merely because it was Proprietary.

"Mr. Edwards,* another of the said committee, told me candidly that Mr. Ingersoll† had in fact presented the resolve, or memorial, made by the [Connecticut] Government in their favor, to Mr. Pitt‡ and many others, who gave him great encouragement that it should be duly considered in its proper season; and for this end Mr. Ingersoll has engaged a friend to give him timely advice, upon which Col. Eliphalet Dyer is to embark immediately for England, invested with the above armor. I find it is the opinion of the committee that the said one hundred men cannot proceed until next Spring, as the season is now too far spent to plant and sow."

The following is a copy of an original document preserved among the "Penn Manuscripts" (folio 63), previously mentioned, and is now printed in full§ for the first time. It is a report made by Daniel Brodhead|| to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, is dated "Philadelphia, September 27, 1762," and was sworn to by Mr. Brodhead before the Hon. Benjamin Chew, Recorder of Philadelphia, as being a statement of what the "deponent saw and heard in a late journey, made by him from Easton to an Indian town or settlement on the River Susquehanna, called by the name of Wyoming."

"*May it please Your Honor*: On Thursday [September 9, 1762], about nine o'clock at night, I received your Honor's orders by John Moore, Esq., to go up the River Delaware and to use my best endeavors to discover the pretenses and intentions of the Connecticut people, who were then employed in cutting a road from the upper part of Minisinks to Wyoming. Accordingly got ready on Friday and went to John McDowell's in Lower Smithfield Township, where I tarried all night. On Saturday employed myself to gain what intelligence I could of the inhabitants—how the people of that township were affected, to wit: Who were concerned with the Connecticut people in lands; who were to supply them with provisions; who were gone with them; and to take the names of the persons who were purchasers in that township—and found that Benjamin Shoemaker, Daniel Shoemaker, Samuel Dupue, Samuel Drakes, Joseph Wheeler, William Clark, Sr., Nicholas Dupue, Jr., John McDowell, Hugh Pugh, William Smith, Sr., Joseph Hains, John Fish, Charles Holmes and James Lawson were the persons [in Lower Smithfield] that had purchased Rights. But that the Connecticut people were refused assistance by each of them except Daniel Shoemaker, Joseph Wheeler, Charles Holmes and James Lawson, *they having gone with them to Wyoming.*

"Hearing at the same time that the New England people were already got to Wyoming, I was obliged to get a person to go with me to help me on the road, which was attended with some difficulty, it being a busy time with the farmers. I did, however, prevail on my brother Garret to go with me, and agreed to pay him 7sh. 6d. per day. That night lodged at Samuel Dupue's. Early on Sunday morning went up the [Delaware] River, and when I came to Upper Smithfield Township¶ found the inhabitants very close to the interest of the Connecticut people, and that they seemed very anxious to know my opinion respecting or relating to the claim of the Connecticut

* Judge Daniel Edwards. See page 282, *ante*.

† Jared Ingersoll, Esq., mentioned on page 395.

‡ The Hon. William Pitt, later the Earl of Chatham. From 1757 till 1761 he was British Secretary of State.

§ A portion of the document is printed on pages 17 and 18 of Hoyt's "Brief of Title in the Seventeen Townships in the County of Luzerne."

|| DANIEL BRODHEAD, JR., mentioned on page 258, *ante*.

¶ In what is now Pike County, Pennsylvania. See "Map of a Part of Pennsylvania," in Chapter XI.

people. But I never made any other reply than that I had heard the Indians request of Sir William Johnson and His Honor our Governor that, if the white people came to settle on the lands at Wyoming, they should be removed. They then told me that the Connecticut people had lately sold a number of Rights to the inhabitants at £48 each, and that they had given out that they were determined to hold the lands by strong hands. That night I staid at Andrew Dingman's, who informed me that four men that had been with the New England people to Wyoming were returned; that they told him that when the Connecticut people came to Wyoming the few Indians there (not exceeding seven men) were very angry, and had met them with their guns and tomahawks—which was afterwards confirmed by the Indians themselves—and demanded to know their business, their [the Indian] women and children having fled to the woods, not knowing anything of the approach of such a number of armed men into their country.

"On Monday morning set out early and lodged within five miles of Lachawacksink Creek.* On Tuesday, as soon as we could see to travel, set out on our journey, and that night lodged within thirty miles of Wyoming. On Wednesday morning set out early, and after traveling about five miles met seven men. Two of them said they were going to New England to conduct 200 families to their quiet possession at Wyoming. The other five said they were going to Minisink for flour, and that the Indians were well pleased with their new neighbors. Soon after we parted with these men we came to a very fine creek called by the Indians *Laghawagheneah*,† which we followed to its confluence with the River Susquehanna, about twelve [*sic*] miles distant from Wyoming town. About four miles distant from the New England people's encampment met twelve men with their arms and accouterments, and they told me that a great number of *ill-looking fellows of the Six Nations* had a few minutes before ordered them to leave that place,‡ which they had agreed to; and that the rest would go on the morning following.

"At five o'clock we came to the encampment (consisting of upwards of seventy men, having guns) where they had cut about fifteen tons of grass. I tarried there till night, endeavoring among other things to get their names—but soon found them on their guard as to that. I was, however, directed to Gardner and Smith, two of their Commissioners, who, they said, would sell me as much land as I might choose. Mr. Smith, looking on me to be a purchaser, began to tell me that the Pennsylvania line was settled by the Indians at the treaty lately held at Lancaster, and that it did not extend farther up the River Delaware than Dupue's, and that he did intend to have cut a road to Benjamin Shoemaker's mill from Wyoming, who would better supply them. I asked them how they claimed the lands there. They answered, by their Charter and their Indian purchase. Then I asked them by whom they were abetted and encouraged. They answered, by all the power of their Government of Connecticut, and added that they had seen a proclamation published by their Governor which, they said, contained nothing but what they could prove to be false and absurd; that himself (meaning the Governor) and his two sons were privy to their undertaking, and were concerned with them; that they were to hold a treaty with the Indians at Albany this [coming] Winter, and would settle the lands next Spring *with 1,000 armed men and two pieces of artillery!* They had begun to build three block-houses, and the Indians afterwards told me that they were determined to have built three miles in length upon the bank of the river, had they not prevented them.

"When I came to the Indian town Wyoming I saw there between forty and fifty men of the Indians, besides women, and most of them were of the Six Nations returning from the Lancaster treaty, and among them was an Indian called Thomas King. There was with them an Irishman named David Owen, and he and a Bethlehem Indian called Captain Augustus,§ who talked English, told me that the Indians had ordered the Connecticut people to go away and quit the land; and said if they had not done so forthwith the Indians would have killed every man of them before they could have got in to the inhabitants. I then told them that I came from His Honor, the Governor of Pennsylvania, to see what the New England people were doing at Wyoming, and when I returned was to make a report of what I had seen. They desired me to thank Your Honor, in the most affectionate manner, for Your Honor's care over them, and desired I would stay with them two days and rest myself and horse; for which I thanked them, and said that their brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania, was troubled to hear of the uneasiness the New England people were likely to give his friends and brethren, the Indians, and that he could not sleep easy until I returned with the good news of the New England people's return to their own country. Then they agreed that what I had said was right, and on Thursday, about ten o'clock in the morning, I set out for Fort Allen, and on Saturday about two o'clock arrived at Easton." * * *

November 19, 1762, a private conference took place between Governor Hamilton and Teedyuscung at "Bush Hill," Philadelphia,

* Lackawaxen Creek, mentioned on page 392.

† Lackawanna River. See pages 34 and 187.

‡ See page 404.

§ Teedyuscung's brother-in-law, mentioned on page 338.

the Governor's residence. Teedyuscung, having been desired, and having promised, "to speak nothing but what should be strictly true," said*:

"Brother, you may remember that some time ago I told you that I should be obliged to remove from Wyomink on account of the New England people, and I now again acquaint you that soon after I returned to Wyomink from Lancaster there came 150 of those people, furnished with all sorts of tools, as well for building as husbandry, and declared that they had bought those lands from the Six Nations and would settle them, and were actually going to build themselves houses and settle upon a creek called *Lechawanoek*, about seven or eight miles above Wyomink.† I threatened them hard, and declared I would carry them to the Governor at Philadelphia; and when they heard me threaten them in this manner they said they would go away and consult their own Governor, for if they were carried to Philadelphia they might be detained there seven years. And they said further, that since the Indians were uneasy at this purchase, if they would give them back the money it had cost them—which was one or two bushels of dollars—they would give them their land again.

"Brother, ten days after these were gone there came other fourteen men‡ and made us the same speeches, declaring that they expected above 3,000 would come and settle the Wyomink lands in the Spring; and they had with them a saw and saw-mill tools, purposing to go directly and build a saw-mill about a mile above where I live. But, upon my threatening those in the same manner I did the former company, they went away and, as I was told, buried their tools somewhere in the woods. These people desired me to assist them in surveying the lands, and told me they would reward me handsomely for my trouble—but I refused to have anything to do with them. Six days after these were gone there came other eight white men and a mulatto,‡ and said the very same things to me that the others had said, and immediately I got together my council, and as soon as we had finished our consultations I told these people that I would actually confine them and carry them to Philadelphia and deliver them to the Governor there; upon which they went away, saying they would go to their own Governor and come again with great numbers in the Spring. Some of these people stole my horse that I bought at Easton, but they gave me another horse and £5 in money in satisfaction for my horse.‡

"Brother, though I threatened these people hard that I would confine them and carry them down to you, yet I did not mean actually to do it, remembering that you charged me not to strike any white men, though they should come, but to send you the earliest notice of their coming that was in my power. * * * Brother, before I got up to Wyomink from Lancaster there had come a great body of these New England people with intent actually to settle the land, but the Six Nations, passing by at that time from Lancaster, sent to let them know that they should not be permitted to settle any of those lands; and on their expressing great resentment against them, and threatening them if they persisted, they went away. This I was told by Thomas King, who was left behind at Wyomink by the Six Nations to tell me that they intended to lay this whole matter before the Great Council at Onondaga, and that they would send for me and my Indians to come to Albany in the Spring, where they are to have a meeting with the New England people, and desired I would be quiet till I should receive their message, and then come to Albany.

"On this speech of Thomas King's we [the Wyoming Indians] met together in council, and agreed *not to give him any promise to come to Albany*, but to advise the Governor of Pennsylvania of this and to take his advice what to do; and if he will go with us, and advise us to go, we will go—in case we should be sent for in the Spring. Brother, surely, as you have a General of the King's armies here he might hinder these people from coming and disturbing us in our possessions.

"Brother, I have one thing more to say, and then I shall have finished all I have to say at this time. You may remember that at the treaty at Easton we were promised that a schoolmaster and ministers should be sent to instruct us in religion and to teach us to read and write. As none have been yet provided for us I desire to know what you intend to do in this matter. * * * About six days before I left Wyomink I received a belt from King Beaver,|| who desired that I and the Delawares, the Wapings and Mollickons settled at Wyoming would remove thence and come and live at Allegheny."

On the next day after the delivery of the foregoing speech the Governor replied to it, in part as follows:

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX: 6.

† This refers to the sixteen "pioneers" who arrived in Wyoming in June, but soon retired to the Cnshetunk settlement.

‡ These men were, undoubtedly, a part of the company of twenty-five who, as previously explained, remained in the valley until about the middle of October, after the departure of the main body of the settlers.

§ See page 410.

|| See note, page 326.

"I thank you for the information you have given me of what passed between you and the people of Connecticut. Hearing that some of these people were gone towards the Susquehanna I sent a special messenger* after them, to warn them from settling those lands and to take care not to give offense to the Indians, from whom those lands had not been purchased. My messenger came, fortunately, just after the Six Nations had ordered them to go away, and shown great reluctance at their presuming to come and settle those lands; and met them returning home displeased with the Six Nations for speaking to them in the rough manner they did. Brother, I have written both to General Amherst and to Sir William Johnson and to the Governor of Connecticut. This matter is likewise laid before the great King by Sir William Johnson, so that I am in hopes that you will not see any more of these troublesome people, but that measures will be taken to keep them at home.

"Brother, I commend you for your prudent behavior. I did, and do still, desire that no blood of the white people may be shed by you, but that you will continue to give me the earliest notice you can if you hear of any of them coming again in the Spring. Brother, I observe what you say with reference to the message sent to you by Beayer. You know that your uncles, the Six Nations, have kindled a fire for you at Wyomink, and desired you would stay there and watch and give them notice if any white people should come to take away the lands from them, and that you would not suffer them to do it. You may think, be assured, that this Winter measures will be taken to prevent these troublesome people from coming to disturb you. On these considerations I desire you will remain quiet where you are and not move away, as you seem to have no inclination to go away only on account of these New England disturbers.

"As to any invitations the Six Nations may make to you to come to Albany to counsel with them and to meet the New England people, you will pay such regard to them as your connections with your uncles will require. *I don't pretend to any authority over you*, but I would advise you to comply with such invitation as you shall receive from your uncles. I am not invited, and know nothing of this matter, but if I hear anything of it I will let you know. The times have been so unsettled that there has been no opportunity of sending ministers and schoolmasters among you. Now there is a likelihood of a general peace soon to be established. If you determine still to continue at Wyomink—about which you have expressed some doubts to me—I shall consider of this matter and send you an answer at the proper time."

Within a few days after his interview with Governor Hamilton Teedyuscung set out on his homeward journey, never again either to see the Governor or to visit Philadelphia. Arriving at Bethlehem he found David Zeisberger about to start on a hurried visit to Wyoming, accompanied by Gottlieb Sensemann (a Moravian Brother). In the company of these missionaries, therefore, Teedyuscung traveled the remainder of his way home. An epidemic of dysentery† was raging in the valley, and many Indians were suffering from it. Among the first to be prostrated had been Abraham (*Schabash*), the Mohegan, who immediately sent an urgent message to Bethlehem—"Brethren, let a teacher come to see me ere I die!" But Zeisberger, who came in response to this call, arrived too late; the aged Mohegan had finished his course, exhorting, with his dying breath, the Indians about him to remain faithful to Christ. In compliance with his last request he was buried near his village, previously mentioned, on Abraham's Plains. Zeisberger and Sensemann spent some days in the valley and attended in their dying moments many of the baptized Indians—both Mohegans and Delawares.‡ Among the latter was Captain Augustus ("George Rex"),§ who passed away "admonishing those about him to avoid his evil example, and professing a sure hope of eternal life." Several days before his death that of his wife occurred, and some days later her sister, the wife of Teedyuscung, died.

The news that The Susquehanna Company had, at length, actually begun a settlement in Wyoming Valley, soon spread throughout Connecticut and aroused considerable interest and comment, not only

* Daniel Brodhead. See page 405.

† See, also, page 212.

‡ See Loskiel's "History of the Mission of the United Brethren."

§ See note, page 388.

among the shareholders, or proprietors, of the Company, but among the people generally. Among those who foresaw that unusual advantages would accrue to the Colony and the country from this opening up of new territory, and who desired to benefit thereby, was the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, mentioned in the note on page 293. He was a settled clergyman (Congregational) in the town of Lebanon (mentioned on page 283), where, several years prior to this time, he had founded an Indian school, with the double object of preparing young preachers for the missionary field and of educating Indian youth who should return to their tribes and become teachers among their own people. Without show or ostentation Dr. Wheelock had begun this school at his own house, and almost at his own charge. He started with two pupils, one of whom was Sampson Occum,* but the school gradually increased in numbers until pupils flocked to Lebanon faster than they could be provided for. So benevolent an undertaking, pursued with such singleness of purpose, could not fail to attract public notice and approbation, and Dr. Wheelock was aided by contributions from individuals while the Province of Massachusetts voted to pay, for a certain time, the expense of educating six Indian children. Joshua Moor, who owned lands in Lebanon, gave a portion of them for the benefit of the school; and from this circumstance the seminary for the education of Indian boys afterwards attached to Dartmouth College was known as "Moor's Indian School."

Under date of September 8, 1762, Dr. Wheelock wrote to Sir William Johnson, as follows:

"I understand that some of our people are about to settle our new Purchase on Susquehanna River. If it does not disoblige and prejudice the Indians I shall be glad; and it may be if that settlement should go on a door may open for my design on that Purchase."

In reply to this Sir William wrote from Johnson Hall, October 16, 1762, as follows†:

"While the Indians remain in their present sentiments it will be highly improper to attempt any settlement in their country, as they are greatly disgusted at the great thirst which we all seem to show for their lands; and, therefore, I must give it as my opinion that any settlement on the Susquehanna River may *prove fatal* to those who should attempt to establish themselves thereon, as the Indians have all declared not only their great aversion thereto, but have also *threatened to prevent* any such settlement—so that I hope the dangers to which they may be exposed, together with your Governor's proclamation against the same, will induce those concerned to drop their undertaking."

November 16, 1762, a largely-attended meeting of The Susquehanna Company was held at Windham. The Directing Committee,

* An Indian of the Mohegan tribe, referred to on page 160, *ante*. At a later period he became celebrated as a preacher and an instructor among the Indians. When almost at the zenith of his efficiency and reputation he and another clergyman were sent to England as agents to solicit assistance from the wealthy and charitable for Dr. Wheelock's school. They were furnished with testimonials of their character, and certificates of approbation from eminent persons in the Colonies. In England Occum was looked upon as a wonder. He was the first Indian preacher from the New World who had ever visited the Old World, and wherever he went crowds thronged to see and hear him. A North American Indian in a pulpit, eloquently preaching in the English tongue, "was a phenomenon too nearly miraculous to pass unseen or unheard" in those days. It was said, moreover, that he exhibited in his person and character a practical example of what might be done with Indians when fairly brought under the influence of instruction. All this was highly favorable to the great ends of the mission, and in a few months a subscription was obtained to the amount of nearly £10,000. The King gave £200, and several gentlemen £100 each. The money was deposited in the hands of trustees in England, and drawn upon by Dr. Wheelock as occasion required.

Toward the close of the colonial period remnants of several Algonkian tribes scattered through New Jersey, Long Island and the southern part of New England were gathered together, and in 1786 Sampson Occum led 192 of these emigrants to a place near Oriskany, New York. In 1788 they were secured by treaty in the possession of six square miles of land in what is now the town of Marshall, Oneida County, New York. Having no language in common, they adopted the English, and from this and the fact of being a brotherhood living in a town, they received the appellation of "Brothertown Indians." (See note, page 193.)

† For a portrait of Sampson Occum, and a sketch of his life, see "Indian Tribes of the United States" (Edition of 1856), Part V, page 518.

† See "Documentary History of the State of New York," IV : 315, 320.

previously mentioned, having made a report of the work begun by the first settlers at Wyoming, and of their several conferences with the Indians here, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, It is represented that a congress with the Indians of the Six Nations is expected at Albany on the 22d of March next, according to the agreement of John Smith,* Esq., with some of the said Indian chiefs, it is

"Voted, That Col. Eliphalet Dyer, Timothy Woodbridge, Esq., John Smith, Esq., Job Randall, Esq., Mr.† Isaac Tracy, Mr. John Jenkins, Capt. Uriah Stevens and Col. John Lydius be a committee to repair to Albany on the said 22d of March with full power and authority in behalf of this Company to treat with said Indian chiefs respecting our purchase made of them, and procure a recognition of said purchase; and also to agree with any tribe or chief Indians that complain they have not been fully satisfied nor received their part of the purchase money; and make such reasonable presents and gratuities as may be needful to content said Indians.

"Voted, That whereas at the last meeting there was the right to two townships ordered to 200 men, * * and numbers went on upon said lands in order to take possession, but thought it prudent to withdraw for a season—it is now voted that the same privilege be and is hereby continued to such persons as in said former vote was provided, on condition that they make their entry on said lands by the 1st of June next. * * That one Isaac Bennett, Jr., for unjustly taking the property of some Indian‡ on said Susquehanna lands, as was supposed, be excluded from having any part in said townships. That the same committee for carrying on the said settlement be also continued, and that the major part of said committee (that may be present on their march to said place, and when there arrived) to govern and control in said affair."

About the middle of March, 1763, Sir William Johnson was holding a conference with some Mohawk and Seneca chiefs at Fort Johnson,§ when, as we glean from the diary of Sir William,|| Col. Eliphalet Dyer and Timothy Woodbridge, Esq., arrived there in order to learn whether or not the deputies of the Six Nations "were coming down to a meeting proposed to be held at Albany ye 22d *inst.* with them and

* JOHN SMITH, previously mentioned as a member of the Journeying Committee and of the Directing Committee of The Susquehanna Company and as one of the settlers at Wyoming in 1762 (see pages 255, 401 and 404), was an original member of the Company; and, from the beginning of its life until the end of his own, was unceasing in his efforts to advance the interests of the organization and increase and maintain its settlements at Wyoming. He was born at Plainfield, New London (now Windham) County, Connecticut, December 18, 1708, the fifth child of John Smith, Jr., and his wife Susanna Hall, mentioned in the note on page 251. When eight years old he removed with the other members of his father's family to what later became a part of Voluntown, and is now Sterling, Windham County, and about 1730 was admitted an inhabitant of Voluntown. November 24, 1736, he was married at Plainfield by Judge Timothy Peirce to the latter's daughter Phebe, born at Plainfield February 19, 1714.

In May, 1747, John Smith was appointed by the General Assembly of Connecticut a Justice of the Peace in and for the county of Windham, and annually thereafter, for a period of twenty-five years, was reappointed to the office. As one of the Deputies from Voluntown he attended sessions of the General Assembly in 1752, '54, '55, '56, '57, '58, '59, '60, '61, '62 and '66. In 1760 he was chosen one of the Elders of the Voluntown Church, of which his brother-in-law, the Rev. Samuel Dorrance, was pastor. He died at his home in Voluntown in August or September, 1772. His wife Phebe survived him, certainly for a number of years; but I have not been able to ascertain the date of her death.

John and Phebe (Peirce) Smith were the parents of four sons and six daughters, as follows: i. *John* (born September 4, 1737); ii. *Susanna* (born March 28, 1739); iii. *Timothy* (born April 28, 1740); iv. *Hannah* (born March 23, 1742); v. *Kuth* (born March 19, 1744); vi. *Susanna* (born June 28, 1746); vii. *Abel* (born August 31, 1748); viii. *Jedidiah* (born 1750); ix. *Phebe* (born April 23, 1752); x. *Zurriah* (born 1754).

For a fuller account of John Smith and his family see "The Harvey Book," published at Wilkes-Barré in 1899.

† At this period, as well as earlier, in New England particular attention was always paid to the prefixing or affixing of official titles, or titles of respect or honor (whenever due by courtesy or right), to the names of persons appearing in all documents and records of a public or quasi-public nature. Hollister, in his "History of Connecticut" (Edition of 1855), I, 424, says: "The prefix 'Master' (Mr.) belonged to all gentlemen, including those designated by the *higher marks* of rank [as for example, "Esquire"]. In Connecticut it embraced clergymen, and planters of good family and estate who were members of the General Court. * * To be called 'Master,' or to have one's name recorded by the Secretary [of the General Court] with that prefix 200 years ago, was a more certain index of the rank of the individual as respects birth, education and good moral character, than any one of the high-sounding appellations which in our day are applied to many men of no merit whatever. It may be observed, by reference to our colonial records, that there were scores of men of good family and in honorable stations who still did not possess all the requisite qualities of 'Masters.' * *

"Military titles were considered of a very high order, as we should naturally expect to find them in a Colony that was in an almost uninterrupted state of war from the time of the burning of the Pequot fort until the close of the American Revolution. * * The clerical prefix of 'Reverend' does not occur upon our colonial records until about 1670; the members of the profession bearing the simple titles of 'Mr.', 'Pastor', 'Teacher' or 'Elder.' *Deacons* were regarded with reverence, and were often employed in civil as well as in ecclesiastical affairs. The title frequently occurs in a list of Deputies and Commissioners. * * Many of the officers of the army, who were regarded with deep reverence by the people, were the principal pillars of the aristocracy; but the most thoroughly patrician body of men in Connecticut was the clergy, who exercised an almost unlimited authority over the inhabitants."

‡ This refers, undoubtedly, to the horse taken from Teedyuscung. See page 407.

§ See note, page 296.

|| See Stone's "Poetry and History of Wyoming" (Third Edition), page 392.

the New England people, who were now come to Albany for ye purpose and had with them between £300 and £400 as a present to give ye Six Nations in case they would consent to their (ye New England people's) settling and enjoying the land of and about *Skahandowana** on the Susquehanna; also six bullocks and three barrels of pork."

Quoting further from Sir William's dairy relative to this matter, we have the following:

"This invitation was sent last Autumn in writing by one John Smith * * and delivered to Thomas King of Oyhquago, who, I told them, had not, I thought, delivered it to the Six Nations—as I heard them say nothing about it when a few days ago assembled at my house. The beforementioned gentlemen [Dyer and Woodbridge] then made me an offer to be a partner in ye land, and to send up the money to me, also the bullocks and pork, etc., that I might call ye Six Nations and give it them, provided they agreed to their proposal—all which I refused with ye slight it deserved, and gave them my opinion on the whole affair; and also told them the unhappy consequences that would in all probability follow should they (as they often hinted) form a settlement in them parts. After many fruitless efforts to prevail on me to join and assist them, they returned to Albany. The Mohawks who were yet present being desirous to know their [Dyer and Woodbridge] business, were told it in part, and seemed very uneasy about it, giving it as their opinion that if the New Englanders persisted in their design of settling said lands it would be of very bad consequences.

"March 25, 1763, several of ye Mohawks came. * * Then Abraham,† their Chief, spoke as follows: 'Brother, we could not rest these two days past, since we heard that our brethren of Connecticut were so intent upon settling a number of their people at *Skahandowana*; and being fully sensible of ye fatal consequences that must attend a proceeding of that nature, we, in a full meeting of all our people [the Mohawks of the "Lower Castle," evidently] resolved to come to you and beg you would, with this belt of wampum [Chief Abraham here presented a belt] and a letter from yourself, acquaint our brother, the Governor of Connecticut, that there is to be a council of all ye Six Nations in a short time, where that affair (among other matters) will be thoroughly considered, and therefore desire they may not move from New England before they are made acquainted with the result thereof.'

"'Brethren [responded Sir William Johnson], I think your proposal of sending a message to ye Governor of Connecticut to stop the people of his Government going to Wioming, or *Skahandowana*, until the result of the approaching meeting of ye Six Nations is known thereon, is a friendly and prudent step; wherefore I shall comply with your request, and hope the Governor may agree thereto.'

In pursuance of his promise Sir William Johnson forwarded to Gov. Thomas Fitch of Connecticut, without delay, the message and belt delivered to him by the Mohawks of the "Lower Castle"—accompanying the same with a personal letter.

The Rev. Eleazar Wheelock—dissatisfied with the opinion expressed to him by Sir William Johnson (as previously noted) relative to the conditions existing in the unsettled parts of the country, but not discouraged in respect to his "design" to establish a school for Indian youth within the bounds of the Susquehanna Purchase—determined to appeal to Gen. Sir Jeffrey Amherst (mentioned on page 297), at that time commander-in-chief of all the British forces in the North American Colonies, and practically, in that capacity, viceroy of all those Colonies. Therefore, under date of April 2, 1763, Mr. Wheelock wrote to the General in part as follows‡:

* * * "That a tract of land about fifteen or twenty miles square, or so much as shall be sufficient for four townships, on the west side of the Susquehanna River, or in some other place more convenient, in the heart of the Indian country, be granted in favor of this school. The said townships to be peopled with a chosen number of inhabitants of known honesty and integrity, and such as love and will be kind to, and honest in their dealings with, Indians. That 1,000 acres of and within said grant be given to

* See page 60.

† This was, undoubtedly, "Little Abe" (mentioned on page 278), Sachem of the "Lower Castle" of the Mohawks, and not his father, old Abraham Peters, who had been one of the signers of the deed to the Susquehanna Company. The "Lower Castle" of the Mohawks was only a few miles distant from Fort Johnson.

‡ See "Documentary History of the State of New York," IV : 315.

this school; and that the school be an academy for all parts of useful learning—part of it to be a college for the education of missionaries, interpreters, schoolmasters, &c., and part of it a school to teach reading, writing, &c. And that there be manufactures for the instruction both of males and females, in whatever shall be useful and necessary in life.

“That there be a sufficient number of laborers upon the lands belonging to the school, and that the students be obliged to labor with them and under their direction and conduct, so much as shall be necessary for their health and to give them an understanding of husbandry. And those who are designed for farmers—after they have got a sufficient degree of school learning, to labor constantly, and the school to have all the benefit of their labor and they the benefit of being instructed therein, till they are of an age and understanding sufficient to set up for themselves and introduce husbandry among their respective tribes.”

What response General Amherst made to this communication the present writer has been unable to learn, but we find* that at the session of the General Assembly of Connecticut held in May, 1763, “on a memorial of Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, representing that for some years” then past he had had “under his care and tuition several youths [then numbering upwards of twenty] of the distant Indian tribes,” the Assembly granted and ordered “a Brief throughout the Colony, recommending it to all inhabitants * * to contribute [funds] to such purpose.” There the matter rested for a few years.

Messrs. Dyer, Woodbridge and the other representatives of The Susquehanna Company, having found it impossible to hold a conference at Albany with deputies from the Six Nations, returned to their homes. Immediately a call was issued for a meeting of the Company, to be held at Windham on April 7th. A sufficient number of proprietors having met at that time and place it was resolved to lay out eight townships on the Susquehanna River “as near as may be to the townships granted as gratuity”—each to contain five miles square of land; “reserving for the use of the Company, for their after disposal, *all beds of mine ore and coal* that may be within the towns ordered for settlement.” It was voted to allow forty proprietors in each of said townships, and Timothy Woodbridge, Increase Moseley† and Job Randall (of Scituate, Rhode Island), “Esquires,” were appointed to lay out the said eight townships—Woodbridge to receive from the Company the sum of £20 per month “for not exceeding six months from the time of his setting out on said affair,” and Moseley and Randall to be paid a reasonable sum for their services.

The sum of £30 was appropriated “for laying out, opening and clearing a road to the Susquehanna lands.” Timothy Woodbridge, John Smith, Increase Moseley, Job Randall and John Jenkins were appointed a committee “to oversee, determine and regulate, both with respect to the manner and conduct of settling the two first and eight last towns voted to be settled, as also all persons concerned as settlers with respect to their conduct therein.” Mr. Woodbridge was appointed “to be Chief, or President, of said committee.” Colonel Dyer accepted the appointment of Agent of the Company, and determined “to pursue

* See “Colonial Records of Connecticut,” XII: 151.

† INCREASE MOSELEY, son of Increase and Sarah Moseley, was born at Norwich, New London County, Connecticut, May 18, 1712. In 1735 he was married to Deborah Tracy of Windham, and about 1738 or '39 they removed to that part of the town of Woodbury which later became the town of Washington, in Litchfield County, Connecticut. He was the first Deacon of the Church established there in 1742. He was a Justice of the Peace and Justice of the Quorum in and for Litchfield County from 1755 till 1780, and a Representative in the General Assembly of Connecticut in 1751-'56, 1763-'67 and 1772-'84. In 1783 he was Assistant Clerk of the “Lower House” of the Assembly. During the French and Indian War he was a Captain in the Connecticut militia, and for awhile during the Revolutionary War held the office of Commissary. Some years after the War he removed to Clarendon, Vermont, where he died May 2, 1795. His son Increase—the third of the name, in direct succession—was a lawyer in Woodbury, and in 1762 was a Second Lieutenant in the Second Connecticut Regiment. He was Colonel of one of the Connecticut regiments in the Revolutionary War.

the business with all convenient speed"; whereupon it was "*Voted*, That Col. Eliphalet Dyer, the Agent of the Company, be allowed the sum of £150 per year, with his expenses, as formerly voted; and that he be further allowed for all necessary *extraordinary clothing and apparatus* for his proper appearance as Agent of this Company." And finally it was voted "that some proper, well-disposed person, or persons, be procured by those persons (who shall undertake to settle on the Susquehanna lands according to the above vote) in order to be as a head, or teacher, to carry on religious instruction and worship among those settlers—viz.: of such denomination as by any particular number may be agreed upon; and to be at the expense of those persons of such denomination as such person so procured shall be, until some further regulation can be had."

About the beginning of May, 1763, ten or twelve proprietors of The Susquehanna Company—some or all of whom had been at Wyoming in the previous Autumn—set out for the valley; a few being accompanied by their wives and children: Excepting Parshall Terry, we are unable to give, with certainty, the names of those who composed that little band of hardy and venturesome immigrants. They arrived here about the 15th of May, and proceeded directly to the locality (near the mouth of Mill Creek) which they had previously occupied and begun to improve in a rude way. During their absence from the valley several interesting and important changes in local conditions had taken place. Teedyuscung the talker—resister and obstructionist—was dead! While he was lying in a drunken stupor in his log house in the village of Wyoming, on April 19th, at dead of night, flames burst suddenly from the house, and soon it and all its contents—including the helpless King—were consumed. With reference to this occurrence Heckewelder (in his sketch of Teedyuscung mentioned on page 308, *ante*), after referring to the King's weakness for rum and stating that "this unfortunate propensity is supposed to have been the cause of his cruel and untimely death," says:

"In the Spring of 1763, when the European nations had made peace, but the Indians were still at war, he [Teedyuscung] was burnt up, together with his house, as he was lying in his bed asleep. It was supposed, and believed by many who were present, that this event was not accidental, but had been maturely resolved on by his enemies, whoever they were, and that the liquor which was brought to Wyoming at the time was intended by them for the purpose of enticing him to drink, that they might the more easily effect their purpose. A number of Indians were witnesses to the fact that the house was set on fire from the outside. Suspicion fell principally on the Mingoes, who were known to be jealous of him and fearful of his resentment if he should succeed in insinuating himself into the favor of the English, and making good terms with them for his nation."

Concerning the tragic end of Teedyuscung Reichel (in "Memorials of the Moravian Church," I: 226) makes the following statement:

"The Iroquois, it is said, were the instigators of this cowardly act, for they hated the man who testified against their arrogant assumption and who opposed their lust of power. As long as he lived, therefore, he was a standing rebuke to their designing oppression, and although they no longer dreaded his arms, they feared his words, which left their guilty consciences no peace. Hence it was resolved in council that he ought not to live; and when news was brought back to Onondaga that the lodge of the Delaware King and the lodges of his men of war had disappeared in flames, the perfidious Six Nations triumphed in having destroyed an enemy whose spirit they had failed to subdue."

My own impression is that the death of Teedyuscung by fire was the accidental result of a drunken debauch. It has been shown, conclusively, in the preceding pages, that for at least two years prior to his

death he had been acting in harmony with the Six Nations. When he began to complain about the Cushetunk settlements and the intended invasion of Wyoming by the New Englanders, the leading men of the Six Nations espoused his cause, and they as well as Teedyuscung protested on every opportune occasion against the on-coming whites. On this subject the Delawares and the Six Nations appear to have been in perfect harmony. Again, as we have seen, Wyoming was the stopping-place—the half-way station—for all Indians traveling from the headwaters of the Susquehanna to Philadelphia, Easton or Shamokin, or returning from those towns to their homes. Whenever sufficient fire-water of any kind was to be had during the visits of those stranger Indians to Wyoming, drunken frolics always took place, during which serious casualties were apt to (and usually did) occur. The incident of April 19, 1763, was one of them.

Not all the houses in the village of Wyoming were destroyed by the fire that consumed Teedyuscung and his house, nor did all the Indians who survived their King desert the village. When the New Englanders arrived in the valley in May, as previously related, they found a number of Delaware families still occupying their homes in the village. There were also a few families occupying wigwams on Jacob's Plains, at or near the site of Matchasaung; while in the Mohegan village, near the mouth of Abraham's Creek, there were some two or three wigwams occupied—the majority of those who had dwelt there having departed from the valley shortly after the death of old Abraham at the beginning of the previous Winter.

Within a very few days after the advance party of Wyoming settlers had set out from Connecticut, Governor Fitch, of that Colony, received orders dated January 26, 1763, from Lord Egremont, the King's Secretary of State, "signifying it as His Majesty's pleasure that the Governor should use both authority and influence to prevent the prosecution of the settlement of the lands on the rivers Susquehanna and Delaware till the state of the case could be laid before the King." An announcement of this fact was made by various newspapers in Connecticut, as well as by *The New York Journal* (in its issue of May 23, 1763). Governor Fitch wrote to Sir William Johnson that in consequence of the communication received by him from England—with which he had "acquainted the principal gentlemen of the [Susquehanna] Company"—those gentlemen had agreed to stop all proceedings towards a settlement, and acquiesce in the King's orders.*

It seems that the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania had, late in 1762, made up a case stated which they presented to Attorney General Pratt (afterwards Lord Camden) for an opinion as to the right of Connecticut to the territory certain of her citizens were claiming. That officer was clear in his opinion against Connecticut—holding that, by virtue of her adjustment of boundaries with New York, she was precluded from advancing a step beyond. It was upon this opinion that the King had based his orders.

A meeting of The Susquehanna Company was held at Hartford May 18, 1763 (at which place and time the General Assembly of Connecticut was in session), and the following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas, notwithstanding the utmost fairness and justice attending our late purchase of the Susquehanna lands, we became soon acquainted not only with Mr. Penn's

* See Stone's "Poetry and History of Wyoming," page 394.

claim and endeavor to create uneasiness among the Indians—which we had no reason to apprehend—but with his being about to make a prior entry thereon; and having, as we supposed, reasonable assurance of said Indians' acquiescence, some time since voted and agreed to make seasonable and speedy entry thereon, and in the meantime to cultivate a most perfect harmony with them, and also to lay said affairs before His Majesty for final settlement and decision. *And Whereas* (whether by representation mistaken or unfriendly may be uncertain) His Majesty has been induced to inhibit all entries on said land by any party or person soever, till due inquiry be made into the state of the matter. * * we do thereupon *Vote*, That no person belonging to the Company shall make any settlement, or enter upon, any of the Company's lands until the state of the case shall be laid before the King, and His Majesty's pleasure be known."

The Company then adjourned, not to meet again (so far as is disclosed by its written records) for twenty months.

Under date of June 6, 1763, Sir William Johnson wrote to Gen. Sir Jeffrey Amherst as follows*:

"A few days before May 18th four deputies of the Six Nations arrived here [Johnson Hall], charged with a message and several belts of wampum to the Governor of Connecticut, to desire he would cause his people to desist from the settlement on the Susquehanna River. They desired that some Mohawks should accompany them, as also that I should send a Deputy with them to take care of them on the road and prevent imposition."

Sir William sent with these deputies his son-in-law, Lieut. Guy Johnson (mentioned on page 300), William Printup, an interpreter, and *Toquerole*, a Mohawk chief. The four Six Nation deputies were: *Sogheres* and *Oghsegwarona*, of the Cayuga nation, and *Sayenqueraghta* (mentioned on pages 235 and 379) and *Togwascantha*, of the Seneca nation.† *Sayenqueraghta* had, only a short time before this, succeeded *Takeghsatu* (mentioned on pages 277 and 379) as chief sachem of the Senecas. It will be recalled that the Senecas were at this period the particular friends of the Delawares; that only one Seneca chief (*Kahiktoton*) had signed the deed conveying the Wyoming lands to The Susquehanna Company, and he was now dead; that only one chief of the Cayugas had signed that deed.

The deputies and their associates proceeded from Johnson Hall to Hartford, where they arrived about the 25th of May. The General Assembly of Connecticut was still in session there, and on Saturday, May 28th, Governor Fitch held a public conference with the Six Nation deputies in the Council Chamber of the State House. Besides the Governor, the Indians, Lieutenant Johnson and Printup, the interpreter, there were present many members of both Houses of the Assembly, among whom were the following prominent and active proprietors, of The Susquehanna Company: Judge Daniel Edwards, Col. Eliphalet Dyer, Col. Hezekiah Huntington, Col. Samuel Talcott, Samuel Gray, Esq. (Clerk of the Company) and William Williams, Esq. An account of this conference was printed in *The New York Gazette* of July 18, 1763, and from it the following paragraphs have been taken.

"The deputies, after being taken by the hand and bid welcome into the Government, seated themselves. *Sayenqueraghta* then arose and delivered a speech, which from the interpreter was taken as followeth, viz.: 'We heard grievous news this Winter, that you were about to come with 300 families to settle on our lands, which was very astonishing to us; and that you designed to build forts and strong places on our lands. For that reason our sachems considered upon it, and have sent us down to this place. We are come down here to acquaint you with what news we hear—that you have got a design to settle on the Susquehanna River, and claim the land to the West Seas. We have heretofore given away lands to the white people, but of the sale of this land the Six Nations know nothing—either that they have ever given it away or sold it to any; and

* See "Documentary History of New York," VII: 522.

† The newspapers of that day, in which were printed reports of the conference held at Hartford by Governor Fitch with these Indians, erroneously referred to the Seneca deputies as Onondagas. Stone, in his "Poetry and History of Wyoming," has made the same mistake.

what little we have left we intend to keep for ourselves. We know not of any such sale, and if any such thing has been asked, it must have been done by particular persons in a separate manner, and not in any General Meeting, or Council, of the Six Nations—as has been the usual manner of their giving or selling their lands.

“Brothers, our custom is not to keep anything secret. We have heard that one Lydius, at Albany, has endeavored to purchase some land at Susquehanna, and (it is not the manner of the Six Nations to keep anything in reserve) he was up among the Six Nations to obtain a sale, but could not obtain it; but we have heard that he has since got a deed from the Indians, which he obtained from them singly, or one by one, and that from stragglers and such as we know nothing of. We have often sold lands to the white people, but then it was done by the consent of the whole, in some General Meeting—and this is land which we have reserved for ourselves, as we have little left. * * *

“We have been told that Lydius has reported that he paid a great deal of money for this land, which we know nothing of. * * * Brothers, seriously take into consideration, and think how you would like it to have lands taken from you in an unfair and injurious manner. *You are a praying people*, better acquainted with books and learning than we, and must needs know better what is right. * * * Brothers, as I have told you before, that we have been sent here by our chiefs to let you know that we have heard about your design of entering upon our lands, and we deliver in this belt to show the minds of the Confederate Nations—that you do not incroach on these lands which we have reserved and design to keep for ourselves and our children to the latest posterity, and will not part with them. Brothers, if you proceed to incroach on our lands we shall not be easy, but will return home to our own places and apply ourselves to the King, our father, to obtain justice; and I, myself, will [now] go, and on my going out of the house will return home’.

“Then the Governor directed the interpreter to desire them to stay till the beginning of the [next] week for an answer. To which they answered that their chiefs had directed them to make no delay, but *as soon as they had made their speech* they were to return; but, at the Governor’s desire, they would stay for an answer.

“At the Council Chamber, Hartford, [Monday], May 30, 1763. Present as before. The Governor made answer to the foregoing speech. * * * ‘We assure and tell you this Government has not given any orders for any such settlement. We are no ways concerned in that matter, only as friends to you [we] have endeavored to prevent the people from going to settle those lands. We have, indeed, been told that a number of particular persons—some living in Connecticut, some in Massachusetts, some in New York and some in other Governments were about to settle on those lands, but we advised them not to proceed in their attempts. Lately I received orders from the King commanding me to use my authority and influence to prevent the people from attempting to settle on those lands till the matter should be laid before the King. In obedience to His Majesty’s commands I acquainted the chief men among them with the King’s order, and I am well informed that those people have had a meeting and have unanimously agreed that no person whatever of their Company shall enter upon, or make any settlement on, any of those lands until His Majesty’s pleasure be known in that matter.’ * * *

“To which the deputies of the Six Nations replied as follows: ‘Brethren, we have heard with attention what you have said, and are well pleased with the same, and we hope you will endeavor to prevent any more people from making purchases of us; and as to those lands we have talked about, we do not at present design to part with them, but if ever we do, *it shall be to those purchasers of your people* before any others—if they desire it. We are to receive no presents on this occasion; but as to your offer to discharge our expenses while in this town, we gratefully accept and acknowledge the same, and heartily bid you farewell.’”

The correspondent of the *Gazette* who furnished the foregoing account of the Hartford conference appended to it the following comments, which were printed in the same issue of the newspaper.

“These were the only causes of uneasiness mentioned by them [the deputies] and consequently all they had a pretense to mention; and this was not an actual injury, but only an incroachment they heard we intended to make upon them. But it is plain that this was a mere pretense—for it was with some entreaty they were prevailed upon to wait for the Governor’s answer. They intended *their remonstrance should be a declaration of war!* About the time these Indian deputies might be supposed to have made their remonstrance, and to be on their return, the Indians began their murderous war, in which the Delawares and other Indian nations *were confederates with the Six Nations.*”

The “murderous war” referred to by this writer was what is known in history as “Pontiac’s War.” The conspiracy, fomented by Pontiac, the Ottawa chieftan, was unmasked at Detroit (in what is now Michigan) on the 6th of May, 1763, and then was begun the war which con-

tinued until late in the Summer of 1764. Fort Sandusky was captured by the Indians May 16, 1763; Fort Ouatanon (now Lafayette, Indiana), May 31st—the day following the close of the Hartford conference; Fort Presqu' Isle (now Erie, Pennsylvania), June 17th; Fort LeBœuf (in Erie County, Pennsylvania), June 18th: Fort Venango (in Venango County, Pennsylvania), June 18th, and the military posts at Carlisle and Bedford, Pennsylvania, on the same day. On June 22d a large body of Indians surrounded Fort Pitt (now Pittsburg, Pennsylvania) and opened fire on all sides, but were easily repulsed. The western Delawares and Shawanese joined in Pontiac's conspiracy, and took a very active part in the war; but the Senecas—more especially the Western Senecas—were, as we have stated on page 121, *the only Indians of the Six Nations* in alliance with Pontiac. In *The New York Gazette* of August 1, 1763, appeared this item:

“On Thursday last arrived the Albany post, by whom we learn that a congress was lately held by Sir William Johnson at the German Flats, at which were present the chiefs of all the tribes of the Six Nations *except the Senecas*, who refused to send any.”

Before the close of the May session of the Connecticut Assembly Colonel Dyer informed the “Lower House” of his purpose to make a voyage to England in the interest of The Susquehanna Company, and requested the “House” to recommend him to Richard Jackson, Esq., the Agent of the Colony residing in London. This that body, by vote, desired the Governor to do.* Shortly afterwards Colonel Dyer and other influential proprietors of The Susquehanna Company journeyed to Albany, New York, where, on or about June 24th, they had, in consequence of a previous arrangement, a conference with five of the principal sachems of the Mohawk tribe and a few of the chief men of some of the other tribes of the Six Nations. As a result of this conference the representatives of the land company, in return for a satisfactory consideration† then paid to the Indians there present, received from the latter the “affidavit” and “address” mentioned on pages 291 and 307, *ante*, together with a brand-new deed (carefully engrossed and properly executed) conveying to The Susquehanna Company the Wyoming lands. This deed‡ was intended, evidently, either to confirm or to supersede and take the place of the deed of July 11, 1754.§ Armed with these documents and others of importance, Colonel Dyer sailed from Portsmouth for England August 18, 1763.

May 19, 1763, Col. James Burd (mentioned on page 360), in command at Fort Augusta, wrote to Governor Hamilton that he had just received information that ten or twelve families from New England had settled at Wyoming, and that “a great many more” were daily expected. A few days after the receipt of this information the Governor “received fresh complaints from the Indians at Wyoming that the Connecticut trespassers were still obstinately prosecuting their settlements on the lands there and at Cushetunk.” Thereupon the Governor, on the 2d of June, issued another proclamation (his third in relation to this matter) requiring the intruders to remove from said lands. From it|| the following paragraphs have been extracted.

* See “Connecticut Colonial Records,” XII: 299.

† Perhaps the £400, the bullocks and the pork mentioned on page 411.

‡ Neither the original deed of 1763 nor a copy of it is known to be in existence. Further and more extended reference to it is made in Chapter XX.

§ See pages 271-276.

|| See “Pennsylvania Archives,” Fourth Series, III: 197, 200.

"WHEREAS divers persons * * have, without any license or grant from the Honorable the Proprietaries of this Province, or authority from this Government, made several attempts, in bodies, to possess themselves of and settle upon a large tract of land within the limits of this Province, *but not yet purchased from the Indians*—lying at and between Wyoming on the River Susquehanna, and Cushietunck on the River Delaware, and in the upper parts of Northampton County; and have also endeavored to *persuade and inveigle many of the inhabitants of this and the neighboring Provinces* to confederate and join with them in such their illegal and dangerous designs. * * *

"AND WHEREAS the Delawares and other tribes of Indians who reside within that tract of country between Wyoming and Cushietunck, and also the Six Nation Indians, have, as well at public treaties as at divers other times, repeatedly made complaints and remonstrances to me against the said practises and attempts, and in the most earnest manner requested and insisted that the said intruders should be removed by the Government to which they belouged, or by me, and declared if this was not done the Indians would come and remove them by force, and do themselves justice. * * *

"AND WHEREAS I have already issued two proclamations * * to apprise the said intruders of their danger, and to forbid their settling on the said lands, * * yet I have lately received information and fresh complaints from the said Indians that divers persons * * are now actually settling * * about Wyoming and Cushietunck.

"WHEREFORE, as well to continue my endeavors to preserve the *Peace and Friendship which is now so happily restored and subsisting* between us and the Indians, and to prevent the mischievous and terrible consequences of their carrying into execution such their threats (from which I am greatly apprehensive the Indians cannot any longer be restrained), * * I do issue this my third Proclamation, hereby again strictly enjoining and requiring, in His Majesty's name, all and every person and persons already settled and residing on said lands—Indians excepted—immediately to depart and remove away from the same. And I do hereby forbid all His Majesty's subjects of this or any other Province or Colony, on any pretense whatsoever, to intrude upon, settle or possess any of the said lands, or any other lands within the limits of this Province not yet purchased of the Indians."

The Governor immediately forwarded a copy of this Proclamation to Colonel Burd at Fort Augusta, accompanying it with a "letter of instructions" addressed to Colonel Burd and Capt. Thomas McKee (mentioned on pages 349 and 351).^{*} This letter was, in part, as follows[†]:

"I have lately received intelligence, with fresh complaints from the Indians at Wyoming, that the Connecticut people still persist in prosecuting their scheme of settling the lands about Wyoming; and with the advice of the Council I have thought it proper to issue a third Proclamation, and to desire that you will *immediately take a journey to Wyoming*, with such assistance as you shall judge proper, and use your best endeavors to persuade or drive away all the white people that you shall find settled, or about to settle, there, or on any lands not yet purchased from the Indians. Before you show yourselves amongst them you will gain all the information and light you can into their designs; what their numbers are, and learn the names of as many as you can; where settled, or about to settle; what numbers—and from whence—they expect to join them.

"On your arrival amongst them you will convene the heads of them, and, after reading the Proclamation, expostulate with them about the Injustice, Absurdity and Danger of their attempting to settle there, and let them know that I expect and require of them, by you, that they shall all immediately depart and quit their settlements. And if they shall agree to go away peaceably, you will then, after their departure, *see all their buildings and improvements destroyed*; but in case they refuse to comply, you will then acquaint them that they may rest assured that, besides the danger they may be in from the resentment of the Indians, *this Government will never permit them to continue there*. If you find these expostulations and persuasive means shall not succeed, and that you can do it without danger of resistance from a superior force and the risque of bloodshed (which by no means hazard), I would have you, either by Stratagem or Force, to get three or four of the ringleaders, or others of them, apprehended and carried to the goal[‡] at Lancaster—sending with them a proper force. * * * And if that cannot be done, you will endeavor to get the names of as many of them as you can, in order that they may be prosecuted at law. * * For this end I have armed you with a special commission, con-

* Capt. THOMAS MCKEE was the son of Patrick McKee, who was a settler in Paxtang as early as 1730. Thomas McKee was assessed in Paxtang as early, at least, as 1749. He was a famous Indian trader—appointed by the Provincial Government prior to May, 1744—and lived at a point on the Susquehanna known to-day as "McKee's Half Falls." He died at his home in April, 1772.

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX: 29.

‡ *Gaol*, or *jail*, was meant. "*Gaol*" was the old form of spelling, yet, in this country, during the eighteenth century, this word—although pronounced as now pronounced—was almost generally written and printed "*goal*." In time, owing to this bad spelling, the word came to be improperly pronounced *gôle*.

stituting you magistrates of the counties of Northampton, Berks and Lancaster; but I imagine the lands where they are settling must be in Northampton County."

In transmitting the foregoing letter and proclamation to Colonel Burd, Governor Hamilton also sent to him a private letter, reading in part as follows* :

* * * "As it is of great consequence to the Proprietary, as well as to the peace of the Province, to prevent, as much as possible, all jealousies and suspicions taking root in the minds of the Indians that the English intend to take possession of their lands against their consent, and without having first purchased and paid for the same, I am very desirous to do everything in my power to quiet their minds in that regard; and consequently find myself under a necessity of endeavoring to remove these intruders before they are too firmly established. And, as I have a very good opinion of your prudence and discretion in the conduct of anything committed to your care, I earnestly desire that you will, with Mr. Thomas McKee (who, from his knowledge of the Indians, may be useful to you), repair forthwith to Wyoming and pursue the instructions herein inclosed with regard to the conduct you are to use to any persons you shall find settled there. * *

"I have had much discourse upon this affair with Mr. Croghan, who, being Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs, gives his directions to Thomas McKee, and also writes to Sir William Johnson these opinions. * * Sir William having represented to His Majesty the dangerous tendency of this Connecticut intrusion, His Majesty has been pleased to signify to Sir Jeffrey Amherst and the Governor of Connecticut his high displeasure at the intended proceedings of these intruders, and to order them to forbear till a statement of the case can be laid before him; and the Governor of Connecticut, on receiving these orders, publicly proclaimed the same—as appears in an article in the New York papers enclosed to you, which you will show to those people, and make the best use of, to convince them that their own Government disallows their proceedings."

Colonel Burd received the aforementioned documents at Fort Augusta on June 5th. He immediately turned over the command of the fort to Lieut. Samuel Hunter and went down the river to find Captain McKee, in order to make arrangements to proceed to Wyoming. On the 7th of June Burd and McKee, accompanied by three or four attendants, set off from Fort Augusta for Wyoming. The next day a message was received at the fort, from a friendly Indian living a short distance up the West Branch, cautioning Lieutenant Hunter to be on his guard, as the fort might be attacked by hostile Indians at any moment. A messenger was immediately despatched after Colonel Burd and his party, but failed to reach them until they had arrived at Wyoming. Burd sent the messenger back to Fort Augusta, post-haste, with a warning message to the commandant. In the meantime, on June 11th, John Shikellimy (frequently mentioned heretofore) arrived in his canoe at the fort and promised to be on the alert and give early information of any attacking party. In the evening of June 18th Colonel Burd and his party arrived at the fort from Wyoming, and the Colonel immediately assumed command of the post. What he and Captain McKee saw, said or did at Wyoming we are unable to state, as we have failed to find any record or report relating to their doings here.

In May, 1763, within a few days after the Connecticut settlers had arrived in Wyoming (as mentioned on page 413), David Zeisberger passed through the valley on his way from Bethlehem to Papoonhank's town (see page 389), in order to ascertain the prospect for introducing the gospel there. He reached Wyalusing on the 23d of May, and continued there, preaching and teaching, till the 27th, when he set out for Bethlehem, bearing an earnest invitation from Papoonhank and all his people to the Moravian Brethren to speedily send a religious teacher to reside at Wyalusing. Each time, on his passage through Wyoming, Zeisberger preached to the Indians here.

* See "The Shippen Papers," page 199.

About the time Zeisberger was at Wyalusing John Woolman,* of Burlington County, New Jersey, a member of the Society of Friends, and a tailor by trade—"zealous for the welfare of suffering and perishing humanity, and entertaining a love in his heart toward the natives of this land who dwelt far back in the wilderness"—conceived the project of paying a visit to the Indians at Wyalusing. An Indian man and three women from a village beyond that place being in Philadelphia, Woolman visited them and arranged to accompany them on their homeward journey up the Susquehanna. Inducing his friend Benjamin Parvin to go with him the two set out for Bethlehem, where they were joined by the four Indians previously mentioned. The following paragraphs have been taken from Woolman's journal.

"On the 10th of June [1763] we set out [from Bethlehem] early in the morning, and crossed the western branch of Delaware—called the Great Lehigh—near Fort Allen. The water being high we went over in a canoe. Here we met an Indian, and had some friendly conversation with him, and gave him some biscuit; and he, having killed a deer, gave the Indians with us some of it. Then, after traveling some miles, we met several Indian men and women with a cow, a horse and some household goods, who were lately come from their dwelling at Wioming and going to settle at another place. We made them some small presents, and some of them understanding English I told them my motive in coming into their country—with which they appeared satisfied; and, one of our guides talking awhile with an antient woman concerning us, the poor old woman came to my companion and me and took her leave of us with an appearance of sincere affection. So, going on, we pitched our tent near the banks of the same river, having laboured hard in crossing some of those mountains called the Blue Ridge. * *

"Near our tent, on the sides of large trees peeled for that purpose, were various representations of men going to and returning from the wars, and of some killed in battle—this being a path heretofore used by warriors. * * * I walked about viewing those Indian histories, which were painted mostly in red, but some in black.† This was the first night that we lodged in the woods; and being wet with traveling in the rain, the ground, our tent, and the bushes which we purposed to lay under our blankets also wet, all looked discouraging. * * We kindled



John Woolman preaching to the Indians
at Wyoming in 1763.
Reproduced from an old engraving.

* JOHN WOOLMAN, the godly and devoted Quaker apostle of temperance and of the abolition of slavery, was born at Northampton, West New Jersey, in 1720. At a very early age he became distinguished for his attachment to religion, and in after life he became one of the most pious and indefatigable laborers in the cause of freedom and human happiness that the Society of Friends ever produced. "It may be safely asserted," stated a writer in Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania* (X: 337) in 1832, "that for self-denial, purity of manners and conversation, firm, consistent and persevering prosecution of duty, and zealous and enlightened benevolence, he has rarely been equalled and, perhaps, never excelled." In 1746 he traveled as a minister of the Society of Friends through Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina. He wrote that he "saw in those southern Provinces so many vices and corruptions increased by this trade [slavery] and this way of life—viz.: the whites living idly and luxuriously on the labor of the blacks—that it appeared [to him] as a gloom over the land."

† In 1757 Woolman made a journey through the South with his brother, in order to convince persons, principally of his own Society, of the wickedness and impolicy of slavery. In 1758 he was appointed by the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia one of the committee of that body for the purpose of discouraging slave-holding among its members. In 1753 he published Part I of his "Considerations on Slave-holding," and in 1762 Part II was published. Early in 1772 he embarked for England, and shortly after his arrival there he endeavored to induce the Quakers in that country to importune the British Government to take some decided action in behalf of the oppressed Africans. He died of small-pox at York, England, in the latter part of 1772, aged about fifty-two years. A collection of his works was published at Philadelphia in 1774, and in 1871 his "Journal," with an Introduction by John Greenleaf Whittier, the "Quaker Poet" was published at Boston. Many years ago Charles Lamb wrote: "Get the writings of John Woolman by heart, and love the early Quakers."

† Trees similarly decorated stood at, or in the immediate neighborhood of, the village of Wyoming at that period—as we learn from other sources. It seems to have been a common custom, among certain tribes of Indians in Pennsylvania and New York, to depict important events and interesting happenings in the manner described. In the Sullivan Expedition of 1779 (referred to at length in Chapter XVIII) one of the principal officers was Lieut. Col. Adam Hubley. During the campaign he kept a journal, which he illustrated with pen and ink sketches. The original journal, now in the possession of The

a fire, with our tent open to it, and with some bushes next the ground, and then our blankets, we made our bed. The eleventh day of the sixth month [June 11th], the bushes being wet, we tarried in our tent till about eight o'clock; when going on we crossed a high mountain supposed to be upwards of four miles over—the steepness on the north side exceeding all the others. We also crossed two swamps. * * * About noon, on our way, we were overtaken by one of the Moravian Brethren* going to Wehaloosing [Wyalusing], and an Indian man with him who could talk English, and we being together while our horses eat grass, had some friendly conversation; but they, traveling faster than we, soon left us. This Moravian, I understood, had spent some time this Spring at Wehaloosing, and was, by some of the Indians, invited to come again.

"The twelfth day of the sixth month, and first of the week [Sunday, June 12th], it being a rainy day, we continued in our tent. Our guide's horse, though hopped, went away in the night, and after finding our own, and searching some time for him, his footsteps were discovered in the path going back again; whereupon my kind companion [Parvin] went off in the rain, and after about seven hours returned with him. Here we lodged again, tying up our horses before we went to bed, and loosing them to feed about break of day. On the thirteenth day, the sun appearing, we set forward. * * * We reached the Indian settlement at Wioming, and here we were told that an Indian runner had been at that place a day or two before us, and brought news of the Indians taking an English fort westward and destroying the people, and that they were endeavoring to

Historical Society of Pennsylvania, has been published two or three times, but, so far as we are aware, the sketches have never been reproduced heretofore.

Through the courtesy of the Historical Society we are enabled to present herein reduced photo-reproductions of several of Colonel Hubley's sketches—one of which, shown on this page, represents "The Trees painted by the Indians, between Oswegy and Chukunut, on the head-waters of Susquehanna, with their characters." By "Oswegy" Colonel Hubley referred to *Owegy* (see map facing page 320), now Owego, Tioga County, New York; and by "Chukunut" he referred to *Choconul*, or *Chugnuts* (signifying

"The Place of Tamaracks"), a large Indian village on the south side of the Susquehanna, where the village of Vestal, Broome County, New York, now stands. Certain Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Shawanese and Chugnuts settled at that place in 1756, and when the village was destroyed by the American forces in 1779 it consisted of fifty houses. Colonel Hubley's notes written on the sketch, between the trunks of the two trees, are: "Representations. 1—Holding a death maul. 2—Number of scalps taken. 3—Onondaga nation represented by ye pipe. 4—An Indian returning successful from his expedition."

In November, 1800, Charles Miner, of Wilkes-barré (later the author of a "History of Wyoming"), made a tour on horseback up along the Susquehanna, Chemung and Cohocton Rivers to Bath, New York. Writing in 1859 about this journey he said (see *Record of the Times*, June 8, 1859): "From Bath I passed west to Hornell's, the limit of my journey. Returning down the Canisteo my path lay twelve miles with-

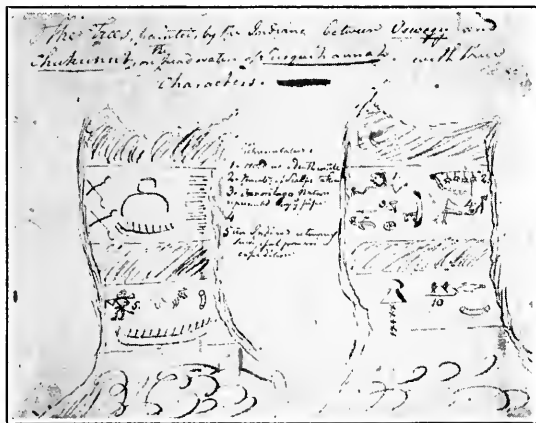
out a house, but passed through a numerous lodge of Indians who were there encamped for hunting. It is matter of surprise to me that I had no fear, for these were the very fellows who, twenty-two years before, had committed the dreadful massacre at Wyoming, and might not have lost their thirst for blood and plunder. * * * Their main lodges were made by placing two long poles in the ground, ten or twelve feet apart, and bringing the tops together, fastening them with withes. At suitable distances other sets of poles were put up, extending in a regular line perhaps sixty feet. These were covered with blankets and skins, so that, in fact, they had a house sixty feet long and twelve feet wide, running up to a sharp roof. Game in abundance lay at the door—among the rest the porcupine, the first I had ever seen. The Indians—old and young, the squaws and children—came out to gaze, looking squalid and dirty; but they were not uncivil. So rapidly was that beautiful country then settling, that it is probable this was the last Indian hunting encampment ever erected there—the place of their proper residence, or home, being, I take it, considerably farther north.

"Descending the Canisteo seven or eight miles—seeing occasionally a hunter—I passed [over] the stream, and my attention was forcibly and agreeably arrested by paintings upon several trees (the bark of which had been smoothed for the purpose) of the heads and necks of ten or twelve animals, admirably drawn; done so that the doe with her smooth forehead, the young buck with his spike-horns, or the old with his formidable antlers, the old and the young bear—not only distinguishable by size, but by expression—and various smaller animals, were all portrayed with more than skill. * * * I learned afterwards that this was the [Indians'] mode of giving information to their fellow-hunters as to how many animals they had taken."

These painted trees stood, without doubt, on the north bank of the Canisteo River, in what is now the township of Cameron, Steuben County, New York—about midway between the sites of the former Indian towns Canisteo (mentioned on pages 206, 207 and 341) and Assinissink (mentioned on pages 327 and 389). Dr. Beauchamp says (in "Aboriginal Occupation of New York," page 147) that as late as 1804 there were temporary Indian camps in the locality last mentioned.

* This was DAVID ZEISBERGER, who was again on his way to Wyalusing, having left Bethlehem on the 10th of June. He arrived at his destination (having passed through Wyoming) in the evening of June 16th, and was welcomed by Pappoonhank and his people. He remained there, preaching to the Indians and baptizing a few converts (Pappoonhank among the number), until June 30th, when he was recalled to Bethlehem by the Brethren, on account of Pontiac's War.

† At the time Colonel Burd and Captain McKee were in the valley, as previously mentioned.



take another. Also, that another Indian runner came there about the middle of the night before we got there, who came from a town about ten miles above Wehaloosing, and brought news that some Indian warriors from distant parts came to that town with two English scalps, and told the people that it was 'War with the English!'

"Our guides took us to the house of a very antient man,* and soon after we had put in our baggage there came a man from another Indian house some distance off, and I, perceiving there was a man near the door, went out; and he, having a tomahawk wrapped under his matchcoat, out of sight, as I approached him took it in his hand. I, however, went forward, and speaking to him in a friendly way, perceived he understood some English. My companion then coming out, we had some talk with him concerning the nature of our visit in these parts; and then he going into the house with us, and talking with our guides, soon appeared friendly and sat down and smoaked his pipe. Tho' his taking his hatchet in his hand at the instant I drew near to him had a disagreeable appearance, I believe he had no other intent than to be in readiness in case any violence was offered to him.

"Hearing the news brought by these Indian runners, and being told by the Indians where we lodged that *what Indians were about Wioming expected, in a few days, to move to some larger towns*, I thought that, to all outward appearance, it was dangerous traveling at this time. * * * In this great distress I grew jealous of myself, lest the desire of reputation—as a man firmly settled to persevere through dangers—or the fear of disgrace arising on my returning without performing the visit, might have some place in me. Thus I lay, full of thoughts, the great part of the night, while my beloved companion lay and slept by me. * * * On the fourteenth we sought out and visited all the Indians hereabouts that we could meet with—*they being chiefly in one place*, † about a mile from where we lodged—in all, perhaps twenty. Here I expressed the care I had on my mind for their good, and told them that true love had made me willing thus to leave my family to come and see the Indians and speak with them in their houses. Some of them appeared kind and friendly.

"So we took our leave of these Indians, and went up the river Susquehannah about three miles to the house of an Indian called 'Jacob January,' ‡ who had killed his hog, and the women were making a store of bread and preparing to move up the river. Here our pilots had left their canoe when they came down in the Spring, which, lying dry, was leaky, so that we, being detained some hours, had a good deal of friendly conversation with the family; and, eating dinner with them, we made them some small presents. Then putting our baggage in the canoe, some of them pulled slowly up the stream, and the rest of us rode our horses, and, swimming them over a creek called Lahawahamunk [Lackawanna River], we pitched our tent a little above it. On the 15th day of the month we proceeded forward till the afternoon, when a storm appearing, we met our canoe at an appointed place, and the rain continuing we stayed all night. * * * We seldom saw our canoe but at appointed places, by reason of the path going off from the river. This afternoon [June 16th] Job Chillaway, § an Indian from Wehaloosing, who talks good English, and is acquainted with several people in and about Philadelphia, met our people on the river, and, understanding where we expected to lodge, pushed back about six miles and came to us after night; and in a while our own canoe came, it being hard work pushing up stream. Job told us that an Indian came in haste to their town yesterday and told them that three warriors, coming from some distance, lodged in a town above Wehaloosing a few nights past, and that these three men were going against the English at Juniata. Job was going down the river to the Province store at Shamokin."

Woolman and his companions arrived at Wyalusing in the afternoon of June 17th, and Woolman and Parvin remained there, teaching and preaching, until the 21st, when they set out on their homeward journey. Woolman wrote in his journal :

"We expected only two Indians to be our company, but when we were ready to go we found many of them were going to Bethlehem with skins and furs, who chose to go in company with us. So they loaded two canoes, which they desired us to go in, telling us that the waters were so raised with the rains that the horses should be taken by such as were better acquainted with the fording places. So we, with several Indians, went in the canoes, and others went on the horses—there being seven besides ours. * * * On the 22d day [of June] we reached Wioming before night, and understood *the Indians were mostly gone from this place*. Here we went up a small creek || into the woods with our canoes, and, pitching our tent, carried out our baggage. Before dark our horses came to us. On the 23d day, in the morning, our horses were loaded and we prepared our baggage, and so set forward, being in all fourteen; and with diligent traveling were

* Presumably this was old Moses, the Mohegan, who lived about a mile below the village of Wyoming, near the mouth of what was at one time known as Moses' Creek, and is now Solomon's, or Buttonwood, Creek. See pages 312 and 373.

† The village of Wyoming—Teedyuscung's old town.

‡ This was the Indian from whom "Jacob's Plains," previously described, received their name.

§ See page 364.

|| Either Buttonwood Creek or Sugar Notch Creek.

favored to get near half way to Fort Allen—the land on this road from Wyoming to our frontier being mostly poor, and good grass scarce. On the 24th day we passed Fort Allen, and lodged near it in the woods. * * Between the English inhabitants [at Bethlehem and thereabout] and Wehaloosing, we had only a narrow path, which in many places is much grown up with bushes and interrupted by abundance of trees lying across it. These, together with the mountains, swamps and rough stones make it a difficult road to travel; and the more so for that rattlesnakes abound there—of which we killed four.”

June 23, 1763, Governor Hamilton at Philadelphia wrote to Timothy Horsfield (previously mentioned) at Bethlehem :

“Understanding that David Zeisberger is now, or hath been lately, in the Indian country on the Susquehanna, I should be obliged to you for communicating to me any intelligence he has brought or may bring from there.”

June 27th Justice Horsfield forwarded to the Governor an extract from a letter just brought by an Indian messenger to the Brethren at Bethlehem from Zeisberger, who had written the letter at Wyalusing on June 18th. The extract was, in part, as follows*:

“This is to let you know that I and my companion arrived here safe on the 16th of this month. At Wyomick we *found the Indians in motion to leave the place*, for the same night we arrived there they received many frightful relations concerning war being begun again, viz.: That the western Indians, *together with the Six Nations*, had taken Fort Detroit and several other forts. * * They have planted there [at Wyoming], but leave everything behind them.” * * *

With the departure of the Indians from Wyoming, as noted by Woolman and Zeisberger, the red men's occupancy of the valley came to an end. From time to time during the ensuing nineteen years Indians of various tribes, in large companies, in small bands or singly, came into the valley in the course of their journeys to other sections of the country, or with the object of trading or holding conferences with the white inhabitants of Wyoming, or for the purpose of destroying life and property here; but never again was there a village established or occupied by Indians in this locality. From the close of Pontiac's War until 1775—a period of about eleven years—there were several Indians who, at different times, singly or with their families, occupied cabins in various parts of the valley. After the whites had gained a settlement here these Indians lived on peaceable and friendly terms with them.†

Although the proprietors of The Susquehanna Company heard of “wars and rumors of wars” in the Spring and Summer of 1763, yet, seemingly, they were not dismayed; nor did they appear to be much cast down by the announcement that King George, on an ex parte state-

* For a copy of this letter see “The Horsfield Papers,” mentioned in the note on page 233.

† With the exception of those Delawares who (like Papoonhank and his people) were under the peace-inspiring influence of the Moravian Brethren, all the members of that tribe who had been living for some time along the North Branch of the Susquehanna departed for the Ohio region by the middle of July, 1763, when Pontiac's War was well under way. They emigrated with embittered feelings against the English colonists generally, and they lost no time in making preparations to go out on the war-path. In November, 1763, Sir William Johnson made to the Board of Trade in England a carefully prepared report—based on statistics gathered some months earlier—on the then “present state of the northern Indians.” Relative to the Delawares he stated that it was estimated that they numbered 600 warriors (which would indicate a total of 3,000 persons), dwelling “in several villages on and about the Susquehanna, Muskingum, etc., and thence to Lake Erie. These people are greatly influenced by the Senecas, and reside on land allotted them by the permission of the Six Nations. They are now at war with the English.” (See “Documentary History of the State of New York,” I: 26.)

In 1764 the Delawares “accepted the treaty of peace offered them, in rather a vaunting spirit, by Colonel Bradstreet, on Lake Erie: but subsequently renewed their hostile inroads, and, in the Autumn of the same year, on the banks of the Muskingum, again submitted to the army (under Colonel Bouquet), delivering up, as a test of their sincerity, a very large number of prisoners—men, women and children. The surrender of these prisoners forms the most remarkable instance of the kind on record, both on account of the number of persons liberated, and the affecting circumstances attending it.” (Schoolcraft's “History of the Indian Tribes of the United States,” VI: 299.)

“The years 1765-1795 are the true period of the power and importance of the Delawares,” wrote Albert Gallatin in 1836. In January, 1772, Sir William Johnson wrote to Governor Penn of Pennsylvania: “The Delawares, Munsees, etc., have been and are to be considered as dependents on the Five Nations, and having nothing to do with the western Indians further than in an intercourse common with all Indians in time of peace.” At that period the Monsey, or Minsi, clan of the Delaware tribe had come to be considered and treated as a distinct tribe, known as the “Munsee.” (In this connection see note ¶, on page 325.) This distinction is preserved to this day. At the beginning of the Revolution there were no Delawares east of the Alleghenies. “Although a portion of the nation adhered to the Americans during the

War of Independence, the main body, together with all the western nations, made common cause with the British." The Delawares were cruel enemies during the war. As noted on page 156, the first formal treaty made by the United States with Indians was entered into with the Delawares in 1778. After the short truce which followed the treaty of 1783 the Delawares were again at the head of the western confederacy in their last struggle for independence. The decisive victory of General Wayne in 1794 dissolved that confederacy, and the Delawares were the greatest sufferers by the Greenville treaty of 1795.

In 1809, and later, numbers of Delawares were living among the Senecas on the reservations of the latter at Cattaraugus and Tonawanda, New York, while a band of Delawares was located near Cape Girardeau (mentioned on page 383); but since 1789 the greater part of the nation had been settled in what is now Ohio—between the rivers Miami and Cuyaboga, and on the Muskingum. In 1811 many Delawares went from Ohio to Indiana and joined the Shawanese in the battle of Tippecanoe, mentioned on page 382. In 1816 there were about 1,700 Delawares living on White River in Indiana, in five villages, within a compass of thirty-six miles. In 1818 these Delawares ceded all their lands to the United States Government and, to the number of 1,800, removed to south-eastern Missouri, where they settled between Current River and the bend of White River. At that time the only Delawares (about 80 in number) living in Ohio were located at Upper Sandusky on the Sandusky River. Those who went to Missouri joined a band of

Cherokees there and overcame the Osages, who were on the western boundaries of Arkansas and Indian Territory. In 1829 the Missouri Delawares sold their lands and made a treaty for lands in what is now north-eastern Kansas; but some of the tribe did not want to go there, saying that the junction of the rivers Kaw (now the Kansas) and Missouri—near which the new lands were located—reminded them too forcibly of a white man's trousers!

In 1831-'32 George Catlin visited the Delawares at their reservation on the Kaw, and wrote that they numbered only 824 persons—many having died from small-pox. While there he painted the portraits of several of their principal chiefs, and the illustrations on this page are reduced facsimiles of drawings made by Catlin himself from two of the portraits which he then painted. *Ni-co-man*, represented with bow and arrows in his hand, was the "second chief" of the tribe. *Non-on-da-gon*, represented wearing a ring in his nose, was a chief of distinction, "whose history," wrote Catlin, "I admired very much; and to whom, for his gentlemanly attentions to me, I became very much attached. Their [*Ni-co-man's* and *Non-on-da-gon's*] dresses were principally of stuffs of civilized manufacture, and their heads were bound with vari-colored handkerchiefs or shawls, which were tastefully put on like a Turkish turban." About that time Catlin wrote concerning the Delawares as follows:

"The very sound of this name (Delawares) has carried terror wherever it has been heard in the Indian wilderness; and it has traveled and been known, as well as the people, over a very great part of the continent. No other tribe has been so much moved and jostled about by civilized invasions; and none have retreated so far, or fought their way so desperately, as they have honorably and bravely contended for every foot of the ground they have passed over. From the banks of the Delaware to the lovely Susquehanna and *my native valley*—to the base of and over the Allegheny Moun-

tains—to the Ohio River—to the Illinois and the Mississippi—and at last to the west of the Missouri, they have been moved by treaties after treaties with the Government, who have now assigned to the mere handful that are left a tract of land (as has been done a dozen times before) in *fee simple, forever!* In every move the poor fellows have made they have been thrust against their wills from the graves of their fathers and their children and planted, as they now are, on the borders of new enemies, where their first occupation has been to take up their weapons in self-defense, and fight for the ground they have been planted on. There is no tribe, perhaps, amongst which greater and more continued exertions have been made for their conversion to Christianity—and that, ever since the zealous efforts of the Moravian missionaries, who first began with them; nor any amongst whom those pious and zealous efforts have been squandered more in vain—which has, probably, been owing to the bad faith with which they have so often and so continually been treated by white people, which has excited prejudices that have stood in the way of their mental improvement.

"This scattered and reduced tribe, which once contained some 10,000 or 15,000, numbers at this time but 824; and the greater part of them have been, for the past fifty or sixty years, residing in Ohio and Indiana. In those States their reservations became surrounded by white people (whom they dislike for neighbors) and their lands too valuable for Indians, and the certain consequence has been that they have sold out and taken lands west of the Mississippi, to which they have moved and on which it is and always will be almost impossible to find them, owing to their desperate disposition for roaming about and indulging in the chase and in wars with their enemies. The wild frontier on which they are now placed affords them so fine an opportunity to indulge both of these propensities, that they will be continually wandering in little and desperate parties over the vast buffalo plains, exposed to their enemies, till at last the new country, which is given to them in "*fee simple, forever,*" and which is destitute of game, will be deserted, and they, like the most of the removed remnants of tribes, will be destroyed.

"In my travels on the Upper Missouri and in the Rocky Mountains I learned, to my utter astonishment, that little parties—of only six or eight in number—of these adventurous Delawares had visited those remote tribes, at 2,000 miles distance, and in several instances—after having cajoled a whole tribe, having been feasted in their villages, having solemnized articles of everlasting peace with them and received many presents at their hands and taken affectionate leave—have brought away six or eight scalps with them and, moreover, braved their way and defended themselves as they retreated in safety out of their enemies' country and through the regions of other hostile tribes, where they managed to receive the same honors and come off with similar trophies. Amongst this tribe there are some renowned chiefs whose lives, if correctly written, would be matter of the most extraordinary kind for the reading world." (See "Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution," 1855, Part II, page 198.)

When the Delawares got to Kansas they had trouble with the Pawnees, Comanches, Sioux and other tribes. Their war with the Pawnees and Sioux began in 1835 and lasted till 1837. They were led in most of their battles by a Delaware brave named Thomas Hill, who was also noted for his bravery in the Mexican War, in which he served as Captain of a company of United States soldiers. In 1853 the Kansas



NI-CO-MAN
("The Answer").



NON-ON-DA-GON.

ment of the situation of affairs made to his Ministers, had formally disapproved of the project of The Susquehanna Company to establish a colony of its members at Wyoming. The dozen families of settlers who had arrived in the valley about the middle of May, 1763, were joined here in the course of two or three weeks by other families; but early in July—after it had become pretty generally known throughout Connecticut that The Susquehanna Company had procured from certain chiefs of the Six Nations a new deed for the Wyoming lands* (confirming the original sale made in 1754), and that, at about the same time, the Indians had forsaken the valley, and that Colonel Dyer was soon to make a voyage to England in order to fix up matters with the King—a large number of settlers arrived on the ground. Stone,† referring to these settlers of 1763, says: “The pioneers, who in the Summer of 1762 had commenced their operations in Wyoming, returned to the valley to resume their labors early in the ensuing Spring, accompanied by their families, and with augmented numbers of settlers. They were furnished with an adequate supply of provisions, and took with them a quantity of live stock—black cattle,‡ horses and pigs. Thus provided, and calculating to draw largely from the teeming soil in the course of the season, they resumed their labors with light hearts and vigorous arms. The forests rapidly retreated before their well-directed blows, and in the course of the Summer they commenced bringing the lands into cultivation on the west side of the river.” Parshall Terry, referring to these settlers (of whom he was one) in his affidavit previously mentioned, deposed:

“That they were soon joined by a large number, *being mostly those who had been on the preceding year*; that they took on with them horses, oxen, cows and farming utensils; that they proceeded to plowing, planting corn and sowing grain of different kinds, building houses and fences and [doing] all kinds of farmer’s business; that they

Delawares numbered 1,132, they having been joined some years previously by the small band of their nation from Upper Sandusky, Ohio. In 1854 the Hon. Andrew H. Reeder (for many years a resident of Easton, Pennsylvania, in the “Forks of the Delaware” but then serving as the first Governor of the newly organized Territory of Kansas) visited the Delawares at their reservation on the Kansas River. Their Chief at that time was “Captain Ketchum,” considerably more than eighty years of age, who told the Governor that he was born in Wyoming Valley, but, being very young when his people removed to the West, he remembered nothing of the valley. In the American Civil War the Delawares, out of an able-bodied male population of 201, furnished 170 soldiers to the Union cause. In 1866 the Delawares sold their lands in Kansas to the Union Pacific Railroad Company, and 1,064 of them bought lands and citizenship in the Cherokee Nation (mentioned on pages 163 and 165) under a contract executed with that Nation in April, 1867. The remainder of the Kansas Delawares (114 in number), forming a part of “Black Beaver’s” band, moved south to Red River, where they settled among the Kiowas and Wichitas in what was formerly Indian Territory and is now Oklahoma. “Black Beaver” was a leader among all western Indians from 1857 till his death, and was an orator as well as a statesman. He was a Captain in a Kansas regiment during the American Civil War, and served with honor and distinction. As a guide he had few equals, and was much sought for by army officers. His memory was tenacious and his word as good as a bond. The Oklahoma Delawares numbered forty-one in 1885 and ninety-five in 1890.

According to the “Report on Indians in the United States at the Eleventh Census” (1890) there were then 754 Delawares in the Cherokee Nation. About 175 of these were full-blooded—95 of whom did not speak English. All were, and are, citizens of the Nation. They reside in a compact body by themselves in two districts, and “are in much better circumstances than many of the white people in several adjoining States. Among the Delawares nearly every farmer of any pretensions has an orchard. Among them we find some of the best merchants, and there are mills of various kinds owned by them in the different settlements. Their houses are for the most part well built and substantial. No one who has visited the Delaware settlements could fail to note that they are among the *most thrifty and intelligent Indians* in the entire Indian country. The Delawares are the *traders and business men* of the North American Indians. The census of 1890 showed that some of them were in almost all of the western tribes, and that all of them were men of shrewdness and ability.”

The Delawares in the Cherokee Nation have no separate government, but send representatives to the Cherokee National Council. However, they preserve their autonomy and are largely governed by their own tribal laws and traditions. They have a Chief, who either inherits his chieftancy or is elected by the tribe for some act of bravery he has done, and who serves for life. In 1890 the Rev. Charles Journeycake was their Chief. In December, 1862, while living in Kansas, the Delawares adopted a code of laws by which, in many particulars, they are still controlled—the criminal sections, and some other details, being now superseded by the Cherokee laws. This code, written by a full-blooded Delaware, was formerly administered by the chiefs and councilors.

In 1853 there were small numbers of Monseys, or Munsees, living with the Stockbridge Indians on their reservations in Indian Territory and Wisconsin; and there are now a few settled with the Stockbridges at the Green Bay Agency in Wisconsin, and with the Chippewas in Brown County, Kansas. In 1890 there were 553 Delawares, including 136 Munsees on the River Thames, living in Canada.

* See page 417.

† In “The Poetry and History of Wyoming,” page 144.

‡ Oxen and their congeners, of whatever color.

made large improvements in Wilkes-Barré, Kingston, Plymouth and Hanover (as they are now [in 1794] called); that they improved several hundred acres of land with corn and other grain and procured a large quantity of hay; * * * that during their residence at Wyoming this season, according to his best recollection, *there were about 150 settlers* who made improvements—though not so great a number on the ground at any one time; that he also well recollects lands being laid out and lotted on the Susquehanna River the same year, and that he, the deponent, drew a lot at that time in Wilkes-Barré (as it is now called).”

A substantial log block-house, which had been begun in the previous Autumn, was completed, and several log cabins were erected adjacent to it. All these buildings stood just north of Beaver Brook, near its confluence with the Susquehanna; and on the north bank of the brook (where the plant of the Wyoming Valley Electric Light, Heat and Power Company now stands) a small saw-mill was erected—in consequence of which that stream has ever since borne the name “Mill Creek.” Pearce makes the erroneous statement* that these buildings were erected “a short distance *below* the present site of Wilkes-Barré”; and some other writers following him have erred similarly. All the settlers lived together, compactly, at Mill Creek, going thence to the flats, at different points in the valley, to carry on their simple agricultural operations. According to the affidavit (previously referred to) of Parshall Terry “Timothy Hollister,† a surveyor from Connecticut, laid out” certain lots in the Summer of 1763—some of them being in what was afterwards the township of Wilkes-Barré. So far as known there are no records now in existence to show just where those lots were located. It is probable, however, that no more than the two “gratuity” townships (see pages 401 and 402) were surveyed and allotted. In the meantime the settlers worked earnestly and harmoniously to establish themselves in their new homes, apparently either unacquainted with or unconcerned about the perilous conditions which then existed west of the Allegheny Mountains and in what is now southern-central Pennsylvania.

About the 8th of July, 1763, information was brought to Philadelphia by a special messenger that Presqu’ Isle, Le Bœuf and Venango had been captured by the Indians (see page 417), and that the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia were being overrun by scalping parties, who, wherever they went, marked their way with blood and devastation. The situation of the frontiers was, indeed, most alarming. Therefore, on the 11th of July, Governor Hamilton issued military commissions to Col. John Armstrong (previously mentioned) of Cumberland County, the Rev. John Elder‡ of Lancaster County, Jonas Seeley, Esq., of Berks County and Timothy Horsfield, Esq., of Bethlehem, with directions to enlist certain volunteers forthwith—as mentioned in the note on page 233, *ante*. Through the Rev. Mr. Elder’s exertions the able-bodied men of the Paxtang region in Lancaster County were soon organized into a mounted military battalion of several companies, under the name of the “Paxtang Rangers,” or “Paxtang Boys,” with Elder as Colonel in command. “Swift on foot, excellent horsemen, good shots, skillful in pursuit or in escape, dexterous as

* In “Annals of Luzerne County,” pages 61 and 277.

† He was Capt. Timothy Hollister, who had purchased one “right” in The Susquehanna Company in May, 1762, from Z. Clark, of Stratford, Connecticut, an agent of the Company.

‡ JOHN ELDER was born January 26, 1706, in the city of Edinburgh, Scotland. He was graduated at the University of Edinburgh, and then, having studied divinity, was licensed to preach in 1732. A few years later he immigrated to America—whither his parents had preceded him in 1730. November 22, 1738, he was ordained and installed pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Paxtang, and until his death (July 17, 1792) he continued the faithful minister of that Church.

scouts and expert in maneuvering," the "Rangers" became the terror of the Indians. And yet, during the Summer and early Autumn of that year, numerous depredations and murders were committed by Indians in the counties of Lancaster and Northampton.

On Sunday, August 7th, Capt. Andrew Montour* arrived at Fort Augusta from up the West Branch and informed Colonel Burd that Forts Pitt and Ligonier had been captured by the Indians. Later this news was learned to be false. In the latter part of August a party of over one hundred volunteers set out from the counties of Cumberland and Lancaster for Great Island (mentioned in the note on page 226), to attack the Indian village there. Under date of September 1, 1763, Governor Hamilton wrote† to Timothy Horsfield concerning this expedition. After referring to "the unbridled and undistinguishing rage of the people of Cumberland," the Governor wrote :

"Those are the most unaccountable, headstrong people, and have no authority from me for what they are doing ; on the contrary, had I known of their intentions sooner I would have endeavored to put it [the expedition] under the direction of some person on whose prudence I could have relied ; * * * but I understand those people were actually set off before I had any intelligence of it. They are certainly doing a very illegal and unjustifiable thing, and what, in more quiet and settled times, would subject them to grievous punishment."

About the middle of September Colonel Armstrong collected a force of some 300 volunteers—chiefly inhabitants of Cumberland County—for the purpose of attacking the Indian settlements at Muncy and Great Island, where the hostile Indians were in the habit of rendezvousing previous to making forays on the settlements below. This little army left Fort Shirley, at Aughwick, in what is now Huntingdon County, on the 30th of September. Arriving at their destination they found that the Indians had deserted their settlements and moved rapidly westward some days previously. Armstrong then directed his force against, and destroyed, some small Indian settlements at the mouth of Kettle Creek and at Monseytown (west of the present Lock Haven). Then, states Meginness, in his "History of the West Branch Valley" (Edition of 1889), I: 302, 303, some dispute arising between Colonel Armstrong and five Captains of his command the latter, with their 200 men, separated from Armstrong above Fort Augusta, and he went on to Carlisle with the residue of his force. This expedition of Armstrong's was, states Meginness, "the largest that had invaded the West Branch Valley up to that time ; but, instead of wiping out the savages and rendering them powerless, it only tended to still further enrage and cause them to commit greater deeds of blood."

On the same day that Armstrong and his command set out from Fort Shirley the Rev. John Elder, at Paxtang, wrote to Governor Hamilton as follows :

"As a number of volunteers from this County, on the return of Colonel Armstrong, design to scout a little way into the enemy's country, our troops would gladly join the volunteers, if it's agreeable to your Honour ; and as that favour, they imagine, has been granted the troops on the other [the west] side of the Susquehanna, they flatter themselves it will not be refused these two companies. Their principal view is *to destroy the immense quantity of corn left by the New England men at Wyoming*, which, if not con-

* Mentioned in foot-note (111) on page 206. Since that note was printed I have ascertained that in 1756, during the Indian hostilities in Pennsylvania, three of Andrew Montour's children, who were in Philadelphia, were put under the care of Governor Morris, "independent of their mother"; as also a twelve-year old son of Montour's "by a former wife, a Delaware, granddaughter of Allumapees," mentioned on page 186. Montour also had at that time a daughter named *Kayodaghsroony*, or "Madelina," who was living among the Delawares. (See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," VII: 95.)

† See original letter among "The Horsfield Papers," previously referred to.

sumed, will be a considerable magazine to the enemy, and enable them, with more ease, to distress the inhabitants, etc."

Governor Hamilton replied to this communication on the 5th of October, and stated that he "could have no objection to their scouting as far as Wyoming and *destroying the corn, if any be left there,*" but he positively prohibited the marching of the troops to, and the destruction of, the Indian town at Wyalusing, as was contemplated by the Lancaster and Cumberland officers. The inhabitants of southern Pennsylvania and the Governor at Philadelphia were, without doubt, under the impression at this time that the settlers at Wyoming, in consequence of the proclamation of the Governor ordering them to depart from the valley, and in view of the perilous condition of the times, had, without delay, suspended their operations and returned whence they came. Such, however, was not the case. On the 10th of October the Governor wrote again to the Rev. Mr. Elder, as follows :

"I should not have anything to add at this time but for a letter the Commissioners and I have received from Mr. Robert Callender, acquainting us that Major Clayton* has applied to him to furnish provisions for 200 men for twenty days; by which it is conceived that he hath an intention of going upon some expedition against the Indians, without having communicated the same to me and received my approbation—a step I can by no means approve in an officer bearing the King's commission."

On the same day Governor Hamilton wrote to Timothy Horsfield as follows†:

"Repeated applications have been made to me from the officers of the Lancaster companies, with some volunteers of that frontier, for permission to scout as far as Wyoming and *destroy a great quantity of corn* left, as they say, by the Connecticut men; and from thence to proceed and attack Wihilusing, which they look upon as a receptacle and retreat to all the scalping parties that have invested our northern frontier. I have, in consideration of Papoonhank and the other religious Indians who live there, absolutely forbid them to go near that place for the present, till I can learn whether the enemy Indians are received and harbored by them. If that should turn out to be the case, they would richly deserve whatever mischief could befall them; but, whether it is or not the case, I am of opinion it will not be long possible to restrain the ardor of the people for revenging—on all of that colour, whether friends or foes, wherever they come across them—the horrid cruelties daily committed on our inhabitants. It is indeed enough to wear out the patience of a saint!"

October 13th Major Clayton, with a force of eighty soldiers and volunteers from Lancaster County, arrived at Fort Augusta en route to Wyoming. Joined by Lieut. Samuel Hunter and twenty-four men belonging to the garrison of the fort, the party set off on Saturday the 15th for their destination up the river. On the following Monday (October 17th) the Rev. Mr. Elder, at Paxtang, wrote to the Governor as follows :

"Your favor of the 10th I received last night, and am sorry to find that our proceedings are any way disagreeable to the Legislature. Our two companies, fired with resentment on hearing the barbarities committed by the savages, and willing to serve their country to the utmost of their power, signified to me their strong desire to join in any expedition that might be undertaken against the common enemy. And encouraged by your acquainting me that you 'had no objection against our *destroying the corn left at Wyoming, I ordered them to proceed on that service;* strictly prohibiting them, in obedience to your Honour's command, to make any attack on Wyalusing. The party, though small, set out from Hunter's‡ last Tuesday [October 11th] in high spirits; so that it is impossible to suspend the expedition now, as the troops are, by this time,

* ASHER CLAYTON was appointed and commissioned by Governor Morris, May 24, 1756, Lieutenant and Adjutant of the Pennsylvania Regiment commanded by Col. William Clapham, and in July, 1756, was with the regiment in camp at Shamokin. (See pages 339 and 360.) January 9, 1758, he was commissioned Captain in the Second Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, then commanded by Col. James Burd, and was stationed at Fort Augusta. In June, 1760, he was still in service as Captain in this Battalion. Upon the organization of the "Rangers" by the Rev. John Elder in 1763 Asher Clayton was commissioned Major of the battalion, and early in 1764 he succeeded Elder as Colonel of the same. In 1771 he resided in Philadelphia.

† For the original letter see "The Horsfield Papers."

‡ Hunter's Mill, mentioned on page 320.

advanced, I doubt not, as far as Wyoming. What success they may have I know not; but if they destroy the corn and improvements—*made there by the New England men to the great displeasure of the Indians and in contempt of your Honour's authority*—and can happily intercept the murdering party on their return from Northampton, I presume it will be of considerable service.”

The “murdering party” referred to in the foregoing letter was a band of hostile Delawares led by Teedyuscung’s son “Captain Bull”, previously mentioned*; and concerning their depredations Governor Hamilton had sent a message to the Provincial Assembly on October 15th, in these words†:

“Within a few days past I have received well attested accounts of many barbarous and shocking murders and other depredations having been committed by Indians on the inhabitants of Northampton County, in consequence whereof great numbers of those who escaped the rage of the enemy have already deserted, and are daily deserting, their habitations; so that, unless some effectual aid can be speedily granted them, to induce them to stand their ground, it is difficult to say where these desertions will stop, or to how small a distance from the capital our frontier may be reduced.”

The Quakers who controlled the Government of the Province “seemed resolved,” says Francis Parkman in his “History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac,” “that they would neither defend the people of the frontier nor allow them to defend themselves, and vehemently inveighed against all expeditions to cut off the Indian marauders. *Their security was owing to their local situation, being confined to the eastern part of the Province.*” Only a short time before this General Amherst, annoyed by the apparent deafness to all entreaties of the persons in control of the Pennsylvania Government, wrote: “The conduct of the Pennsylvania Assembly is altogether so infatuated and stupidly obstinate, that I want words to express my indignation thereat.”

“Captain Bull”, who headed the war-party of western Delawares in its destructive incursion into eastern Pennsylvania, had, as we have previously noted, spent at least ten years of his life among the western Delawares. He was, therefore—it may be presumed—thoroughly imbued with the sentiments which generally prevailed among those Indians with reference to the English. In the Spring of 1760 he visited his father at Wyoming, and in June accompanied the latter on his peace mission to the western tribes—as we have shown on page 388. Whether or not he returned from that mission to Wyoming with his father we have no means of ascertaining; nor can we learn whether he was at Wyoming or on the Ohio when Teedyuscung came to his sudden and fiery end. It is quite probable, however, that he was at one of the Mingo-Delaware towns in what is now Steuben County, New York; or, perhaps, was in the region west of the Alleghenies.

The first intimation of the inhabitants of the eastern borders of Pennsylvania had that there were hostile Indians in their midst came to them on the 8th of October, 1763, when, before daybreak, “Captain Bull” and his band attacked the house of John Stenton, on the main road from Bethlehem to Fort Allen, where Capt. Jacob Wetterhold and a squad of soldiers, of the Provincial service, were lodging for the night. In this attack Wetterhold and several others of the whites were wounded and three were killed. Only one of the attacking party was killed. The same day the Indians plundered and destroyed several other houses and killed a number of people in that locality. A day or two later Yost’s mill, about eleven miles from Bethlehem, was destroyed, and all the

* See the fourth paragraph of the note on page 308; also, pages 388 and 389.

† See “Pennsylvania Archives,” Fourth Series, III: 217.

people at the place, excepting a young man, were cut off. These depredations and murders were all committed within only a few miles of "Captain Bull's" ancestral home. Altogether twenty-three persons were killed and many dangerously wounded. The settlers were thrown into the utmost distress, fleeing from their plantations with hardly a sufficiency of clothing with which to cover themselves, and coming into the town of Northampton (now Allentown) where "there were but four guns at the time, and three of them unfit for use—with the enemy four miles from the place." The Indians, however, fled to the mountains, and made their way in the direction of Wyoming.

On Saturday, October 15th—the self-same day that Maj. Asher Clayton's expedition set out from Fort Augusta for Wyoming, and that Governor Hamilton, at Philadelphia, notified the Provincial Assembly of the outrages which had been committed in Northampton County—the settlers at Mill Creek, in Wyoming Valley, were busily engaged in their various occupations at different points—unsuspicious of danger and unprepared for disaster. Some of the men were at work about the mill, others were in the fields on the flats; some were felling trees along the edge of the forest, others were erecting two or three additional log cabins needed for the more comfortable accommodation of the growing colony, while nearly all the women and children of the settlement were occupied in and about the block-house and the various cabins. It was near the hour of noon, and all was peaceful and serene in the little settlement on that bright and cheerful Autumn day, when, suddenly,

"Whoop after whoop with rack the ear assail'd,
As if unearthly fiends had burst their bar!
And sounds that mingled laugh and shout and scream—
To freeze the blood in one discordant jar—
Rang to the pealing thunderbolts of war."

"Captain Bull" and his warriors—increased in number to 135* since their devastating descent upon the Lehigh settlements—had swooped down upon the unsuspecting people of Wyoming, and death, dispersion and destruction quickly followed. Not all the names of those who were either killed or carried away into captivity on that direful occasion have been preserved. Some eighteen or twenty persons were killed, among whom were the Rev. William Marsh† (the minister of the settlement), Thomas Marsh, Timothy Hollister, Sr., Timothy Hollister, Jr., Samuel Richards, Nathaniel Terry (a brother of Parshall Terry, previously mentioned), Wright Smith, Jesse Wiggins and Zur-

* According to the printed statement of Isaac Hollister. See page 439.

† The Rev. WILLIAM MARSH became one of the proprietors of The Susquehanna Company in May, 1762, by the purchase of one "right" from Z. Clark of Stratford, Connecticut, an agent of the Company. At the same time Elisha Marsh—presumably a relative of the Rev. William—purchased one "right" from agent Clark. As previously noted, William Marsh was one of the original settlers at Mill Creek in the Autumn of 1762; and when the Company voted (see page 413) that "some proper well-disposed person be procured * * * to carry on religious instruction and worship" among the Company's Wyoming settlers, the Directing Committee selected Mr. Marsh.

The present writer is indebted to the Rev. John T. Griffith, D. D., of Edwardsville, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, for the following interesting information concerning the Rev. William Marsh, extracted from a paper, entitled "Early Religious Movements in the Wyoming Valley," read by Dr. Griffith in March, 1904, before the "Cleric" of Wilkes-Barré, and in June, 1904, before the Baptist Ministers' Conference of Scranton.

‡ Morgan Edwards, the Baptist historian, says that William Marsh was born at Wrentham [Norfolk County, Massachusetts], and ordained among the 'Separate' branch of the Congregationalists. About 1749 he, with sixteen others, formed an independent Church at Mansfield, in Tolland County [adjoining Windham County], Connecticut, of which he became pastor. In 1751 they settled in the north part of Newtown, Sussex County, New Jersey, where, in 1756, Mr. Marsh and eight others originated the first Baptist Church organized at Wantage. Mr. Marsh was baptized at Newtown by Elkanah Fuller in 1752. This company of 'Separates' or 'New Lights,' who had emigrated in a body from Mansfield to Newtown, had not been long in their settlement before some (who at Mansfield had had scruples about infant baptism) declared openly for the baptism of believers. But now the same question puzzled them which had puzzled others, both in England, Germany and elsewhere, viz.: 'Whether baptism administered by an unbaptized person is valid'—for they considered infant baptism as a nullity. However, they decided



MASSACRE OF THE FIRST WYOMING SETTLERS, 1763.

Photo-reproduction of an engraving by J. C. Mckrae (published in 1892), after the original drawing by F. O. C. Darley entitled "Wyoming."

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vial Whitney. Among those who were taken prisoners were Isaac Hollister, Benjamin Sheppard, Daniel Baldwin and Jane, his wife, Abraham Baldwin (said to have been a son of Daniel and Jane), John Hower and Emanuel Hower.

When the savages reached the settlement Timothy Hollister, Sr., and his son Isaac were at work near the river. The father was instantly killed and Isaac was seized and bound; while, at almost the same moment, Timothy Hollister, Jr., who was at work about half a mile distant, was shot down and scalped. The brothers John and Emanuel Hower were at work upon a chimney, being built in a house on the flats, when they were made prisoners by the marauders, who had already another captive with them. The three men were marched off by their captors (six or eight in number), and, as they went up the hill near where the village of Plains is now located, they met, coming down, a man carrying a small bundle in his hand, perfectly thoughtless of danger. The Indians immediately surrounded him, and with their spears thrust him through and through. Then they scalped him and passed on. Parshall and Nathaniel Terry were on their way to their cabin for dinner. Nathaniel, seeing an Indian just ready to shoot at his brother, cried out: "Parshall, the Indians! the Indians!" The savage immediately fired at Nathaniel and killed him, but Parshall, who was unarmed, dropped down in the tall grass. The Indian searched for him a long time, frequently coming within a few feet of him, but did not find him.

The settlers who were at the mill, the block-house and the cabins were alarmed by the gunshots and war-whoops of the Indians on the flats near the river, and, without waiting to gather up any of their belongings, fled in haste through the woods to the mountains on the east. "As they turned back, during their ascent, to steal an occasional glance at the beautiful valley below, they beheld the savages driving their cattle away and plundering their houses of the goods that had been left. At nightfall the torch was applied, and the darkness that hung over the vale was illuminated by the lurid flames of their own dwellings—the abodes of happiness and peace in the morning. Hapless indeed was the condition of the fugitives. The chilly winds of Autumn were howling with melancholy wail among the mountain pines, through which, over rivers and glens and fearful morasses, they were to thread their way sixty miles to the nearest settlement on the Delaware, and thence back to their friends in Connecticut—a total distance of nearly 250 miles. Notwithstanding the hardships they were compelled to encounter, and the deprivations under which they labored, many of them accomplished the journey in safety, while others, lost in the mazes of the swamps, were never heard of more."

Those fleeing settlers who managed to survive the hardships of their long and difficult journey through an unbroken wilderness, reached the question in the affirmative, from a consideration of necessity, and accordingly William Marsh was baptized by Elkanah Fuller, and then Mr. Fuller by Mr. Marsh. This was in the Winter of 1752, for 'it is remembered,' says the author of the History of Sussex County, 'that the ice was broken, for the purpose, in the form of a grave.' Next year there were baptized by Mr. Marsh: Joshua Cole, Captain Roe, Daniel Roberts, Hezekiah Smith and his wife and Rodolphus Fuller. These eight persons were, November 14, 1756, formed into a Baptist Church by a new covenant, which is still extant. William Marsh's name appears in the minutes of the Philadelphia (Baptist) Association for the years 1761, '62 and '63, and then disappears."

It will be observed that Elkanah and Rodolphus Fuller, mentioned in the foregoing account, were, as well as William Marsh, among the original settlers at Mill Creek in 1762. One of the routes from Connecticut, and Orange County, New York, to Wyoming Valley, traveled by many of the first settlers in coming to the valley, or in returning home, lay through Sussex County, New Jersey; and in later years a number of inhabitants of that county immigrated here.

the Minisink settlements* about the 21st of October. There they found gathered a large number of refugees from the upper settlements of Northampton County, and, joining these, the Wyoming settlers remained in that locality for some days in order to regain their strength and acquire new vigor before setting out for New England. The following letter, printed in *The New London Gazette* (New London, Connecticut) November 18, 1763, was written on the 6th of that month by Capt. Lemuel Bowers of Hanover, New Jersey, "at headquarters twelve miles above Colonel Van Camp's,† on the River Delaware, on the frontiers of New Jersey."

"I arrived here with my detachment of ninety men, by order of his Excellency William Franklin,‡ where I found 150 persons, men, women and children, who were driven to this station by the cruel savages of the wilderness. Of these [refugees] fifty at least lodge every night in one small room, in a very uncomfortable and confused manner. In the morning they throw what beds and covering they have out of doors in one heap. These poor people (if ever there can be such), it seems, are the most proper objects of our commiseration, for they have been compelled to quit their little all—their provisions, their corn and, in short, their whole dependence—to be devoured and consumed without any hope of security. What can ever animate a Christian to unsheathe the sword and bathe the same in blood, if the distress of his brethren, by reason of the inhuman cruelty of savages, will not? * * * Every time I see these piteous objects and hear their lamentations methinks I feel something within that makes me uneasy, without revenge."

Wyoming was now, in very truth, deserted and forsaken! But neither that fact, nor any information concerning the massacre that had taken place here, had yet been communicated to the authorities at Philadelphia on the 20th of October, 1763; for on that day Governor Hamilton (pursuant to His Majesty's instructions, under his sign manual, dated at the palace of St. James June 15, 1763) issued a commission to Col. James Burd (previously mentioned), appointing him to act as a Commissioner on the part of Pennsylvania, jointly with a Commissioner to be appointed by the Governor of Connecticut, in communicating His Majesty's strict commands to the Connecticut settlers at Wyoming. The commission to Colonel Burd read in part as follows§ :

"His Majesty signified it to be his will and pleasure that I should forthwith, by commission, constitute and appoint a person to be a Commissioner on the part of Pennsylvania to act in concert with a Commissioner in like manner to be appointed by the Governor of Connecticut. And I am directed and required to instruct said Commissioner with all convenient speed to proceed with the said Connecticut Commissioner to the settlement at Wyoming, and there to cause his commission to be read and published; and then to require and command the inhabitants, in His Majesty's name, *forthwith to desist from their said undertaking.*"

This commission was sent by a special messenger to Colonel Burd at Fort Augusta, but, in the evening of the very day that the commission had been issued, Major Clayton and his troops returned to Fort Augusta from their expedition to Wyoming and reported the condition of affairs here; so that, when his commission reached his hands, Colonel Burd knew that the New Englanders had already been most effectually estopped "from their said undertaking." The following is an extract from a letter written at Paxtang, in Lancaster County, October 23, 1763, and published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia) on the 27th of the same month :

"Our party under Captain [*sic*] Clayton is returned from Wyoming, where they met with no Indians, but found the New Englanders who had been killed and scalped a

* See note, page 189.

† Col. JOHN VAN CAMPEN is here referred to. He lived and, as early at least as 1758, owned a flour-mill at the Minisinks, in what is now Smithfield Township, Monroe County, Pennsylvania, not far from Delaware Water Gap.

‡ Governor Franklin of New Jersey, a natural son of Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia.

§ See "Pennsylvania Archives," Fourth Series, III : 218.

day or two before they got there. They buried the dead—nine men and a woman—who had been most cruelly butchered. The woman was roasted, and had two hinges in her hands—supposed to be put in red hot—and several of the men had awls thrust into their eyes, and spears, arrows, pitchforks, etc., sticking in their bodies. They [Clayton's troops] burnt what houses the Indians had left, and destroyed a quantity of Indian corn. The enemy's tracks were up the river towards Wighaloasing [Wyalusing]."

It is not probable that Major Clayton's party found and buried the bodies of all who had been massacred on the 15th of October. The recorded testimony of those witnesses most familiar with the facts is that there were from eighteen to twenty persons killed on that day at different points within a mile of the block-house at Mill Creek. The soldiers were not in the valley longer than one day, or one day and a-half, having received, soon after their arrival, a message from Fort Augusta to return there without delay; therefore they did not have time in which to make a thorough search for the dead. In addition to the corn and other property at Mill Creek which the soldiers destroyed, they also burned down the few houses still standing on the site of the town formerly occupied by Teedyuscung.

On the 25th of October, at Paxtaug, the Rev. John Elder wrote to Governor Hamilton as follows* :

"I acquainted your Honour the 17th instant that it was impossible to suspend the Wyoming expedition. The party is now returned, and I shall not trouble your Honour with any account of their proceedings, as Major Clayton informs me that he transmitted to you, from Fort Augusta, a particular account of all their transactions from their setting out from Hunter's till they returned to Augusta. The mangled carcases of those unhappy creatures, who had settled there, presented to our troops a most melancholy scene, which had been acted not above two days before their arrival; and by the way the savages came into the town [Wyoming], it appears *they were the same party that committed the ravages in Northampton County.*"

At almost the same time that Governor Hamilton received the royal mandate concerning affairs at Wyoming, a similar rescript was received by Governor Fitch of Connecticut, who thereupon appointed Maj. David Baldwin a Commissioner to represent the Colony of Connecticut in the proceedings to oust the proprietors of The Susquehanna Company from their possession of Wyoming. Major Baldwin immediately set out for Philadelphia, by way of the city of New York, in order to interview Governor Hamilton as to the *status in quo* of the case—so far as Pennsylvania was concerned—before he should proceed to Wyoming. From Governor Hamilton he learned of the massacre and dispersal of the settlers; whereupon he mounted his horse, rode back to Hartford, made his report to the Governor and presented an account against the Colony for £57, 14s. 2d.—“for expenses on a commission for removing settlers at Wyoming”—which account was duly paid.†

Up to the present time various opinions have been expressed by the different writers of Wyoming history with respect to the Indians who perpetrated the massacre of 1763. Who were they? Whence came they? Stone has answered these queries by stating‡ that certain Six Nation warriors, who were visiting the Delawares at Wyoming, charged the assassination of Teedyuscung upon the Connecticut settlers, “and had the address to inspire the Delawares with such a belief. * * * Stimulated to revenge by the representations of their false and insidious visitors, the Delawares rose upon the settlement” and exterminated it.

* See “Pennsylvania Archives,” First Series, Vol. IV.

† See MS. “7” in volume of MSS. entitled “Susquehannah Settlers, 1755-1796, Vol. I”—mentioned on page 29, *ante*. Major Baldwin was a resident of Milford, New Haven County, Connecticut.

‡ See “The Poetry and History of Wyoming,” pages 146 and 147.

It is clear, from his language, that Stone believed that the bloody work of that October day was done by members of Teedyuscung's former band who were still dwelling in the village of Wyoming. We have shown, however, by good evidence, that not only that village but the other Indian villages in the valley had been deserted at least three or four months prior to the massacre.

Charles Miner states (in his "History of Wyoming," page 58) that, in view of certain facts which he mentions, "it is plain that the mischief was perpetrated, not by the Delawares, but by the Six Nations." Stewart Pearce, in his "Annals of Luzerne County" (page 103), says: "There is no sufficient ground for supposing that the massacre * * * in the Autumn of 1763 was done *by the friends of Teedyuscung*. * * * All the presumptions are in favor of the opinion that the murderers of Teedyuscung, as well as of the New England settlers, belonged to the Six Nations." Dr. H. Hollister, referring to the destruction of the first Wyoming settlement (in his "History of the Lackawanna Valley," Fifth Edition, page 77) says: "The emigrants were shot and scalped by the same band that murdered Teedyuscung in his Susquehanna wigwam." The late Dr. William H. Egle (author of a "History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," and of other historical writings), in an address delivered before the Wyoming Commemorative Association July 3, 1889, said—in reference to the massacre of 1763: "The infamous transaction was conceived, planned and carried out by those infernal red savages from New York—the *Cayugas and Oneidas!* The Delawares and Shawanese—especially the latter—with all their intrigue, treachery and blood-thirstiness, would gladly have been the willing instruments in this indiscriminate slaughter, if but 'the sign' had been given."

There can be no doubt, in the light thrown on this subject by certain authentic documents—extended extracts from which are printed in the succeeding chapter—that the settlers at Mill Creek were massacred and dispersed in October, 1763, by a band of hostile Delawares led by Teedyuscung's son, "Captain Bull"—as we have previously stated.





CHAPTER VII.

THE CLOSING DAYS OF PONTIAC'S WAR—INDIAN COUNCIL AND TREATY AT FORT STANWIX—INDIAN SALE OF LANDS TO THE PENN- SYLVANIA PROPRIETARIES—SURVEYS AND SET- TLEMENTS AT WYOMING UNDER THE PROPRIETARIES.

"Let the Past perish! Let darkness shroud it!
Let it sleep forever over the crumbling temples and
desolate tombs of its forgotten sons—if it cannot
afford us, from its disburied secrets, a guide for the
Present and the Future!"

—*Edward Bulwer-Lytton, in "Rienzi."*

Within a few weeks after the Wyoming massacre, described in the last chapter, Paponhank and twenty of his followers—Moravian Christian Indians, who refused to respond to the solicitations of "Captain Bull" and other hostile Delawares to take part in the war against the English—betook themselves from Wyalusing to Province Island, in the Delaware River, below Philadelphia. There (with a number of Moravian Indians who had been removed thither from near Bethlehem by the Provincial Government) they were maintained in barracks by the Government until after the war. By the beginning of 1764, therefore, there were no Indians in Pennsylvania east of the North Branch of the Susquehanna save those who were hostile to the whites. The same conditions seem to have prevailed at that time in the Colony of New York, as is partly shown by the following extract from a letter* written early in January, 1764, by Gov. Cadwallader Colden (mentioned on page 32, *ante*) of New York to the Hon. John Penn (mentioned on page 262), who, in November, 1763, had succeeded the Hon. James Hamilton as Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania.

"The Indians on the east side of the Susquehanna are the most obnoxious to the people of this Province of any, having done the most mischief. They consist of a number of rogues and thieves—runaways from the other nations—and, for that reason, not to be trusted. * * * The minds of the people are so generally irritated against the Indians living on the north-east branches of the Susquehanna that a number of volunteers were proposed to me to go out against them to punish them for their cruelties and perfidy."

Finally the conditions became so serious that, in the latter part of January, 1764, Sir William Johnson determined to send out an expedition under orders to capture all hostile Indians found on the Susque-

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX: 120.

hanna and its branches within the bounds of New York. Later Sir William wrote to the Lords of Trade, in London, as follows* :

"Shortly after my letter of the 20th January I assembled the Indians to whom I had given the war-hatchet, and proposed that they should go immediately upon service against our enemies. Accordingly near 200 of them proceeded *against the Delawares, near the Susquehanna*. On the 26th February they received information that a large party of our enemies, the Delawares, were encamped at a small distance, on their way against some of the settlements. They made an expeditious march to the encampment, which they surrounded at daybreak. Then rushing upon the Delawares, who were surprised and unable to make defense, they made them all prisoners, to the number of forty-one, and amongst them their Chief, a remarkable Indian called '*Captain Bull*', son to *Teedyuscung*, and one who has discovered great inveteracy against the English and led several parties against them and done considerable damage during the present Indian War. Him, with thirteen others, I sent prisoners to New York,† and distributed the rest among the friendly Indians for the replacing of their deceased connections, according to the ancient custom‡—the observance of which has added vigor to their proceedings.

"Immediately after this fortunate blow a small party I had sent out, fell in with a party their equals in number, killed their Chief and took three prisoners who, with the scalp [of the Chief] were brought here yesterday. This, being the *first blood shed by them* in our quarrel, will effectually widen the breach between the Indians, and promote His Majesty's service."

March 2, 1764, Sir William Johnson at Johnson Hall, wrote to Colonel Bradstreet a letter|| somewhat similar to the foregoing. After referring to the party of Indians who had gone out on the war-path under his orders, he said :

"They marched expeditiously, surrounded the encampment and made all prisoners—to the number of forty-one, including their Chief *Captain Bull*, son to *Teedyuscung*, and one who has discovered great inveteracy against the English and led several parties against them during the present Indian War."

On receipt of the news of the first success of the war-party referred to above, Sir William immediately despatched his son John, with another body of Indians and "a few approved white men," to take advantage of the consternation into which the enemy had been thrown by the offensive operations of the loyal Indians. The results were described by Sir William in a letter¶ to the Lords of Trade, as follows :

"Shortly afterwards, as I expected, I was visited by deputies from all the Senecas, accompanied by [deputies] of the [other] five Nations. These deputies were charged in the name of their whole Nation to desire peace, and to represent that their [the Seneca] Nation had been led into the war by the artifices of the rest, which they had now discovered, and, therefore, earnestly requested that they might be once more admitted into our friendship. Upon which (with the General's approbation) I proposed to them the several Articles, to which they unanimously assented, and subscribed the same on the 3d of April, with many promises of engaging heartily against all our enemies. For the performance of all which they have left with me three of their Chiefs [*Wannughsita, Serichoana, and Arajungas*] as hostages—the rest returning to carry the news to their nation and collect all the prisoners, etc., which, by the Articles, they are bound to deliver up at Niagara, whither I am, by appointment of the General [Amherst], to go in June to make peace with them and the western nations. * * * The fears of the enemy, of which I have received accounts from all quarters, cannot easily be described. They are not accustomed to sustain any losses from us, and are consequently greatly alarmed at those they have met."

The "several Articles" referred to by Sir William Johnson in the foregoing letter were: "Preliminary Articles of Peace, Friendship and Alliance, entered into between the English and the deputies sent from the whole Seneca Nation." By these "Articles" the Senecas solemnly

* See "Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York," VII: 611 and 624.

† Halsey says (in "The Old New York Frontier," page 74) that there "they were lodged in the common jail, after having been much observed by the people of that city, who are described as admiring their sudden and ferocious countenances."

‡ Relative to this custom, see page 150, *ante*.






§ See note (III), page 207.

¶ The *original* letter may be seen in Dr. Thomas A. Emmett's extended copy of Lossing's "Field Book of the American Revolution"—Insert No. 4591, Vol. II—in the New York Public Library (Lenox Branch).

• See "Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York," VII: 624.

engaged and bound themselves, among other things: (1) To stop all hostilities, and never more to make war on the English. (2) To "collect all the English prisoners, deserters, Frenchmen and negroes amongst them, and deliver them up to Sir William Johnson" within three months. (3) To cede to His Majesty all their rights in and to a tract of land at Fort Niagara,* being, as described by metes and bounds, about fourteen miles by four miles in extent and including the "great cataract" and Niagara River, or "Strait." (4) To immediately stop all intercourse between any of their people and those of the Shawanese and Delawares, whom they agreed to treat as common enemies. These "Articles" were signed at Johnson Hall (see page 298) April 3, 1764, by Sir William Johnson (as "His Majesty's Sole Agent and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Parts of America, and Colonel of the Six United Nations, their Allies and Dependents"), by *Sayenqueraghta* (mentioned on page 415) and by seven other chiefs of the Senecas. The following is a reduced facsimile of a tracing of their signatures, etc., made from the original document now in the "Public Record Office," London.

Given under my Hand at Johnson Hall, the third
Day of April 1764

<i>Sagamaradie</i>	♂	<i>Sayenqueraghta</i>		<i>Wm Johnson</i>
<i>Kaanijes</i>	♂	<i>Wanughwaikae</i>		
<i>Chomedagaw</i>	X	<i>Saganoodie</i>		
<i>Aughnawawois</i>		<i>Tanjagua</i>		

Sayenqueraghta was at that time, as previously mentioned, chief, or leading, sachem of the Senecas. As indicated by the totemic device affixed opposite his name, he belonged to the great Turtle clan, the most noble of all the clans of the nation. He lived at Kanadesaga, in later days more commonly known as "Old Castle," situated about two miles north-west from the foot of Seneca Lake, within the present limits of the town of Geneva. It was originally located there about 1756, at which time Sir William Johnson erected a palisade fortification and block-houses, with a view to prevent French influence among the Senecas.

Under date of April 28, 1764, Sir William Johnson, at Johnson Hall, wrote†:

"Yesterday Captain Montour‡ with some of his party arrived here and brought the scalp taken some time ago by Thomas King's§ party. They say it is that of the chief Delaware's nephew, now our most active and inveterate enemy. They also brought with them one Emanuel Hower, of the Raritans [in New Jersey], taken last Fall by the Delawares at Wioming."

We have already mentioned (on page 431) the capture of Emanuel and John Hower and a third man whose name is unknown, on the flats near Mill Creek. Miner states ("History of Wyoming," page 57) that the three were taken by their captors to an Indian town near where Geneva now stands. (It may have been Kanadesaga.) From this town

* See page 298.

† See "Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York," VII: 629.

‡ See page 206, *ante*.

§ The Oneida chief frequently mentioned hereinbefore.

John Hower and the unknown captive escaped, but the dead body of Hower was subsequently found in the woods, he having, without doubt, succumbed to hunger and cold.

May 8, 1764, Governor Colden of New York wrote to the Earl of Halifax :

"By the last letters which I received from Sir William Johnson he makes no doubt of a peace with all the western Indians ; and that the Delawares and Shawanese only remain in hostility—against whom he has sent several parties of the Six Nations, who, he expects, will effectually chastise them."

On the 27th of the following June Sir William Johnson arrived at Oswego, on the shore of Lake Ontario, with about 550 Indians of various tribes, and was received by upwards of one hundred Caughnawagas and others whom he had sent forward some days previously. An officer of this expedition writing* from Oswego under date of June 28, 1764, said :

"We are to be joined by 300 Indians of Oneida, Tuscarora and adjacent villages ; so that on Sir William's setting out for Niagara there will be at least 900 Indians (Mohawks, Caughnawagas, Oneidas, Onondagas, [Eastern] Senecas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Nanticokes and others) to accompany the troops [numbering 1,196]—which, with 140 now at Niagara, and those who are expected to join us there from the upper nations, will make a larger body than has ever been known to take the field in our favor. A party of Indians has brought in two scalps from the Shawanese, and all our Indians express a great desire to go against those people. The Senecas have sent a great number of English prisoners, who are to be delivered up to us on our way to Niagara, agreeable to their late engagements."

Schoolcraft says† that three vessels were employed to transport the heavy stores of this expedition from Oswego to the mouth of the Niagara River, and that the troops were conveyed in an immense number of bateaux, especially built for the purpose—each boat being sufficiently capacious to carry twenty-seven men. "The Indians, in their canoes, followed the extended train of bateaux along the Ontario coasts. They arrived at Niagara in the beginning of July. A large number of Indian tribes had been summoned to a council by Sir William Johnson, who had collected 1,700 Indians at Niagara. Never had such a body of Indians been congregated under his auspices. The council was held in Fort Niagara. Johnson had brought with him the "Preliminary Articles of a 'Treaty of Peace'.‡ The [Western] Senecas, however, whose conduct had been equivocal during the war, did not make their appearance, although their deputies had signed [with *Sayenqueraghta*] the 'Preliminary Articles' at Johnson Hall. Sir William sent to their villages on the Genesee repeated messages for them, which were uniformly answered by promises. But promises would not serve, and consequently Colonel Bradstreet authorized the Baronet to send a final message, announcing that if they did not present themselves in five days he would send a force against them and destroy their villages. This brought them to terms, and they immediately attended the convention and, at the same time, surrendered their prisoners. A formal treaty of peace was then concluded."

Shortly before Sir William Johnson's expedition to Niagara was organized, Indian affairs on the western frontiers of Pennsylvania had reached a crisis. The Provincial Government, in consequence, "agreed, in order to give encouragement for a more successful carrying on of the war on the frontiers, to offer a reward for Indian scalps—provided the

* See his letter in *The New London Gazette* (New London, Connecticut), July 27, 1764.

† In "History of the Indian Tribes of the United States," VI : 253.

‡ See page 437.

project should be approved by Sir William Johnson." The Baronet was communicated with, and under date of June 18, 1764, he replied: "I cannot but approve of your design to gratify the desire of the people in your Province by offering a bounty on scalps." Whereupon, at a meeting of Governor Penn and the Council held July 7th, it was resolved to issue a proclamation—to be published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*—offering a reward of 150 dollars for every male Indian prisoner who should be delivered to the Government; 138 dollars for every female Indian prisoner; 134 dollars for the scalp of every male and 50 dollars for the scalp of every female Indian.

In *The New London Gazette* of September 14, 1764, was printed the following letter from the city of New York, dated September 10th.

"The white people that were delivered up to Sir William Johnson at Niagara arrived here last Monday [September 3d] from Albany, and are now in a room in the barracks of this city. Benjamin Sheppard was taken the 15th of October at Wyoming, Pennsylvania, by the famous 'Captain Bull' (now in our jail), in company with Daniel Baldwin and Jane his wife, Abraham Baldwin, John and Emanuel Hower and one Isaac Hollister. The Indians burnt Daniel Baldwin, and his wife died of hunger at the Genesee town last Winter. John Hower attempted to make his escape, but was found dead in the woods, having lost his way. Emanuel Hower got off. Abraham Baldwin was murdered, and Sheppard would have been murdered also had not 'Captain Bull' persuaded the Indians to the contrary; however, 'Bull' with his own hands gave him a severe whipping. Sheppard says there are yet a great many prisoners at the Indian towns."

As to what was ultimately done with "Captain Bull" and the thirteen other Indian prisoners who were confined in the jail at New York—from early in March until, at least, the middle of September, 1764—we have been unable to learn. We are able, however, to give the following interesting account of the experiences of Isaac Hollister (previously mentioned), while in captivity among the Indians. Upon his release in 1767 Hollister wrote a "Brief Narrative of the Captivity of Isaac Hollister, who was taken by the Indians, A. D. 1763." This was published the same year at New London, Connecticut, in pamphlet form, and, so far as known, the only copy now in existence is in The Library of Congress, at Washington. Prior to the production of their respective works none of the early historians of Wyoming had seen or read this narrative. The writer, after describing the descent upon the settlement at Mill Creek October 15, 1763, by the Indians, and their murder of his father and his brother, says:

"The Indians, after they had burnt and destroyed all they could, marched off, and carried me up the Susquehanna River 150 miles to a town called by them *Wethouounque*; and when we had arrived there they tied me with a rope about my neck, and an Indian was ordered to lead me while others beat me with their fists. This they continued to do until I ran about a quarter of a mile. When I arrived at one of their huts they tied me to one of the spars of the hut, where I remained all that night. The next day they let me loose, but would not let me go out of their sight. Here I tarried about three months, in which time I underwent many hardships, and had like to have famished with hunger and cold—having nothing to cover me but an old coat and an old blanket which was almost worn out. My employment was to fetch wood every day, upon my back, half a mile, which made me almost weary of my life.

"At this place was brought a young Dutchman, who was taken at the same time and place that I was, and when we had convenient opportunity we laid our heads together to contrive an escape. To this end we stole everything we could, without being discovered, and hid it in the hollow of an old log. It was about the latter end of March, as near as I can judge, * * * when we had got together about forty ears of corn and six cakes of bread each, about the bigness of a hand. * * The next day about noon we (the Dutchman and I) were sent after wood at the usual place, when, instead of returning back, we set out with a design to reach the nearest English settlement we could. We ran all the afternoon until evening, when we made a stop and built a fire, where we remained during the night."

These two fugitives traveled for a number of days, during which they suffered many hardships on account of hunger and cold—the weather being extremely severe. Finally the Dutchman succumbed and died, and, says Hollister :

“The evening before his death he told me that if he died first he would not have me afraid to eat of his flesh, ‘for I am determined,’ said he, ‘to eat of yours if you should die before me.’ * * * I thought the absolute necessity I was in would excuse my pursuing the advice he gave me, of eating his flesh as soon as he died. I went immediately about performing the disagreeable operation, and cut off five or six pounds of his legs and thighs. I left the rest and made the best way I could down the creek [which emptied into the Susquehanna]. I had not traveled but four days before I arrived at an Indian town, where I was soon discovered ; and being taken up by them they conveyed me to one of their huts.”

Hollister was given parched corn to eat at this village, but on the day following his arrival there the Indians vacated the place and removed to the very town whence Hollister had escaped. Here many of the Indians wanted to burn him at the stake, but a council being held it was concluded that on account of his youth he should not be put to death, but be whipped on his naked body. The next day, having been stripped of all his clothing, he was ordered to run the gantlet.* He had run about 600 feet—meanwhile being switched with whips and thumped with clubs—when an uncommonly vicious blow felled him, gashed and bleeding, to the ground. Thereupon an old squaw ran to his relief and dragged him to her hut. Proceeding with his narrative Hollister says :

“I tarried here about fourteen days, and then they sent me to the Senecas, about 150 miles off.† I lived here one year, in which time I suffered almost insurmountable hardships. For the most part of the time we had nothing but ground-nuts and herbs to subsist upon in Summer, and red plums in Winter. Several of the Indians actually starved to death.”

From this place Hollister was carried to Allegany, in south-western New York, and thence to Fort Pitt (now Pittsburg, Pennsylvania). There he remained about one month, when he was taken down the Ohio River some 300 miles to an Indian town, where he was kept three or four months—in which time he was well cared for and provided with necessary food and clothing. Then there came a messenger from Sir William Johnson with an order that all prisoners should be released without delay. After the Indians had stripped Hollister of almost everything he had he was turned over to a guide, who conducted him to Fort Pitt, where he was delivered up to the commanding officer. At that place he remained eleven months; then he was sent to Philadelphia, and, after three months spent there, finally reached New London—to the great joy of his mother, brothers and sisters, from whom he had been separated for three years and six months.

Early in October, 1764, Colonel Dyer returned home (as mentioned on page 393) from his mission to England in behalf of The Susquehanna Company and The Delaware Company. During his stay in London he had worked faithfully and earnestly in behalf of his clients. Stone, in his “Poetry and History of Wyoming” (note, page 143), says that he “obtained a collection of Colonel Dyer’s correspondence while he was abroad upon this mission. His letters prove his diligence and his perseverance in prosecuting his business.” During nearly all the time that Colonel Dyer was in London Maj. Gen. Phineas Lyman (neu-

* See page 150.

† Evidently the Western Senecas, in the Genesee region previously referred to.

tioned on page 281) and Capt. Joseph Trumbull* of Connecticut were there—both of them capable lawyers, and shareholders in The Susquehanna Company—and they rendered Colonel Dyer all the assistance possible. A case stated was prepared and presented, for an opinion, to four English lawyers of high authority, viz.: Edward Thurlow, then King's Counsel and later, as Baron Thurlow, Lord Chancellor of England; Alexander Wedderburn,† Richard Jackson‡ and John Dunning—the last two then eminent as Crown lawyers.

The opinion given (in writing) to Colonel Dyer and his associates in London, early in 1764, by the learned counsel abovementioned, was as follows§ :

"We are of opinion that the words 'actually possessed and enjoyed' do not extend to lands on the west side of the Dutch settlements which were at the time of the grant of James I in a wilderness state, though divided from the English settlements by the actual possession of the Dutch. And that the grant to the Council of Plymouth did not mean to except in favor of any one anything to the westward of such Plantations. The agreement between the Colony of Connecticut and the Province of New York|| can extend no further than *to settle the boundaries between the respective parties*, and has no effect upon other claims that either of them had in other parts; and as the Charter to Connecticut was granted but eighteen years before that to William Penn, there is no ground to contend that the Crown could, at that period, make an effectual grant to him of that country which had been so recently granted to others. But, if the country had been actually settled under the latter [the Penn] grant, it would now be a matter of considerable doubt whether the right of the occupiers, or the title under which they hold, could be impeached by a prior grant without settlement.

"In case the Governor and Company [of Connecticut] shall, in point of prudence, think it expedient to make their claim and support it, it will be proper—either amicably and in concurrence with the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, or, in case of the refusal of those Proprietaries, without them—to apply to the King in Council, praying His Majesty to appoint Commissioners in America to decide the question."

After a delay of some months a carefully-drawn document (endorsed "Petition of Eliphalet Dyer, Esq., and others, praying His Majesty will

* See a subsequent chapter for a sketch of his life.

† ALEXANDER WEDDERBURN was born at Edinburg February 13, 1733, the son of a Scottish Judge. He was called to the English Bar in 1757, and in 1762 entered Parliament. Having distinguished himself as a lawyer he was appointed Solicitor General in 1771, when he left the opposition to become a strenuous supporter of Lord North. In April, 1774, Edmund Burke delivered in the House of Commons his celebrated speech on American taxation. Wedderburn spoke in reply to Burke, and, among other things, said: "I feel the warmest zeal to vindicate the motives and the conduct of that great Minister [George Grenville] who first planned the measures with regard to America [see the succeeding foot-note], to which, unjustly, so much mischief has been imputed." About this same time Wedderburn, as Solicitor General, took the chief part in the famous examination of Benjamin Franklin before His Majesty's Privy Council, during which he abused and insulted Franklin—for which he was hanged and burned in effigy at Philadelphia in May, 1774.

Wedderburn supported the American war policy of the Government, and in 1780 was made Chief Justice as Lord Loughborough. He joined the administration under Pitt in 1793, and succeeded Lord Thurlow as Lord Chancellor—from which office he retired in 1801 with the title of Earl of Rosslyn. He was the author of a work on the management of prisons. He died January 3, 1805, whereupon George III made the not very complimentary remark: "*He has not left a greater knave behind him in my dominions!*"

‡ RICHARD JACKSON, of London, England, was a son of Richard Jackson of Dublin, Ireland. November 22, 1751, he was admitted to the Inner Temple, and became a Bencher in 1770. In March, 1760, he was appointed by the Governor and Company of the Colony of Connecticut Agent and Attorney for the Colony, "with power to receive all money granted by Parliament and ordered to be paid to the Colony of Connecticut." He still held this office in 1764, in which year he was also created Standing Counsel for the South Sea Company. In 1765 he was a Member of Parliament, and in that year warned the House of Commons against applying the Stamp Act to the American Colonies. About that time he was appointed private secretary to the Hon. George Grenville—Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury—the famous statesman who passed the Stamp Act (mentioned above, as well as in the preceding note), which first drove the American Colonies to resistance. In 1767 a Bill was introduced in the House of Commons providing for the establishing of a general civil list in all the American Colonies. Jackson opposed this, claiming that its object was to render all the public officers and magistrates in America *independent of the people*. The royal Governors sent to America, he observed, were often needy, unprincipled men, and always dependent for the duration of their functions on the pleasure of the Crown. Only one other member of the House supported Jackson in his opposition, and the Bill was passed.

In October, 1765, Richard Jackson gave £100 towards paying the expense of finishing the Chapel of Yale College. Dr. Johnson, in speaking of him, called him "All-knowing" Jackson. He died in London May 6, 1787.

§ See "Connecticut Colonial Records," XIV : 447.

|| November 30, 1664, His Majesty's Commissioners, appointed "to decide the bounds betwixt His Highness the Duke of York and the Connecticut Charter," fixed, with the approbation and assent of the Agents of Connecticut, a line east of the Hudson River to be the western bounds of the said Colony. In 1683 the Commissioners of Connecticut, with the Governor of New York, fixed upon a new line, which, it was declared, "shall be the western bounds of the said Colony of Connecticut." This constituted the New York-Connecticut boundary-line in 1764.

be pleased to grant to them sundry lands purchased by them from the Indians near the Rivers Susquehanna and Delaware in America") was presented to the King in Council July 11, 1764, and having been read was duly referred to a committee. Five days later an authenticated copy of the petition was served upon the Hon. Thomas Penn, in London. That copy is now preserved (MS. No. 67) among the "Penn Manuscripts," mentioned on page 30, *ante*; and as no part of the petition has heretofore been printed, we give the following extracts from it.

"The humble petition of ELIPHALET DYER, Esq., on behalf of himself and of sundry other persons, purchasers of several large tracts of land on or near the Rivers Susquehanna and Delaware in North America, commonly called by the names of Susquehanna and Delaware Companies—amounting to the number of 2,000 persons, or thereabouts—

"SHEWETH: That your petitioner's constituents did, in the years 1754 and 1755, for a full and valuable consideration, and without any the least imposition, fraud or deceit, purchase from the sachems of sundry Indian tribes, in the form and according to the usage constantly practised by the said Indian tribes, considerable tracts of land lying between the 41° and 43° of North Latitude, near to the said Rivers Susquehanna and Delaware—as the same lands are more particularly described and set forth in the said *purchase deeds in your petitioner's custody*. That the principal view and intent of making such purchases was to cement and fix the Indians in those parts in friendship with Your Majesty's subjects, and to further the security as well as cultivation of those parts of Your Majesty's dominions. And, in order to carry this plan into execution, it was intended and proposed that an humble application should be made to Your Majesty's late royal Grandfather, King George II, for his royal Charter *for erecting and settling a new Colony upon the said purchased lands*—in such form and under such regulations as should seem most expedient to His Majesty's royal wisdom. * * *

"That the breaking out of the war soon after, both in Europe and America, put a stop to the abovementioned intended application by your petitioner's constituents to his said late Majesty; but soon after the conclusion of the late Peace the said Companies resumed the consideration of their respective purchases and of the means of establishing themselves therein. In consequence thereof great numbers of The Delaware Company repaired unto, and for some time continued upon, that tract purchased of the Delaware Indians, with whom they lived in the most perfect peace and harmony; and The Susquehanna Company were moving forward to take possession of and settle on their said purchased lands, when a letter was received by the Governor of Connecticut from the Right Hon. the Lord Egremont, then one of Your Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, dated January 26, 1763, importing that it was Your Majesty's pleasure that the said Governor should exert every legal authority * * * to prevent the prosecution of any such settlements. * * * That the Governor of Connecticut having immediately communicated to the said Companies Your Majesty's said orders, they, in testimony of their entire submission and acquiescence therein, unanimously agreed that no person whatsoever belonging to the said Companies should enter or make any settlement upon any of the said purchased lands, until the state of their case should be laid before Your Majesty and Your Majesty's royal pleasure should be further known therein.

"That the several purchases made by the said two Companies lying very near and contiguous to each other, they have agreed to unite in their humble suit and application to Your Majesty, and have deputed your petitioner their Agent to lay a state of their case at Your Majesty's feet. Your petitioner, therefore, most humbly beseeches Your Majesty, on the behalf of the said two Companies, his constituents, that he may be permitted to lay before Your Majesty in Council, or in any other manner as to Your Majesty's wisdom shall seem meet, the fullest proof of *the validity, justice and fairness of the said several purchases, and the perfect satisfaction and acquiescence therein by the Indians from whom the same was made*.

"And your petitioner also most humbly beseeches Your Majesty that, upon the renunciation of the Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut of all right and title to the said purchased lands as lying within the limits of their Charter, Your Majesty will be most graciously pleased to grant the said purchased lands to your petitioner's said constituents, *and to constitute and erect them into A NEW COLONY, or Settlement, by such name, in such form and under such regulations and restrictions as to Your Majesty in your royal wisdom shall seem most fitting and convenient.*" * * *

From this petition we learn that the ostensible object, or project, of the two Connecticut land companies was to have their contiguous territories, comprehended in the respective purchases made by the companies, combined and erected into a new Colony. This was in line with the resolution adopted by The Susquehanna Company in May,

1755 (see page 306, *ante*), and which, it is presumed, was duly laid before the General Assembly of Connecticut and became the basis for its action as recorded on page 307. The resolution of the Assembly at that time, however, referred only to The Susquehanna Company. The Delaware Company had then been organized but a short while, and beyond its own proprietors its existence was scarcely known; besides, its purchase of the lands along the Delaware was not effected until just about the time the Assembly acted on the memorial of The Susquehanna Company. (See page 293.) It will be seen, by a glance at the "Map of a Part of Pennsylvania," in Chapter XI, that the combined area of the Delaware and Susquehanna Purchases would have made a very respectable Colony—territorially considered; considerably larger, in fact, than either the State of Connecticut or the State of Massachusetts to-day, and very much larger than Rhode Island or Delaware or Maryland or some of the other States that might be named.

The petition of Colonel Dyer lay buried and, evidently, forgotten—among the documents of the committee of the Privy Council to which it had been referred—up to the time of the Colonel's departure from London for Connecticut. How much longer it lay in that condition we are unable to state. January 16, 1765, a meeting of The Susquehanna Company was held at Hartford (the first meeting that had taken place since May 18, 1763—according to the records of the Company), when Colonel Dyer made a full report of his efforts in behalf of the Company during his eleven months' stay in England. Thereupon John Gardiner, Esq., of the Inner Temple, London, was appointed by the Company its agent in Great Britain, "to appear at Court to prosecute the Company's case," etc.; and the next month the sum of £200 was transmitted to him "to be improved in forwarding the cause of the Company." Some months later Gardiner reported to the Company that, in connection with his strenuous efforts to forward its cause, the following-named persons had been by him "admitted as proprietors of the Company," to wit: "Sir Herbert Lloyd, Baronet; Howell Gwynne, of Garth, Esquire; Mr. John Augustine Leavy, Attorney at Law; George Wingfield, of the Inner Temple, Esquire; Mr. William Powell, Attorney at Law"—and others.

In April, 1765, Paponhank and the Moravian Indians at Province Island (see page 435) were removed to Bethlehem, whence Zeisberger conducted them to Wyalusing and founded the town of *Friedenshütten*—as described in the note on page 220. Heckewelder, in the unpublished letter mentioned on page 279, states:

"In 1763 a new war broke out, when from that time the place [Wyoming] was not visited [by the Moravian Brethren] until the Spring of 1765, after a peace having been concluded with the hostile Indians. Christian Indians then [1765] removed from Philadelphia * * in a body to Wyalusing. * * * When the Christian Indians removed to Wyalusing *there were no Indians living at Wyoming*, nor any other place lower down the River than *Sheshéquanni*; * nor were any white people settled there."

At Philadelphia, September 25, 1766, Governor Penn held a conference with "Jemmy Nanticoke," "John Toby," "Anthony Turkey" and other Indians of the Nanticoke-Conoy and Mohegan tribes living at Chenango, or Otsiningo—mentioned in the notes on pages 219 and

* Sheshequin, in the present Bradford County, Pennsylvania, on the left bank of the Susquehanna, north-west from Wyalusing about twenty miles in a bee-line. In the Moravian diaries of 1768 Sheshequin is called "*Schechschiquanink*"; and in February, 1768, it is recorded that James Davis, or Davies, the Chief of the village—who had formerly been Chief at Matchasaung (see page 359) and later at a village in New York lying between Assinissink and Passckawkung (see page 389)—"made application at *Friedenshütten* for stated preaching of the gospel" at Sheshequin.

239. The three Indians named—and, undoubtedly, all the others then present—had formerly lived in Wyoming, and subsequently “Anthony Turkey” and “Toby” returned here—the last-named living for some time—on friendly terms with the white settlers—near the mouth of the creek which for many years now has borne his name. (See page 53.) After the usual preliminaries observed at Indian conferences “Jemmy Nanticoke” produced a belt of black wampum, and, speaking for all the Indians present, said*:

“Brother, it is now proper for us to mention to you that there has been a great deal of wickedness of late, which hangs like a cloud in the air and hinders us from seeing each other and from transacting or settling such business as we may have with one another. By this belt, therefore, we remove these clouds, and we now present it to you to show our joy that the great God of Heaven has brought us again together to see one another with the same brotherly affection we used formerly to do. * * * As we came down from our country we stopped at Wyoming, where we had a *mine* in two places, and we discovered that some white people had been at work in the mine and had filled three canoes with the ore; and we saw their tools with which they had dug it out of the ground, where they had made a hole at least forty feet long and five or six feet deep. It happened formerly that some white people did now and then take only a small bit and carried it away, but these people have been working at the mine and have filled their canoes.

“You know, Brother, that by our ancient treaties we are obliged to acquaint each other when anything hurtful shall happen to either of us. According to this we now inform you of this injury done to us, which is a very bad thing, and may produce mischief between us. * * * We also inform you that there is one John Anderson, a trader, now living at Wyoming, and we suspect that either he or somebody employed by him has robbed our mine. This man has a store of goods there, and it may happen, when the Indians see their mine robbed, they will come and take away his goods.”

In reply to this speech Governor Penn said, among other things:

“We have heard what you say about the mine at Wyoming, and we assure you that we know nothing of this matter; and if Anderson has settled there he has been guilty of a breach of our general order. * * If any of our people should attempt to take away any ore from your mine you will endeavor to learn their names, and give the Governor early information.”

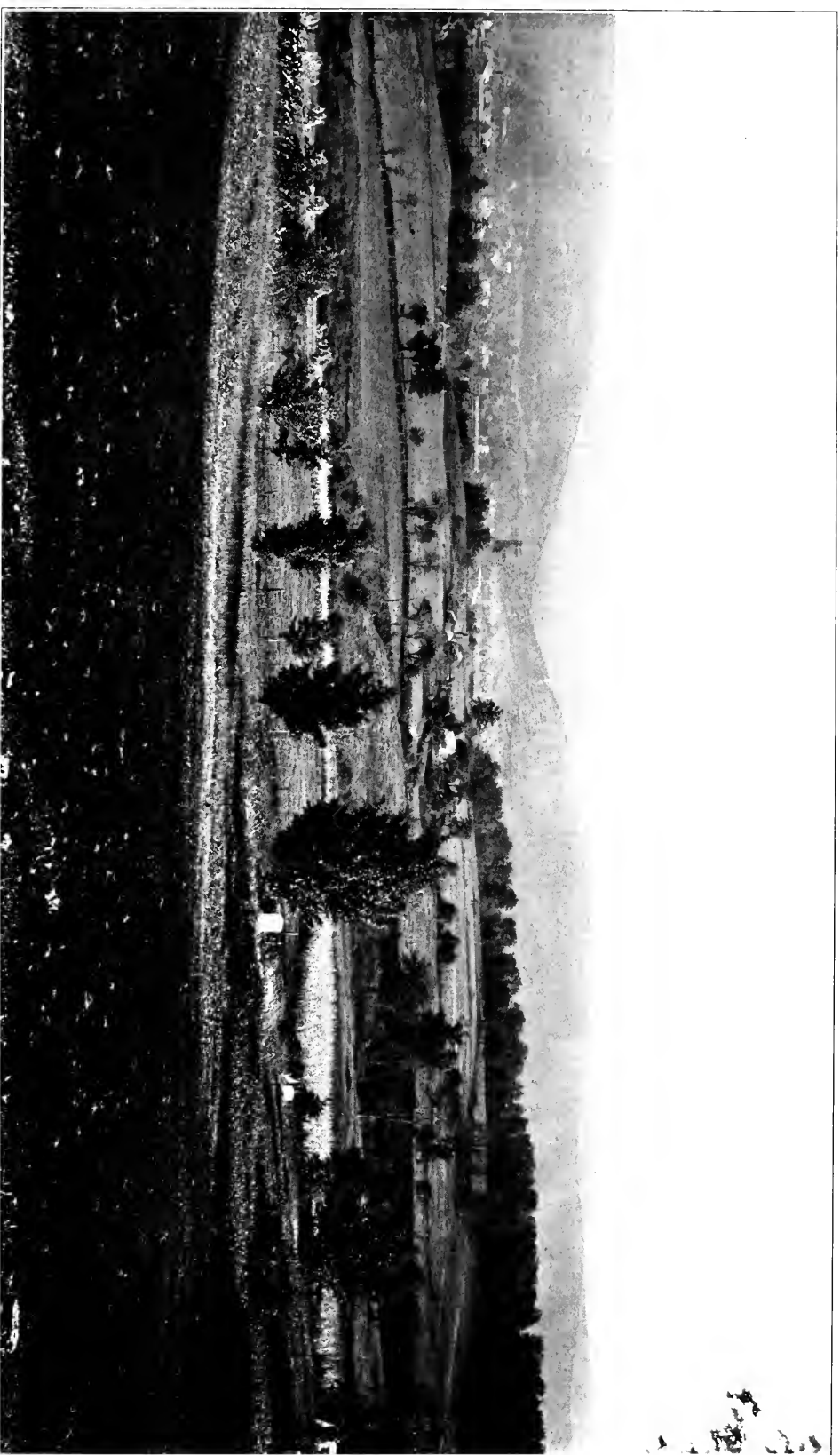
We have heretofore referred (on pages 180, 210 and 279) to the belief of the Indians respecting the existence of mines of valuable minerals in Wyoming Valley. In the circumstances, then, there is no doubt that the “mine” from which “ore” was taken in 1766, as reported to Governor Penn by the Indians, was the coal-bed mentioned in the note on page 210, and that the supposed “ore” was “stone-coal” (as it was then called), or anthracite. On “A Plot of the Manor of Sunbury,” on page 454, the location of the beforementioned coal-bed is noted by the words “stone coal.” Where the second mine, to which the Indians referred, was situated, we do not know; but it was probably within the present limits of Wilkes-Barré. However, the subject of coal-mines and the earliest mining and use of coal in Wyoming Valley is fully dealt with in Chapter LI.

As to John Anderson, the trader, referred to by the Indians: Early in 1765 Sir William Johnson, as well as the Commissioners of Indian Affairs for Pennsylvania, granted to Capt. Amos Ogden of New Jersey the right to establish and carry on a trading-post at Wyoming. Associated with Ogden in this enterprise were Capt. John Dick and John Anderson, and in the Summer of 1765 they repaired to the valley and erected, near the site of Teedyuscung’s former town, a substantial log building for their use as a store- and dwelling-house.† Heckewelder says‡ that John Anderson was called by the Indians “the honest Quaker

* See “Pennsylvania Colonial Records,” IX : 329.

† See “Pennsylvania Archives,” First Series, IV : 401.

‡ See “Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society,” I : 202.



VIEW OF SOLOMON'S GAP (MENTIONED ON PAGE 445) FROM ASHLEY CEMETERY.
From a photograph taken in 1901.

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trader"; and that between May, 1765, and June, 1769, he went twice a year from Wyoming up the Susquehanna to Friedenshütten, Sheshequin, Tioga Point and other Indian towns on trading expeditions. In November, 1765, John Jennings, of Northampton County, accompanied Anderson from Wyoming to Friedenshütten.

Dr. F. C. Johnson, in his paper mentioned on page 204, says:

"Bishop John Ettwein, who several times passed through Wyoming on his way from Bethlehem to Wyalusing, states in his journal of 1767: 'On descending the Wyoming Mountain* into the valley, my Indian guide pointed out a pile of stones, said to indicate the number of Indians who had already climbed the mountain—it being the custom for each one to add one [stone] to the heap on passing that way. At 2 P. M. I reached Mr. Ogden's, where I was hospitably entertained. The Shawanese have all left the valley, and the only traces of them are their *places of burial, in crevices and caves in the rocks*, at whose entrances stand large stones, painted. * * * Continued my journey to Wyalusing. Rode up the east bank of the Susquehanna, through a large flat nine [*sic*] miles to *Lechawah-hanneck* [Lackawanna River], where there was an Indian town† up to 1755, and where our missionaries occasionally preached. It is now totally deserted by the Indians. Alongside of the path is a grave-yard,‡ and upwards of thirty graves can be seen."

Heckewelder, in his letter mentioned on page 279, says: "In 1768, when I again traveled through that country [Wyoming Valley],§ a Mr. Ogden had a store where the old Indian path struck the river path, about 80 or 100 yards from the river."

The "river path", abovementioned, started in at Teedyuscung's town and ran thence up along the Susquehanna, on or near the left bank of the river, while the "old Indian path" branched off from the "river path" near the intersection of the present Ross and West River Streets,|| and, following very closely the course which Ross Street and Hazle Avenue now take, passed through Solomon's Gap (see pages 47 and 56), on over the mountains and through the intervening valleys to and through the Wind Gap (see page 45), and thence onward to Easton. After Teedyuscung's town was established this path through Solomon's Gap (the nearest of all the mountain gaps to the site of the town) was marked out by the Indians and traveled by them in their frequent journeys to and from Easton and points beyond. It soon became the most traveled trail connecting Wyoming with the "Forks of the Delaware"; the older trail, leading from Hanover township to Fort Allen on the Lehigh (see page 237), being thenceforth seldom used. On the reproduction of "A Plot of the Manor of Stoke" (see page 455) the location of Ogden's "store" and the course of the "path to the Wind Gap" are indicated; and, judging by this plot and the paragraph quoted from Heckewelder's letter, the site of the store-house was undoubtedly near where the north-east corner of Ross and West River Streets is now situated. On the reproduction of the "Sketch of the Encampment at Wyoming," drawn by Lieutenant Colonel Hubley in 1779 (see Chapter XVIII), the dotted lines intersecting each other, opposite the "redoubt" south-west of the "Fort" on the river bank, represent the two Indian paths, or trails, abovementioned.

Beginning with 1766, and continuing for several years, the Indians at Friedenshütten, Sheshequin, Tioga and other points on the Susque-

* What is now known as "Wilkes-Barré Mountain." See page 44.

† Asserughney, mentioned on page 187, etc.

‡ Undoubtedly at or near the site of the former village of *Matchasaung*, mentioned on page 213. See, also, the last paragraph on page 174.

§ With David Zeisberger, Bishop John Ettwein and Gottlieb Sensemann, en route to Friedenshütten.

|| See "Map of Wilkes-Barré and its Suburbs in 1872," in Chapter XXVIII.

hanna to the northward, came down to Wyoming on their Winter hunting expeditions; and, according to the Moravian diarist* at Friedenshütten, Papoonhank established "a hunting-lodge at *Menachningk*" (Monocanock Island, described on page 50, *ante*) in 1767.

About the 20th of March, 1767, two Tuscaroras arrived at Wyoming, avant-couriers of a band of their tribe numbering upwards of seventy men, women and children whom they had left behind at Shamokin. These were the last of the Tuscaroras from North Carolina (see page 116), and the two messengers who came to Wyoming proceeded onward, after a short stop, to Friedenshütten to collect corn and request its transportation to Shamokin, without delay, for the use of the Tuscarora emigrants. One of these messengers, a few days later, set out from Friedenshütten for the country of the Cayugas, his object being to ask of those Indians—who, in conjunction with the Oneidas, claimed a special proprietorship in the Wyoming lands (see page 268)—permission for the Tuscaroras "to settle and plant at Lackawanna"; presumably on the site of the old Monsey town, Asserughney. About the 1st of May another messenger from Shamokin passed through Wyoming on his way to Friedenshütten, carrying the information that the Tuscaroras had broken camp and were moving up the river. Two days afterwards twenty of the emigrants passed through the valley northward, and a few days later upwards of forty. Most of these Tuscaroras went on to Otsiningo, but a few remained at Friedenshütten through the Summer and ensuing Winter.

About the first of September, 1767, fifty-seven Nanticokes arrived in Wyoming Valley† and set up their wigwams on the island of *Menachningk*, mentioned above. They were the remnants of the last of their tribe who had left Maryland about 1750, and since then had been living on or near the Juniata River in southern Pennsylvania.‡ They were on their way to Otsiningo, and they sojourned at *Menachningk* nearly three weeks—sending, in the meantime, two of their number to Friedenshütten to beg for corn, and to request "the loan of canoes in which to bring up their aged and infirm."

In September, 1767, The Susquehanna Company held a meeting—the first since May, 1765—but no business of interest or importance was transacted. Another meeting was held on November 11th, when it was "*Voted*, That Joseph Galloway, Esq.,§ and Mr. Peletiah Webster, of the city of Philadelphia, be each entitled to one whole right in The Susquehanna Company in testimony of the grateful sense this Company has of their kind services for the said Company." What those services were we have been unable to ascertain. The next meeting of the Company was held at Windham January 6, 1768, when Col. Eliphalet Dyer was directed to proceed to London immediately "to appear before the King's most excellent majesty and obtain his confirmation of the Company's project and proceedings with respect to establishing a new Colony in the Wyoming region. In order to raise sufficient funds "to be used in prosecuting the cause in England," a committee was appointed to collect one dollar and a-half on each right in the Company. It was also voted to raise, at the same time, "one-half dollar on

* See "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society," I: 198.

† See *ibid.*, 199.

‡ See the last two paragraphs on page 219, and the last paragraph on page 239.

§ A Pennsylvanian of prominence, to whom fuller reference will be made in a subsequent chapter.

each share, to be paid to John Henry Lydius towards the balance of his account against the Company, as also a gratuity to said Lydius for his services in making said purchase for said Company."

The committee thus referred to consisted of the following-named—all of Connecticut, except where otherwise indicated: "Elizur Talcott, Glastonbury; Daniel Lyman, New Haven; Benjamin Stevens, Canaan; Josiah Lindal, Newport [Rhode Island]; Joseph Eaton, Plainfield; John Jenkins, Colchester; Ezra Dean, East Greenwich [Rhode Island]; Job Randall, Scituate [Rhode Island]; Capt. Robert Dixon, Voluntown; Capt. Jonathan Pettebone, Simsbury; Capt. James Bird, Salisbury; Benjamin Giles, Groton; Isaac Tracy, Norwich; Benjamin Kinyon, Dutchess County [New York]; Richard Goldsmith, Bethlehem; Benjamin Yale, Farmington; William Buck, Amenia Precinct [New York]; Samuel Gray, Windham; Simeon Draper, Beekman's Precinct [New York]; Increase Moseley, Woodbury; Elihu Marsh, New Fairfield."

Notwithstanding the surrender to the Six Nations by the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, in September, 1758, of "all the territory lying to the northward and westward of the Allegheny Mountains" (as mentioned on page 381), white settlers continued to encroach on the hunting-grounds of the Indians, particularly after the close of Pontiac's War. Proclamations were fulminated against them, and finally, February 3, 1768, the Pennsylvania Assembly passed an Act on the subject. After the preamble, which was in these words—"Whereas, many disorderly people, in violation of His Majesty's proclamation, have presumed to settle upon lands not yet purchased from the Indians (to their damage and great dissatisfaction), which may be attended with dangerous and fatal consequences to the peace and safety of this Province"—it was enacted that if any persons, already settled on the unpurchased lands, neglected or refused to remove from the same within thirty days after they were required so to do by the Governor, * * * or if any persons, contrary to due notice or warning, should subsequently settle and reside on such lands, every person so neglecting or refusing to remove, or settling after notice prohibiting occupancy as aforesaid, being legally convicted, was to be *punished with death without benefit of clergy*. And if any person or persons, singly or in companies, presumed to enter on such unpurchased lands for the purpose of making surveys thereof, or to mark or cut down trees thereon, and should be convicted thereof, was, or were, to be punished by a fine of £50 and three months' imprisonment. This Act was limited to one year, and was not to apply to persons who, like Captain Ainos Ogden and his associates at Wyoming, were located on the unpurchased lands under special permission for specific purposes.

Three weeks after the enactment of the forgoing law Governor Penn issued a proclamation, "giving notice to all and every such person or persons settled upon any lands within the boundaries of the Province, not purchased of the Indians by the Proprietaries thereof, to remove themselves and their families off and from the said lands on or before the first day of May next ensuing."

But proclamations, edicts and Acts seemed to be of no avail, and the disputes between the whites and Indians as to the proper boundaries or limits between them became frequent. The Indians did not hesitate

to show by words and actions that they "disliked the white man's inordinate 'thirst for land.'" At length, in the Summer of 1768, Sir William Johnson determined to hold a great council with the Indians, not only for the purpose of renewing "the ancient covenant chain between the Indians and the English, but to establish a scientific frontier." Francis W. Halsey (in "The Old New York Frontier," page 99) says:

"In preparation for this council some twenty large bateaux, laden with presents best suited to propitiate the Indians, had been conveyed to Fort Stanwix.* From his agent at Albany Sir William ordered sixty barrels of flour, fifty barrels of pork, six barrels of rice and seventy barrels of other provisions. When the Congress opened 3,200 Indians were present, 'each of whom,' wrote Johnson, 'consumes daily more than two ordinary men amongst us; and would be extremely dissatisfied if stinted when convened for business.'

The Indians invited to the council, or congress, began to assemble at Fort Stanwix early in October, 1768, and by the middle of the month Sir William Johnson and the various officials expected to be present were on the ground. From Pennsylvania came the Rev. Richard Peters, Benjamin Franklin, James Tilghman and Gov. John Penn—the last-named, however, being present during the preliminary negotiations only, as before the formal opening of the council occurred he was obliged by the affairs of his Province to set off for Philadelphia. Messrs. Peters and Tilghman, therefore, represented Pennsylvania as Commissioners. Capt. Amos Ogden was there from Wyoming,† although not in an official capacity. Gov. William Franklin and Chief Justice Frederick Smith of New Jersey represented that Province, and Thomas Walker was a Commissioner from Virginia. Col. Eleazar Fitch,‡ of Windham, Connecticut, was there; but whether as a Commissioner to represent Connecticut, or as an agent or attorney for private parties, we are unable to state. It is not probable, however, that he appeared in behalf of The

* FORT STANWIX was built under the supervision of, and named for, Brig. Gen. John Stanwix, mentioned in the note on page 346, and stood within the present limits of the city of Rome, Oneida County, New York—on the Mohawk River, ninety-four miles north-west of Albany in a bee-line. It is said to have been "the largest and strongest fort ever erected in the Province of New York, except Crown Point and Ticonderoga." Under orders from General Abercrombie its construction was begun in August, 1758, and completed in the following November at a cost of \$60,000. It occupied about one-half an acre of ground, and would accommodate 1,000 persons.

At the beginning of the American Revolution Fort Stanwix was repaired and named Fort Schuyler, in honor of Gen. Philip Schuyler of New York. August 2, 1777, the fort was garrisoned by 750 men commanded by Col. Peter Gansevoort, with Lieut. Col. Marinus Willett second in command; and on that day the investment of the fort was begun by an advance party of the enemy composed in part of a band of Indians led by Joseph Brant (mentioned on page 299). Within a few days the investing force had been increased to 1,000 Indians and 700 British regulars, Hessians, Canadians and Tories—Col. Barry St. Leger being in command. General Herkimer came to the rescue, and the battle of Oriskany was fought on the 6th of August. Benedict Arnold marched to the relief of the garrison on the 22nd of August, and the siege was raised.

At Philadelphia, June 14, 1777, the American Congress established by its resolution a *national flag*, as follows: "That the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation." Although the resolution establishing the flag was not officially promulgated until September 3, 1777, yet news of the Resolve of Congress reached Fort Schuyler just prior to its investment, and the officers of the garrison determined to improvise a flag. "Shirts were cut up," says the historian Lossing, "to form the white stripes; bits of scarlet cloth were joined for the red, and the blue ground for the stars was composed of a cloth cloak belonging to Capt. Abraham Swartwout of Dutchess County, who was then in the fort." This flag was hoisted at Fort Schuyler (formerly Fort Stanwix) at sunrise on the day that the battle of Oriskany was fought—August 6, 1777—and was, undoubtedly, the *first American flag* (of the "Stars and Stripes" pattern) to be not only raised above a fort, but unfurled in the face of the enemy.

About 1785 a settlement was begun near Fort Stanwix—which, after the close of the Revolution, had received back its original name. The population slowly increased, and eleven years later the town of Rome, with an area of 46,000 acres, was incorporated. About 1799 a general Indian war was feared, and Fort Stanwix was repaired and garrisoned. The war did not happen, however, and soon afterwards the fort was abandoned and fell into decay.

† See "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society," 1: 202.

‡ See his name as one of the grantees in the Indian deed of 1754, page 271, *ante*; also, see page 402. Miner says ("Wyoming," page 98) that Fitch was at Fort Stanwix "in the Penn interest."

ELEAZAR FITCH, abovementioned, was born at Lebanon, Connecticut, August 27, 1726, the son of Joseph and Anne (*Waring*) Fitch. He was graduated at Yale College in 1743. He inherited a considerable estate from his father, and some years after leaving college became a merchant in Lebanon. Later he removed to Windham. April 4, 1746, he was married to Amy Bowen of Providence, Rhode Island. In 1750 he was commissioned a Lieutenant in the Connecticut Militia, and in 1755 served as Major in the Connecticut regiment sent against Crown Point. In a similar expedition sent out in 1756 he held the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. In 1758 he was promoted Colonel of the 4th Connecticut Regiment, of which, in 1759 and '60, Israel Putnam was Lieutenant Colonel. In 1753 Colonel Fitch was appointed Sheriff of Windham County, and in that office was continued, by successive appointments, until 1776, when, on account

Susquehanna Company, although he was at that time, or, at least, had been, a member of the Company. Eight Indian tribes—including the Delawares, the Shawanese and all the tribes of the Six Nations—were present in large numbers, while other tribes were represented by small delegations.

Among the large number of private citizens attracted to Fort Stanwix, either through curiosity or by reason of some personal interest in the proceedings, were the Rev. Jacob Johnson, referred to on page 82, and the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, mentioned on page 290. At that time both these men were engaged in missionary labors among the Oneida Indians, and the former resided at the "Upper Castle" of the nation, in what is now Oneida County, New York, and at no great distance from Fort Stanwix. Mr. Kirkland, who had previously spent over a year as a missionary at the Seneca town of Kanadesaga, heretofore mentioned, was then located at Kanoalohale (now known as Oneida Castle), the principal town of the Oneidas, situated in the present Madison County, New York, about twelve miles south-east of the eastern end of Oneida Lake.

It seems that Sir William Johnson, the Commissioners and the other gentlemen in attendance at Fort Stanwix; dined together in company each day during the progress of the council; and, in the course of or after the meal, formally drank various toasts—as was usual in those times. At dinner on October 19th the Rev. Jacob Johnson, in proposing a toast to the King's health, made use of some language which, apparently, gave offense to certain of the King's officers at the table. Whereupon Mr. Johnson wrote the following letter,* which was read at dinner the next day.

"To Sir William Johnson, Gov. Franklin, Rev. Mr. Peters, Chief Justice Smyth, Col. Johnson and the other respectable gentlemen of this table, Health and prosperity to you all!

"In as much as I am a minister of Christ, & my Work principally to preach the Gospel to the lower rank of people, I have not used my self much to the company, & converse of Gent^l of the Civil & Military order especially in the pleasure and practice of drinking Healths, Loyal Toasts &c wherefore I may easily offend in this respect, with no ill meaning. And in as much as in drinking the Kings health yesterday, I used such terms as to offend Col Johnson Mr Chief Justice & it may be some others, in saying I drink the King of New Eng^d Health, the Health of the King that hears our Prayers, &c. I do hereby honestly, and before him that knoweth all things, protest I had no other meaning then, or now, but what is express'd or imply'd in these words—I drink the Health of King George iii of Great Britain &c., comprehending New Eng^d & all the British Colonies & provinces in North America. And I mean to drink such a Health to his British Majesty when occasion serves, so long as his Royal Majesty shall govern his British & American subjects according to *Magna Charta*, or the great charter of English Liberties, and hears the prayers of his American subjects, when properly laid before Him.

"But in case British Majesty (which God in great mercy prevent) should superseed & proceed contrary to charter rights & privileges, & Govern us with a Rod of Iron, & the mouth of Cannons, and make his Little Finger thicker than his Father's loyns, and utterly refuse to hear or consider our Humble prayers; then, & in that case I should think it my indispensable Duty to seek a retreat else where, or *joyn with my Countrymen in Forming a New Empire in America*, distinct from & independent of the British Empire—agreeable to a projected, & predicted Plan in a late essay (Intituled the Power & Gendure† of Great Britain, Founded on the Liberties of the Colonies, &c.), which in substance agrees with my mind in these things, & if I am not mistaken, with every true 'SON OF LIBERTY.'

"Your Excellencies most Obed^t Humble servt. [Signed] "JACOB WS. JOHNSON."

of his loyalty to the King, he was superseded. His removal was asked for in a petition to the General Assembly signed by more than 100 of his fellow-citizens. Shortly after this Colonel Fitch removed to the city of New York, where he remained until September, 1783, when he removed with his family to Nova Scotia—the objective point of many Loyalists after the close of the Revolution.

Colonel Fitch was a man of distinguished appearance—being six feet and four inches in height, and weighing 300 pounds—and is said to have been "the best looking officer in the American army." He was noted, also, for his general accomplishments—musical taste and acquirements and appreciation of art and literature. He died near Montreal, Canada, June 23, 1796.

* See "Documentary History of the State of New York," IV : 246.

† Grandeur (?).

These were bold words to use on such an occasion and in the presence of such a company as was gathered there—especially so in view of the political state of the Colonies at that particular time, brought about, largely, by the extraordinary and energetic doings of the wide-extended organization known as the “Sons of Liberty.” (See Chapter VIII.) It may readily be believed that Sir William Johnson was not only somewhat upset by this post-prandial bomb-shell, but was incensed by it; the more so as he was just then encountering opposition from some of the missionaries among the Indians with reference to certain features of the treaty he was endeavoring to negotiate.* In consequence, the Baronet, as the general manager and boss of the Fort Stanwix council and all proceedings connected with it, determined to exclude, and did exclude, the Rev. Jacob Johnson from certain conferences which were held by and with the Indians during the progress of the work in hand—as will be more fully shown hereinafter.

Two days after Sir William had been discomposed by the Reverend Jacob, as just narrated, the one Johnson received from the other Johnson a communication of which the following is a copy, in part. †

“It is with some apprehension of Concern I write. I am sensible of the great propriety of Your Excellency’s forbidding the Ind^{ns} intoxicating Spirits (at this Time). * * It may be observed the Senecas, who have been a great while in coming, come arm’d, while we at the Fort & round about are naked and defenceless. They have also (it is said) their Romish Priests among them, who hold it meritorious to kill Hereticks (as they call us), and our sins and provocations may incense Heaven to let them loose at unawares upon us, if the utmost care & precaution be not taken—which your Excellency in his superior Wisdom will doubtless well consider, & give orders accordingly. As the Scituation of affairs wears a most threatening aspect (at this juncture) so I can’t but think it a time to be serious, if there be any such Time. And in this Spirit I write to your Excellency. If my apprehensions are groundless, I shou’d be glad, and ask your Excellencies forgiveness. * * P. S. As *I am a seer*, I may be knowing to some things your Excellency possibly may not—which occasions me thus to write.” * * *

Eight days later Mr. Johnson addressed a communication to Sir William Johnson, Governor Franklin and “others interested and concerned in the congress,” in which he stated that he was there in behalf of the Rev. Dr. Wheelock ‡ relative to propagating the gospel among the Indians. “We ask,” he said, “that a door may be kept open to them where the gospel has been preached and schools set up, that we may know where to find them, and not have to ramble all over the world after them.” He also mentioned, in a “speech intended to be delivered to the Six Confederated Nations, at Fort Stanwix, October 31, 1768,” that Dr. Wheelock was about “to set up a college, or great school for the benefit of the Indians,” and that a proper location was then being sought. In conclusion he asked the Six Nations to appropriate a tract of land on or near the Mohawk River, or elsewhere if deemed more convenient, for the use of Dr. Wheelock’s school.

Halsey says the full report of the proceedings connected with the Fort Stanwix treaty shows the sagacity and firmness with which Sir William Johnson carried his points.

After Sir William had told the Indians that “the King was resolved to terminate the grievances from which they suffered for want of a boundary, and that the King had ordered presents proportionate to the

* Sir William Johnson subsequently charged that the missionaries did all in their power to prevent the Oneidas (whose property part of the Susquehanna was) from agreeing to any line that might be reasonable. He said that they (the missionaries) had publicly declared that they “had taken infinite pains with the Indians to obstruct the line, and would continue so to do. * * * The New Englanders had missionaries for some time amongst the Oneidas and Oghwagas, and I [he] was not ignorant that their old pretension to the Susquehanna lands was their real, though religion was their assumed, object.”

† See “Documentary History of the State of New York,” IV : 247.

‡ See page 409.

nature and extent of the interests involved, the Indians retired, and for several days were in private council." The new frontier, or boundary-line, had already been practically agreed upon at a treaty held in 1765—its course being diagonally through Pennsylvania to a point then and later called Oswegy, still later Owegy and now Owego.* Beyond that point, through New York, the direction in which the line should be run seems to have occasioned the greatest discussion. The question, however, was finally satisfactorily settled, and a deed was made and signed November 5, 1768, by a representative from each tribe of the Six Nations, fixing and describing the boundary-line and granting the land east of it to the King of England.

"From a point on the Allegheny River several miles above Pittsburg, this historic line of property ran in a north-easterly direction to the head of Towanda Creek, proceeding down that stream to the Susquehanna. Thence it went northward along the river to Tioga Point, eastward to Owego, and from this place crossed the country to the Delaware, reaching it at a point a few miles below Hancock. From here it went up the Delaware to a point 'opposite to where Tianderha† falls into the Susquehanna,' which point is now Deposit [Broome County, New York]. Thence the line went directly across the hills‡ to the Unadilla, and up that stream 'to the west branch, to the head thereof.' "§ The course of the "Fort Stanwix Treaty Line" through north-eastern Pennsylvania is approximately shown on the "Map of a Part of Pennsylvania" in Chapter XI, *post.* Augustus C. Buell, in his "Sir William Johnson" (page 244), quoting from a narrative written by Ezra Buell, who assisted in surveying the "Treaty Line," says:

"The easterly jog in the line was never observed by the whites or insisted on by the Indians.' As to purchase of lands, and actual settlement, he says the Susquehanna River formed the real boundary, from the mouth of the Unadilla to the mouth of Towanda Creek. 'The purpose of the easterly jog in the line was to include the Oghwaga|| and Tuscarora villages on the Susquehanna, between Cunahunta (now Oneonta) and Chugnut,¶ (now Choconut), within the Indian domain. But many whites were already there, a good part of them married to or living with Indian women, and the Oghwagas and Tuscaroras freely sold their lands to these whites. By 1774 there were almost as many whites and half-breeds in this valley as full-blood Indians.' "

Halsey says (in "The Old New York Frontier," pages 100 and 101):

"The Indians declared that the deed had been executed 'to prevent those intrusions and encroachments of which we have so long and loudly complained, and to put a stop to many fraudulent advantages which have been so often taken of us in land affairs.' The Indians made certain reservations that 'lands occupied by the Mohawks around their villages, as well as by any other nation affected by this our cession, may effectually remain to them and their posterity.' Out of this grew prolonged trouble. * * [The deed] conveyed to the English a vast territory out of which States have since been made. On that deed rests the title by purchase from the Indians, not only to large parts of New York but of Kentucky, West Virginia and Pennsylvania. * * Among those who witnessed its execution were Benjamin Franklin and William Franklin, his natural son, at that time Governor of New Jersey. It transferred the land with 'all the hereditaments and appurtenances to the same belonging * * unto our Sovereign Lord King George III, his heirs and successors, to and for his and their own proper use and behoof forever.' The actual sum paid in money for this imperial territory was about \$50,600."

During the progress of the conferences with the Indians at Fort Stanwix the agents of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania—who were on

* See note, page 421.

† The Rev. W. M. Beauchamp states that *Yonondala*, later Unadilla, was an Indian village located where the Unadilla River reaches the Susquehanna. "I," is not found in all Iroquois dialects, and, therefore, "one early form of this word was *Tianderha*."

‡ The present boundary-line between the counties of Broome and Chenango on the one hand and Delaware on the other, in the State of New York, follows very nearly, if not exactly, the course of the "Fort Stanwix Treaty Line" between Deposit and the mouth of the Unadilla.

§ See Halsey's "The Old New York Frontier," page 101.

|| Mentioned in the note on page 257, *ante*.

¶ Mentioned in the notes on pages 239 and 421.

the ground from the beginning to the close of the congress—busied themselves in carrying out a plan for the purchase of the Wyoming region from the Six Nations by the Proprietaries. "This object", says Stone, "was of no difficult attainment, as the Indians might doubtless have been persuaded to sell that, or almost any other portion of disputed territory, as many times over as white purchasers could be found to make payment." The Pennsylvanians were successful, and on the very day that the Fort Stanwix treaty was signed six sachems of the Six Nations—one from each of the several tribes—executed to Thomas and Richard Penn a deed for all the lands within the bounds of their Province not theretofore purchased from the Indians, and so far as the general boundary with the King had then been settled. This purchase included most of the lands claimed by The Susquehanna Company and The Delaware Company, under their respective deeds from the Indians. The consideration paid by the Penns for the Fort Stanwix deed was 10,000 dollars, and two of the signers of the deed were *Tyanhasare*, or Abraham, of the Mohawk tribe, and *Senosies*, of the Oneida tribe, who had signed in July, 1754, the deed to The Susquehanna Company—as shown on pages 277 and 279.

April 24, 1793, before the Hon. Matthew Clarkson, Mayor of Philadelphia, the Rev. Jacob Johnson (previously mentioned) made affidavit relative to certain matters which had transpired at Fort Stanwix at the time of the treaty. That affidavit was filed in the case of Van Horne's lessees vs. Dorrance (referred to on page 290), and is now in the custody of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Garbled extracts from it were printed in a pamphlet entitled "The Susquehannah Title Stated and Examined," published in 1796 at Catskill, New York. Those extracts were reprinted in "The Susquehanna Controversy Examined," a pamphlet written by Samuel Avery and printed by Messrs. Asher and Charles Miner at Wilkes-Barré in 1803. When Charles Miner wrote his "History of Wyoming" he transferred to it (page 97)—without doubt from Avery's little pamphlet—the erroneous and, in a measure, misleading extracts alluded to above. The following paragraphs are accurate copies (save in punctuation, and the spelling of certain words other than proper names) of those parts of the original affidavit which are pertinent to the subject now treated of.

"Jacob Johnson* of Wilkesbarre in the County of Luzerne and State of Pennsylvania, a witness produced on the part of the defendant, being duly sworn, deposeseth and saith: That in the month of November in the year 1768 he was present at a treaty held at Fort Stanwix with the Indians of the Six Nations; and that Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of the Indians of the Six Nations, John Penn, Governor of Pennsylvania, Governor Franklin of the State of New Jersey, Col. Eleazar Fitch of Windham, the chiefs of the Six Nations, *Seaquarathet*† a Tuscarora chief and chief speaker, and many other persons, were also present. * * That Gov. John Penn at this time, by the agency of Sir William Johnson, endeavored to obtain from those Indians a deed for the lands on the Susquehanna. That several private consultations were held with the said chiefs,

* In 1768 Mr. Johnson appears to have signed his name "Jacob Ws. Johnson," as is evident in the document printed on page 449, as well as in other documents.

† This was SAY-EN-QUE-RAGH-TA, the chief sachem of the Senecas, mentioned on page 437. The writer of the Johnson affidavit not being familiar, it is probable, with the name of this chief, spelled it "*Seaquarathet*"—attempting, no doubt, to indicate, as nearly as possible, the pronunciation of the name as given by Mr. Johnson. It will be noticed, further, that the latter, in his affidavit, refers to this chief as being of the Tuscarora tribe. When that affidavit was made twenty-five years, nearly, had passed since the Fort Stanwix treaty. It is quite reasonable to suppose, therefore, that in that time Mr. Johnson had forgotten what nation *Sayenqueraghia* represented; although he did recollect that the sachem named had been the "chief speaker" of the congress. It is possible, indeed, that Mr. Johnson did not know in 1768 what the tribal connection of this chief was, for his knowledge of the Six Nations was confined chiefly to the Oneidas. The Tuscarora, as we have indicated on page 116, was the least important tribe of the Six Nations, and no chief of that tribe ever attained to the dignity of "chief speaker" at any Indian congress or council held at the period now under consideration.

from which this deponent was secluded; and there was no agent present at the said treaty to represent the State [*sic*] of Connecticut or The Susquehanna Company.

"That this deponent, during the treaty, was informed by several of the Indians present that Governor Penn wanted the Indians to give him a deed for the lands on the Susquehanna, and that they replied to him that they had given the New England white people a deed of the same lands, had received their pay for the same and could not sell the same lands again. But they said they had finally agreed to give Governor Penn a deed of that land, because Sir William Johnson had told them that their former conveyance to the New England white people was unlawful—that they [the New Englanders] had no right to purchase that land, which was within Penn's Charter, and Penn alone had the right of purchasing the same. That near the close of the same treaty the deponent well recollects to have heard *Seaquarrathee* (chief speaker), in a public speech, declare the same reasons as above said for their selling said land the second time, which was publicly interpreted by Sir William Johnson. * * *

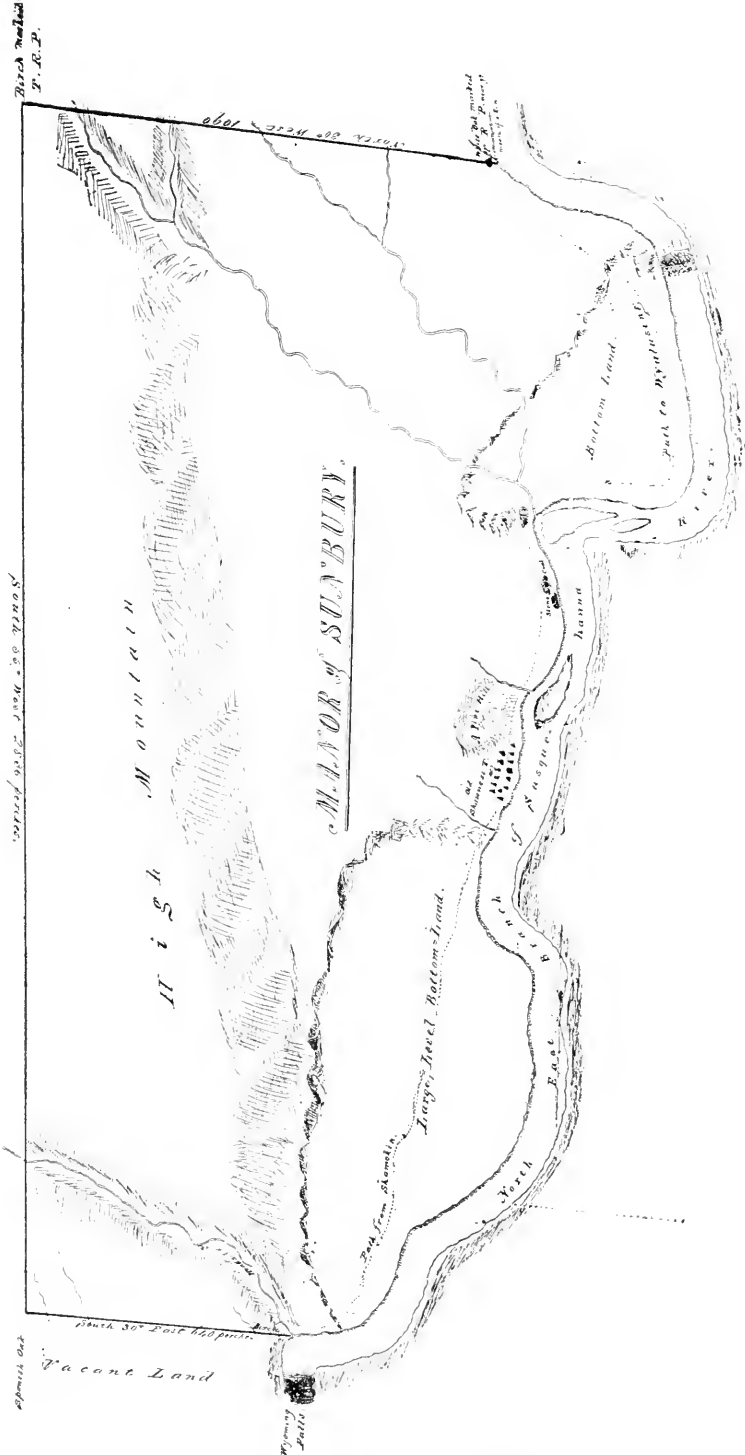
"That the deponent held a conference with the Indians at the Oneida Upper Castle, and advised them not to sell their lands—not referring, however, to the Susquehanna lands. That Sir William Johnson had heard of this, and sent to the deponent informing him that he had orders from the King to hold a treaty, and asked why the deponent prevented them from assembling, and ordered him to repair to Fort Stanwix. That the deponent knows not what was transacted while he was secluded, except from some of the Indians, but believes that the purchase by Mr. Penn was not the only business then transacted. That a Mr. Johnson was his principal informer as to the treaty carrying on by Mr. Penn; that Colonel Fitch of Windham, Connecticut, was the person who desired the deponent to go out of the room when the treaty was to be proceeded upon; that the deponent knows not what was the business of the said Colonel Fitch at the said treaty, or at whose request he attended." * * *

The following affidavit, made at some time prior to 1796 by the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, previously mentioned, is taken from "The Susquehanna Title Stated and Examined," referred to on page 452.

"That he attended the treaty with the Five Nations, held at Fort Stanwix in the year 1768, for several of the last days of the treaty, and that on his arrival on the ground the Rev. Jacob Johnson, then a missionary to the Oneidas, told the deponent that he had been forbidden by Sir William Johnson to sit in council with the Indians; and that Colonel Butler and several others had given him the same information. That several Indian chiefs told the deponent, at that time, that they had sold the Susquehanna land to the Pennsylvanians, and that they were finally induced to do it by the counsel and advice of the Commissioners—urging that the Connecticut people had done wrong in coming over the line of Pennsylvania to buy land of the Indians. It was, however, not effected without great difficulty. At the close of the business the Indians were called upon to execute the writings, which were not publicly read in the English language, but one of the Mohawk chiefs gave a brief statement of their general purport in the Indian language. And the deponent further saith that one of the Christian Indians of the Oneida nation, by name *Theondintha*, or Thomas, some months after said treaty voluntarily, and of his own mere motion, told the deponent that some undue influence had been made use of at said treaty respecting said land, and that he, himself—namely, Thomas—had been the subject of this undue influence, and nine or ten more Indian chiefs were in the same predicament, and that he felt much troubled in his mind about it."

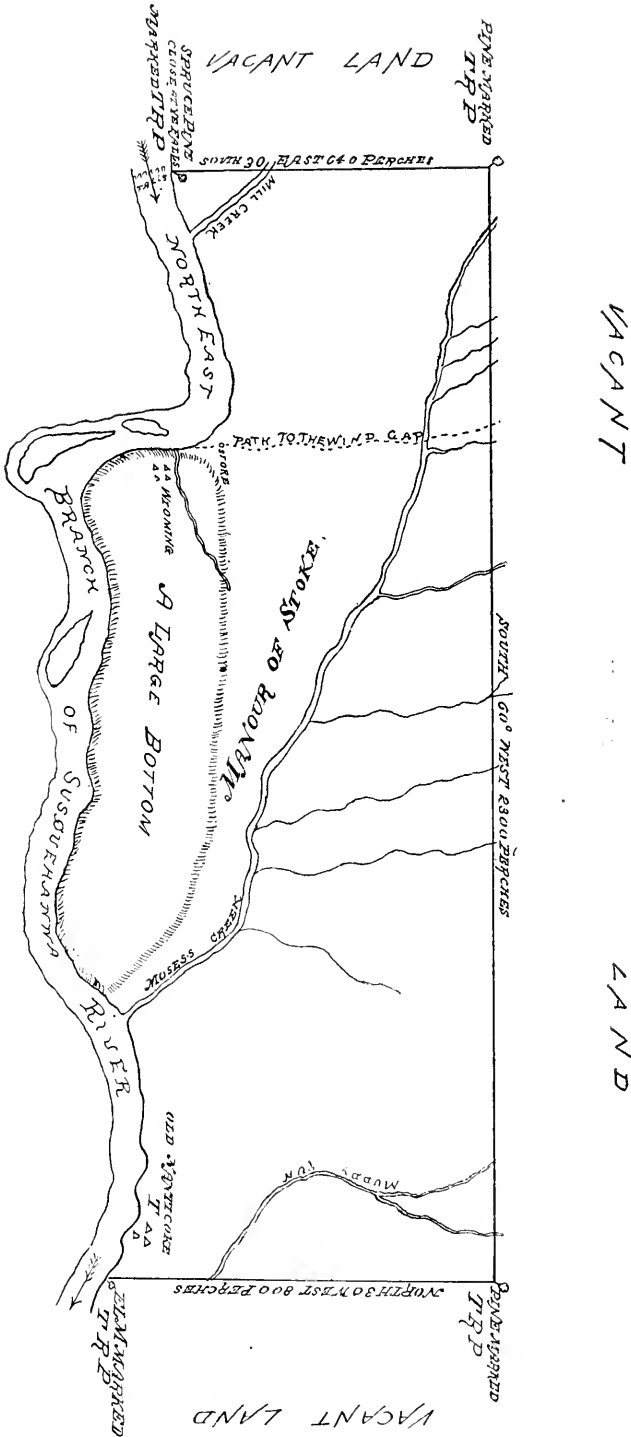
The Proprietaries of Pennsylvania having effected a purchase of the Wyoming and other lands as described, took immediate measures to get possession of the territory, in order to defeat the intentions of The Susquehanna Company. First, the people were publicly notified that existing improvements on the newly-purchased lands would give those who had made them no advantage whatever. Next, preparations were made to have the lands surveyed and plotted into (1) large bodies, or tracts, called *manors*, to be located here and there in desirable sections of the new territory for the particular and sole use and behoof of the Proprietaries, and (2) smaller tracts, or lots, containing from 100 to 400 or 500 acres, to be taken up on warrants by such inhabitants as should apply for the same and comply with the land laws of the Province in force at that time.

When Gov. John Penn returned home to Philadelphia from Fort Stanwix, before the formal opening of the Indian congress, he was evidently well satisfied that the men he had left behind, to look after the Proprietaries' interests, would be able to secure from the Indians the



A PLOT OF THE MANOR OF SUNBURY.

A reduced facsimile of the draft of the original survey, on file in the Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.



A PLOT OF THE MANOR OF STOKE.

A reduced facsimile of the draft of the original survey, on file in the Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

much-desired deed for the Pennsylvania lands. Consequently, on the 29th of October—*eight days before the "Fort Stanwix Treaty Line" was established* and the deed to Thomas and Richard Penn was executed—he began to issue warrants for the survey of certain manors and other tracts of land lying within the disputed territory. Among the warrants issued on the date mentioned, and directed to John Lukens, Esq., Surveyor General of the Province, were the following: One for a tract of 4,766 acres, to be located at Shamokin and to be known as the "Manor of Pomfret."* One for a tract of 20,000 acres, to be located in and adjoining Wyoming Valley and to be known as the "Manor of Sunbury." One for 9,800 acres, to be located in Wyoming Valley and to be known as the "Manor of Stoke."† Among the warrants issued by Governor Penn within the next few weeks was one directing the survey of a tract of 1,615 acres at Muncy, on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, to be called "Job's Discovery" in honor of Job Chillaway (the Indian mentioned on page 422), who had pointed out this locality as a desirable place for a settlement or plantation.

The warrant issued for the survey of the "Manor of Sunbury" was in the following words:

"BY THE PROPRIETARIES.

"*Pennsylvania, ss.* These are to authorize and require you to survey and lay out for our use—in right and as part of our tenths—the quantity of twenty thousand acres of land on the north-west side of the River Susquehannah, *opposite to Wioming*, to include all the low lands; and make return thereof into our Secretary's office—for which this shall be your sufficient warrant.

"Witness JOHN PENN, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of the said Province, who, by virtue of certain powers from the said Proprietaries, hath hereunto set his hand and caused the seal of the Land Office to be affixed this 29th day of October, A. D. 1768."

[SEAL]

[Signed] "JOHN PENN."

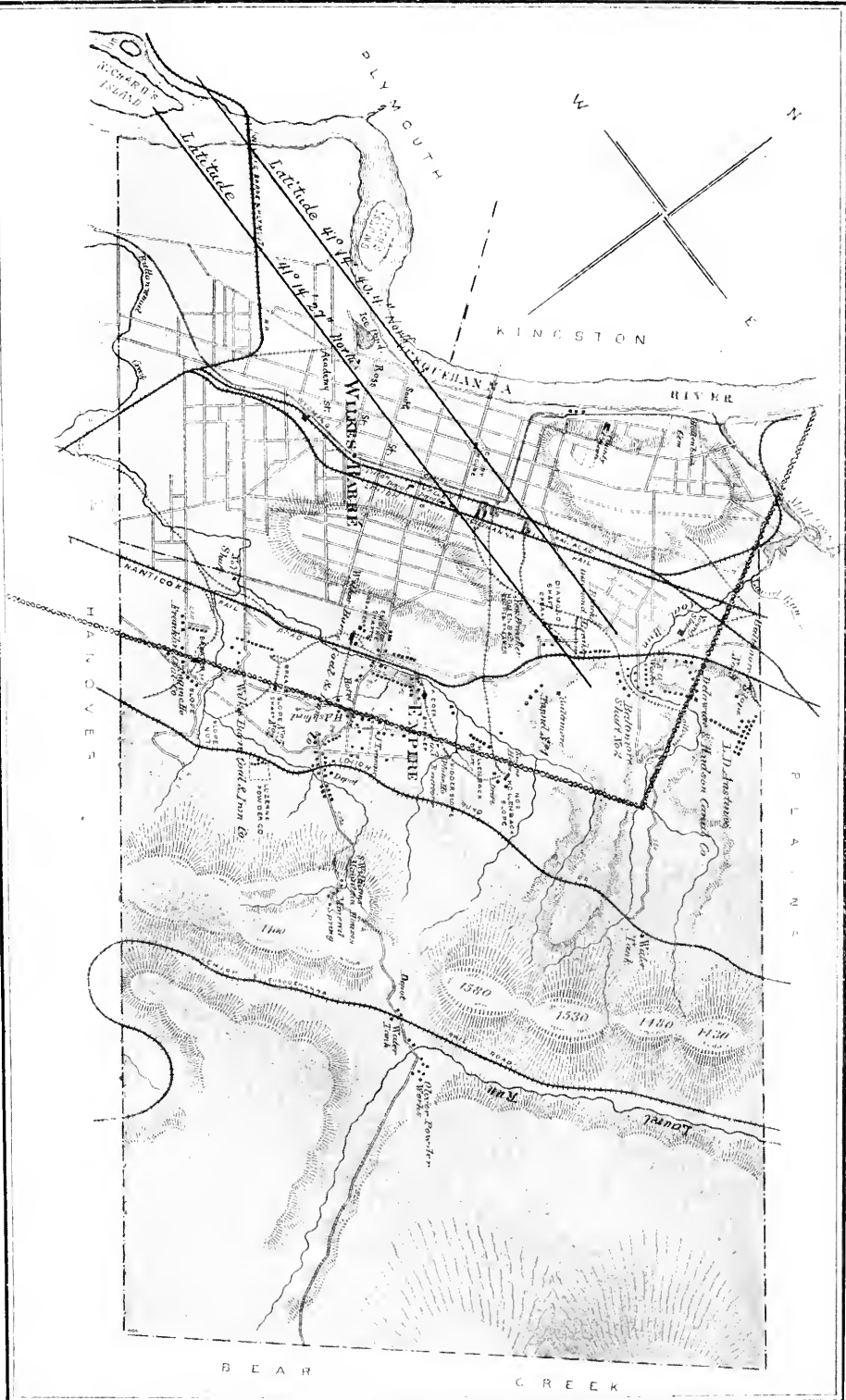
The warrant for the survey of the "Manor of Stoke" was similar in form to the foregoing, and directed that the manor be laid out "*at Wioming.*" In pursuance of the directions contained in the two last-mentioned warrants William Scull, a Deputy Surveyor of the Province, proceeded to Wyoming with his assistants, and, under the guidance and supervision of Charles Stewart (a duly authorized agent of the Proprietaries, as well as a skilled surveyor), surveyed on the 8th and 9th days of December, 1768, on the north-west side of the Susquehanna, the Manor of Sunbury; and on the 9th and 10th of the month surveyed the Manor of Stoke on the south-east side of the river.

The survey of "Sunbury" was begun near the mouth of Abraham's Creek (described on page 52), and thence a line was run about three and one-third miles in a north-westerly direction; thence, nearly nine miles in a south-westerly direction; thence, in a south-easterly direction, two miles to the mouth of Head's Creek, now Harvey's Creek (described on page 54), and thence, along the river's margin, to the place of beginning. Parts of the present townships of Kingston, Jackson and Plymouth were comprehended in the Manor of Sunbury.

The survey of "Stoke" was begun at a point close to "Wyoming Falls" (described on page 36), and thence a line was run in a south-easterly direction—over the hill where the "Prospect" Colliery now stands—two miles to a point on the stream later known as Coal Brook, about one-half mile south-east of the face of the hill where subsequently

* Named for the Earl of Pomfret, father-in-law of Thomas Penn, one of the Proprietaries.

† Derived from Stoke-Poges, in Buckinghamshire, England, where Thomas Penn owned a valuable estate, and where, at his death, he was buried.



WIXOM'S-BARRE CITY AND TOWNSHIP IN 1873.

oooooooooooo represents a portion of the boundary-line of the old Manor of Stoke (1768). See page 516, *post*.



THE "OLD OPENING" OF THE BALTIMORE
COAL COMPANY.

From a photograph taken in 1867.

the "Old Opening" of the Baltimore Coal Company was located. From this point the line ran seven miles and sixty rods in a south-westerly direction—along the foot-hills lying at the base of Wilkes-Barré Mountain, passing (about one-half mile to the southwest) the present site of the "Empire" Colliery, and then on through the present Borough of Ashley to a point in what is now Hanover Township, about three-quarters of a mile west of Warrior Gap (shown in the illustration facing page 232). Thence the line ran, north-west, two and a-half miles to a point on the river bank nearly opposite the lower extremity of the "Shawnee" Flats (described on page 50), and thence along the south-eastern margin of the river to the place of beginning. Parts of the present townships of Wilkes-Barré and Hanover and a very small corner of Plains lie within the old bounds of the Manor of Stoke. The approximate location of the boundary-lines of "Stoke," with reference to the present bounds of the city of Wilkes-Barré, is shown, in part, on the map of "Wilkes-Barré City and Township in 1873," facing page 456.

Very shortly after returns of the surveys of "Sunbury" and "Stoke" had been filed in the Provincial Land Office, Governor Penn executed a lease for a term of seven years to Capt. Amos Ogden,* John Jennings† and Charles Stewart‡ (all previously mentioned) for one hundred acres of land, lying within the bounds of the Manor of Stoke at Wyoming, upon condition that the lessees should establish a trading-



THE "EMPIRE" COLLIERY.

From a photograph taken by the author in October, 1901.

* AMOS OGDEN was born in 1732 (see "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX : 674) in "East Jersey," or, what is now northern New Jersey, and was probably the son of John Ogden. At that time, and for many years later, the Ogden family of New Jersey was an extensive one, and many of its members were promi-

nent and influential citizens. During either the French and Indian War or Pontiac's War (both previously referred to) Amos Ogden served in the English Colonial forces and attained the rank of Captain. After the last war he became an Indian trader, and when (1765) he set up his trading-house in Wyoming Valley he was only thirty-three years of age. In 1768 or 1769 he was married to Margaret, daughter of Samuel and Margaret (*Thomas*) Treadwell. At that time Captain Ogden's domicile was in Morris County, New Jersey, and it continued to be there until his death. In February, 1769, he was commissioned by Governor Penn, by and with the advice of the Provincial Council, a "Justice of the Peace and Justice of the County Court of Quarter Sessions of the Peace in and for the County of Northampton, Pennsylvania," and the duties of this office he exercised—so far as possible—for the next two or three years, during his several sojourns in Wyoming Valley.

In the Summer of 1763 a number of gentlemen—chiefly New Englanders—"dissatisfied at the explanation of the King's proclamation granting tracts of land to the officers and soldiers that served His Majesty in the late American War," met at Hartford, Connecticut, and organized "The Company of Military Adventurers." The members each paid two dollars into the treasury of the organization at that time, and the next year three dollars each. At the first meeting Maj. Gen. Phineas Lyman (mentioned on page 281) was desired to "repair forthwith to the Court of Great Britain to solicit a grant of lands from the Crown, in some part of the conquered lands in America." A few weeks later General Lyman went to London (see page 440). Early in August, 1764, the "Military Adventurers" received intelligence from General Lyman that he had "the greatest assurance of success in behalf of said Company." Whereupon, in response to public notice, a meeting of the Company was held at Hartford, Connecticut, on the 22d of August, and it was voted "that any persons" in Connecticut or any of the neighboring Colonies who "incline to become 'Adventurers,' may avail themselves by this opportunity of obtaining grants of land from the Crown." A number of collectors were then appointed, who were "to take in subscriptions at the usual rate of three dollars each subscriber." In *The New London Gazette* of August 31, 1764, there was printed a formal advertisement of the doings of the "Adventurers" at the meeting just referred to, which was signed by Nathan Whiting, Eleazar Fitch, David Baldwin, John Durkee and Moses Park. The "Adventurers" met again in September, 1764, and at long intervals during subsequent years. General Lyman prolonged his stay in London, "where he tarried with close attention and application and very great expense, soliciting as aforesaid, under many and various fruitless promises and Ministerial disappointments, till the Spring of 1772, when the King saw fit to make, 'both to General Lyman and His Majesty's disbanded Provincial officers and soldiers,' a grant of a large tract of land, bounded west on the Mississippi River, north to the River Yazoo, between the 32° and 34° of North Latitude." (See *The Connecticut Courant*, October 20, 1772.)

Early in the Autumn of 1772 a general meeting of the "Military Adventurers" was "warned" by Maj. Gen. Lyman, Col. Israel Putnam (of Pomfret), Maj. David Baldwin (of Millford), Capt. Hugh Ledlie (of Hartford), Capt. Robert Durkee, Dr. Alexander Wolcott, Capt. Daniel Bull, Col. Ebenezer Silliman (of Fairfield), Capt. Roger Eno, Ralph Pomeroy, James Church, David Bull, Jonathan Wadsworth and others to take place at Hartford November 18, 1772. At that time and place a large number of the "Adventurers" assembled, and General Lyman was chosen moderator and Joseph Church, Jr., clerk of the meeting. Among other matters of business then transacted it was voted that Capt. Roger Eno, Lieut. Rufus Samuel Hawkins, Maj. John Durkee, Col. Israel Putnam, Mr. Thaddeus Lyman, Lieut. Rufus Putnam and Lieut. James Smith "be a committee to proceed to the River Mississippi and explore and reconnoitre the land contained in the grant obtained by General Lyman." The members of this committee were to be allowed eight shillings per day for their services, and "a vessel and a navigator," to convey the explorers to their destination, were to be provided at the expense of the Company. It was also voted that four "able and handy young men" be employed to go with the committee of explorers. It was further resolved "that Major Durkee, Captain Eno, Captain Wadkins and Lieutenant Smith, four of the committee, be desired and directed to go to the Mississippi by land, by way of the Ohio; and that two of the young men to be employed as aforesaid, go with and assist them—the carriage and expense of this committee to be paid by the Company."

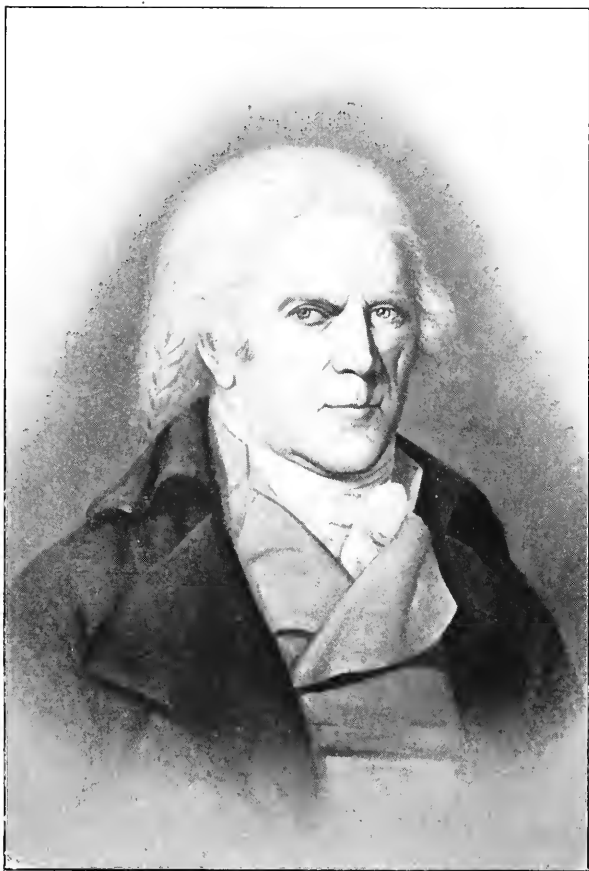
A schedule of fees to be paid by those desiring to join the Company was then adopted, as follows: "A field officer of the army to pay £10 on his becoming a proprietor in the Company; a Captain, 40 * and a private soldier three dollars. Those private gentlemen who were not in the army shall pay six dollars." Various "Receivers of money for The Company of Military Adventurers" were then appointed—among them, Capt. William Thomson of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Joseph Clarkson and Clement Biddle of Philadelphia, and a number in Massachusetts, New York and Connecticut. Capt. Hugh Ledlie was elected Treasurer of the Company, and it was resolved that the transactions of the meeting be printed in six of the newspapers of Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts. This was duly done.

The New York City papers of January 18, 1773, printed the following: "Sunday [January 17th], at eleven o'clock, sailed from this harbor the sloop *Mississippi*, having on board a committee appointed to explore all the lands lately granted by the King to Major General Lyman and The Company of Military Adventurers. * The gentlemen of the Company who are gone to view, etc., are Col. Israel Putnam, Capt. Roger Eno, Thaddeus Lyman and Lieut. Rufus Putnam. The vessel was armed with four brass colorns and four swivel-guns and a good supply of small arms and ammunition. In her way to the Mississippi she is to touch at Pensacola." On the return voyage the *Mississippi* lay to, for a short time (February 17, 1773), off the west end of the Island of Cuba.

Rufus Putnam (who was a cousin of Israel) was the Surveyor of this expedition, and chiefly upon the favorable report made by him several hundred families emigrated from the North and settled in the new territory—within the bounds of which are the present cities of Vicksburg, Jackson and Yazoo City, Mississippi. General Lyman was one of those who went thither, late in 1773 or early in 1774; but he died soon afterwards near the present city of Natchez. Capt. Amos Ogden, attracted by the efforts being made to settle the territory lying along the Lower Mississippi, proceeded there from Morris County, New Jersey, with his brother John Ogden, about the time that General Lyman went down; and May 6, 1774, Captain Ogden was granted a patent for 3,000 acres of *public lands* lying on the River Homochitto, in the south-western corner of the present State of Mississippi. Leaving his brother there, Captain Ogden returned to his family in Morris County, where he died in the Autumn of 1774. He was survived by his wife, Margaret, and one son, John, who was born in 1770 and died in 1805.

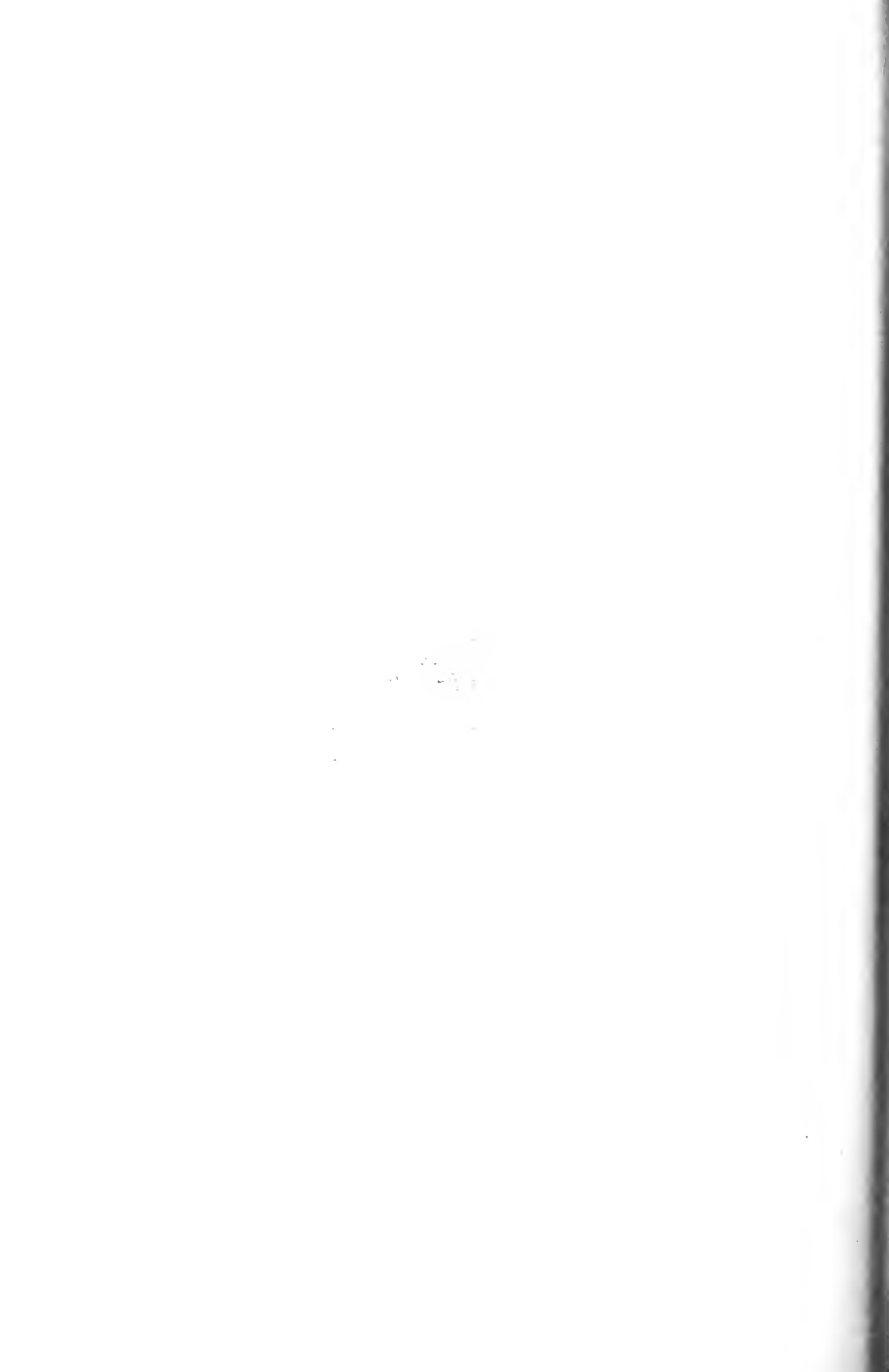
† JOHN JENNINGS was born about 1730, probably in the southern part of Bucks County, Pennsylvania. His parents were Solomon and Eleanor Jennings, who, in the Spring of 1736—before the Indian title to the Lehigh Valley was extinguished—settled on a 200-acre tract of land lying on the south bank of the Lehigh River (upwards of a mile west by south from the present borough of Bethlehem), then in Bucks, later in Northampton, but now in Lehigh County. In 1757 Solomon Jennings was one of the three men employed by the agents of the Proprietaries to perform the walk preliminary to the "Walking Purchase" referred to on page 194. He was a man of powerful frame and great muscular strength, but he "and two of the Indian walkers gave out before the end of the first day, being unable to keep up with the others." In October, 1755, Solomon Jennings was elected one of the County Commissioners of Northampton County, and in 1755-'56, during the Indian depredations in eastern Pennsylvania, he was Captain of a company of Provincial volunteers in active service. He died at his home February 13, 1759.

In the Autumn of 1756 John Jennings "set up for the Sheriff's office of Northampton County, being then, according to Major Parsons of Easton, a sober, well-behaved young man; much the fittest of the candidates, having had some experience of the office." He was defeated, however; but, in the Autumn of 1762, and again in 1768, he was elected to the office—"approving himself an efficient officer and a man of good metal." At that period he was residing on his farm on the left bank of the Lehigh, nearly opposite his father's old place. Further mention of him is made in succeeding pages.



COL. CHARLES STEWART.

From a portrait in the possession of one of his descendants.



CHARLES STEWART was born March 9, 1729, at Gortlea (near Londonderry), in the county of Donegal and province of Ulster, Ireland. He was the son of Robert Stewart, whose father, Charles, was a native of Scotland, of the Galloway Stewarts, and was an officer of dragoons in the army of William and Mary. Charles Stewart, last mentioned, distinguished himself and was wounded at the battle of the Boyne in 1690, and after the victorious royal army was disbanded he received the estate of Gortlea as the reward for his services. Puritan ideas and a love of liberty impelled his grandson, Charles, to immigrate to America in 1750, and he landed at Philadelphia shortly after his twenty-first birthday. His mother's brother, Dr. John Ewing, had, but a short time before, settled in this country.

Young Stewart, not long after his arrival in Philadelphia, removed to Hunterdon County, New Jersey. Some years before 1768 he was appointed by Daniel Smith, Surveyor General of New Jersey, Deputy Surveyor for the West Division of the Province; and later, by appointment of Governor Colden of New York, he assisted in surveying a portion of the New York-Pennsylvania boundary-line. It was he who made the detached surveys in the Wappaseing Valley before the Revolution. At a meeting of Governor Penn and the Pennsylvania Council in February, 1769, a special commission was issued appointing Charles Stewart a "Justice of the Peace and Justice of the County Court of Quarter Sessions of the Peace in and for the County of Northampton, Pennsylvania." This was shortly after he had identified himself with the Proprietaries' affairs at Wyoming—which locality was considered to be within the bounds of Northampton County. That he endeavored to perform the duties of this double-barreled office in Wyoming Valley, as occasion offered, is shown in the following pages.

The Provincial Congress of New Jersey, composed of many of the leading citizens of the Province, met at Trenton in August, 1775. The delegates from Hunterdon County were Charles Stewart (who resided at Lansdown, near Hampden) and Daniel Hunt. The members of this Congress took a bold and decided stand against the Crown, and upon Stewart's return home he called a meeting of his fellow-citizens at Abram Bonnel's tavern, when and where a regiment of minute-men was raised—probably the first in the Province. In 1775-'76 he was a member of the New Jersey Council of Safety. Many distinguished Loyalists were among his friends, who made every effort to retain him on the King's side, but in vain.

On the commencement of hostilities the command of the 2d Regiment of the New Jersey Line was tendered to Charles Stewart—that of the 1st being given to Lord Stirling (mentioned on page 288). February 15, 1776, the former was appointed and commissioned Colonel of a battalion of New Jersey minute-men. June 18, 1777, Colonel Stewart was commissioned by the American Congress Commissary General of Issues of the Continental army, with the rank of Colonel, to succeed Col. Joseph Trumbull; and in this position he served till the end of the war. He was much of the time at General Washington's headquarters—at Monmouth, Yorktown, and other places. After the war Colonel Stewart returned to Lansdown, where he owned a valuable estate, including a handsome mansion—which was still standing a few years ago. General Washington and his wife, during their residence in Philadelphia, frequently visited Colonel Stewart and his family at Lansdown. October 29, 1784, Colonel Stewart was appointed by the Governor of New Jersey a delegate to the General Congress of the United States, and served in that body in 1784-'85. Upon the organization of the General Government he was offered by President Washington the office of Surveyor General of the United States; but he declined the appointment, chiefly because of his desire and intention to occupy his time in prosecuting what he believed to be the legal and equitable claims of himself and his friends to large tracts of valuable lands in the Wyoming region.

A few years before his death Colonel Stewart removed to Flemington, Hunterdon County, New Jersey, where he owned a large farm which extended to Cox's Hill. There he died June 24, 1800, in the seventy-second year of his age, and was buried in the church-yard of Bethlehem Presbyterian Church. His life-long friend, Chief Justice Smith of Trenton, wrote his epitaph in these words: "He was an early and decided friend to the American Revolution, and bore the important office of Commissary General of Issues to universal acceptance. His friendships were fervid and lasting, and commanded both his purse and his services. His hospitality was extensive and bountiful; the friend and the stranger were almost compelled to come in."

"Colonel Stewart was of medium height, spare in flesh, with keen, blue eyes, expressing intelligence, kindness, bravery and firmness." In 1759 he was married to Mary Oakley Johnston, one of the seven children of the Hon. Samuel Johnston of Sidney, Hunterdon County. She is said to have been "the best read woman in the Province of New Jersey." Samuel Johnston, who was a native of Scotland, settled about 1740 at what is now Clinton, Hunterdon County. He owned there a tract of 1,200 acres of land, and for thirty years prior to the Revolution he held the office of county magistrate. His house was the most stately mansion in the northern part of West Jersey, and on Monday morning of each week court was held in its broad hall. Judge Johnston's eldest son, Col. Philip Johnston, was associated with his brother-in-law, Colonel Stewart, in many patriotic measures during the Revolutionary period, and was a conspicuous man.

Colonel Stewart's eldest daughter, Martha, became the wife of Robert Willson, a young Irishman of education who came to this country and, soon after the battle of Lexington, volunteered in the Continental army. He attained the rank of Captain, and was wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Germantown, Pennsylvania. He died at his home in Hackettstown, New Jersey, in 1779, at the age of twenty-eight years. Mrs. Martha (*Stewart*) Willson was distinguished for beauty and for a brilliant and cultured mind. Mrs. Ellet, in her "Women of the American Revolution," devoted a chapter to Mrs. Willson. At the session of the Pennsylvania Legislature held in January, 1808, the Hon. John Sergeant, a Member of the Lower House from Philadelphia, presented a petition from Mrs. Martha (*Stewart*) Willson, administratrix of the estate of Col. Charles Stewart, deceased, "stating that said deceased, at the time of his death, was seized of four several tracts of land in the townships of Hanover and Newport, in the County of Luzerne, containing in the whole 1,282 acres; that the Commissioners under the Act of April, 1799, valued the said land; that the said deceased released his title thereto, for which neither the petitioner nor the said deceased ever received any compensation—wherefore the petitioner prayed for relief." The petition was referred to a committee consisting of Representatives John Sergeant of Philadelphia, Nathan Beach of Luzerne County and ——— Boileau of Northampton County. Up to the time of his death Colonel Stewart had been persistent in pushing his Wyoming land-claims.

Mrs. Martha (*Stewart*) Willson died some fifty years ago at the home of her daughter, Mrs. John M. Bowers, Sr., near Cooperstown, New York. John M. Bowers, a leading and well-known member of the Bar in the city of New York at this time, is a grandson of Mrs. Willson and a great-grandson of Colonel Stewart.

Colonel Stewart left but one son to survive him—Samuel Robert Stewart, a resident of Flemington, New Jersey—and he died in 1802, leaving two sons. One of these sons, Charles, was graduated at Princeton College in 1815, in the same class with Charles Hodge—later eminent as a theologian, teacher and writer. Charles Stewart first studied law and afterwards theology, and then went as a missionary to the Sandwich Islands; but from there he returned in 1825, on account of his wife's ill health. In 1828 he was appointed a Chaplain in the United States Navy, in which position he continued until 1862, visiting all parts of the world. He wrote and published several books relating to his foreign travels. He died at Cooperstown, New York, in 1870, at the age of seventy-five years. A son of his—Charles Seaforth Stewart—born at sea in 1825, was graduated at the West Point Military Academy in 1846, in the same class with George B. McClellan and "Stonewall" Jackson, and received a commission as Second Lieutenant in the Corps of Engineers. At the breaking out of the Civil War he held the rank of Captain, and during the war he served his country faithfully. March 3, 1863, he was promoted Major, and two years later was breveted Colonel. Having been promoted Colonel in the permanent establishment June 30, 1882, he was placed on the retired list September 16, 1886, at his own request, after forty years service. He is now residing at Cooperstown, New York.

house on the land for the purpose of carrying on trade with the Indians. In addition they were to defend themselves and those who might go on the land under them—as well as their possessions—“against all enemies whatsoever.” As we have previously shown (see page 444) Ogden had already been established for a number of years in Wyoming as a trader.

About the first of January, 1769, Governor Penn addressed to Messrs. Stewart, Ogden and Jennings, aforementioned, the following communication (see “Pennsylvania Archives,” First Series, XII : 51):

“There being occasion, as soon as may be, to settle the Proprietary manors at Wyoming, on both sides the East Branch of the Susquehanna—which you have signified your inclination to undertake—you may give such settlers, as you may think proper to invite there, the strongest assurances that each shall have a lease for seven years of 100 acres of bottom-land, with wood-land sufficient to support their plantation, upon paying the acknowledgment of an ear of Indian corn per annum—if the same be demanded. And at the end of the term, if the Proprietaries incline to sell the lands, the settlers shall have the refusal—in case they incline to give as much as other people ; and if the Proprietaries do not incline to sell, but to rent, the said settlers shall have the preference of others—in case they will give as good a rent as others offer.

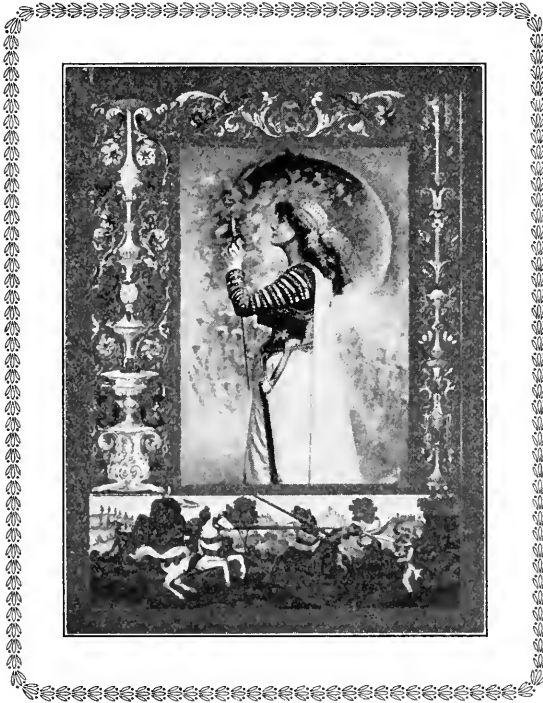
“And the said settlers, on their parts, must undertake to defend their possessions against all persons as shall unlawfully and without authority intrude upon the said manors or any other of the Proprietary lands in their neighborhood ; and shall do their utmost, and give their best assistance to magistrates and others, in a lawful manner to exclude and remove such unlawful intruders or settlers from off the lands of the Proprietaries, or others, on which they shall so unlawfully intrude or settle. That they shall build upon, and improve in the best manner they are capable, their said plantations ; and at the end of the term shall deliver up their plantations to the said Proprietaries, their officers or agents, in good repair.”

Captain Ogden, who was already on the ground in Wyoming, at his trading-house, was soon joined here by Charles Stewart and John Jennings, accompanied by a number of men from the south-eastern part of Northampton County and the Province of New Jersey whose intention it was to become lessees, or tenants, of some of the Proprietary lands at Wyoming. Stewart, Ogden and Jennings selected their 100 acres (which they were to occupy and improve under a Proprietary lease, as previously noted) at the mouth of Mill Creek—lying within the Manor of Stoke, at its north corner, and being a part of the land occupied and improved by the settlers under The Susquehanna Company in 1762 and 1763. There—on, or very near, the site of the block-house which had been erected by the New Englanders and destroyed by either the Indians or the troops under Major Clayton, as we have previously shown—these men proceeded to erect a small block-house, which was soon ready for occupancy, and to which, from the old store-house near the bend of the river (see page 445), Captain Ogden removed his goods and other belongings.

Preparations were then made, as expeditiously as possible, to survey and lease, to the various persons deemed desirable and “proper,” hundred-acre lots on the flats, or plains (see pages 49 and 50), in what are now the townships of Wilkes-Barré, Hanover, Kingston and Plymouth ; together with “wood-lots” in other localities within the bounds of “Stoke” and “Sunbury”—according to the regulations and terms laid down by Governor Penn in his letter to Stewart, Ogden and Jennings. And, in order that the business of land-lotting at Wyoming might be facilitated, Charles Stewart was soon appointed by Surveyor General Lukens a Deputy Surveyor of the Province. There were many applicants for the rich and fertile Wyoming lands, and by the end of January, 1769, a considerable number of leases had been duly executed, and the lessees had “manned their rights.” Col. Timothy Pickering stated in 1798 (see

Miner's "Wyoming," page 106) that he had "seen among the Proprietaries' papers a list of forty or fifty [men] who purchased on the express condition of defending, in arms, the possession of these [Wyoming] lands from the Connecticut claimants."

In Chapter XI, in connection with the events of the years 1770 and 1771, will be found the names of a number of those to whom lands in "Stoke" and "Sunbury" were either leased or sold, in 1769 and the years mentioned above, by the authorized agents of the Proprietaries.





CHAPTER VIII.

THE SETTLEMENT AT WYOMING RENEWED BY THE SUSQUEHANNA COMPANY—MAJ. JOHN DURKEE AND THE "SONS OF LIBERTY"—FORT DURKEE ERECTED—THE FIVE "SETTLING-TOWNS"—WILKES-BARRÉ LAID OUT AND NAMED—SOME FACTS RELATIVE TO THE WRITING AND PRONUNCIATION OF THE NAME OF THE TOWN.

"And who were they, our fathers? In their veins
Ran the best blood of England's gentlemen ;
Her bravest in the strife on battle-plains,
Her wisest in the strife of voice and pen ;
Her holiest, teaching, in her holiest fanes,
The lore that led to martyrdom ; and when
On this side ocean slept their wearied sails,
And their toil-bells woke up our thousand hills and dales,

"Shamed they their fathers? Ask the village spires
Above their Sabbath-homes of praise and prayer ;
Ask of their children's happy household-fires,
And happier harvest noons ; ask Summer's air,
Made merry by young voices, when the wires
Of their school-cages are unloosed, and dare
Their slanderers' breath to blight the memory
That o'er their graves is 'growing green to see' !"
—*Fitz-Greene Halleck's "Connecticut."*

Within a very short time after the signing of the Fort Stanwix Treaty the fact that some of the Six Nation chiefs had, concurrently, executed a deed for the Wyoming lands in favor of the Pennsylvania Proprietaries, became known to the Executive Committee of The Susquehanna Company. A majority of the committee got together as soon as it was convenient for them to do so, and, after discussing the situation, prepared the following "advertisement," which was published in *The New London Gazette* December 2, 1768, in the *Connecticut Courant* (Hartford) some days later, and in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle and Universal Advertiser* (Philadelphia) December 19, 1768.

"WHEREAS, the lands formerly purchased by the New England people and others (commonly called THE SUSQUEHANNA COMPANY) of the Six Nations of Indians, and lying on Susquehanna River, are within the grant made to the Governor and Company of the Colony of Connecticut, in the most plain and legal construction thereof ; and His Majesty's prohibition as to the settling of those lands pointing out the dissatisfaction and disturbance that such settlement might occasion to those Indians as the only reason of such prohibition ; and, as in consequence of His Majesty's order at the late congress at Fort Stanwix, such precautions have been taken as to obviate any fresh troubles with the Indians ; and the Indians being now quieted and satisfied—it appears that nothing reasonable lies in the way against the Susquehanna purchasers going on and settling those lands, *purchased by them* (lying within the line settled with the Indians at said congress),

as soon as conveniently may be. These are therefore to give notice to the said SUSQUEHANNA COMPANY to meet at Hartford, in the Colony of Connecticut, on the 28th day of December next, then and there to consult and act what they see fit and convenient as to carrying on such settlement—and any other business that may be thought proper to be done at said meeting.

"Windham, November 28, 1768.

[Signed]

"ELIPHALET DYER,
"JEDIDIAH ELDERKIN,* } Committee."
"SAMUEL GRAY,
"JOHN SMITH,

* JEDIDIAH ELDERKIN was born at Norwich, New London County, Connecticut, in 1717, the second child and eldest son of John and Susanna (*Baker*) Elderkin. John Elderkin—the third of the name—was the grandson of John Elderkin the first, who was born in 1616 (presumably in England) and became the progenitor of all who bear that surname in this country. John Elderkin, 1st, was settled at Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1637; but before 1650 he had removed to New London, Connecticut. He ultimately settled in Norwich, where a grant of land was made to him in 1667. He was a carpenter and mill-wright, and built the first meeting-house at New London and the first grist-mill at Norwich. He was twice married—his second wife, to whom he was married about 1660, being Elizabeth, widow of William Gaylord of Windsor, Connecticut. John Elderkin, 1st, died at Norwich June 23, 1687.

Jedidiah Elderkin became a lawyer about 1740, and August 31, 1741, was married to Anne Wood of Norwich. In 1744 they removed to the town of Windham (mentioned on page 249), taking up their residence at the "Green," where they were next-door neighbors to Eliphalet Dyer. There Mr. Elderkin continued to practise law, and in the course of a few years had acquired, for that period, an extensive clientele. "Elderkin and Dyer were unquestionably the leading lawyers of eastern Connecticut, and their fame was not confined to their own section. Elderkin was about four years the senior of Dyer."

In May, 1751, Jedidiah Elderkin first sat in the General Assembly of Connecticut as one of the two Deputies from the town of Windham. He was also in attendance at the October session of that year, and thereafter he represented his town in the Assembly for sixteen years—although not continuously. In May, 1755, he was appointed and commissioned by the General Assembly a Justice of the Peace in and for the County of Windham, and in that office he was continued, by successive appointments, for a period of thirty years. He was, as previously noted, one of the organizers of The Susquehanna Company in 1754. In 1774, and perhaps earlier, he was King's Attorney in and for Windham County. In October, 1754, he was "established" and commissioned ensign of the 1st Company or Train-band, in the 5th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, and in October, 1759, was promoted Major of the regiment. In October, 1774, he was commissioned by the General Assembly Lieutenant Colonel of the 5th Regiment, "to succeed Eliphalet Dyer, promoted," and in the following March was promoted Colonel of the regiment "in room of Eliphalet Dyer, resigned." The 5th Regiment, at that time, was composed of companies located in the towns of Windham, Mansfield and Ashford. In January, 1778, Colonel Elderkin was appointed by the General Assembly to go to Salisbury to procure the casting of cannon for the State; and in May, 1776, as previously noted (on page 283), he was appointed a member of the Connecticut "Council of Safety." Of that body he remained a member during the continuance of the war, rendering important services to his country and his State in their hours of greatest need and peril. He was an ardent patriot.

At a special session of the General Assembly of Connecticut in December, 1775, it was enacted that a bounty of £30 should be paid by the Colony to the person who would erect the first powder-mill in the Colony and manufacture 500 pounds of good, merchantable gunpowder. At the same session liberty was given Colonel Elderkin and Nathaniel Wales, Jr. (hereinbefore mentioned), to erect a powder-mill in the town of Windham. The mill was built without delay, at what is now the city of Willimantic, then a hamlet of some half-dozen houses and before May, 1776, Messrs. Elderkin and Wales had manufactured 1,000 pounds of powder—for which they were paid the promised bounty. This mill was totally destroyed by an explosion, December 13, 1777. November 2, 1775, Colonel Elderkin was directed by Governor Trumbull and the Council of the Colony to proceed to New London, accompanied by Major Dawes, of Norwich, and such engineers of General Washington's army as the Governor would be able to engage, "in order to view the circumstances of the harbor and port of New London and neighboring places, and consider of the most proper places and manner of fortifying the same against the enemy—according to the Act of Assembly." The harbor of New London was then (as it is now) not only one of the finest on the Atlantic coast of this country, but, next to New York and Philadelphia, was the most important. Major Dawes declined to perform the service desired of him, and no engineers could be procured; consequently Colonel Elderkin went to New London alone to do the work. Accompanied by some of the principal gentlemen of the town he visited Mammicock Island, Winthrop's Point, Groton and other places, and viewed the old-time works of defense standing there. November 15, 1775, he made a lengthy and interesting report to the Governor, which is printed in full in "American Archives," Fourth Series, III: 1560-2. The closing paragraph reads as follows: "So far as I can judge it is of the utmost importance to secure the port and harbor of New London from falling into the hands of our enemies—which will be an asylum for ships, vessels of force, floating batteries, &c., that may be by the Continent, or any particular Government, built for the protection of our sea-coasts or country. If left destitute of protection, and should fall into the hands of our enemies, it would let them into the bowels of our country and give them great advantage against us."

Just one year later Colonel Elderkin and Nathaniel Wales, Jr., were directed by the Council of Safety to go to New London and do everything in their power "to send out the ship *Oliver Cromwell* on a cruise." December 9, 1776, the Council of Safety resolved that, "Colonel Elderkin not being in suitable circumstances to march with the 5th Regiment in the present emergency, the command be given, for the emergency, to Major Brown." The last important public service performed by Colonel Elderkin was as a member of the Connecticut convention which met at Hartford in January, 1788, to ratify the Constitution of the United States. He died at Windham March 3, 1793, and his wife died there June 14, 1804, aged eighty-three years.

Col. Jedidiah and Anne (*Wood*) Elderkin were the parents of nine children, the eldest of whom, *Judith Elderkin* (born March 2, 1743), became the wife of Jabez Huntington, at one time Sheriff of Windham County. Another daughter, *Anne Elderkin*, was married to Jabez Clark (born November 2, 1753), son of Dr. John and Jerusha (*Huntington*) Clark, and grandson of Col. Jabez Huntington (mentioned on page 280) and his first wife, Elizabeth Edwards. Charlotte, a daughter of Jabez and Anne (*Elderkin*) Clark, became the wife of the Hon. Samuel Huntington Perkins of Philadelphia. *Charlotte Elderkin* (born October 23, 1764), eighth child of Colonel Elderkin, became the wife of Samuel Gray, Jr., as mentioned on page 293.

Vine Elderkin, the second child and eldest son of Colonel Elderkin, was born at Windham September 11, 1745. At the age of eighteen he was graduated at Yale College as a Bachelor of Arts, in the same class (1763) with Ebenezer Gray, mentioned on page 292. In 1766 he received the degree of Master of Arts from his Alma Mater. He studied law with his father and located as a lawyer in his native town, where he was married November 23, 1767, to Lydia, third daughter of the Rev. Stephen and Mary (*Dyer*) White and niece of Col. Eliphalet Dyer. (See page 393.) The Rev. Stephen White was a graduate of Yale College, and in 1767 had been for some years pastor of the Congregational Church at Windham. In 1769 Vine Elderkin was here in Wyoming Valley, taking an active part in attempting to establish The Susquehanna Company's settlements. At the breaking out of the Revolutionary War he was engaged in mercantile

business in New York, but returning to Connecticut he was, in June, 1776, commissioned Captain of the 7th Company of the 1st Battalion of Connecticut Militia, sent to the relief of the army in and near New York City. In October, 1776 (see "Records of the State of Connecticut," I: 13), he was appointed by the General Assembly of Connecticut "Captain in one of the eight battalions now ordered to be raised." Returning with his company from New York (their term of service having expired) in November or December, 1776, he accepted his new appointment and was commissioned Captain of a company in the 7th Regiment of the Connecticut Line. With this organization he served from January to November, 1777. In 1778 he was on duty in Massachusetts as an officer of the Commissary Department. About 1794 he again removed to the State of New York, and, in the vicinity of West Point, on the Hudson, had charge of an iron-foundry. He died at the residence of one of his daughters in Greenbush (East Albany), New York, August 5, 1800. He was the father of five daughters and two sons. His daughter Mary Ann Elderkin became the wife of Henry Clark (born May 4, 1766), a younger brother of her father's sister's husband, Jabez Clark, previously mentioned.

There is said to have occurred in the town of Windham, nearly 150 years ago, an amusing incident which has often been celebrated in song and in story. With this "old Colony tale"—entitled "The Frogs of Windham"—the names of Colonels Jedidiah Elderkin and Eliphalet Dyer are inseparably connected. One dark and dismal night in July, 1758, the peaceful inhabitants of Windham were aroused from sleep about midnight by what seemed to be the yells and whoops of Indians in the distance. Many swore that, at intervals, they heard called out these words: "Colonel Dyer, and Elderkin, too!" "Colonel Dyer, and Elderkin, too!" But, we will let Samuel Peters tell the story, as he gives it in his "History of Connecticut," published in 1781. It runs, in part, as follows:

"The town of Windham * * has plenty of brooks, ponds and marshes in its neighborhood. Strangers are very much terrified at the hideous noise made on Summer evenings by the vast number of frogs in the brooks and stagnant ponds. There are about thirty different voices, commonly, some of which resemble the bellowing of a bull. The owls and whip-poor-wills complete the rough concert, which may be heard several miles. Persons accustomed to such serenades are not disturbed by them, but one night in July, 1758, the frogs of an artificial pond about five miles from Windham [Green], finding the waters dried up, left the place in a body and marched, or rather hopped, towards Winnomantic River. They were under the necessity of taking the road and going through the town, which they entered about midnight. The bull-frogs were the leaders, and the pipers followed without number. They filled the road forty yards wide for four miles in length, and were, for several hours in passing through the town, unusually clamorous.

"The inhabitants were equally perplexed and frightened—some expected to find an army of French and Indians; others feared an earthquake, and dissolution of nature. The consternation was universal. Old and young, male and female, fled naked from their beds with, if possible, worse shriekings than those of the frogs. The event was fatal to several women. The men—after a flight of half a mile, in which they met with many broken shins—finding no enemies in pursuit of them, made a halt and summoned resolution enough to venture back to their wives and children; when they distinctly heard from the enemy's camp these words: 'Wight, Helderken, Dier, Tété!' This last, they thought, meant *treaty*; and, plucking up courage, they sent a triumvirate to capitulate with the supposed French and Indians. These three men approached in their shirts, and begged to speak with the General; but it being dark, and no answer given, they were sorely agitated for some time betwixt hope and fear. At length, however, they discovered that the dreaded inimical army was an army of thirsty frogs, going to the river for a little water."

Miss Ellen Larned, in her "History of Windham County," says: "Nor was the report of the Windham panic confined to its own county. Even without the aid of newspapers and pictorial illustrations it was borne to every part of the land. It was sung in song and ballad; it was related in histories; it served as a standing joke in all circles and seasons. * * The Windham bull-frogs have achieved a world-wide reputation, and with Rome's goose, Putnam's wolf, and a few other favored animals, will ever hold a place in popular memory and favor."

The following poetical account of the Windham frog-scare was published in *The Providence Gazette* (Rhode Island) a good many years ago.

"When these free States were Colonies
Unto the mother Nation,
And in Connecticut the good
Old 'Blue Laws' were in fashion,

"A circumstance which there occurred
(And much the mind surprises
Upon reflection) then gave rise
To many strange surmises.

"You all have seen, as I presume,
Or had a chance to see,
Those strange amphibious quadrupeds
Called bull-frogs commonly.

"Well, in Connecticut, 'tis said,
By those who make pretensions
To truth, those creatures often grow
To marvellous dimensions.

"One night, in July, '58,
They left their home behind 'em—
Which was an oak and chestnut swamp
About five miles from Windham.

"The cause was this: The Summer's sun
Had dried their pond away there
So shallow, that, to save their souls,
The bull-frogs could not stay there.

"All in a regiment they hopped,
With many a curious antic,
Along the road which led unto
The River Winnomantic.

"When they in sight of Windham came,
All in high perspiration,
They held their course straight tow'rds the same
With loud vociferation.

"You know such kind of creatures are
By nature quite voracious.
Thus they, impelled by hunger, were
Remarkably loquacious.

"Up flew the windows, one and all,
And then, with ears erected,
From ev'ry casement gaping rows
Of night-capped heads projected.

"The children cried, the women screamed:
'Oh! Lord have mercy on us;
The French have come to burn us out,
And now are close upon us!'

"A few, upon the first alarm,
Had armed themselves—to go forth
Against the foe—with guns and belts,
Shot, powder-horns and so forth.

"Away they went, across the lots—
Hats, caps and wigs were scattered,
And heads were broke and shoes were lost,
Shins bruised and noses battered.

"Thus, having gained a mile or two—
Those men of 'steady habits'—
All snug behind an old stone-wall
Lay like a nest of rabbits.

"They thought upon their hapless wives,
Their meeting-house and cattle,
And then resolved to sally forth
And give the Frenchmen battle.

"Among the property which they
Had brought with them to save it,
Were found two trumpets and a drum,
Just as good luck would have it.

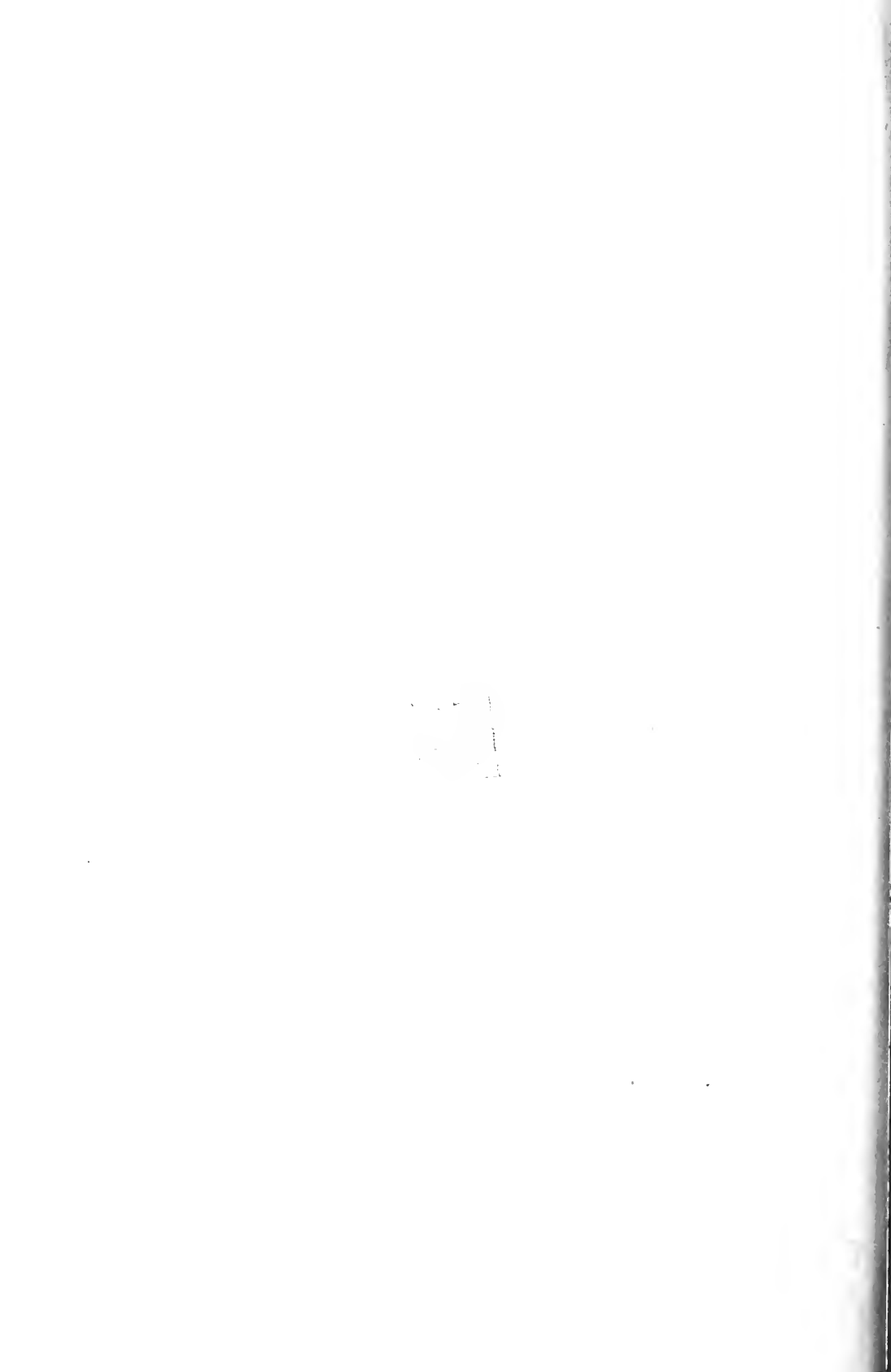
"Such as were armed, in order ranged,
The music in the center;
Declared they would not run away,
But on the French would venture.

"There might have been among them all
Say twenty guns, or over,
How many pitchforks, scythes and flails,
I never could discover.



COL. JEDIDIAH ELDERKIN.

From a portrait in the possession of one of his descendants.



In the same issue of *The New London Gazette* with the foregoing was printed a "Public Notice" addressed to the "First and Second Companies of the Delaware Purchasers,"* calling upon them to meet at the Court House in Norwich, New London County, on December 21, 1768, "to consider of certain matters of utmost importance." To this notice were attached the names of Isaac Tracy, Jabez Fitch, Capt. Robert Dixon, Elisha Tracy, Samuel Huntington and John Curtiss,† "Committee."

On December 28th, agreeably to notice, a large number of the proprietors of The Susquehanna Company assembled at Hartford—John Smith, Esq., a member of the Executive Committee and one whose name has been frequently mentioned hereinbefore, presiding over the meeting as "Moderator." There was much earnestness and enthusiasm manifested by all who were present, and a number of important measures for effecting settlements on the Susquehanna lands were adopted. The Company, first of all, unanimously voted "to proceed and settle" the lands, inasmuch as, since the month of May, 1763—when they had been informed that it was the King's will that "the prosecution of the settlement" of the lands in question should be stopped (see page 414)—"the state of their cause respecting those lands had been laid before His Majesty in Council; and, in pursuance of His Majesty's orders, such precautions had been taken in settling the line with the Indians and *in paying and satisfying them for all the lands*, as fully to obviate any fresh troubles with the Indians." It was then resolved that "forty persons—upwards of the age of twenty-one years, proprietors in said Purchase and approved by the committee to be nominated—proceed to enter upon and take possession of said land, for and in behalf of said Company, by the first day of February, 1769; and that 200 more of said Company, of the age aforesaid, proceed and join said forty as early in the Spring as may be—not later than the 1st day of May."

For the encouragement of the "First Forty" settlers, as also of the 200 who should join them in the Spring, the Company voted to lay out five "gratuity" towns, or townships, of land within the Purchase. Each town was to be five miles square, and three of the towns were to be located on one side of the river and two on the other side—"adjoining and opposite to each other, only the river parting; at such place on said river as they [the settlers] may think proper. Each of said towns to be five miles on the river, and extend an equal width back five miles,

"The rest agreed to close the rear—
After some intercession—
And altogether made a queer
And curious procession.

"Some were persuaded that they saw
The band of French marauders;
And not a few declared they heard
The officers give orders.

"These words could be distinguished then—
'Dyer,' 'Elderkin' and 'Tib.'
And when they heard the last, they thought
The French desired a *treaty*.

"So, three good, sober-minded men
Were chosen straight to carry
Terms to the French, as Ministers
Plenipotentiary.

"These moving on with conscious fear,
Did for a hearing call,
And begged a moment's leave to speak
With the French General.

"Th' advancing foe an answer made,
But—it was quite provoking—
Not one of them could understand
The language it was spoke in.

"So there they stood in piteous plight
('Twas ludicrous to see)
Until the BULL-FROGS came in sight—
Which shamed them mightily.

"Then all went home, right glad to save
Their property from pillage;
And all agreed to shame the men
Who first alarmed the village.

"Some were well pleased, and some were mad,
Some turned it off in laughter;
And some would never speak a word
About the thing thereafter.

"Some vowed if Satan came at last,
They did not mean to flee him;
But if a *frog* they ever passed,
Would pretend not to see him."

* The Delaware Company, mentioned on page 293.

† A resident of Canterbury, Windham County, and in 1764 and other years a Representative in the General Assembly and a Justice of the Peace.

and to be and belong to the said 'Forty' and the said 200 persons, *over and above their respective shares and proportions in the remainder of the general Purchase.*" The "Forty" were, first, to have their choice of one of these towns, and then the remaining four towns were to belong to the 200 other settlers—"to be divided out to them by fifties in a town as they shall think proper; reserving and appropriating three whole rights, or shares, in each town for (1) the public use of a gospel ministry, (2) the first settling minister of the gospel and (3) the support of schools. Reserving, however, to the Company, *all beds of minerals, iron-ore and coal* that may be within said towns." It was expressly stipulated that these five towns—which subsequently became known as "settling" towns—were to be owned and possessed by the "Forty" and the 200 proprietors only upon the following conditions, viz.: That the said proprietors should enter upon the lands within the time mentioned, and that they should continue thereon, "holding and improving the same by themselves, heirs or assigns, under said Company, for the space of five years after their entry as aforesaid." The Company also declared and determined, by a formal vote:

"That they [the settlers] shall not so disorderly conduct and behave themselves as shall by the Committee be judged inconsistent with the good and interest of said Company; and that they hold not the same or any part of said Purchase under pretence of any other claim but of said Company. And if the first number approved by said committee shall fall short of forty, and if those approved to join them in the Spring fall short of 200, nevertheless those that so proceed, according to the above vote, to be entitled to their respective parts or shares in the said five towns in full, as though the whole number were complete.

"And in order that proper persons, and such as may appear to be most subservient to the benefit of said Company, may be orderly introduced as first settlers on said lands, it is voted that the following committee be appointed * * to approve of and admit such persons as may offer themselves as first settlers, viz.: Col. Samuel Talcott, Maj. Elizur Talcott, Jonathan Pettebone and Jonathan Root, Esquires, for the county of Hartford; Daniel Lyman, Esq., Mr. Michael Baldwin and Captain Maroch Ward for the county of New Haven; Samuel Ely, Esq., Mr. Gershom Breed and Capt. Obadiah Gore for New London County; Mr. Cornelius Hull, Mr. Nathan Birdsey and Mr. Benjamin Seally for the county of Fairfield; John Smith and Samuel Gray, Esquires, and Mr. John Jenkins for the county of Windham; Increase Moseley and Samuel Canfield, Esquires, and Benjamin Stevens for Litchfield County; Mr. William Buck and John Walsworth for the Province of New York; Timothy Woodbridge, Esq., for the Province of Massachusetts; Isaac Tripp and Job Randall, Esquires, and Mr. Ezra Dean for the Colony of Rhode Island."

Although there was no formal expression by the members of the Company as to whether or not it was their intention that the resolutions then adopted, relative to the laying out of the five "gratuity," or "settling," towns, were to supersede and nullify the votes passed by the Company in 1762 and 1763 concerning the laying out of towns (see pages 401, 402 and 412), yet it seems to have been considered that such was the intention; and in all the subsequent proceedings of the Company no reference was ever made to either the towns or the lots which had been laid out, settled and partly improved under the Company's auspices in 1762 and '63.

It was further voted by the Company at this December meeting that "the sum of £200 be laid out in providing proper materials, sustenance and provision for said 'Forty,' at the discretion of a committee to be appointed." Isaac Tripp,* Benjamin Follett,† John Jenkins,‡ William Buck§ and Benjamin Shoemaker|| were then appointed a com-

* ISAAC TRIPP, born about 1700, in Rhode Island, was fourth in descent from John Tripp (born 1610; died 1678) and his wife Mary Paine. John Tripp, who was a carpenter by trade, came from England and settled in Portsmouth, Rhode Island. Isaac Tripp belonged to the Society of Friends, or Quakers, and resided for some time at Pomfret, Windham County, Connecticut. He was not an original member of The

Susquehanna Company, but, with his eldest son, Job, was admitted as a proprietor in the Purchase in 1761 or early in 1762. Job Tripp was in Wyoming in 1762, as we have previously shown, and it is possible that Isaac Tripp also was here. It is quite probable that both father and son were here in 1763. Between that year and 1769 Isaac Tripp—as is shown by the original records of The Susquehanna Company—resided for a time in Warwick, Kent County, Rhode Island—adjoining Windham County, Connecticut.

In the Spring of 1771, it is said, Isaac Tripp built his cabin on the "Capouse Meadows" (on the Lackawanna River near the site of a former village of Monsey Indians—whose chief was named *Capouse*—and within the present limits of the city of Scranton), "and, without clearing a foot of land, planted and raised a crop of corn the first season, on the plantation deserted but a short [?] time before." At a meeting of The Susquehanna Company held at Norwich, Connecticut, April 1, 1772, a "six-mile township at Capouse Meadows" was granted to a number of shareholders in the Company "and ordered to be laid out." This township was of unusual size, and was laid out in pursuance of a special vote passed by the Company. It was known to the Company as a "Suffering" township—"wherein rights lost or improperly forfeited were relaid and commuted." Isaac Tripp was one of the original proprietors in this township—which was indiscriminately called "Six-mile," "Capouse Meadows" and "Capouse" Township. Within two or three years, however, the name of the township was changed to "New Providence", and ultimately to "Providence."

The following is a copy, in part, of a report to be found on page 296 of Book "B" of the original records of The Susquehanna Company (mentioned on page 28, *ante*): "WHEREAS we the subscribers were appointed by The Susquehanna Company at their meeting at Norwich April 1, 1772, a committee to lay out townships to proprietors of the Company, upon the application of twenty: * * * therefore, upon the application of ISAAC TRIPP, Esq., JOHN JENKINS and Mr. JON. DEAN, in behalf of themselves and associates, have laid out to them a township northerly of and adjoining the townships of Kingstown and Pittstown—five miles square.

"Dated at Wilkesbarre November 25, 1772.

[Signed] "ZEBY BUTLER,
"STEPHEN FULLER, } Committee,
"OBADIAH GORE, Jr., } &c."

To this new township the proprietors gave the name "Exeter."

Under authority of a resolution adopted by The Susquehanna Company April 1, 1772, a new township in the Company's Purchase was "surveyed, laid out, approved and granted" in October, 1775, to Isaac Tripp, agent, for himself and nineteen other "proprietors in said Susquehanna Purchase." This township was located on both sides of the Susquehanna, "at a place called Tunkhannock," and contained twenty-five square miles "exclusive of the river." Subsequently the township received the name of "Putnam" in honor of Col. Israel Putnam, a resident of Pomfret, Windham County, Connecticut, the former home of Isaac Tripp. In addition to the latter Job Randall, Esq., Jonathan Randall, Dr. Ephraim Bowen, Benjamin Bowen, Jonathan Slocum, Job Tripp, Philip Buck, Elisha Wilcox, Zebulon Marcy, Elijah Shoemaker and Increase Billings (several of whom were Rhode Islanders) were among the original proprietors of Putnam Township. (For the location of the townships of Providence, Exeter and Putnam, aforementioned, as originally laid out, see the "Map of The Susquehanna Company's Survey," facing page 468.)

Isaac Tripp, as one of the duly elected Representatives from the town of Westmoreland (Wyoming), attended the sessions of the General Assembly of Connecticut held in May and October, 1777, and January, 1778. He was killed by a band of marauding Indians December 16, 1778, within the limits of the Town-plot of Wilkes-Barré. Just two days previously he had been appointed administrator of the estate of Capt. Asaph Whittlesey, who had been killed in the battle of Wyoming in the previous July. April 21, 1779, Job Tripp was appointed administrator of the estate of Isaac Tripp, deceased—John Jenkins, Jr., being his surety in the sum of £1,000. April 8, 1782, the administrator filed an inventory of the decedent's estate, amounting to £1,049, 13s. 4d. The principal items in the inventory were: "957 acres of land in Providence Township, £957; 1,209 $\frac{1}{2}$ Continental dollars, £60."

Isaac Tripp was thrice married. By his second wife, who was Susannah (probably Spencer), he had *Job Tripp* (born about 1734) and *Ruth Tripp* (born March 21, 1736); and by his third wife, Sarah Dow, he had *Isaac Tripp* (born at East Greenwich, Rhode Island, July 27, 1743; died at Capouse, or Providence, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, May 28, 1807) and *Henry Dow Tripp*, who left Wyoming at an early date, and in 1794 was living in New York City. *Job Tripp*, abovementioned, had three sons and four daughters, his second child being Isaac (born November 27, 1760; died April 15, 1820), who was captured by the Indians in the latter part of 1778—as will be more fully related hereinafter. *Ruth Tripp* was married February 23, 1757, to Jonathan Slocum (born in East Greenwich, Rhode Island, May 1, 1733), and until their removal to Wyoming they resided at Warwick, Rhode Island. (See Chapter XVII for a further account of the Slocum family.)

† BENJAMIN FOLLETT (Jr.) was born March 28, 1715, at Windham, Connecticut, fifth child and eldest son of Benjamin and Patience (*Doulee*) Follett, and grandson of Robert Follett of Salem, Massachusetts. Benjamin Follett, Jr., was an original member of The Susquehanna Company, and his name appears in the Indian deed of 1754 among the "half-right" grantees. In October, 1756, he was commissioned by the General Assembly of Connecticut Second Lieutenant in the 10th Company of the 1st Regiment of the Colony, sent to reinforce the English army at Lake George. (See note, page 264.) In 1762 he was with the first settlers at Wyoming, as previously noted, and was probably here in 1763. He was married (1st) November 10, 1736, to Hannah Woodward, and they settled at Windham. They became the parents of eight children, of whom the following grew to maturity: *Eliphalet Follett* (born January 16, 1741; married March 8, 1764, to Elizabeth Dewey, and had seven children; killed at the battle of Wyoming, July 3, 1778); *Benjamin Follett* (born November 10, 1742; married March 8, 1769, to Thankful Bibbin of Windham). Mrs. Hannah (*Woodward*) Follett died May 2, 1757, and Lieutenant Follett was married (2d) February 2, 1758, to Esther Robinson. They became the parents of two daughters and three sons—the eldest son being *Frederick Follett*, who was born March 10, 1761, and died in May, 1804. Lieut. Benjamin Follett died (presumably in Wyoming Valley) prior to April, 1783—as indicated in the report of the committee mentioned on page 403.

† JOHN JENKINS was born at East Greenwich, Rhode Island, February 6, 1728, second son of John Jenkins (born April 5, 1697; died in 1742) who was the son of Zechariah and grandson of John Jenkins—the first of the name in this particular branch of the American family. The wife of the last-named was Susanna ——. They were Quakers, and resided as early as 1655, at least, at Sandwich, Massachusetts. John Jenkins, the first mentioned above and the third of that name, settled about 1750 in Colchester, New London County, Connecticut. Later—say in 1758 and 1768—he appears to have been a resident of Windham County. He is said to have been a soldier in one of the Connecticut military organizations that took part in the campaign against Louisbourg in 1758, during which service he was wounded in the knee. According to the records of The Susquehanna Company John Jenkins was admitted into the Company as a proprietor October 8, 1753, and from that time until his death he was active and prominent both in the affairs of The Susquehanna Company and the settlements at Wyoming. His name appears many times in the succeeding pages.

When, in the Spring of 1772, the lands of the "Forty Township," later Kingstown and now Kingston, were allotted to the proprietors thereof, John Jenkins drew "House Lot No. 14" (which contained some four acres, and lay about where the present Forty Fort Cemetery is located), as well as his share of lots in the other divisions of the township. He was also, as previously noted (on this page), one of the original proprietors of the township of Exeter, and thither, shortly after it was laid out and "accepted," he removed with his family. He erected his dwelling-house within the present limits of the borough of West Pittston, upon the top of the high bank overlooking the river, about ten or twelve rods north-east of where the Pittston Ferry bridge now stands.

John Jenkins was married August 1, 1750, to Lydia Gardner, daughter of Stephen Gardner (see note, page 254) who, at that time, kept an inn on the eastern shore of Gardner's Lake, New London County,

Connecticut. They became the parents of six sons and one daughter, as follows: i. *John Jenkins*, born November 27, 1751; married to Bethiah Harris of Colchester June 23, 1778; died March 19, 1827. ii. *Stephen Jenkins*, born February 22, 1753; died September 20, 1808. iii. *Benjamin Jenkins*, born July 18, 1754; died in March, 1787. iv. *Amy Jenkins*, born January 12, 1757; married to Asahel Atherton; died March 24, 1834. v. *Thomas Jenkins*, born January 19, 1761; married to Eleanor Shontz; died April 22, 1812. vi. *William Jenkins*, born October 30, 1764; died November 1, 1846. vii. *Wilkes Jenkins*, born July 18, 1767; died April 1, 1838.

When, in May, 1781, several hundred New Englanders were expelled from Wyoming Valley by the Pennsylvanians (as described in Chapter XXI), John Jenkins and his family were among those who were thus outraged, and they fled to Goshen, Orange County, New York. Col. John Franklin, referring in his diary to this expulsion, says: "Two aged gentlemen, John Jenkins, Esq., and a Mr. Gardner, who were cripples, were obliged to hobble through the dismal road with crutches." Mr. Jenkins never returned to Wyoming. He became ill in consequence of the hardships and exposures experienced at the time of the expulsion, and in the following November died and was buried at a place called the "Drowned Lands," in the Minisink region, not far from Goshen, New York. His widow ultimately returned to Exeter Township, in Wyoming Valley, where she died October 22, 1804.

½ WILLIAM BUCK became a member of The Susquehanna Company in 1753, being then an inhabitant of that part of "The Great Nine Partners' Patent" which later became Amenia Precinct, Dutchess County, New York. The following is a copy of a receipt, or certificate (see page 255, *ante*, for another of like character), recorded August 30, 1774, on page 244 of Book "B" of the original records of The Susquehanna Company.

"The Great Nine Partners, November 14, 1753.—Then received of WILLIAM BUCK of the Great Nine Partners the sum of £6, 10 sh., equal to two Spanish mill'd dollars in the Susquehanna affair. Received by us a Committee appointed for that Purpose.

[Signed] "STEPHEN GARDNER,
"JOHN SMITH,
"EZEKIEL PEIRCE, } Committee."

William Buck was in Wyoming with the original settlers in 1762 (see page 403), and again in 1763 at the time of the massacre. Being among those who escaped the fury of the savages, he made his way back to Amenia Precinct, where, without doubt, he continued to reside until the "First Forty" marched to Wyoming, when he accompanied them. Elijah Buck, who was in this same party, was either a brother or a son of William. Both William and Elijah Buck settled in Kingston Township in 1772. The place and date of death of William Buck we are unable to state, but, as shown in the report mentioned on page 403, he was still living in Wyoming in April, 1783.

Asahel Buck, whose name is mentioned several times hereinafter, was a son of William Buck, and was born prior to 1747. He was living at Amenia Precinct in 1768, when he purchased a "right" in The Susquehanna Company. In a deed which he executed July 5, 1773, and which was witnessed by William and Aholiab Buck, he described himself as of "Mayfield, Tryon County, New York." This was within the limits of the present Dutchess County. Shortly after that time, and before August, 1774, *Asahel Buck* removed to Wyoming with his family, consisting of his wife Mehetabel and their children William (born about 1764 and killed at the battle of Wyoming), Asahel (who died, without heirs, about 1791) and Pamela (who was married prior to April, 1796, to Daniel Ayers—born 1773—son of Sannel and Elizabeth Nesbitt Ayers of Plymouth Township). In 1775 *Asahel Buck* was Lieutenant of the 2d Company in the 24th Regiment (Westmoreland), Connecticut Militia. He was killed by Indians in Kingston Township February 23, 1779, and on the 2d of the following April his widow Mehetabel was appointed administratrix of his estate, a bond in the sum of £1,000 being given, with William Hooker Smith as surety.

Aholiab Buck (born in 1751 or '52) was a younger son of William Buck. He accompanied his father's family to Wyoming in 1770 or '71, and at Wilkes-Barré, July 5, 1772, purchased from his father one "right" in The Susquehanna Company. November 18, 1772, he purchased from Perrin Ross for £60 "Third Child Lot No. 30" in Kingston Township. In 1777 he was married to Lucretia (born April 21, 1757), their child and daughter of Amos and Lucretia (*Minor*) York, formerly of Voluntown, Windham (now New London) County, Connecticut, but then settled on a 600-acre tract of land near the old Indian village of Friedenshütten (previously mentioned) in the township of Springfield, laid out by The Susquehanna Company. (See map facing this page.) At the time of the battle of Wyoming, July 3, 1778, Aholiab Buck, his wife and their daughter Deborah, three months old, resided only a few rods from Forty Fort. He was Captain of the Kingston company of militia that took part in the battle, and was killed early in the engagement. October 5, 1778, Asahel and Lucretia Buck were appointed administrators of the estate of Capt. Aholiab Buck—William Buck becoming their surety on a bond for £500. About 1786 Mrs. Lucretia (*York*) Buck became the wife of Justus Gaylord, Jr. She died at Wyalusing—near the old home of her parents—January 15, 1846. Prior to August, 1796, Deborah, daughter of Captain Buck, was married to John Taylor, an early settler at Wyalusing.

|| BENJAMIN SHOEMAKER (Sr.) was of either Dutch or German descent and was born about the beginning of the eighteenth century—probably in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. He was an early settler in that part of Bucks County which in 1752 was erected into Northampton, and is now Monroe, County. About the time of his settlement there he was married to Elizabeth De Pui, daughter of Nicholas De Pui (and presumably a sister of Samuel and Aaron De Pui mentioned on pages 254 and 280) of French Huguenot ancestry. In 1753 Benjamin Shoemaker and his brother Daniel were enrolled as members of The Susquehanna Company (see page 254), and both are named as grantees in the Indian deed of 1754. Benjamin Shoemaker was in Wyoming with the first settlers in 1762 (see page 403), and was also here in 1763; although whether or not at the time of the massacre we are unable to state. He and his son Elijah came on with the "First Forty" in 1769, and were here for the greater part of that year. The father did not fix his abode here, but came and went between Wyoming and his home near the Delaware River. There he died in 1775, being survived by his sons Daniel and Elijah and six daughters—his eldest son, Benjamin, Jr., who was in Wyoming in 1769, having died prior to 1775.

Elijah Shoemaker, having married Jane, daughter of John McDowell (an immigrant from the north of Ireland in 1735, who soon settled in what became Northampton County and who later acquired a proprietorship in The Susquehanna Company), settled in Kingston Township, near Forty Fort. At the time of the battle of Wyoming he was Lieutenant of the Kingston company commanded by Capt. Aholiab Buck, previously mentioned. He took part in the battle, but while escaping from the field during the rout of the Americans he was treacherously slain by one of the enemy. (See Chapter XV.) He was survived by his wife and one son, Elijah, born in Kingston Township May 20, 1778.

Elijah Shoemaker, Jr., last mentioned, spent his earliest years with his mother at the latter's old home in Northampton County. Some time after the close of what, in Wyoming history, is known as the "Second Pennamite-Yankee War," Mrs. Jane (*McDowell*) Shoemaker and her young son returned to Wyoming and took possession of their lands in Kingston Township. There they lived until their respective deaths. *Elijah Shoemaker* was married May 28, 1800, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Col. Nathan and Elizabeth (*Sill*) Denison. (For sketches of the Denison and Sill families see subsequent chapters.) In October, 1813, Elijah Shoemaker was nominated for the office of Sheriff of Luzerne County, and, although there were five other candidates in the field on election-day, Mr. Shoemaker was elected to the office—in which he subsequently served with great satisfaction to the people. Prior to 1823 he was a Colonel in the Pennsylvania militia. He died July 14, 1829, leaving a large and valuable estate and survived by his wife (who died two years later), three daughters and six sons.

The eldest daughter, Elizabeth Shoemaker, was married in Kingston, August 14, 1823, to John Donley, formerly of Philadelphia, but then a merchant in Wilkes-Barré. After his death, some years later, Mrs. Donley became the wife of Dr. — Spence, whom, also, she survived—dying in Wilkes-Barré about 1881.

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mittee—a *Directing Committee*—“to approve of and admit, and oversee, superintend, manage and order the affairs and proceedings of, the ‘First Forty’ settlers; and to lay out and prepare a convenient road to said Susquehanna River”—for which purpose they were to receive £50. The following resolutions were then passed :

“Upon the arrival of the 200, on purpose to join the said ‘Forty’ in the Spring, they may, if they see cause, together with the said ‘Forty,’ by the major vote add to the said [Directing] Committee so as to make the whole to the number of nine; who shall then be a Committee to preserve order and regulate the affairs of said settlers—and others of said Company who may join them—until further or otherwise ordered by said Company. Which said Committee, by a major vote of the settlers there present duly convened, may expel from them any person or persons among them who shall so disorderly conduct and behave as shall by them be judged inconsistent with the good and interest of said Company, and may declare the right of such persons forfeit; which shall so remain, unless the said Company at any time after, upon hearing the cause of complaint, shall otherwise determine.

“*Voled*, That some proper, well-disposed person, or persons, be procured—by those persons who shall undertake to settle on the Susquehanna lands according to the above vote—in order to be as a head, or teacher, to carry on religious instruction and worship among the settlers—viz.: of such denomination as any particular number may be agreed upon; and to be at the expense of such denomination as such person so procured shall be—until some further arrangement can be made.

“*Voled*, That if any settler, or settlers, on the aforesaid lands in pursuance of the vote of this Company, shall be sued or prosecuted in the law by the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, or any under them (on account of such his settlement and possessions), on proper notice being given to the Standing [or Executive] Committee of said Company, this Company will be at the cost of his or their defence in said suit.

“*Voled*, That Col. Eliphalet Dyer, Col. Samuel Talcott, Elisha Sheldon, Esq., Capt. Jonathan Pettibone and Mr. Benjamin Payne be a committee to apply to the General Assembly of this Colony in January next, in behalf of this Company, for the obtaining of such further favor of said Assembly as they shall think proper, *by investing said Company with the Colony's right to such lands* (as they have purchased of the Indians, and lying on the Susquehanna River, or otherwise) not inconsistent with the interest of said Colony.

“*Voled*, to grant to Dr. Eleazar Wheelock* a tract of land in the easterly part of the Susquehanna Purchase, ten miles long and six miles wide, for the use of the Indian school under his care—*Provided* he shall set up and keep said school on the premises.”

The company then adjourned, to meet at Hartford, April 12, 1769. At the January (1769) session of the General Assembly of Connecticut a lengthy petition,† dated January 4, 1769, and signed by Colonels Dyer and Talcott and the other members of the committee mentioned above, was presented. The document contained a statement of the proceedings of The Susquehanna Company with reference to the purchase

Jane, second daughter of Colonel Shoemaker, became the wife of the Hon. John Passmore, and died at her home in Rome, Bradford County, Pennsylvania, October 5, 1868. Caroline, the youngest daughter of Colonel Shoemaker, became the wife of Dr. Levi Ives, a graduate of the Medical Department of Yale College in the class of 1838, and who practised his profession in New Haven, Connecticut, until his death in 1891.

Charles Denison Shoemaker, the eldest child of Col. Elijah Shoemaker, was born in Kingston Township July 9, 1802, and was graduated at Yale College in 1824. Between that year and 1830 he held, at different times, the offices of Prothonotary and Clerk of the Courts, Register of Wills, and Recorder of Deeds in and for Luzerne County. August 21, 1830, at the age of twenty-eight years, he was appointed by the Governor of Pennsylvania an Associate Judge of the Courts of Luzerne County, to succeed Judge Jesse Fell, deceased. He was twice married: (1st) October 4, 1825, to Mary E., eldest daughter of Austin and Martha Denison of New Haven, Connecticut. (2d) May 18, 1835, to Mrs. Stella (*Mercer*) Sprigg, a native of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. Judge Shoemaker was noted for his courteous manners and kindness of heart. Few men of his time in this locality were more generally and favorably known. He died at his home in what is now the borough of Forty Fort, Kingston Township, August 1, 1861, and was survived by his wife (who died November 3, 1875) and four sons. Nathan, second son of Col. Elijah Shoemaker, died at Muncy, Pennsylvania, July 3, 1835. George, the third son, was married January 14, 1835, to Rebecca, daughter of John Jones, of Berwick, Pennsylvania, and died a good many years ago, leaving two sons. Robert McDowell, fourth son of Col. Elijah Shoemaker, was born in Kingston Township, February 12, 1812, and died there November 22, 1886. Elijah, fifth son of Colonel Elijah, died a good many years ago, and was survived by his wife and two children, all of whom are now dead. The sixth and youngest son of Col. Elijah and Elizabeth (*Denison*) Shoemaker was Lazarus Denison Shoemaker, who was born in Kingston Township November 5, 1819. He was graduated at Yale College in 1840 and in August, 1842, was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County. Thenceforth until his death he resided in Wilkes-Barré, with the social, business and political life of which he was prominently identified for half a century. A man of kindly nature, he was genial and gentle in his manners, forgiving in his disposition and always considerate of the feelings and failings of his friends. His name is frequently mentioned hereinafter. He was married in 1848 to Esther W., daughter of Samuel and Clorinda Starr (*Callin*) Wadhams of Plymouth, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania. Mrs. Shoemaker died in Wilkes-Barré August 4, 1889, and Lazarus Denison Shoemaker died here September 9, 1893. He was survived by one son and five daughters.

* See pages 409 and 450.

† The original petition is document “No. 11” in the volume of MSS. entitled “Susquehanna Settlers, 1755-1796, Vol. I”—mentioned on page 29, *ante*.

of and attempts to settle the Wyoming lands, the presentation of the Company's case to King George, etc., and then stated that the Company had recently "voted to proceed to take possession of and settle those lands on said Susquehanna." The petition further set forth that "whereas, for the quiet holding, possessing and enjoying those lands," it might become "necessary for the tenants in possession not only to set up and shew the undoubted prior title of this Colony [of Connecticut] to those lands as being expressly contained in the royal Charter, but also to shew that they [the Company] are well vested with the title of this Colony;" therefore the petitioners prayed that a lease and release of the said lands be properly executed to the Company by the Colony of Connecticut. Upon this prayer the Lower House voted "No," and the Upper House "Yes," whereupon a committee of conference was appointed and the matter was continued to the May session of the Assembly.*

Joseph Chew (whose name is mentioned on page 402) wrote to Sir William Johnson from New London, Connecticut, under date of January 24, 1769, as follows†:

"I was at New Haven last week when the General Assembly of this Colony were sitting, and heard Colonel Dyer make his application to them for a deed of the Susquehanna lands. In doing this he was pleased to say some things that I knew were not true, and informed several of the House of it; and could I have staid until he came out should have told him so. I have since heard the Assembly did not choose to give any deed."

At Lebanon, Connecticut, under date of January 7, 1769, Joseph Trumbull‡ (mentioned on page 441), who had returned from England

* It may be remarked here that when the subject of the Susquehanna lands was brought up at the May session of the Assembly it was voted, after a short debate, to postpone action till the October session; and at that time a committee of conference was again appointed.

† See "Documentary History of New York," IV: 253.

‡ JOSEPH TRUMBULL was the eldest child of Gov. Jonathan and Faith (*Robinson*) Trumbull of Connecticut. John Trumbull (or "Trumble," as the surname seems to have been spelled at one time—as late, even, as 1754), the ancestor of the Connecticut family of Trumbull—one of the most distinguished families in the history of the Colony and State—came from England and settled in Rowley, Essex County, Massachusetts. Capt. Joseph Trumbull (born at Rowley in 1679) became an inhabitant of Suffield, Connecticut, whence he removed to Simsbury, Connecticut, about 1703. Soon afterwards he was married to Hannah Higley, a native of Windsor, Connecticut, and in 1704 they settled in the town of Lebanon, New London County, Connecticut. There Captain Trumbull became a well-to-do farmer and merchant, and continued as such until his death, June 16, 1755.

Jonathan Trumbull, third child of Capt. Joseph and Hannah (*Higley*) Trumbull, was born at Lebanon October 12, 1710. At the age of thirteen years he entered Harvard College, and having been graduated with distinction in 1727 he began the study of theology. About two years later he was licensed to preach, but in 1731 he resigned from the ministry in order to take the place vacated by his elder brother in the store of their father. While managing the latter's mercantile business Jonathan Trumbull studied law, and in 1733 was elected to represent Lebanon in the General Assembly of Connecticut. In 1739, being still a Representative from Lebanon, he was chosen Speaker of the Lower House. In 1740 he was elected an Assistant (see page 248), and to that office was subsequently re-elected twenty-two times. In the course of a few years he became Judge of the Windham County Court (Lebanon being at that time in Windham County), later an Assistant Judge of the Superior Court of the Colony, and from 1766 to 1769 Chief Judge of the latter Court. In October, 1739, he was appointed and commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the 12th Regiment, Connecticut Militia, and in October, 1753, was promoted Colonel of the regiment. He became a proprietor in The Susquehanna Company as early, at least, as 1761. (See page 393.)

In 1767 Colonel Trumbull was elected Assistant, or Deputy, Governor of Connecticut, and held the office for one year—being succeeded by Roger Sherman. In October, 1769, upon the death in office of the Hon. William Pitkin, Governor of Connecticut (see page 283), Colonel Trumbull was chosen to fill the vacancy. In the following May he was elected to serve a full term in this office, and thereafter, by successive elections, he was continued in the office of Governor until May, 1784, when, having expressed a desire to be "excused from any further service in public life," he was succeeded by Matthew Griswold, of Lyme, New London County.

Concerning Trumbull, at the time he was chosen Governor, the historian Bancroft says: "He was the model of the virtues of a rural magistrate; profoundly religious, grave in manner, discriminating in judgment, fixed in his principles." "When Trumbull became Governor," writes Frederic C. Norton (in *The Connecticut Magazine*, VII: 170), "the people of Connecticut were convinced that in him the Colony had found the man the people needed at that time. Before Trumbull doubt and hesitation flew in the twinkling of an eye. He threw his whole soul into the impending struggle, and while the war-clouds were not as black in Connecticut as in the neighboring Colony of Massachusetts, * * yet the crisis called for a man in whom craven frailty was an unknown quantity. * * His private opinions were quickly set aside, however, when the declaration of war came; and from that time Trumbull was laboring day and night for the cause for which the Colonies were making such a sacrifice. A correspondence soon ensued between Governor Trumbull and Gen. George Washington. It gradually assumed a close, personal cast, which was continued throughout and after the Revolution. In August, 1776, when Washington wrote Governor Trumbull concerning the weakness of the Continental army, the latter immediately called together the Council of Safety [see page 283, *ante*] and supplemented the five Connecticut regiments already in the field by nine more, which proved to be of incalculable benefit to the cause." Governor Trumbull took a very prominent part in forwarding the war for independence, and Washington



*Your obedt^t &
humble servant*
Jⁿ Trumbull

THE HON. JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

A photo-reproduction of an original portrait in oils in the State Capitol at Hartford Connecticut.

By courtesy of *The Connecticut Magazine*.

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in the latter part of December, 1768, wrote to William Samuel Johnson, Esq., of Stratford, Connecticut, but then temporarily in London (at Lancaster Court, near St. Martin's-in-the-Fields), as follows* :

"The Susquehanna Company, at a meeting at Hartford last week [December 28th], unanimously agreed to pursue the settlements, etc. Forty men of the Company are to go and take possession of the lands by February 1st, that they may get possession, if possible, before Mr. Penn. At the 1st of June 200 more heads of families are to go on. * * * They are all in high spirits, and no want of people to embrace the offered encouragements for settling. Their ardour will rather want restraining, than need any prompting. Mr. Penn. in their opinion, is now all their obstacle, and that point they think may as well be determined now as ever." * * *

By the middle of January, 1769, the Executive, or Standing, Committee of The Susquehanna Company, aided by the special committee

placed great reliance on him and frequently consulted him. To this habit, and his phrase—often repeated, when in doubt—"Let us hear what Brother Jonathan says!" has been traced the name which stands (though not so generally now as "Uncle Sam") for a personification of the United States.

Jonathan Trumbull was married December 9, 1765, to Faith, daughter of the Rev. John and Hannah (Wiswall) Robinson of Duxbury, Massachusetts. She was born at Duxbury December 11, 1718, and died at Lebanon, Connecticut, May 29, 1780. Governor Trumbull died at Lebanon August 17, 1785.

Jonathan and Faith (Robinson) Trumbull were the parents of two daughters and four sons. Faith Trumbull, the elder daughter, became the wife of Gen. Jedidiah Huntington of the Revolutionary army, whose father, Gen. Jabez Huntington, was a second-cousin of the Rev. Enoch Huntington whose wife was Mary Gray. (See page 293.) Mary Trumbull, the second daughter, was married February 14, 1771, to Col. William Williams, mentioned on page 283. Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., the second son (born March 26, 1740), was graduated with honors at Harvard College in 1759. He was married March 26, 1767, to Eunice, daughter of Ebenezer Backus of Norwich, Connecticut. When the Revolutionary War began he was a member of the General Assembly of Connecticut. By the Continental Congress he was appointed Paymaster General for the Northern Department of the army. This office he filled with great credit until 1781, when he succeeded Alexander Hamilton as private secretary and first aide-de-camp to General Washington. In this position he continued till the end of the war, when he returned to Connecticut. Later he was a Representative in Congress from his native State and became the second Speaker of the House of Representatives. In 1795 he was elected to the United States Senate, but resigned the office in 1796 to become Lieutenant Governor of Connecticut. This office he held two years, when he was elected Governor to succeed Oliver Wolcott, mentioned on page 285. He was Governor for eleven consecutive years. He died at Lebanon August 7, 1809. David, third son of Jonathan and Faith Trumbull, was an Assistant Commissary in the Continental army during the Revolutionary War. His son Joseph became a Representative in Congress, and was Governor of Connecticut in 1849 and '50. John Trumbull, youngest son of Governor Jonathan, was born at Lebanon June 6, 1756. He served in the Continental army, and became Assistant Adjutant General, with the rank of Colonel, on the staff of General Washington. After the war he studied painting in London under Benjamin West, and on the Continent. In 1804 he settled as a portrait painter in New York, where he continued to make his home until his death, November 10, 1843. A valuable collection of his paintings is owned by Yale University, and upon the walls of the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington are four of his largest productions: "The Declaration of Independence," "The Surrender of Burgoyne," "The Surrender of Cornwallis" and "The Resignation of Washington."

JOSEPH TRUMBULL, the eldest child of Gov. Jonathan and Faith Trumbull, was born at Lebanon March 11, 1737. He was graduated at Harvard College a Bachelor of Arts in 1756, and three years later received the degree of A. M. Some time after leaving college he became connected with his father's mercantile business, and later became a partner in the business. In 1763, 1764, and probably later, the firm was Trumbull, Fitch and Trumbull—composed of Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., Col. Eleazar Fitch (mentioned on page 448) and Joseph Trumbull—and they carried on an extensive business, trading with the West Indies and elsewhere, and having warehouses at Lebanon, Norwich and other places in eastern Connecticut. Joseph Trumbull's sojourn in London in 1763 and '64, as noted on page 441, was in relation to the business of his firm. He was not, however, at that time, as erroneously stated hereinbefore, an attorney-at-law. In May, 1763, he was established and commissioned by the General Assembly of Connecticut Captain of the 1st Company in the 12th Regiment of the Colony. In 1767, '69, '70, '71, '72 and '73 Captain Trumbull, with his brother-in-law William Williams, previously mentioned, represented Lebanon in the General Assembly. Early in 1768 he again made a business trip to London, returning to Lebanon in December of that year, as hereinbefore noted. Having been for some time engaged in the study of law, he was admitted to the Bar of Windham County in the Summer of 1769. The following is a copy of the original certificate of his admission—now preserved among the unpublished papers of Joseph Trumbull in the collections of The Connecticut Historical Society.

"WINDHAM, ss. County Court. June Term, 1769.

"This Court being properly and fully satisfied of the integrity and good understanding of Mr. Joseph Trumbull of Lebanon, in Windham County, and of his skill in the law: upon his motion do admit said Joseph Trumbull an Attorney-at-Law, and the said Trumbull appeared in this Court and was sworn accordingly. Witness the seal of the County hereunto affixed.

[Seal]

"Teste—SAMUEL GRAY, Clerk."

In October, 1770, Gurdon Saltonstall and Joseph Trumbull were appointed by the General Assembly to collect all the public letters and other papers relating to the affairs of the Colony of Connecticut—which properly belonged to the Colony—and arrange and file the same. In May, 1771, Col. William Williams and Captain Trumbull were appointed by the Assembly "to collect all such evidences and exhibits as may be found of consequence for ascertaining the boundary-line between Massachusetts and Connecticut." In 1774 Captain Trumbull was appointed an alternate delegate to the First Continental Congress (see page 354), but Roger Sherman—who was also an alternate—performed the duties of the office. At that time Captain Trumbull was located at Norwich, Connecticut, in the practise of his profession. July 19, 1775, he was appointed and commissioned by the Congress Commissary General of Issues of the Continental army, with the rank of Colonel. In this office he served until June, 1777, when he resigned and was succeeded by Col. Charles Stewart, as mentioned on page 459. November 27, 1777, Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates, Col. Joseph Trumbull, and Richard Peters, Esq. (mentioned in the note on page 262), were elected by Congress members of the new "Board of War." Maj. Gen. Thomas Mifflin and Col. Timothy Pickering were the other members of this Board, whose province it was to manage certain military affairs now entrusted to the War Department. Colonel Trumbull performed the duties of this office until April, 1778, when, on account of ill health, he resigned and went to Lebanon, where he died July 23, 1778. Colonel Trumbull was married in March, 1777, to Amelia, only daughter of Col. Eliphalet Dyer. (See page 394.) No children resulted from this union.

* See the original letter among the unpublished papers of William Samuel Johnson in the possession of The Connecticut Historical Society.

appointed to superintend and manage the affairs of the "Forty" (see page 469), had enlisted forty proprietors who agreed to proceed, either personally or by hired substitutes, to the much-coveted Wyoming lands. About the 20th of January the nucleus of the party, composed largely, if not entirely, of residents of the counties of Windham and New London, set out on horseback from the town of Windham. Their course lay to Hartford and thence through Litchfield County, Connecticut, into Dutchess County, New York, where they were joined by Simeon Draper and William Walsworth of Beekman Precinct, William Buck of Amenia Precinct, and perhaps some others. Continuing their journey they passed through Goshen, in Orange County, New York, where they were joined by Thomas Bennet. Striking the Delaware River in the vicinity of the present town of Milford, Pike County, Pennsylvania (see map in Chapter XI), they journeyed down along the river, through the "Minisinks" (see note, page 189), to the locality where dwelt the Shoemakers, McDowells and De Puis, and there, being joined by Benjamin Shoemaker, Sr., and his son Elijah, the "Forty"—being now complete in number—journeyed in a north-westerly direction, over the various ranges of mountains described on pages 44 and 45, till they struck the Lackawanna River a few miles above its mouth.

During the past eighty or ninety years there have been published various lists of names purporting to be those of the "First Forty" Wyoming settlers of 1769. Owing to the dissimilarity of those lists, and to the fact that it has been claimed for a number of early Wyoming settlers whose names are not in the lists referred to that they, also, were among the "First Forty," there has been much doubt for many years as to just who composed that little band of pioneers. Of all the *published* lists which the present writer has seen the one that is nearest completeness and correctness is a copy of an original "True list, or roll, of the Forty first settlers on the West Side of the Easternmost Branch of the Susquehanna River." This list is dated June 28, 1770, and is signed by "Andrew Metcalf, clerk to said Forty." The original document was in the possession of the late Steuben Jenkins, Esq., and the copy just referred to was furnished by him in 1886 for publication in Dr. F. C. Johnson's *Historical Record*, I: 70, where it may be seen. This list, however, is not a list of the "First Forty," but—as its title states—of the "Forty first settlers" who, *in 1770*, claimed to be the proprietors of the township of Kingston, or the "Forty Township" as it was then called.

Some of the original "Forty" were, as previously intimated, the hired substitutes of bona fide proprietors in The Susquehanna Company, and by the year 1770 their principals had stepped into their places. Also, by that time, some of the original forty proprietors had assigned their rights in the "Forty Township" to new-comers, who were on the ground in 1770 and were recognized as proprietors in the township. To illustrate: In the list of 1770 printed in the *Historical Record* appear the names of Zebulon Butler, Nathaniel Wales, Andrew Metcalf and Parshall Terry. None of these men was of the "First Forty." According to an original account-book kept by Zebulon Butler, and now in the possession of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, he sailed in his sloop *Anne* from his home in Lyme, Connecticut, for the Island of Antigua just about the time that the "First Forty" arrived in Wyoming Valley; and he did not return from this voyage until early in

April, 1769.* The reasons for the appearance of the names of Nathaniel Wales and Andrew Metcalf in the aforementioned list are given in Chapter XI, *post*, in certain extracts from the recorded proceedings of "a meeting of the Committee of Settlers on the Susquahanna Lands July 19th 1770." Parshall Terry, in his affidavit mentioned on pages 403 and 404, states: "That he went [to Wyoming], in company with more than 100 others, some time the last of April or beginning of May [1769]; that upon their arrival at Wyoming they found near fifty of The Susquehanna Company who had gone on early the same year; that the deponent *was admitted as one of the first forty.*"

With much care, and at a cost of considerable time and patience, the present writer has compiled from original authentic records the following list of the "First Forty" settlers of 1769, which he believes to be accurate.

Atherton, Asahel	Elderkin, Vine	Roberts, Elias
Belding, Ezra	Follett, Benjamin	Shoemaker, Benjamin—Sr.
Bennet, Thomas	Frink, Joseph	Shoemaker, Elijah
Bingham, Silas	Gardner, Stephen	Smith, Oliver
Brockway, Richard	Gaylord, Samuel	Smith, Timothy
Buck, Elijah	Hall, Joshua	Tripp, Henry Dow
Buck, William	Harding, Stephen	Tripp, Isaac
Comstock, John	Harris, Peter	Vanorman, Rudolph Brink
Davis, Reuben	Jearum, Zerubbabel	Walsworth, William
Dean, Jonathan	Jenkins, John	Westover, Theophilus
Denison, Nathan	Jenkins, Stephen	Wightman, Allen
Draper, Simeon	Lothrop, Cyprian	Yale, Benjamin
Dyer, Thomas	Peirce, Timothy	Yale, Job
	Pendleton, Benajah	

About the beginning of February, 1769, Sir Henry Moore, Governor of New York, transmitted to Governor Penn of Pennsylvania a detailed account† of the proceedings of The Susquehanna Company at its December meeting; and on February 6th Charles Stewart and John Jennings, at Wyoming, wrote to Governor Penn as follows‡ :

"We have received information that upwards of 100 New England men were last Saturday at Nicholas Depue's§; that they were to set off from thence this [Monday] morning for this place, with intent to turn us out of possession. * * * We have not learned the names of any of them except William Buck, who was formerly here, with those who were killed by the Indians. * * At present we have *only ten men here*; the others are returned home after building their houses. We still flatter ourselves this affair will end without blows, as we have certainly weakened their party in this County by getting the Van Campens and Shoemakers to take lands in the manors [of Stoke and Sunbury]."

At Easton, Pennsylvania, under date of February 7, 1769, Lewis Gordon,|| lawyer and Justice of the Peace, wrote to Governor Penn as follows¶ :

"A few hours ago I received a letter by express from Messrs. Stewart and Jennings, now at Wyoming, intimating that they had intelligence from the Minisinks that a large body of New England men were to set off from thence for Wyoming, in order to take forcible possession of those lands. * * * This moment the Constable of the Minisinks is come down to me, and informs there are at least between forty and fifty New England men

* For a more detailed account of this voyage of Captain Butler to Antigua, see "The Harvey Book," page 615.

† See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX : 569.

‡ See *ibid.*, 573.

§ Nicholas De Pui, who lived at "The Minisinks," is here referred to.

|| LEWIS GORDON was a native of Aberdeen, Scotland, who, after the battle of Culloden, in 1746, immigrated to Philadelphia, where he practised law and served as a clerk in the office of William Peters, mentioned in the note on page 262. The new county of Northampton (see note, page 254) had hardly been erected when Lewis Gordon removed to Easton from Philadelphia, and was the first attorney to be admitted to practise (June 16, 1752) in the Courts of Northampton County. He was Clerk of the Courts and a Justice of the Peace for many years at Easton; he also followed surveying, and served as land-agent for the Proprietaries. He died at Easton in 1777. His eldest daughter, Elizabeth, became the wife of James Taylor, son of George Taylor of Easton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

¶ See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX : 572.

in his neighborhood, on their journey to Wyoming; and that they have a great many friends amongst them [that is, amongst the inhabitants at the Minisinks]. I shall, as soon as I can learn any of the New England people's names, issue a warrant against them."

Governor Penn having laid the three last-mentioned communications before the Provincial Council that body advised the Governor to write forthwith to Gov. William Pitkin of Connecticut, which he did on the 13th of February, in part as follows* :

"I have received certain advice that, in consequence of resolutions entered into by a society of people in your Province, a number are set out with a design to enter upon and settle a part of the River Susquehannah. When I consider that like attempts have been made heretofore, and how often the same wild scheme has been disavowed by your predecessors, * * I cannot give credit to the report that the adventurers have the countenance of your Government. * * *

"These purchases were always looked upon by the Six Nations as private and fraudulent, and inconsistent with their prior engagements to the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, and accordingly the settlements made by the people of your Province at Wyoming were highly resented and complained of by the Indians, who, at length, *proceeded to the most fatal extremities.* * * So that, in whatever light the matter is considered, it is against these rash and inconsiderate people, who, by their lawless intrusion, would again disturb the peace and tranquillity of this Government. You may well imagine that, after the Proprietaries have paid so large a consideration for this country—so evidently within the limits of their Charter—and *have settled a number of people upon it* (which I must inform you is truly the case), this Government cannot be tame spectators of an illegal forcible possession, taken by people who have not the least color of right.

"The consequence, therefore, of these deluded people's persisting in their unwarrantable designs, must be a scene of violence and confusion, which all good men would wish to avert, and which it is the peculiar duty of those who are in public stations to prevent. I cannot suppose that the Government of Connecticut would encourage a procedure so unreasonable and illegal, and big with mischievous consequences, which I would rather hope they would use the utmost of their power to prevent; and it is under this expectation that I now apply to your Honor, requesting you to enquire into the matter, to place it in a proper light to the people of your Colony and to use your power and influence to prevent the many fatal consequences which must flow from their pursuit of any illegal or violent measures."

A few days subsequently to the despatching of the foregoing letter the Pennsylvania Assembly passed and the Governor approved an Act—with a preamble similar to that in the Act of February 3, 1768 (see page 447, *ante*)—providing for the punishment, by a fine of £500 and twelve months' imprisonment, of any person or persons who, singly or in companies, should presume to settle upon any lands within the boundaries of the Province of Pennsylvania not purchased from the Indians; or who should make, or cause to be made, any survey of any part thereof; or who should mark or cut down any trees thereon, with design to settle or appropriate the same to his or their own use or that of any other person. This Act, being without limitation, would expire only on the extinguishment of all the Indian titles.

Five days after the enactment of the abovementioned law the Secretary of the Provincial Land Office issued an official advertisement to the effect that on the 3d day of April, 1769, the Land Office would be opened "to receive applications from all persons inclinable to take up lands *in the new Purchase*, upon the terms of £5 sterling per hundred acres, and one penny per acre, per annum, quit-rent." It was stated, further, that no person would be "allowed to take up more than 300 acres, without the special license of the Proprietaries or the Governor." The surveys upon all applications were "to be made and returned within six months, and the whole purchase money paid at one payment." All persons were "warned and cautioned not to apply for more land" than they would be able to pay for within the time given for that purpose.

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," Fourth Series, III : 406.

Returning now to the "First Forty" pioneers of 1769, whom we left a short while since near the confluence of the Susquehanna and the Lackawanna, we find that they proceeded down the left bank of the Susquehanna to Mill Creek, where they arrived in the afternoon of Wednesday, February 8th. Much to their surprise they found that, on or near the site of the old block-house erected by the New England settlers of 1762-'63, the Pennsylvanians had built a new building (as mentioned on page 460); that in the vicinity several small cabins had been erected, and that Charles Stewart, Esq., John Jennings, Sheriff of Northampton County, Nathan Ogden, a brother of Capt. Amos Ogden, Capt. Alexander Patterson,* of Northampton County, and some six or seven other men were in possession of these improvements. The "Forty" were in doubt as to what they should do in the circumstances, but they finally decided to retrace their steps a short distance and encamp for the night. This they did. Here we will introduce some extracts from an original affidavit, never before published. This affidavit, which is in the handwriting of Col. Jedidiah Elderkin, was sworn to October 20, 1782, before Hezekiah Bissell, a Justice of the Peace in Windham County, Connecticut, by "Lieut. Col. Thomas Dyer" and "Capt. Vine Elderkin," previously mentioned. The document itself is now among the "Trumbull Papers" referred to on page 29, *ante*, paragraph "(6)."

"That towards the end of January, 1769, they [the deponents], with about thirty-six other persons, set off from Windham—being proprietors in the Susquehanna Purchase under the Government of Connecticut—with instructions from the Committee of The Susquehanna Company (so called) not to fight or contend in arms with any that might be sent against them from the Government of Pennsylvania; but with a purpose and design to begin a settlement at a place called WYOMING MEADOWS. That in the month of February following they arrived on said lands at a place called Mill Creek, and, before they had opportunity even to settle themselves for the first night after their arrival, they received a letter from the Sheriff of Northampton County addressed to ISAAC TRIPP, Esq., BENJAMIN FOLLETT and VINE ELDERKIN—all of whom were of said company [of forty]—in which said company were required to make their reasons known to said Sheriff why they should undertake to possess those lands, &c.

"Whereupon said Tripp, Follett and Elderkin went down to the *trading-house*, so called, where they met said Sheriff, sundry Justices of the Peace and a large number of people with them. That said Sheriff and Justices informed said Tripp, &c., that, unless they would engage and undertake that said company of settlers should immediately depart and leave said lands, they should be arrested and imprisoned in Easton Gaol. Said Sheriff, &c., being informed by said Tripp, &c., that they could not engage for said company that they should depart, said Sheriff proceeded to threaten, insult, and, with language, to abuse said Tripp, &c.—as was supposed, to terrify and affright said settlers. And also, with and by force of a writ in the hands of said Sheriff, by him said Tripp, Follett and Elderkin were taken and carried off for imprisonment in Easton jail; and the residue of said company of settlers retired off said lands to the Delaware River.

"Said Tripp, Follett and Elderkin being arrived with said Sheriff at Easton, proposals were made them by said Sheriff and one Lewis Gordon, Esq., to procure bail for their appearance at a future Court, which being done, that they should be set at liberty. Said Tripp, &c., informed said Sheriff and Justice that they were altogether strangers in that part of the country, and did not suppose it possible for them to procure bail to any considerable amount. To which they were answered, that if they did not procure bail they the said Tripp, &c., must and should go into prison—which gave them much trouble and perplexity. At length, for their relief, one Mr. WILLIAM LEDLIE of Easton interposed, offering himself as surety, and became recognized in the sum of £300, lawful money, for their appearance at the then next Quarter Sessions—which was in March following. Upon which said prisoners, after four days' confinement, were released, and returned to Lower Smithfield† upon the Delaware, where they again joined their former companions; and [having], upon consultation and consideration, concluded that at said March Sessions there would be a fair tryal of said cause, and the Title of the lands be made the main question, [they] determined to proceed, and wait the event of said suit—

* See various references to him in subsequent chapters.

† Lower Smithfield Township in Northampton County, now, wholly or in part, Smithfield Township, Monroe County, Pennsylvania. The locality referred to in the above affidavit was the one (mentioned on page 432, *ante*) where the refugees of 1763 congregated—about thirty or thirty-five miles north of Easton.

and accordingly went on and settled themselves at a place called *Lackawannuck*, which is at the entrance of the creek known by that name into the Susquehanna River (then about the 1st March, 1769).” * * *

The path or trail over which the “Forty” traveled from the Delaware to the mouth of the Lackawanna was the same over which they had journeyed some three weeks previously. Having reached their destination they hastily built two or three rude log cabins for their accommodation, purposing to occupy them until the 200 other settlers should come on in the Spring. (These cabins stood within the present limits of the city of Pittston.) News of the arrest and dispersal of the New Englanders at Wyoming was carried to Governor Penn at Philadelphia by Charles Stewart; but while the latter was still in Philadelphia a messenger arrived from up the Delaware with information that the New Englanders had set out from Lower Smithfield for Wyoming. By direction of the Governor Edmund Physick, Receiver General of the Province, paid on March 2d the sum of £64, 19s. 8d.* to Charles Stewart, on account of expenses incurred and to be incurred in removing the New Englanders from Wyoming. Stewart was instructed to proceed to Easton and notify Sheriff Jennings and Justice Gordon to raise a sufficient force of men to proceed with them to Wyoming to arrest the intruding “Forty.”

On the 8th of March Joseph Shippen, Jr. (see page 361), Secretary of the Provincial Council, paid £100 to Thomas Apty, who was to “deliver the same to Lewis Gordon, Esq., at Easton, to be applied by him in defraying the expences of hiring men, &c., on an expedition to Wyoming to remove the New England intruders on the lands there.”† Gordon received this money at Easton on the 9th of March, and the next day he, Henry Hooker and Aaron De Pui (three Northampton County magistrates), Sheriff Jennings, Capt. Alexander Patterson and Capt. Amos Ogden set off for Wyoming at the head of over 100 armed men. On the 11th and 12th of March Charles Stewart purchased stores and provisions at Easton and hired men and horses to convey the same to Wyoming for the use of Sheriff Jennings’ *posse comitatus*.‡ Stewart and his supply-train left Easton in the afternoon of Sunday, March 12th.

The Jennings-Gordon party reached the mouth of the Lackawanna on the 13th of March, and found that the New Englanders (who had been apprized of the approach of the party) had shut themselves up in their cabins. The next day the Pennsylvanians invested, besieged and overcame the New Englanders, and on March 15th Justice Gordon issued a warrant and mittimus directed to the “High Sheriff of the County of Northampton, or his Deputy, and to the Keeper of the common Goal of the said County”—the document being worded, in part, as follows§ :

“WHEREAS Isaac Tripp, Benjamin Follett, Vine Elderkin, Elijah Shoemaker, Thomas Dyer, William Buck, John Jenkins, Elijah Buck, Samuel Gaylord, Joseph Frinck, Rudolph Brink Vanorman, Job Yale, Richard Brockway, Asa Atherton, Joshua Hall, Nathan Denison, John Comstock, Timothy Smith, Silas Bingham, Zerubbabel Jerom, Benajah Pembleton, Thomas Bennet, Simeon Draper, Oliver Smith, Ezra Belding, Reuben Davis, Stephen Harding, Timothy Peirce, Elias Roberts, Allen Whitman and Cyprian Lothrop and *divers others*, evil disposed persons to me unknown, were, in my presence, riotously, routously and unlawfully assembled; and being so assembled did,

* See the “Penn-Physick Manuscripts,” III : 89, in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

† See original document among “Wyoming Papers” in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

‡ See the “Penn-Physick Manuscripts,” IV : 227, in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

§ The original writ is now in the possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania—among its “Wyoming Papers.”

in my presence, commit a riot to the great terror of His Majesty's liege subjects and against the peace of our Lord the King. * * * These are to require you to receive the bodies * * * into your custody." * * *

Quoting further, now, from the joint-affidavit of Messrs. Elderkin and Dyer, previously mentioned, we have :

"At that place [Lackawanna] they [the "Forty"] remained in a peaceable manner, building huts, shelters, &c., until about the middle of said March, when they were attacked by about 150 armed men, headed and commanded by the Sheriff of Northampton County. (The subordinatcs of that company were mostly of low and despicable characters.) The whole soon made an onset, seized upon the people in one of our huts, and by their legs dragged and drew them out and off to some distance, and leveled the small building with the ground. They were then about to treat the remainder of the settlers—who then were in the other hut—in the same manner, when two of their number, as a committee, went out and treated with the assailants; the conclusion of which was that (as the settlers *had no orders or liberties to commit the least act of hostility*) the whole became prisoners, were disarmed and drove down to Easton under a strong guard. When arrived at Easton the Court was there sitting, and the whole [were] admitted to bail in about the sum of £100 each—conditioned for their appearance before the Quarter Sessions in June then next following."

The following extract is from an original unpublished affidavit (now among the "Trumbull Papers" previously mentioned) sworn to by Cyprian Lothrop of Lebanon, Connecticut, before William Williams, Esq. (see page 283), October 9, 1782.

"That he, with about forty settlers, some time in the month of February, 1769, went from Connecticut to settle on our lands nigh the River Susquehanna; and some time in the month of March next following was attacked by a number of Pennsylvania people with arms, who demanded surrender of our garrison. A party from them set fire to a house belonging to our neighbours and then returned to the house that he [the deponent] was in and made a second demand of the same; and he and the rest that occupied said house was constrained to surrender the same, and fell into their hands and was kept under guard one night and then dismissed without further trouble."

"Allen Wightman" deposed in 1782* that :

"In January or February, 1769, he, with a number of other settlers, went from the town of Lebanon [Connecticut] to Wyoming, and some time in March following was attacked by a body of armed men to the number of about 100, from Pennsylvania—as they said. When he and a number of his friends was in their house, was demanded by the said Pennsylvania people to surrender the same to them. Whilst they were consulting among themselves a party of the Pennsylvania men went to our neighbours' house and set fire to it, which consumed it. Then they returned to the house that he [the deponent] and others were in and made a second demand of the same, and he and they were compelled to surrender; and he was kept under their guard one night and then dismissed."

The statement of Sheriff Jennings, as to what happened at Lackawanna on the 14th and 15th days of March, differs somewhat from the foregoing statements. At Philadelphia, June 1, 1769, the Sheriff deposed† before James Biddle, Esq., that :

"He went to Lachnawanack near Wioming. That the said intruders had built there two houses, one of which was a strong log house, built for defense. That the said intruders betook themselves to their said houses and declared they would not give up possession of the said lands, but would maintain the same as their own and *put to death* any persons that attempted to dispossess them. That, after long and fruitless expostulations, the said Justices recorded the forcible detainer, and this deponent, by their orders, prepared to take the said intruders, and received two blows from some of them; but having forced into one of the said houses and taken those that were therein, at length the rest surrendered, and the whole, to the number of thirty-one, were taken into custody. That some of them, on their way to Easton, found means to escape, and the rest procured bail at the next Court."

In the foregoing warrant and mittimus issued by Justice Gordon the names of thirty-one of the "First Forty" appear. The other nine of the company were either temporarily absent from the encampment at Lackawanna when the Pennsylvanians arrived there, or, in the excitement, managed to escape from the encampment, and thus avoided

* See his original affidavit among the "Trumbull Papers," previously mentioned.

† See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV : 343.

capture and arrest. It is quite evident that the names in the warrant were not placed there until after the arrests had been made. Some of the thirty-one—as, for instance, Cyprian Lothrop and Allen Wightman—were, for one reason or another, released by Sheriff Jennings the day after their arrest; while others, on the way to Easton, escaped from their custodians (as stated in the deposition of Sheriff Jennings) and returned to their respective homes—as, for example, Thomas Bennet, who got away at Mill Creek, went to the Minisinks and thence to his home at Goshen, New York.* When, therefore, the Sheriff and his party reached Easton they had in their custody only twenty prisoners, as follows: Asabel Atherton, Ezra Belding, Silas Bingham, Richard Brockway, William Buck, Nathan Denison, Thomas Dyer, Vine Elderkin, Benjamin Follett, Samuel Gaylord, Stephen Harding, John Jenkins, Timothy Peirce, Benajah Pembleton [Pendleton], Elias Roberts, Elijah Shoemaker, Timothy Smith, Isaac Tripp, Rudolph Brink Vanorman and Job Yale. These were formally arraigned before Justice Gordon, and in default of bail were committed to the jail of Northampton County. Almost immediately, however, their friend William Ledlie, of Easton, came to their assistance and entered bail for their appearance at Court—as mentioned in the affidavit of Messrs. Elderkin and Dyer, from which we have hereinbefore quoted. The released prisoners immediately set out from Easton for the Minisinks, where some of them sojourned for a few weeks, while the others proceeded to their respective homes.

Within a short time after the release of these twenty men under bail Benjamin Chew, Esq., the Attorney General of the Province, drew up an indictment against them, setting forth that they, at the time and place set forth, “the close of the Hon. Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, Esquires, Proprietaries of the Province of Pennsylvania, then and there riotously, routously, tumultuously and unlawfully did break and enter, and twenty timber trees, of the value of £30, current money of this Province, the property of them the said Thomas and Richard Penn—then and there standing and growing—riotously, routously, tumultuously and unlawfully then and there did cut down and prostrate; and in and upon the said close then and there with force and arms riotously, routously, tumultuously and unlawfully did erect and build a message.” Upon this indictment the Grand Jury of Northampton County returned a “True Bill.”

Returning now to Connecticut from the almost-deserted valley of Wyoming we find that on the 10th of March Col. Eliphalet Dyer wrote as follows† to William Samuel Johnson, Esq.‡ (previously mentioned), who was still in London.

* See “Pennsylvania Archives,” First Series, IV: 391.

† See the “William Samuel Johnson Papers,” previously mentioned, for the original letter.

‡ WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON was born at Stratford, Fairfield County, Connecticut, October 7, 1727, the son of the Rev. Samuel Johnson (born 1696; died 1772), a native of Guilford, Connecticut. The latter was graduated at Yale College in 1714 a Bachelor of Arts. He received the degree of M. A. from his Alma Mater in 1717, and from Oxford and Cambridge Universities in 1723, and in 1743 Oxford conferred upon him the degree of D. D. Dr. Dwight called him the “father of Episcopacy in Connecticut”—he having, within a few years after leaving college, abandoned the Presbyterian, or Congregational, for the Episcopal Church. When, in 1750, the “Academy of Philadelphia”—now the University of Pennsylvania—was opened, the Trustees (particularly Benjamin Franklin) endeavored to induce the Rev. Dr. Johnson “to undertake the general direction of the Academy.” But the Doctor declined—partly on the ground that the Academy was too distant from his home in Stratford, where he was then rector of an Episcopal Church. But some four years later he became the first President of King’s College, in the city of New York—whose charter was granted October 31, 1754, nearly four months subsequently to The Susquehanna Company’s purchase of the Wyoming lands. Dr. Johnson continued at the head of this institution until 1763, when he resigned his office. He continued to live in Stratford, where he died in 1772.

William Samuel Johnson was graduated at Yale College in 1744 with the degree of B. A. The degree of M. A. was conferred upon him by his Alma Mater in 1747 and by Harvard and King’s Colleges in 1761. In 1766 Oxford University conferred upon him the degree of D. C. L., and in 1788 Yale gave him the degree

"Your last [letter] advised to a settlement of the Susquehanna lands when the line should be settled with the Indians. At the late congress held at Fort Stanwix * * the line was fully settled, and for the lands lying within the line the Indians were fully paid and satisfied to their full content, and such precautions have been taken as to obviate any troubles with the Indians; and as far as we can learn the Indians have no objections as to our settlement of the Susquehanna lands by us purchased, lying within the line. As we was informed that Mr. Penn proposed to send on a number of settlers in the Spring, our Company voted to send forward forty men to take possession the latter end of January. The forty went forward, and were enjoined to use no violence nor force. Mr. Penn, it seems, sent up a Sheriff and one or two Constables with a number of men hired from the Jerseys for assistance, who lighted upon a small number of our people and arrested three for a riot or forcible entry. They went peaceably with them before Authority at Easton, who was ready to take their own bonds for appearance at their next Court. * * Our friends are numerous in Pennsylvania, and many gentlemen of first note and consequence espouse our cause. Our people are still upon the land. They do not design to be removed by any illegal force. Col. [Samuel] Talcott is about setting out for the Court at Easton, but inclines to think they will not prosecute the action."

According to adjournment The Susquehanna Company met at Hartford, April 12, 1769, and transacted a considerable amount of important business—John Smith, Esq., acting as Moderator and Samuel Gray as Clerk. First, it was voted that the proprietors then present, together with the special committee appointed at the last meeting (see page 466), be empowered "to admit and receive" additional settlers to the number of "300 good, able men, to proceed and settle the aforesaid lands by the 10th of May next ensuing; which said 300, as their encouragement, shall [should] have to themselves—or in proportion, if the number shall [should] fall short of 300—three townships on the West Branch of the Susquehanna River, in the place they shall [should] choose, of the contents of five miles square each"—on the same conditions as the grants theretofore made to the "First Forty" and the 200 other settlers. (See pages 465 and 466.) It was further voted that the entire number (540) of settlers thus arranged and provided for by the several votes of the Company should be comprised only "of the proprietors, or of such as shall [should] *come in under a proprietor.*" The following resolutions were then adopted:

"*Voted*, That the 540 above proposed to settle and take possession of the Company's land on Susquehanna River, and all others who may join them, shall be under the direction and order of the Committee of Settlers; and that the Committee *form the whole number present on the land into one body*, joined together in one common interest and settled as compact together as may be, *properly fortified*, without any regard to any particular township or townships which may be afterwards laid out; * * * and also to divide and part out the men into parties, proper for the various businesses—husbandry, tillage, labor, fortifying, scouting, hunting, providing, and other parts necessary and convenient for the whole, and *to unite in peace and good order.*

of LL. D. After leaving college he began the study of law, and within a few years following his admission to the Bar he was looked upon as one of the ablest lawyers in Connecticut. In 1755 he was an instructor in King's College. In October, 1766, he was commissioned by the General Assembly of Connecticut to go to England as agent and attorney for the Colony in certain important affairs. He sailed from New York December 24, 1766, and remained abroad, in London, until August, 1771, when he left for home. During a number of years he acted as attorney and counselor for The Susquehanna Company in respect to some of its most important affairs. In 1774 William Samuel Johnson was Lieutenant Colonel of the 4th Regiment, Connecticut Militia. In that year he was elected a delegate to the First Continental Congress, but did not attend any of its sessions. During the Revolutionary War he was a Loyalist, but did not make himself obnoxious to his fellow-citizens of Stratford, where he continued to live quietly during the war. From 1784 to 1788 he was a Representative in Congress, and from 1789 to 1791 a United States Senator, from Connecticut. In May, 1787, he was appointed by the Connecticut Assembly a delegate to the convention for framing the Constitution of the United States. With his retirement from the Senate in 1791 he gave up the practise of law.

In April, 1776, the exercises of King's College, previously mentioned, were suspended, and the college buildings were prepared for the occupancy of troops. During the remainder of the Revolutionary War the buildings were used for barracks and hospital purposes, now by the Americans and then by the British. When the college was reopened in 1784 an Act was passed by the Legislature of New York by which the name of King's College was changed to "Columbia"—"a word and name then for the first time recognized anywhere in law and history." The college—now Columbia University—was reopened May 19, 1784, under its new name and government, and DeWitt Clinton entered as its first student. In 1787 William Samuel Johnson was elected the first President of the reorganized and renamed institution, and in that office he served until 1800, when he resigned it. He died at Stratford November 14, 1819—five weeks after his ninety-second birth-day. At the sesqui-centennial celebration of the founding of King's College, held by Columbia University in October, 1904, "The Johnsonian Professorship of Philosophy" was established by the Trustees of the University in memory of Samuel Johnson and William Samuel Johnson.

"*Voted*, That Maj. John Durkee, John Smith, Esq., Mr. Gore,* Vine Elderkin, Mr. Ebenezer Backus, Captain McNeal, Mr. Ezra Dean, Mr. Nicholas De Pui, Mr. Stephen Gardner, Mr. Thomas Dyer, Mr. Michael Baldwin, Mr. Daniel Sherrard, 3d, Mr. Moses Keney and Mr. Noah Phelps be added as a committee to the former Committee of Settlers; and that the settlers, when they arrive on the land, have power to choose and elect such other gentlemen as they think proper from among themselves as a further addition to said committee.

"In addition to the vote passed at the last meeting, it is now *Voted*, That a chaplain or minister, as a teacher and head in religious matters and to carry on religious worship, be provided by the Standing Committee, to go forward with our settlers as soon as may be; and that, as an encouragement, such minister proceeding and carrying on religious worship and services, according to his ability in a wilderness country, shall be entitled to one whole right, or share, in said Purchase, and to such other privilege and encouragement as others whom he goes to serve are entitled; and it is further recommended, to the settlers whom he goes to serve, to provide him sustenance with themselves, according to their ability.

"*Voted*, That the thanks of this Company be returned to Mr. William Ledlie for his kind services to our friends [of] the 'First Forty' while at Easton under arrest; and, as a testimony of their grateful sense of his humanity and kindness aforesaid, that he be entitled to one whole right, or share, with us in the Susquehanna Purchase.

"*Voted*, That Eliphalet Dyer, Samuel Talcott and Jedidiah Elderkin, or either two of them, be appointed to go, with proper attendants, to Philadelphia and thence to the Court at Easton (by the beginning of June next) to look after the interests of the Company in the Courts there, and to defend the prosecution commenced against sundry of our 'First Forty' who proceeded to settle our lands last Winter; and that Colonel Talcott be one of the Standing [or Executive] Committee in the room of John Smith, Esq., † released."

The Company further resolved at this meeting that "fifty barrels of pork be procured by Samuel Gray, Esq., and Mr. Gershom Breed for the use of the settlers," and that there be raised two dollars on each right held in the Purchase, to be paid to Treasurer George Wyllys, Esq., to defray the charges of the Company; "and that for the same purpose there be sold one hundred rights at £12 per right—thirty of which [shall be sold] by the Committee of Settlers, twenty by Mr. Ebenezer Backus (all to be sold in the back parts of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania) and six by Ephraim Bowen, Esq., of Providence."

The committee of the Company charged with the duty of approving and enrolling those who desired to constitute the body of 200 settlers (see page 466), having gone about their work diligently, with little difficulty soon secured more than the desired number of men. As leader and commander of these settlers in their march to Wyoming Maj. John Durkee‡ of Norwich, New London County, was selected. He was at that time a Justice of the Peace by appointment of the General Assembly,

* Capt. OBADIAH GORE, of Norwich, Connecticut.

† Mr. Smith purposed going to Wyoming with the 200 settlers who were soon to set out, and he had already been chosen a member of the Directing Committee or "Committee of Settlers." Hence his release from the Standing Committee.

‡ JOHN DURKEE, the founder and namer of WILKES-BARRÉ! His daring and praiseworthy deeds as a patriotic, liberty-loving citizen, his able and brilliant services as an officer in the Colonial wars, as well as during the Revolutionary War, and his hardships and sufferings as the brave and judicious leader of the Wyoming settlers of 1769-72 have been either unknown to or overlooked by every writer of Wyoming history hitherto! Sixty years ago, or more, Charles Miner, in making some brief references ("History of Wyoming," Appendix, page 49) to the Durkee family, wrote: "So far as our knowledge extends the name in Wyoming has ceased to exist but in remembrance." To-day the name of JOHN DURKEE, instead of being fixed in the memories of all Wilkes-Barréans, is only an unknown quantity! Perhaps this is largely due to these reasons: He never visited Wyoming Valley after the year 1774; he died more than 120 years ago and none of his descendants has ever lived here. In the absence from this locality, therefore, of any who, it is presumed, could or would have taken steps to preserve the name and a recollection of the services of JOHN DURKEE, our early writers passed him on to posterity with not much more than the mere mention of his name.

The surname "Durkee" seems to have been generally pronounced in early days as if spelled *Durgee* ("g" having the hard sound), and often—even as late as 1774—it was frequently spelled, by others than members of the family, in the latter form. John Durkee—the first of this surname of whom the present writer has any information—was born at Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1664. Prior to 1700 he removed to Gloucester in the same Province. He was married (1st) to Elizabeth _____, who died September 23, 1711; and (2d) December 12, 1713, to Hannah Bennet of Manchester, Massachusetts. He was a Deacon in the Church. About 1720 he removed with his family to the town of Norwich, New London County, Connecticut, where he lived until his death, September 11, 1739, at about the age of seventy-five years. He left a large estate. By his two wives "Deacon" John Durkee had fourteen children. His eldest son, *John Durkee, Jr.*, was born at Ipswich, Massachusetts, November 23, 1689, and removed with his father's family to Gloucester and thence, about 1720, to the parish of West Farms, in the town of Norwich, Connecticut. In

1735 he was elected Deacon of the West Farms Church. His wife Mary died December 15, 1732, and in 1738 he was married (2d) to Hannah Adgate. In 1746 he was still living in the town of Norwich, and in certain deeds was denominated a "husbandman."

Thomas Durkee and *Jeremiah Durkee* were two other sons of "Deacon" John Durkee, Sr. They were born in Massachusetts, and both died in Norwich—the one December 26, 1724, and the other January 5, 1725. Another son was *Robert Durkee*, 1st, who was married at Windham April 27, 1738, to Esther Warren; while still another son was *Andrew Durkee*, 1st, who lived in Pomfret, Windham County. In May, 1762, he was dead, being survived by his wife Mary.

William Durkee, fifth child of "Deacon" John and Elizabeth Durkee, was born at Gloucester, Massachusetts, January 30, 1700. He removed to Norwich with his father, and a few years later settled in the town of Windham, where he lived until his death. He, like his father and eldest brother, became a Deacon in the Church. He was married (1st) March 8, 1726, to Susannah Sabin, who bore him four children, and died February 8, 1735. "Deacon" William Durkee was married (2d) August 5, 1735, to Elizabeth Ford, who bore him nine children. He died at Windham March 17, 1753, leaving an estate which was inventoried at £880, 15s. 10d. His widow Elizabeth was subsequently married to Jacob Woodward, and died at Windham March 26, 1757. The second child of "Deacon" William and Susannah (*Sabin*) Durkee was JOHN DURKEE, the subject of this sketch, and their third child was Mehetabel Durkee (born February 14, 1731), who, prior to 1754, became the wife of James Bidlack of Canterbury, Windham County, Connecticut—a sketch of whose life will be found in a subsequent chapter. The third child of "Deacon" William Durkee and his second wife, Elizabeth Ford, was Sarah Durkee, born August 27, 1739, at Windham, and married there November 22, 1754, to her cousin Robert Durkee, 2d, mentioned hereinafter.

Stephen Durkee, the eighth child of "Deacon" John Durkee, Sr., and his first wife, Elizabeth, was born at Gloucester, Massachusetts, June 9, 1706. About 1725 or '26 he settled in the town of Windham, Connecticut, where he was married March 19, 1730, to Lois Multon, who bore him nine children. Their third child was Robert Durkee, 2d (born November 26, 1733; killed at Wyoming July 3, 1778), who, as noted above, was married to his cousin Sarah. A sketch of his life will be found in a subsequent chapter. The fourth child of Stephen and Lois (*Multon*) Durkee was Andrew Durkee, born November 24, 1737. He was married January 28, 1762, to Mary Benjamin, and their third child, born July 25, 1768, was named Wilkes Durkee. Stephen Durkee died at Windham August 18, 1769.

JOHN DURKEE, second child of "Deacon" William and Susannah (*Sabin*) Durkee, was born at Windham, Connecticut, December 11, 1728. About 1750 he removed to Norwich, where he was married January 3, 1753, to Martha Wood of that town. Miss Frances M. Caulkins, in her "History of Norwich" (Edition of 1866, page 421), says: "Could the life of this able and valiant soldier [John Durkee] be written in detail, it would form a work of uncommon interest. Only the outlines can now be recovered, but they are of a nature that indicates a career full of adventure and a character deeply imbued with patriotic resolution. He kept an inn, cultivated a farm and was often engaged in public business."

Of the doings of John Durkee before he reached the twenty-eighth year of his life we have been unable to learn anything—except as by his removal to Norwich and his marriage, previously referred to. His entrance upon the stage of public action was made in 1756, as a soldier. As noted on page 297 war was formally declared against France by England in May, 1756, although hostilities had been begun and disastrous battles had been fought months before that time. In March, 1756, Col. George Washington had twice passed through New London County, Connecticut, going to and returning from Boston on military business. In the same month Joshua Ahell and John Durkee of Norwich were appointed by the General Assembly of Connecticut, and duly commissioned, Captain and Second Lieutenant, respectively, of the 4th Company of the 2d Connecticut Regiment, raised for service under the Earl of Loudoun against Canada. The Earl had come over to America early in 1756 to take charge of the war for the English. "But," say historians, "he did nothing effective." Says Woodrow Wilson ("History of the American People," II: 90): "The Government at home sent reinforcements, but nothing was done with them that counted for success. 'I dread to hear from America' exclaimed Pitt." Expeditions against Canada formed a marked feature of the Colonial history of New England. Those enterprises were constantly recurring and consuming the strength and treasure of the country, without any compensation.

In February, 1757, by enactment of the General Assembly of Connecticut (see "Colonial Records of Connecticut," X: 601), Phineas Lyman (mentioned hereinbefore) was appointed Colonel of the regiment to be raised in the Colony "to act in conjunction with His Majesty's forces under the Earl of Loudoun in the next campaign." Israel Putnam of Pomfret, Windham County, was commissioned Captain of the 4th Company of this regiment, and Adonijah Fitch and John Durkee were commissioned Captain and First Lieutenant, respectively, of the 7th Company—which was to be raised from among the men of the 3d Regiment of the Colony militia. During the greater part of the time that Lyman's regiment was in service it was at Fort Edward, mentioned on page 282. As shown by an original muster-roll on file in the Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Lieutenant John Durkee was in service from February 23d to November 3, 1757.

In March, 1758, the General Assembly of Connecticut voted to raise 5,000 troops, to be divided into four regiments, to be used for the purpose of "invading Canada with the King's forces." (See next to the last paragraph on page 297, *ante*.) Eliphalet Dyer (see page 393) was at that time commissioned Colonel of the 3d Regiment, and John Durkee was commissioned Captain of the 9th Company of the regiment. But Colonel Dyer soon afterwards resigned his commission, and Lieut. Col. Eleazar Fitch (mentioned on page 448) was promoted Colonel of the regiment. Israel Putnam was Major. The "3d" was one of the organizations that took part in the "Picconoga expedition" mentioned on page 297, and July 3, 1758, the regiment was at "Lake George" and August 16th at "Camp Fort Edward"—as shown by an original "Memorandum Book for stores belonging to the Colony of Connecticut," which was kept at the time by Lieut. Zebulon Butler, Quartermaster of the regiment, and which is now in the possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. Captain Durkee was in service with his company throughout the campaign, as is shown by an original muster-roll (dated Fort Edward, October 19, 1758) now preserved in the Connecticut State Library.

One of the privates in Captain Durkee's company who served through the campaign of 1758 was a young man—then in the eighteenth year of his life—who subsequently achieved undying fame as a brave and sagacious officer in the Revolutionary War—Thomas Knowlton of Ashford, Windham County. On the 8th of August was fought the battle of Wood Creek, when Major Putnam of the "3d," having been captured by an Indian warrior, was tied to a tree, where, during a considerable part of the fight, he was exposed to the fire of both friends and foes. About the 5th of August a scouting party, embracing Captain Durkee's company, had been sent out from the English camp to intercept or capture the French and Indian stragglers who were thought to be ranging the forests in the vicinity. While thus engaged they found at Wood Creek an encampment bearing marks of recent occupation. There was every indication that the enemy intended to return. Therefore the scouting party took possession of the site and waited for a day or two, but without any result. They then broke camp and started in search of their foes. While cautiously advancing in single file through a heavy forest a storm of bullets was suddenly showered upon them by an ambuscade of French and Indians. So thick was the undergrowth that not a foe was visible, the smoke from the muskets alone revealing their lurking places. The English quickly sought shelter behind the trunks of trees, and then all—officers and soldiers—fought independently of each other.

At an early stage of this battle the attention of Thomas Knowlton was attracted by a quivering among the brakes near by, and a moment later he saw an Indian creeping stealthily into the path over which the English had marched. He immediately shot the Indian, and, having reloaded his musket, sprang forward to secure as a trophy the scalp of the dead warrior. Just as he reached the body ten or twelve Indians jumped out of the underbrush on all sides of him. The boy-soldier, with a boldness and dexterity that for a moment paralyzed the energies of the Indians, shot down the nearest warrior and, bounding

over his prostrate body, regained his comrades in safety, though pursued by a shower of balls. Meanwhile the action had become general, and both parties fought desperately; but at length the New Englanders had become so scattered that all regularity was lost—each one managing and fighting for himself. About that time Knowlton, on entering a small open space, saw a Frenchman enter on the opposite side. Each snapped his musket, but both weapons missed fire. As neither of them had bayonets the Frenchman endeavored to draw a dirk, but before he could succeed Knowlton had clasped him around the waist and then exerted all his strength to throw him. But the strength of the large and powerful man proved to be too much for the immature though active youth, and so Knowlton was thrown. At that moment, however, Captain Durkee fortunately entered the arena, when the Frenchman begged for quarter. Knowlton having reprimed his gun he and Durkee started to the rear with their prisoner, when he sprang from their grasp and endeavored to escape; but his flight was quickly stopped by a death-dealing ball from Knowlton's gun. Durkee and Knowlton, who had become separated from the rest of their party by the retreat of the latter, now attempted to regain the main body of troops. After running in different directions, and being shot at several times, they gained the rear of the English unharmed. For the valor exhibited by Knowlton at Wood Creek he was promoted a sergeant, and before the war closed he was commissioned a Lieutenant.

In March, 1759, the General Assembly of Connecticut appointed Phineas Lyman to be Major General of the troops, and Colonel of the 1st Regiment, ordered to be raised in the Colony "for the ensuing campaign"—referred to on pages 297 and 298, *ante*. At the same time Col. Eleazar Fitch, Israel Putnam and John Durkee were appointed and commissioned Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel and Major, respectively, of the 4th Regiment, and Major Durkee was also appointed Captain of the 3d Company. (See "Colonial Records of Connecticut," XI: 226.) In April following Major Durkee's company was mustered at Norwich (see original roll in the State Library, Hartford), and soon thereafter the Connecticut troops joined General Amherst's command and took part in the campaign which resulted in the expulsion of the French from Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Major Durkee was with his regiment during its whole tour of service in this year.

In March, 1760, the General Assembly of Connecticut resolved to raise 5,000 troops, to be divided into four regiments, to co-operate with the King's forces in "the ensuing expedition (see page 298, *ante*) against Montreal and all French posts in Canada; and further to annoy the enemy in such manner as His Majesty's commander-in-chief shall judge practicable." In this campaign Colonel Fitch, Lieutenant Colonel Putnam and Major Durkee were again, by appointment of the Assembly, the three principal officers of the 4th Connecticut Regiment. It is interesting to note that in the campaign of 1760, among the Indians who, under the command of Sir William Johnson, formed the third division of Amherst's army, were Cornplanter, Jean Montour and Joseph Brant, previously mentioned. The second division of the army, composed almost wholly of the New England Provincials (including, of course, the Connecticut contingent), was commanded by Col. Frederick Haldimand—seventeen years later Gen. Sir Frederick Haldimand, Governor General of the Province of Quebec. (See a sketch of his life in Chapter XIV.)

In March, 1761, Phineas Lyman and John Durkee were appointed and commissioned Colonel and Major, respectively, of the 1st Connecticut Regiment "in the forces to be raised for the [then] current year," and according to an original muster-roll in the State Library, Hartford, Major Durkee was in active service from April till December, 1761. In January, 1762, the King of Great Britain declared war against Spain, and it was decided to send a force of British Regulars and Provincials to capture the City of Havana on the Island of Cuba—the "Key to the New World." In March, 1762, the Connecticut Assembly appointed Phineas Lyman "Major General of the forces, and Colonel of the 1st Regiment, to be raised" in the Colony for the service mentioned. Israel Putnam was appointed and commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the 1st Regiment, and John Durkee Major of the regiment and Captain of the 3d Company. Subsequently General Lyman was given command of all the Provincials. The 1st Connecticut Regiment consisted of twelve companies, and all of them except the 10th joined the expedition against Havana. The eleven companies numbered 917 men.

The chief command of this expedition was given to Lord Albemarle, and March 5, 1762, he set sail from Portsmouth, England, with nineteen ships of the line, eighteen smaller men-of-war, and 150 transports with 10,000 troops. This fleet arrived off the harbor of Havana three months later. In the harbor were twelve Spanish ships of the line, and in the fortifications on shore a force of troops numerically equal to the invaders. The British force was safely landed, and on June 12th began the construction of batteries. On the 11th of June the first detachment of troops from the North American Colonies sailed from New York in eleven transports, and some time later the second detachment sailed. The safe arrival of these troops at Havana increased the British force there to the largest that America had ever seen. The Morro Castle (the same old "Morro" of the Spanish-American War of 1898) was taken by assault on the 30th of July, and then the British began to plant batteries against the city. These opened fire August 11th, within six hours silenced the defenses, and two days later compelled the Spaniards to enter into a capitulation by which they surrendered the city, all the ships in the harbor and the whole west end of the island. An immense quantity of booty came into the possession of the victors, and a large amount of prize-money was awarded to the Colonial officers and soldiers. During and immediately after the siege the American soldiers were terribly scourged by disease—suffering more from the Cuban climate than from the Spanish soldiers. Large numbers died—on the island and on the homeward voyage—from what was called "putrid fever." The Connecticut troops returned home in November, 1762.

In 1761 Major Durkee became a member of The Susquehanna Company by the purchase of a "half-right" from Isaac Tracy of New London, and in 1763 he was active in helping to organize "The Company of Military Adventurers," mentioned on page 458. He was then, and had been for several years, engaged in mercantile business in Norwich in partnership with Elisha Lord and Joshua Abell, Jr. This partnership was dissolved January 11, 1764, but the business was continued at the same stand by Lord, who advertised "a good assortment of English and West India goods; also, good wine." January 23, 1764, an agreement was executed by Messrs. Lord, Durkee and Abell, and placed on record, which set forth that the three men for some years then past had been in partnership, "and have practised and carried on trade and merchandise in said Norwich and partnership and company in equal proportions; which partnership ended the 11th instant, and there now remains a considerable quantity of goods, wares and merchandise on hand, and also the shop and appurtenances where the trade was carried on, and also the sloop *Three Friends*, of sixty tons (and also her cargo), Capt. Benjamin Edgerton, Master, now at sea, bound on a voyage to the Island of Antigua." Joshua Abell, Jr., sold all his right in the foregoing to Elisha Lord, on the date last mentioned, and shortly thereafter Lord sold to Major Durkee an interest in the business, which thenceforth was continued under the name of Durkee and Lord. Early in 1767 Lord died, "greatly insolvent," and in April of that year Major Durkee was compelled to mortgage his "dwelling house and adjacent lands in the town-plot of Norwich, his orchard on the north side of the town street, his lot and barn on the south side of the street, two acres near Needham and ten acres in 'The Quarter,' so called," as well as other property, for debts amounting to upwards of £500 due from Durkee and Lord to Theophilus Beach and Perry and Hayes, New York. About that time—or probably as early as 1765—Major Durkee began keeping an inn on "Bean Hill," in the town of Norwich.

In the Spring of 1765 the British Parliament passed the "Stamp Act," applying to the American Colonies. As soon as the fact became known throughout the Colonies very general discontent was manifested by the people, and there sprang into existence an organization—having numerous branches throughout the country—which assumed the name "Sons of Liberty." One of the avowed objects of this organization was the opposing of the enforcement of the Stamp Act. (A very full account of the Stamp Act, as well as of the Sons of Liberty and their doings, will be found in Chapter X.) The headquarters of the Sons of Liberty in Connecticut was at Norwich, and Major Durkee was, from the beginning, a very active and influential member of the organization. In September, 1765, a band of 500 of the stalwart "Sons" of

the counties of New London and Windham set out on horseback, with eight days' provisions, determined to find Jared Ingersoll (see page 405 and Chapter X), the newly appointed Stamp Agent for Connecticut, and make him resign his office. The New London contingent of this band crossed the Connecticut River at North Lyme, where quite a number of Lyme "Sons"—including Capt. Zebulon Butler, Benjamin Harvey, Capt. Harris Colt and others joined the party. They marched up the west side of the river, and united with the Windham contingent near the town of Wethersfield.

Major Durkee commanded the combined band (which comprised many men who, a few years later, were to become active and prominent as settlers at Wyoming under The Susquehanna Company), and rode at its head dressed in full military costume, and accompanied by three trumpeters who awoke the echoes with their blasts. The men, who rode two abreast, each bore a ponderous peled club in imitation of the baton carried in those days by an officer of the peace. Jared Ingersoll, who happened to be on his way from New Haven to Hartford, was met by the "Sons" near the village of Wethersfield, into the main street of which he was escorted with a flourish of trumpets. The procession having halted and opened ranks, Major Durkee called upon Ingersoll to resign his office. "Is it fair," expostulated the latter, "for two counties to dictate to the rest of the Colony?" "It doesn't signify to parley; a great many people are waiting, and you must resign," was the prompt reply. "I must wait to learn the sense of the Government," said Ingersoll. "*Here* is the sense of the Government," declared Durkee, "and no man shall exercise your office!" "A few moments later Ingersoll wrote his name to the formal resignation prepared for him. That was well, but it was not enough. He was required to swear to it in a loud voice, and then shout 'Liberty and Property!' three times. This last ceremony he performed swinging his hat about his head. He was then escorted to the city of Hartford, a few miles distant, by the 500 club-bearers, riding four abreast. The procession halted at the Court House, where Major Durkee read to a large assemblage of citizens the resignation of Mr. Ingersoll. The latter was then ordered to shout again three times 'Liberty and Property!' After this the Sons of Liberty quietly dispersed to their respective homes."

When making the memorable journey from Wethersfield to Hartford Mr. Ingersoll was mounted on a white horse. As he rode silently along in the midst of the "Sons" some one asked him what he was thinking of. "Death on a pale horse and Hell following," was his quick retort.

In 1766 Major Durkee was one of the two Deputies chosen to represent Norwich in the General Assembly of Connecticut.

After his release from his imprisonment of almost two years at Philadelphia (an account of which is given hereinafter), Major Durkee repaired to Norwich, where his wife and children were still residing—they having never removed to Wyoming. Charles Miner says ("History of Wyoming"): "Several months' imprisonment extinguished his [Durkee's] ardor for the settlement at Wyoming, and he returned to Norwich." In 1773 and 1774 he made brief visits to Wyoming—his last one being made during the months of March-May, 1774, when, as a member of the "Committee to order and direct the laying out of towns," he signed certain documents, and, as "President of the Settlers," gave receipts, or certificates, for payments made by several buyers of rights in the Susquehanna Purchase.

In England, in March, 1774, the leaders of the Government, under Lord North, proposed and carried very drastic measures in relation to the American Colonies. Says Woodrow Wilson (in "A History of the American People," II: 187, 209): "By one bill they closed the port of Boston, transferring its trade after the first of June to the older port of Salem. * * By another Bill they suspended the Charter of the Colony. By a third they made provision for the quartering of troops within the Province; and by a fourth they legalized the transfer to England of trials growing out of attempts to quell riots in the Colony. * * It was the 2d of June [1774] before the text of the new statutes was known in Boston. That same month—almost upon that very day—Thomas Hutchinson, the constant-minded Governor whom Samuel Adams had tricked, hated, and beaten in the game of politics, left his perplexing post and took ship for England, never to return. * * * Mr. Hutchinson left General [Thomas] Gage Governor in his stead—at once Governor and military commander. Gage was to face a season of infinite trouble, and, as men soon learned, did not know how to face it either with patience or with tact and judgment. * * Samuel Adams and those who acted with him very carefully saw to it that agitation should not lose its zest or decline to the humdrum levels of ordinary excitement. They kept their alarm-bells pealing night and day, and were vigilant that feeling should not subside or fall tame."

On Saturday, September 3, 1774, there arrived at Norwich, Connecticut, an express from Col. Israel Putnam at Pomfret with information that an attack had been made the night before by General Gage's soldiers upon certain citizens of Boston, and that six of them had been killed. This was only a rumor, but it caused the greatest consternation, and the citizens assembled around the "Liberty Tree"—a tall pole, which, as early as 1765, had been erected by the Sons of Liberty in the center of the village "Green." From the "Liberty Tree" the crowd adjourned to the Court House, where a full and free discussion of the news took place. The next morning, Sunday, April 4th—which was the day preceding that upon which the First Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia (see page 354)—461 men, well armed, and the greater part mounted on good horses, started from Norwich for Boston under the command of Major Durkee. Seven miles from Norwich they were met by an express from Providence, Rhode Island, with intelligence that the report of the previous day was without foundation; whereupon the company dispersed. This false alarm had for its basis what was really an aggressive act on the part of General Gage. He had landed a body of troops and removed the military stores from Charlestown, together with two field-pieces from Cambridge, to Castle William. This excited a tumult in Boston, the news of which, distorted and intensified by rumor, was delivered verbally by a messenger hastily sent to Colonel Putnam. Putnam condensed the intelligence in a despatch to Captain Cleveland at Canterbury, who sent it on by express to Major Durkee.

Early in April, 1775, the Connecticut authorities established and commissioned Israel Putnam Colonel of the 3d Regiment and John Durkee Major of the 1st Regiment of the Colony. On the 19th of April, at Boston, General Gage detailed 800 of his troops to seize the military stores which the Provincials had gathered at Concord, and there followed an instant rising of the country. "Riders," says Wilson, "had sped through the country-side during the long night which preceded the movement of the troops, to give warning; and before the troops could finish their errand armed men beset them at almost every turn of the road, swarming by companies out of every hamlet and firing upon them from hedge and fence corner and village street as if they were outlaws running the gantlet."

News of the fight at Lexington was forwarded by the Town Clerk at Worcester, Massachusetts, to Brooklyn in the town of Pomfret, Windham County, Connecticut, the home of Colonel Putnam. It reached there in the morning of April 20th, and Putnam, who was plowing in one of his fields, left his plow and set out immediately for Boston. The despatch received at Brooklyn was sent on by messenger to Norwich, and soon, in the counties of Windham and New London, messengers on horseback, with beating drums, carried the news in all directions. Meanwhile a message came direct from Boston, to the effect that it would be expedient for every man who was "fit and willing" to repair to the scene of action. Putnam was then in Concord, whence he wrote on the 21st of April.

On Sunday, April 23d, at nine o'clock in the evening, an express arrived at Norwich with despatches for the Committee of Correspondence of the town, and a certified copy of a letter from Colonel Putnam dated at Cambridge, April 22d, and evidently written under a stress of excitement. He called for immediate supplies of troops and provisions. Volunteers were now almost daily departing for the army at Cambridge in squads of two, three and four, and regularly organized companies were not far behind. In the latter part of the month a special session of the Connecticut Assembly was held, and it was resolved that, for the safety and defense of the Colony, six regiments of ten companies each should be enlisted from the militia of the Colony, and organized and equipped without delay. The term of enlistment was fixed at seven months, and the regiments were raised almost with a rush.

As chief officers of the 3d Regiment of the six thus provided for the Assembly named Israel Putnam, Colonel; Benedict Arnold, then of New Haven, but formerly of Norwich (see page 284), Lieutenant

Colonel; John Durkee, Major, and Captain of one of the companies. This regiment (with the exception of one company of 100 men—Durkee's—which was raised at Norwich) was recruited in Windham County. The company from Ashford was commanded by Capt. Thomas Knowlton. (See page 481.) In May the regiment was marched, by companies, to the camps forming around Boston. Durkee's company left Norwich for the scene of action May 23d, in charge of Lieut. Joshua Huntington, Durkee having joined Putnam at Cambridge some days previously. The 3d Regiment took part in the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775, and in the retreat of the Americans after the battle the men of Durkee's company lost twenty guns and forty blankets. Two days after this battle the Continental Congress appointed four Major Generals for the Continental Army, one of them being Col. Israel Putnam. By reason of Putnam's promotion Major Durkee succeeded to the temporary command of the 3d Regiment, inasmuch as Lieutenant Colonel Arnold was then at Ticonderoga. Eight days after the fight at Lexington Arnold had proposed that a force be sent northward for the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and early in May he went forward as the leader of such a force. Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain boys set out with the same object in view, and the two commanders came together on the way and pressed forward to success—Ticonderoga being captured on the 10th of May.

In July, 1775, the 3d Regiment was adopted as a Continental Regiment, and Lieut. Col. Benedict Arnold, Maj. John Durkee and Capt. Thomas Knowlton were respectively promoted and commissioned Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel and Major. The regiment remained in camp at Cambridge until the expiration of its term of service in December, when it was reorganized with the same field officers, and the men were re-enlisted, for the campaign of 1776. The regiment was officially designated as the "20th Regiment, Continental Foot," but was commonly referred to as "Arnold's Regiment." At that time the regiment was still in command of Durkee, Arnold having been sent in the early Autumn in command of an expedition against Quebec. During the Winter of 1775-'76 and the Spring of 1776 the "20th" formed part of the army which closely invested Boston. During the latter part of February, 1776, Major Knowlton was in command of the regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Durkee being absent on account of ill health. After the evacuation of Boston by the British in March, 1776, the 20th Regiment was transferred to the city of New York.

About that time Arnold, having performed conspicuous and hazardous services and been wounded during the Quebec campaign, was promoted by Congress a Brigadier General. For the vacancy thereby created in the Colonelcy of the 20th Regiment there were two applicants: Lieutenant Colonels John Dur-



BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

After the painting by John Trumbull (mentioned on page 471).

kee and David Waterbury. Under date of June 10, 1776, Col. Eliphalet Dyer, at Windham, wrote to Col. Joseph Trumbull (see page 471) as follows: "Since I last saw you at New York the Governor wrote General Washington in favor of Colonel Waterbury to be appointed Colonel of Durkee's regiment. Waterbury will not accept unless he can have his Continental commission of ye date he ought to have had one when in Canada, to give him his proper rank. He is at present appointed to command a regiment raised by the Colony, stationed at New London, which he accepts till he hears from Congress; and if they give him his former proposed commission then he will leave New London and repair to New York and take the command of Durkee's regiment. If he should not, I have strong solicitations to use my small influence for Durkee. It is said in his favor that he has gained his health; is much more alert than he used to be; that his regiment—both officers and soldiers—*are very fond of him*, and that there is no one will give so good satisfaction as he will. * * * Let me hear from you whether Durkee will do—whether he can be promoted or not. If he will do I should be willing to help him forward. I will own I feel myself a little interested in the affair, as probably Capt. Thomas [Dyer] may stand a chance for the Majority."

A week later Colonel Dyer wrote from Hartford to Colonel Trumbull as follows: "The Assembly have appointed Colonels Waterbury and Wadsworth the two Brigadier Generals for these new raised battalions. * * Waterbury is now out of the question for Arnold's regiment. Durkee is much recommended to me by many of his officers, and that the regiment would be better satisfied with him than any other they can think of, except Waterbury." At the city of New York, July 29, 1776, General Washington wrote to the Continental Board of War as follows (see "American Archives," Fifth Series, I: 641): "For the 20th Regiment (then—June 27th—late Arnold's) there were two competitors, to wit: Colonel Durkee, the present Lieutenant Colonel, *who has had charge of the regiment ever since the first establishment of it*, and Lieutenant Colonel Tyler of Parsons' regiment." In an order issued from "Headquarters, New York, August 12, 1776," General Washington announced: "Lieutenant Colonel Durkee is appointed Colonel of the regiment late Arnold's, and Major Knowlton Lieutenant Colonel of said regiment." A few days later

Capt. Thomas Dyer, just mentioned (see, also, page 394), was promoted Major of the 20th Regiment, which, about the same time, was put in a new brigade—to be commanded by Brig. Gen. Samuel Holden Parsons of Connecticut—forming part of the division under the command of Maj. Gen. Joseph Spencer of Connecticut.

August 27, 1776, the battle of Long Island was fought, ending disastrously for the American forces. General Parsons' brigade took part in this engagement, being stationed on the spot now known as "Battle Hill" in Greenwood Cemetery. Many of Parsons' men were killed and more were captured. Moreover, it was at this battle that Maj. Edward Shippen Burd (mentioned on page 361) was captured by the British, and Col. Philip Johnston (mentioned on pages 459 and 488) fell at the head of his New Jersey regiment. Three days later occurred Washington's skillful retreat to the New York side of the East River, and with it began the series of perplexities and reverses which so distressed the American army in that critical campaign. Immediately after the retreat from Long Island Durkee's 20th Regiment was stationed in the entrenchments at Paulus' Hook, on the New Jersey shore nearly opposite Cortlandt Street, New York. On the 6th of September, at a council of war convened in New York, it was decided that the city should be held by the American forces; but six days later a council reversed this decision and concluded that New York should be evacuated on September 15th. Durkee's regiment was then withdrawn from Paulus' Hook and marched up along the New Jersey shore of the Hudson to Fort Lee, on the Palisades opposite Harlem Heights. There the regiment remained doing garrison duty during the next two months. November 13, 1776, according to an official "return of the forces encamped on the Jersey shore, commanded by Major General Greene," Durkee's regiment comprised 494 men fit for duty, including one Colonel, one Major, six Captains, seven First Lieutenants, eight Second Lieutenants and eight Ensigns.

By direction of General Washington, within a few days after the battle of Long Island, there had been organized a corps of about 130 officers and soldiers selected from four of the Connecticut regiments and one Massachusetts regiment in service at New York—Durkee's 20th Continental Foot, one of these five regiments, furnishing the largest number of men. Brave and experienced fighters with unblemished records, these men were detailed "to scout between the lines, feel the enemy's position and report directly to the commander-in-chief," and were to return to their respective regiments when no longer needed for this special service. Lieut. Col. Thomas Knowlton of Durkee's regiment was assigned to the command of this detachment, which became known as "Knowlton's Rangers." Among Knowlton's officers was young Capt. Nathan Hale—the patriot-spy—of the 19th Continental Foot, who, captured by the British, was hanged two days afterwards (September 22, 1776) near the corner of the present Forty-fifth Street and First Avenue, New York. On the 16th of September, on the ground now covered by the buildings of Columbia University, was fought the battle of Harlem Heights. "Knowlton's Rangers" took part in this battle—as well as in the preliminary skirmish on Harlem Plains—and in the hottest part of the engagement on the "Heights" Lieutenant Colonel Knowlton, while bravely leading an attack, was shot through the head, and survived only an hour. In General Orders the next day General Washington announced: "The gallant and brave Colonel Knowlton, who would have been an honor to any country, having fallen yesterday while gloriously fighting, Captain Brown is to take command of the party lately led by Colonel Knowlton." Stephen Brown, Captain of one of the companies in Durkee's regiment, was the officer thus assigned to the temporary command of the "Rangers."

After the battle of White Plains, October 28, 1776, and the surrender of Fort Washington on Manhattan Island on the 16th of the following November, Washington, who was then at Fort Lee, ordered the abandonment of that fort on the 20th of November and the withdrawal of the American army to the west side of the Hackensack River. Durkee's regiment and the other troops that formed the garrison of Fort Lee evacuated the fort so hastily that they left their mess-kettles on the fires, and 1,000 barrels of flour, 300 tents and a number of mounted cannon fell into the hands of Cornwallis. By the 22d of November the whole American army had fallen back to Newark, New Jersey, and on the 28th, as Washington was leaving Newark at one end of the town, Cornwallis entered at the other. About the 1st of the following December Durkee's regiment was transferred to the brigade commanded by Brig. Gen. Hugh Mercer (mentioned on page 361), and December 22, 1776, according to the official "return of the forces encamped and in quarters on the banks of the Delaware, in Pennsylvania, under command of General Washington," the 20th Continental Foot of Mercer's brigade had 465 men, including Colonel Durkee, present for duty.

In *The Connecticut Gazette* of February 14, 1777, there was printed a letter from an army correspondent which contained the following paragraph: "Durkee's regiment covered the retreat from Fort Lee to Delaware River, which regiment, both officers and men, behaved with great spirit and bravery, to the entire satisfaction of the General [Washington], and was with him in the action at Trenton." The battle of Trenton was fought December 26, 1776. In the morning of Christmas-day General Mercer had issued the following order to Colonel Durkee (see Stryker's "Battles of Princeton and Trenton," page 379): "You will order your men to assemble, and parade them in the valley immediately over the hill on back of McConkey's Ferry, to remain there for further orders. In forming the brigade, Colonel Durkee's regiment present, and 217 men absent, sick, on extra duty, or on furlough." It was at McConkey's Ferry in the night of Christmas-day, that Washington, with 2,400 troops, including Durkee's regiment, crossed the Delaware—the swift current of the river filled with cakes of floating ice, and a driving storm of snow and sleet pelting the poorly-clad troops. Six days later the term of service of the regiment expired, but, at the urgent request of Washington, Colonel Durkee, nearly all the other commissioned officers and a considerable number of the enlisted men of the regiment, continued in service for about six weeks longer, and on January 3, 1777, they participated, as part of Mercer's brigade, in the battle of Princeton—described in the note on page 362. Three days after this event Washington went into Winter-quarters at Morristown, New Jersey.

At the session of the General Assembly of Connecticut held in October, 1776, John Durkee was "appointed Colonel of one of the eight battalions now ordered to be raised in this State." (See "Records of the State of Connecticut," 1: 15.) These battalions, or regiments, were to be raised for the new Continental Army—to serve through the war. Durkee having accepted the appointment made by the Assembly was commissioned Colonel of the "4th Regiment, Connecticut Line," January 1, 1777. Returning home some weeks later the recruiting of the regiment was proceeded with, mainly in the counties of Windham and New London. Early in March the regiment—a mere skeleton in numbers—went into camp at Peekskill, New York. Under date of March 23, 1777, General Washington, at Morristown, wrote to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut as follows (see the "Trumbull Papers," previously referred to): "I wish you may not have been deceived in the forwardness of your regiments, for I can assure you the returns fall far short of what was given out. Chandler's, Swift's and Charles Webb's, by General Parsons' letter of the 6th *inst.*, had only eighty men each, though the latter (Webb) sent his son down some weeks ago and drew 400 stand of arms, assuring me that his father had as many men ready. None of the other regiments were half full. *Durkee's had only 140 men.*" The first Adjutant of the 4th Regiment was Lieut. Elihu Marvin, a native of Lyme, New London County, Connecticut, and a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1773. After leaving college he taught school and studied medicine in Norwich, Connecticut, and left there in June, 1777, to join Durkee's regiment.

In September, 1777, the 4th Regiment was ordered to join Washington's army in Pennsylvania, and it marched from Peekskill in the Connecticut brigade commanded by General McDougall. October 4, 1777, the regiment was engaged in the battle of Germantown, Pennsylvania, on the left flank of the army, and suffered some loss. Later it was assigned to Varnum's brigade, and a detachment of the regiment continued the brave defense of Fort Mifflin on the Delaware from the 12th to the 16th of November, 1777, during which Capt. Stephen Brown, previously mentioned, was killed and several of the enlisted men of the detachment were either killed or wounded. The regiment spent the never-to-be-forgotten Winter of

1777-78 at Valley Forge, and June 28, 1778, was closely engaged in the battle of Monmouth, New Jersey. Colonel Durkee, who was in command of Varnum's brigade on that occasion, received a severe wound in his right hand, whereby it was permanently disabled. Later the 4th Regiment encamped with the main army at White Plains, New York, until ordered into Winter-quarters at Redding, between Danbury and Bridgeport, Connecticut. Assigned to the 1st Connecticut Brigade, commanded by Brig. Gen. Samuel H. Parsons, the regiment was engaged in the movements and operations on the east side of the Hudson during the campaign of 1779. In the Winter of 1779-'80 it was with the Connecticut division of the army stationed on the outposts at and near Morristown, New Jersey. In the campaign of 1780 it was with the main army in its operations on both sides of the Hudson—spending the Winter of 1780-'81 in the camp "Connecticut Village," above Robinson's farm, on the east side of the Hudson, opposite West Point.

Beginning with January 1, 1781, a new formation, or a consolidation, of the "Connecticut Line" went into effect, which continued till the end of the war. The non-commissioned officers and privates of the 3d and 4th Regiments of the old "Line" (the formation of 1777-'81) were consolidated into a new regiment designated the "1st," with Colonel Durkee in command. June 21, 1781, the 1st Regiment, with other regiments, marched from "Connecticut Village" down along the Hudson to Peekskill. Later they moved down to Camp Phillipsburg, near Dobbs Ferry, where Durkee's regiment was stationed near the river, on the extreme right of the first, or advance, line of the division. During the Summer and Autumn of 1781, the "1st" guarded certain outposts in the Highlands on the Hudson against predatory parties of the enemy sent out from New York, and about the last of November the regiment went into Winter-quarters again at "Connecticut Village." Some weeks later Colonel Durkee, who had long borne up under what a fellow officer described as "a slender and debilitated constitution," went to his home at Norwich on sick-leave, turning over the command of his regiment to Lieut. Col. Thomas Grosvenor.

Colonel Durkee died at Norwich May 29, 1782, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, "from exhaustion induced by the service." Brig. Gen. Jeddiah Huntington of the Connecticut Line, who was then at his home in Norwich on leave of absence, sent news of the death of Durkee to "Connecticut Village," and some weeks later received from Lieutenant Colonel Grosvenor a letter containing the following reference to the occurrence: "By your letter to Dr. Ellis we are informed of the death of Colonel Durkee. It is a soldier's maxim not to repine at Fate, and a Christian virtue to hold ourselves conformable to the dispensations of Providence. I am happy to hear that the Colonel possessed his mind with its usual firmness and composure to his final exit. It highly indicates the soldier and man of worth." (See "Connecticut in the Revolution," page 315.) Colonel Durkee's will (which had been executed at Norwich October 18, 1780, in the presence of Joshua Abell, Jr., Capt. Richard Lamb and Uriah Waterman) was probated at Norwich June 4, 1782. By it the Colonel devised to his wife Martha all his estate except twenty shillings, which he bequeathed to his "worthy friend Isaac Abell," who, with Mrs. Martha Durkee as executrix, was appointed executor of the will. The inventory of the estate contained the following items: One silver watch; one blue, one red and one brown regimental coat; one white, one buff and one green cloth and one corduroy waistcoat; six pairs of breeches—white, green, and buff cloth, corduroy, leather and linen; gold sleeve buttons; silver buckles; ivory-headed cane; saddles and bridles; a goodly supply of household furniture and utensils and a number of books; dwelling-house, valued at £280; orchard, at £50; several small lots of land; four "Treasurer's Notes" for £116, 8s. 11½d. each. Total amount of inventory, £1,264, 4s. 4d. Charles Miner says ("History of Wyoming," Appendix, pages 27 and 49) that Colonel Durkee was buried at Norwich "with extraordinary display. * * * Military honors were accorded at his funeral, and the display on a similar occasion in that city had never been surpassed." Miss Calkins, writing some years later than Miner, stated: "On the grave-stone of Col. John Durkee is the following: 'In memory of Doct^r Dominic Touzain who was lost in a hurricane in March 1782 in ye 31st year of his age.'" It is presumed, of course, that the foregoing was in addition to an inscription relating to Colonel Durkee. Who Dr. Touzain was we have been unable to learn.

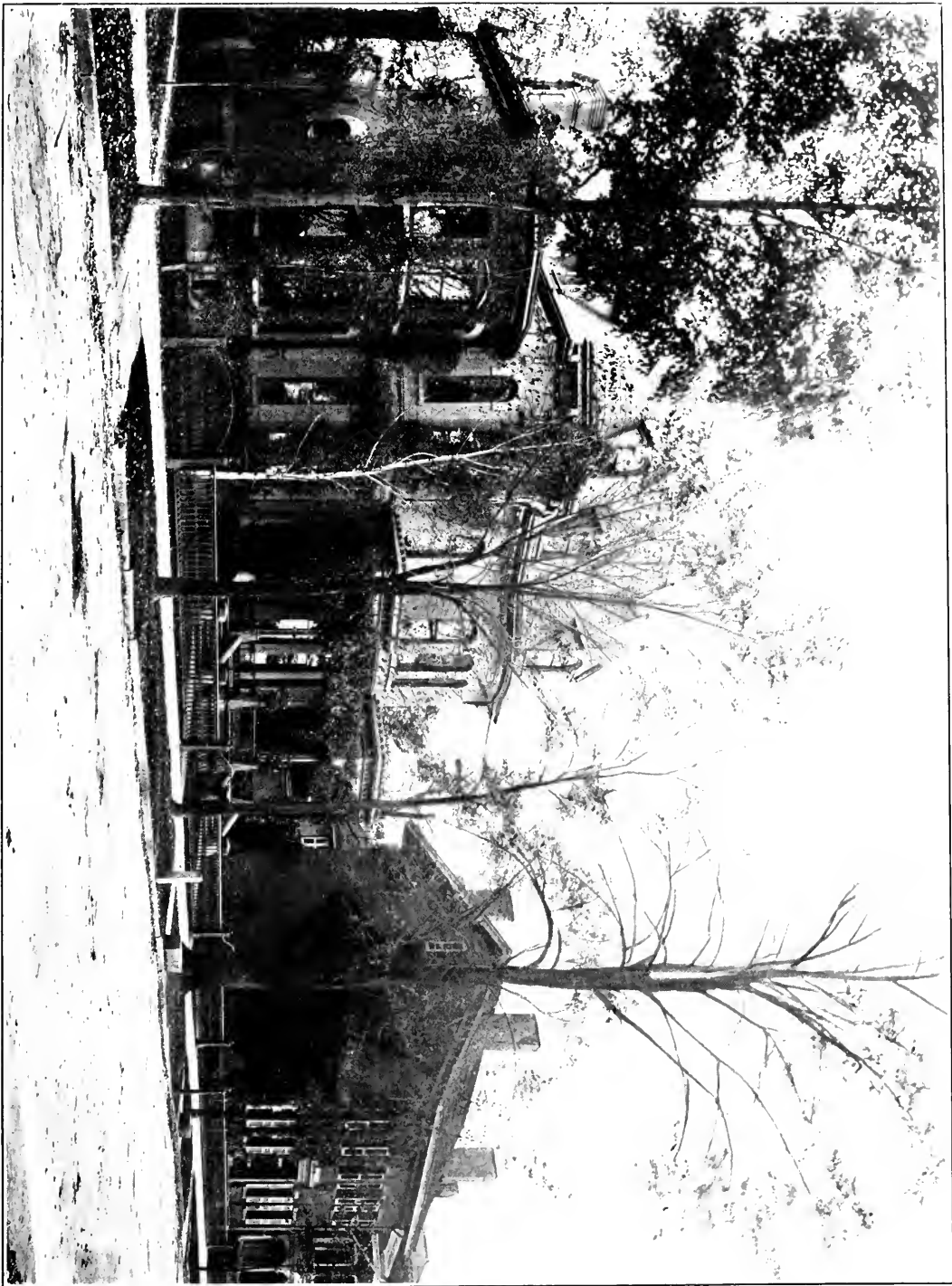
Col. John and Martha (Wood) Durkee were the parents of the following-named children, all born at Norwich: i. *Anna Durkee*, born October 23, 1753. Subsequently to July, 1774, she became the wife of Delongpres. Subsequently to 1793 and prior to 1812, her husband having died, she was married (2d) to — Young. When, in March, 1812, she applied to Congress for "the seven years' half-pay of a Colonel, to which Durkee himself would have been entitled had he lived and served to the end of the war"—as provided for in the Resolve of Congress of August 24, 1780—it was set forth that the widow of said Durkee was dead, and that the petitioner, Anna (*Durkee*) Young, was "the daughter and sole heir of Col. John Durkee, deceased." (See "American State Papers," XIX: 72, 417.) She was, therefore, the last survivor of her father's family. When and where Mrs. Young died, and whether or not she left any descendants, we have been unable to learn.

ii. *John Durkee, Jr.*, born September 23, 1757. In 1775, in the eighteenth year of his life, he served from May till December as a private in the 3d Company of the 3d Connecticut Regiment in the campaign against Boston, described on page 484. In 1776 he served through the New York and New Jersey campaign as an Ensign in the 20th Continental Foot commanded by his father. January 1, 1777, when only three months past his nineteenth birthday, he was commissioned Second Lieutenant in the 4th Regiment, subsequently commanded by his father. July 31, 1777, he was promoted First Lieutenant, and October 26, 1780, was promoted Captain. He served in this regiment until its consolidation with the 3d Regiment to form the 1st Regiment, as previously described, and then he served as Captain in the last-mentioned regiment until the close of the war. In 1783 he became a member of the Connecticut Society of the Cincinnati. He was alive and residing at Norwich, Connecticut, in June, 1785; but how much longer he lived we are unable to state.

iii. *Phineas Durkee* (named for Colonel Durkee's old friend and commander, Gen. Phineas Lyman, previously mentioned), born August 27, 1762. From May to December, 1775 (being then in his thirteenth year), he served as one of the fifers of the 3d Company (his father's) in the 3d Connecticut Regiment, in the campaign against Boston. In the campaign of 1776 he served in the same capacity in the 20th Continental Foot, commanded by his father. March 15, 1777, at the age of fourteen and a-half years, he enlisted as a private in Captain McGregier's company of the 4th Regiment, Connecticut Line, previously mentioned; and May 6, 1782—three weeks before his father's death—he was promoted Sergeant. (See "Connecticut in the Revolution.") The time and place of his death we are unable to state.

iv. *Barré Durkee* (named for Col. Isaac Barré, referred to at length in Chapter X), born October 21, 1767. It is presumed that he died in early youth. There was, however, in 1792, a certain *Isaac Barré Durkee* living at or near Norwich, who was a sea-captain and commanded the sloop *Betsy*.

Colonel Durkee was the owner of two or more rights in The Susquehanna Company. In addition to his share in the general "Purchase" of the Company, by reason of his ownership of these rights, he also became one of the proprietors of Wilkes-Barré (one of the five "gratuity" towns) in virtue of being one of the 200 settlers provided for by the votes of the Company. (See page 465.) In the distribution of the lands of Wilkes-Barré—in the manner fully shown hereinafter—Colonel Durkee became the owner of "Town Lot No. 4" (see "The Original Town-plot of Wilkes-Barré" in Chapter XI), at the north-east corner of Northampton and River Streets—said lot extending in length, or depth, from River Street to the center of the present Franklin Street, and in width, or breadth, from Northampton Street to a line parallel therewith and distant 335+ feet therefrom. Within the original bounds of this lot are now erected the First Presbyterian Church, the Osterhout Free Library building, the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society's building, the residences of Dr. Lewis H. Taylor, Col. R. Bruce Ricketts, Benjamin Reynolds, Mrs. Sheldon Reynolds, William P. Billings and a number of others. Colonel Durkee received also, by allotment, "Meadow Lot No. 5," "Wood Lot, or Back Lot, No. 6" and "5-Acre Lot No. 14" in the different divisions of the town of Wilkes-Barré. "Back Lot No. 6" was located on Jacob's Plains, and contained 253+ acres. Durkee's interest in this lot was sold in 1799 to Cornelius Courtright. Colonel Durkee owned also 113 acres in the township of Capouse, or Providence, granted to him "as a sufferer for a right in



1917 - 1918
1919 - 1920
1921 - 1922
1923 - 1924
1925 - 1926
1927 - 1928
1929 - 1930
1931 - 1932
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1941 - 1942
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1951 - 1952
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1955 - 1956
1957 - 1958
1959 - 1960

and, although only a few months past forty years of age, had had considerable experience as a soldier in time of war and as a man of affairs in time of peace.

In the latter part of April about 110 men rendezvoused at Norwich, whence they set out for Wyoming on horseback, in command of Major Durkee. They journeyed by way of Wallingford, Woodbury and New Milford, Connecticut, and Beekman, Fishkill, New Windsor and Goshen, New York, and were joined en route by other men who had been previously enrolled by the committee. Passing through the northern section of Sussex County, New Jersey, they crossed the Delaware River and entered Pennsylvania at Wells' Ferry, now Dingman's Ferry. In that locality they were joined by those of the "First Forty" who, after their release from custody at Easton in March, had not returned to Connecticut but had tarried at the Minisinks. From the Delaware the course of the company lay through the central part of what is now Pike County, on through Salem Township in Wayne County into Jefferson Township, Lackawanna County. There they passed through Cobb's Gap in the Wyoming-Moosic range of mountains (mentioned on page 44), and within a short time arrived at Capouse Meadows on the Lackawanna (see page 467).* Along this trail, or within a short distance of it, throughout its whole length from Wells', or Dingman's, Ferry to Capouse Meadows, and thence to Wilkes-Barré, a road was subsequently built, which was in use for a good many years. It is indicated on the map of "North-eastern Pennsylvania in 1791," in Chapter XXIII, reproduced from an original map of the State published by Reading Howell in the year mentioned. By a reference to this map it will be seen that at "Shohola H." (about twelve miles north-west from Wells' Ferry) the road was joined by a branch road starting from the Delaware at the mouth of Big Bushkill Creek, at the north-eastern corner of the present Monroe County, some fourteen miles down the river from the ferry.

Major Durkee and his company reached Capouse Meadows in the evening of Thursday, May 11, 1769, and there they encamped for the night. Leaving them there and turning to the Manor of Stoke, we find in the little settlement at Mill Creek Charles Stewart, Capt. Amos Ogden, his brother Nathan Ogden and some eighteen or twenty other men of the Pennsylvania party. John Anderson, the trader, and two land-surveyors, having gone up the river from Stoke about the 8th of May to survey lands at Towanda and above Sheshequin,† have not yet returned.

We learn that on the 3d of April warrants had been issued by the Provincial Land Office to Peter Miller, George Miller, John Patton, Abraham Slack, James Treadwell and James Martin for six lots of land in Wyoming Valley, aggregating 1,974 acres, which within a short time thereafter were surveyed and laid out to them in what was denominated "Nanticoke Township"—lying and being situate south-west of and adjoining the Manor of Stoke. On the same date warrants had been issued to David Johnson, Cornelius Stark, William West, Patrick Sav-

Kingston." June 9, 1777, he sold this to Timothy Keyes, formerly of New Marlborough, Berkshire County, Massachusetts. In January, 1774, at Norwich, Colonel Durkee sold to Jeremiah Ross of New London, Connecticut, for £6, one-half of an original right in the Susquehanna Purchase; and in the following July, at Norwich, the former conveyed to his daughter Anna, by gift, one right in the Susquehanna Purchase. Twenty years later she conveyed all her interests in and under that right to Elisha Hyde and Elisha Tracy of Norwich for £60.

* See "Map of a Part of Pennsylvania," in Chapter XI.

† See "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society," I: 202.

age and others for fifteen tracts of land—averaging about 300 acres each—on Abraham's Plains (see page 50); to David Frazier for 277 acres near Tunkhannock; to John Maxwell, Sr., for a tract north of Abraham's Plains; to Samuel Johnston (Charles Stewart's father-in-law) for 326 acres at Capouse Meadows; to Elizabeth Gardey for 357 acres on the Lackawanna River, and to a number of other persons for tracts in different localities in and near Wyoming. In addition, Stewart, Ogden and Jennings, in pursuance of their agreement with Governor Penn, had been diligently disposing of leasehold interests in Stoke and Sunbury to a number of prospective settlers. By the 10th of May the surveys of nearly all the tracts of land just mentioned—as well as the division of Stoke and Sunbury into lots—had been accomplished by Charles Stewart aided by Philip Johnston (his brother-in-law), Daniel Leet, Jacob Ten Eyck and Robert Willson; the last named a young man then about eighteen years of age, who, a few years later, became Stewart's son-in-law.

In the morning of Friday, May 12, 1769, Major Durkee and his company broke camp at Capouse Meadows and took up their line of march down along the Lackawanna and the left bank of the Susquehanna, past the settlement of the Pennsylvanians at Mill Creek, to the locality where stood the deserted store-house of Captain Ogden, which was (as mentioned on page 445) near the bend of the river. There they encamped. Later in the day Charles Stewart wrote and despatched to Governor Penn at Philadelphia a letter reading in part as follows* :

"This afternoon about three o'clock 146 New England men and others, chiefly on horseback, passed by our houses and are now encamped on the east side of the river. Among them is Benjamin Shoemaker and John McDowell, with several of their neighbors. I spoke to McDowell, who informs me that at least as many more are on their way and will be here to-morrow, and I have other intelligence that they will in a few days be 500 strong. If this be true, we can only act defensively until reinforced. At present we are but twenty-four men. On my way up the river from Shamokin, on Wednesday evening last, I was hailed by a man at the mouth of Fishing Creek, named James McClure, who told me that he and four others was an advance party of 100 going to join the New England men, and that they would chiefly be from Lancaster County, and that he would be at Wyoming as soon as us; but he is not yet come.

"From the view I had of those gentry, in their procession by our houses, they appear to be—at least an equal number of them—of the *very lowest class*, but are almost all armed and fit for mischief. I am of opinion that, unless a party of His Majesty's forces are sent up to remove them, it will be difficult for the Sheriff to raise men enough in Northampton County to effect it; and every day will add to their strength and give them more spirits to persevere in mischief. On conversing with Captain [Samuel] Hunter, Doctor [William] Plunket and others at Shamokin, they declared their willingness to come here, if wanted, and bring a party to assist us. Your Honor will consider whether this will be of service. I think it would at least put a stop to the people of Lancaster County, &c., to join the *Yankys*,† and prevent their getting to the West Branch—which is their design, as soon as they can establish a possession here. I have enclosed a list of the names of as many of them as I could possibly collect in so short a time."

The list referred to by Mr. Stewart contained the following thirty-six names: Benjamin Shoemaker, Benjamin Shoemaker, Jr., John McDowell, John McDowell, Jr., Samuel Weyburn, John Lee, Stephen Lee, Joseph Lee, Daniel Haines, Asher Harrod, William Leonard, John Leonard, Elijah Holloway, Thomas Bennet, Samuel Marvin, David Marvin, Reuben Hurlbut, Benjamin Follett, John Comstock, Samuel Clark, John Gardner, John De Long, John Smith, Esq., Timothy Smith, Abel Smith, Joseph Morse, Ezra Deau, John Wheet, John Wharbut,

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX : 583.

† This is the first time, in all the correspondence and other documents, records, etc., relating to the New Englanders in Wyoming, that the latter are referred to as *Yankies*. This sobriquet, soon after this date, came into general use among the New Englanders as well as the Pennsylvanians—who, by the way, were called by the former, *Pennamites*.

Jacob Welch, Jabez Cooke, Ebenezer Northrop, — Chambers, Obadiah Gore, Jr., Elisha Babcock and — Wright.

A few days after the arrival at Wyoming of Major Durkee's party they were joined by another detachment of settlers from New England, numbering nearly 150 men, who brought with them a few head of cattle, and some pack-horses loaded with provisions, farming utensils, etc.

To Charles Stewart's letter Governor Penn replied on the 16th of May, in part as follows* :

"I received yours of the 12th instant by express, and am sorry to hear those rash and inconsiderate people of New England still persist in their design of settling on the Susquehanna, and that their numbers are such as nothing less than a military force can remove. As to any attempts to remove them immediately by civil authority, it seems impracticable, and I would not have you attempt it. The most you can do for the present is to keep your possessions as well as you can. I have wrote to the Sheriff of Northampton to proceed to Wyoming. * * I have also wrote to Colonel Francis, and the officers on the Susquehanna, to give you their aid, if necessary, to secure your settlements. * * At the same time that I approve of your intentions of holding your possessions, by all lawful and prudent measures, I would not have you attempt impossibilities or expose your persons in resisting even a lawless superior force, who may be mad and wicked enough to remove you at all events."

On the same day the Governor wrote and despatched to Sheriff John Jennings, at his home near Bethlehem, the following communication† :

"I suppose Mr. Stewart has wrote you the bad state of our affairs at Wyoming. You will receive herewith a proclamation, with which I desire you will immediately proceed to Wyoming, with a few reputable people to accompany you, and there publish it to the Connecticut people in a peaceable and quiet manner. If they should carry the matter so far as to attempt removing our people by force, their numbers, I am afraid, are too great to resist, and that they will be obliged to give way for the present rather than run a hazard of shedding blood without a probability of success. I desire you will reduce all you know of the proceedings in the affair, from the beginning, to an affidavit. * * This will be necessary to send to England, in order to institute a proceeding there against these rash intruders, and to lay before General Gage."

The proclamation issued by Governor Penn, and referred to in the foregoing letter, was dated May 16, 1769, and was printed in the shape of a broadside.‡ It set forth the fact that the New Englanders had intruded upon the lands at Wyoming in violation of law and right, and closed by "strictly enjoining and requiring, in His Majesty's name, all and every person and persons already settled or residing on the said lands, without the license of the Proprietaries or authority from this [the Pennsylvania] Government, immediately to evacuate their settlements, and to depart and remove themselves off and from the said lands without delay."

A few days later Governor Penn wrote as follows§ to Col. Turbutt Francis,|| "at the Forks of the Susquehanna" (Shamokin) :

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," Fourth Series, III: 411.

† See *ibid.*, page 410.

‡ An original copy of this broadside is now in the possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

§ See "Pennsylvania Archives," Fourth Series, III: 412.

|| TURBUTT FRANCIS was the eighth and youngest child of Tench and Elizabeth (*Turbutt*) Francis-Tench Francis, though of English parentage, was born in Dublin, Ireland, and was the great-grandson of Philip Francis, royalist Mayor of Plymouth, England, in 1644, during the Civil War. Sir Philip Francis (born at Dublin in 1740), the author of the celebrated "Letters of Junius," was a son of Philip, brother of Tench, Francis. About the year 1700 Tench Francis immigrated to Maryland and established himself as a lawyer in Kent County. There, in 1724, he was married to Elizabeth Turbutt, and soon afterwards they removed to Philadelphia, where he became the leading lawyer of his time. He was counsel for the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania from 1740 to 1744; Attorney General of the Province from 1744 to 1752 and Recorder of Philadelphia from 1750 to 1754. He died at Philadelphia August 14, 1758.

Tench and Elizabeth (*Turbutt*) Francis were the parents of eight children, some of whom were: ii. *Anne Francis* (born in 1727), who became the wife of James Tilghman, Secretary of the Land Office of Pennsylvania in 1769 and other years. Two of their children were (1) Tench Tilghman, a Colonel on the staff of General Washington during the Revolutionary War, and (2) William Tilghman, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania from 1806 till 1827. iii. *Mary Francis* (born in 1729), who became the wife of William Coxe. iv. *Tench Francis* (born in 1730; died in 1800). He was attorney in 1784 for John Penn and John Penn, Jr., "lately Proprietaries of Pennsylvania." His wife was Anne, daughter of Charles and Anne Willing of Philadelphia. vi. *Margaret Francis* (born in 1755), who became the wife of Edward Shippen, Jr., and the mother-in-law of Benedict Arnold—as mentioned on page 360.

TURBUTT FRANCIS was born at Philadelphia in 1740. During Pontiac's War he served as an officer in the Pennsylvania forces and rose to the rank of Colonel. In 1769 he seems to have been stationed at Fort

Augusta, or Shamokin, in command of a small body of Provincial troops. During the next few years he made his home at or near Shamokin, and when the county of Northumberland was erected in March 1772, he was commissioned by the Governor one of the first Justices of the Courts of the new county. Turbutt Township in Northumberland County was named for him. In June, 1772, about one-half mile below the site of Fort Augusta, the town of Sunbury was laid out and named, and in January, 1773, Turbutt Francis became the original warrantee of Lot No. 69 in the town-plot. Later, warrants were issued to him for several thousand acres of land surveyed in the townships of Muncy, Buffalo, and Wyoming, in Northumberland County; part of the lands lying within the territory claimed by The Susquehanna Company. In 1773 Colonel Francis took up his residence in Philadelphia.

The Continental Congress resolved, July 12, 1775, "That the securing and preserving the friendship of the Indian nations appears to be a subject of the utmost moment to these Colonies: * * that there be three Departments of Indian Affairs, * * the Northern to extend so far as to include the whole of the Indians known by the name of the Six Nations." Commissioners were to be appointed to look after the affairs of each Department, and it was resolved that these Commissioners should "have power to treat with the Indians in the name and on behalf of the United Colonies, in order to preserve peace and friendship with said Indians, and to prevent their taking any part in the present commotions." It was also resolved that the Commissioners should "have power to take to their assistance gentlemen of influence among the Indians, in whom they can [could] confide." As Commissioners in and for the Northern Department Congress appointed Col. Turbutt Francis and the other gentlemen named on page 285, *ante*. At the same time Congress also recommended that these Commissioners should "employ the Rev. Samnel Kirkland, [mentioned on page 449, *ante*] among the Indians of the Six Nations, in order to secure their friendship."

About the middle of August, 1775, the Commissioners for the Northern Department held their first meeting at Albany, New York. All were present, and they were attended by the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, Thomas Fulmer, of German Flats, Tryon County, New York, an Indian interpreter, and ——— Dean, another Indian interpreter. A large delegation of Six Nation Indians visited Albany at this time in response to an invitation from the Commissioners, and spent several days in holding conferences with the latter. Under date of September 4, 1775, at Albany, Colonel Wolcott wrote to General Schuyler (who had found it necessary to leave Albany before the close of the conferences) as follows: "They [the Indians] have in appearance very cordially accepted the tender of our friendship, and have given every assurance that they will observe the strictest neutrality, and during the negotiation have discovered a great deal of pleasantry and good humor. * * Colonel Francis went away [about September 1st] not very well. The Indians went out of town almost all this morning."

On August 31st, during one of the conferences with the Indians, *Taokogwando*, an Onondagan chief, made some references—unexpected, irrelevant and injudicious—to the Susquehanna lands and the claims of the New Englanders concerning them. Very little attention was paid to the incident by the majority of the Commissioners, but later they were led to believe that one of the Board—Colonel Francis—had taken advantage of his office and the occasion of the Albany conference to stir up this matter with the Indians. These Commissioners, knowing that Francis was a friend and an adherent of the Pennsylvania Proprietaries, that he was a lessee under them for large bodies of Pennsylvania lands (as hereinbefore noted) and that in his political sentiments he inclined to Toryism, resolved to investigate the charge of duplicity made against him. On the 14th of the following December the Commissioners—with the exception of Colonel Francis—again gathered at Albany, for the purpose of holding a treaty with the Six Nations. Among the unpublished papers of Oliver Wolcott in the possession of The Connecticut Historical Society is an "abstract" from the original journal of the transactions of the Indian Commissioners at their meeting in December, 1775; and from that "abstract" the following information has been derived.

"Resolved unanimously, by the Commissioners present, that it is a duty we owe our constituents, our country and ourselves that inquiry should be made into the truth of a suggestion that so much of what *Taokogwando*, the Onondaga chief, delivered in his speech to the Commissioners on the 31st of August last, as related to the Susquehanna lands now unhappily in controversy between the Colonies of Pennsylvania and Connecticut, was not in consequence of any instructions that he had in charge from the Six Nations; and to lay the result of such inquiry before the Continental Congress. Resolved, That the chiefs of the nations as are now in town be requested to meet us this evening. * * * The Commissioners being met in the evening proceeded to the inquiry, and, having deliberately gone through the same, resolved that a letter be wrote to the Continental Congress stating the reasons of the inquiry and containing Dean's and Kirkland's information, together with that of *Taokogwando*." Then follows a draft of a letter dated Albany, December 14, 1775, addressed to the Hon. John Hancock, President of Congress, and signed by Messrs. Schuyler, Donw and Edwards. It reads in part as follows:

"Conscious that it is a duty we owe our respectable constituents, our country and ourselves not to permit any doubts or suspicions to exist relative to or concerning any transactions of ours, when it is in our power to eradicate them; and reports prevailing that what *Taokogwando* delivered at the conference (held here in the months of August and September) respecting the Susquehanna lands, * * was not in consequence either of directions from his particular nation or the result of the united councils of the Six Nations, * * Messrs. Dean and Kirkland [have] agreed in the following information: That immediately after *Taokogwando* had delivered his speech a murmur ran through the assembly, as at a matter not only unexpected, but improper; and that some of the sachems, after the rising of the assembly, spoke to them [Dean and Kirkland] on the subject, expressing their astonishment at such a speech, of which no notice had been given to the Six Nations. Mr. Fulmer, another interpreter, was then called before us, and as, in the information which he gave, Colonel Francis' name was mentioned, we have thought proper to take his [Fulmer's] deposition.

"After Fulmer's information we were of opinion that the sachems should be convened, that we might confer with them. Accordingly *Taokogwando* and another Onondaga sachem, and two [sachems] from each of the other nations now in town, were convened, at which meeting were also present Messrs. Dean, Kirkland, Bleecker and Fulmer, interpreters. The Indians being made acquainted with the business of the meeting *Taokogwando* gave the following information: That, coming from the meeting preceding that in which the Susquehanna lands were mentioned, Colonel Francis took him by the hand, informed him that all the other sachems had been to see him, and asked him why he did not come and smoke a pipe with him, and then invited him to his room in the evening, that he had something to say to him. The sachem replied it was not the custom of the Indians to come alone on such an occasion, and he would, therefore, bring one or two along with him. Two accordingly came with him in the evening, and he would, they had drank a little and began to be intoxicated, Colonel Francis informed them that Governor Penn had directed him to make enquiry about the sale of the Susquehanna lands; upon which *Taokogwando* then related what he, being a lad, had heard *Connasiatigo* inform his father—being the same, in substance, what he had delivered in his speech. He observed * * that what he had said was not in consequence of any directions he had either from his nation or the Six Nations. *Taokogwando* further says that Colonel Francis promised to give the sachems of the Six Nations something, provided he [*Taokogwando*] would deliver it [the speech] at the close of the business of the next meeting, and *not mention his name* (meaning Colonel Francis)."

Accompanying the foregoing letter was an affidavit of the interpreter Thomas Fulmer, made before Justice Abraham Ten Broeck at Albany, December 18, 1775, and reading in part as follows: "The day before the last conference was held in the Presbyterian Meeting-house Colonel Francis, one of the said Commissioners, requested of this deponent to know who was the chief of the Onondaga nation. He answered, *Taokogwando*, and thereupon he requested deponent to bring the said Indian to him. That when the said Indian was brought the said Francis desired the favor of smoking a pipe with him at his lodgings. * * * That about nine o'clock in the evening of the same day this deponent was sent for by Colonel Francis to attend him at his lodgings at Mr. Bloodgood's: that deponent went, and found there

"By express from Wyoming dated the 12th *inst.* I have an account that 146 New Englanders had that afternoon passed by the settlement there and encamped on the east side of the river, a little below; and that as many more were expected there the next day. * * The account further informs that they expected to be joined by 100 people from the lower parts of the Susquehanna, chiefly from Lancaster, and that they were meditating a settlement on the West Branch. I doubt not but *your own interest*, as well as that of the Proprietaries, will excite you and your corps to give any assistance in your power to our people at Wyoming, as well as to prevent, if possible, any of our people from joining them. * * It seems scandalous in the people of the country, who have long experienced the indulgence of the Proprietaries, to join a parcel of Robbers who are come to seize upon their [the Proprietaries'] lands by violence. * * All that can at present be done is to attempt keeping the possessions we have got. In this respect you and your associates may be of service. * * If your health is such as that you can safely venture a journey, I should be glad if you could go yourself to Wyoming."

Almost immediately after their arrival at their destination the settlers under Major Durkee began the erection of twenty odd substantial and commodious one-story log cabins, which they built closely together in the form of a parallelogram. Each cabin faced towards the quadrangle thus formed, and was entered therefrom—the rear, or outward, walls of the cabins being constructed without either doors or windows, but with loop-holes through which the inmates of the cabins might discharge their fire-arms at assailants. All the cabins were completed and occupied by the 20th of May. Then, about the 1st of June, in view of certain occurrences which had taken place (and which are described hereinafter), it was deemed advisable to surround the cabins with a wooden stockade. This was accordingly done without delay.

No detailed description of this defensive work has been preserved, but without doubt it was constructed in the same manner and form as nearly all structures for similar purposes were built at that period. A ditch three feet deep having been dug, hewn logs ("stoccadoes")—each usually about one foot in diameter, from fifteen to eighteen feet in length and pointed at one end—were set close together in a single line in the ditch, with their pointed ends up; after which the ditch was filled in with earth. Sometimes a double row of timbers was set up, in order to break joints. Loop-holes were then constructed at proper and convenient points in the walls, and at each corner of the stockade a watch-tower, or sentry-box, was erected, extending several feet above the tops of the upright timbers. Along the inside of the walls huts, or barrack-like structures, were erected for the accommodation of the occupants of the fortification. Generally there were two strongly barricaded gateways, or entrances, opposite each other. Except in front of these gateways a ditch, several feet wide and deep, was dug about four feet outside

Taokogwando and two other Onondaga sachems; that they smoked, drank and discussed together for some time, until the Indians appeared to this deponent to be considerably in liquor, when Francis told them that Governor Penn had requested him to ask the Onondagas who had first bought the lands called *Wywaymick*—the said Governor Penn or the New England people. That the said Indian chief thereupon answered that he had heard from his uncle that Governor Penn had bought the lands on the *east side* of the Susquehanna, and that he did not know whether the New England people had bought any lands or not.

"That the said Francis further asked the said Indian chief if he did not know how many dollars Governor Penn had paid at Fort Stanwix for the said lands. The said Indian answered he had not seen all the money, yet he had heard that he had paid 10,000 dollars. Francis then asked the said Indian whether he would, on the following day, in the public conference, when the other business was done, declare the same in public—but not mention his name—which the Indian promised to do. Whereupon Francis told him that if he did, he and Governor Penn would give a present to the Onondaga Indians—which said discourse, at the request of Colonel Francis, was interpreted between them by this deponent. That when the Indians left his (Francis') lodgings he presented them with a bottle of rum."

Accompanying the foregoing documents was a letter from Oliver Wolcott to Congress, in which he referred to the conference and treaty with the Six Nations, and then said: "I have enclosed their [the Indians'] testimony with regard to their parting with the Susquehanna lands, together with our reply. You will, I conceive, readily believe this to be a most insidious manœuvre to give a bias and prejudice against the Colony's claim. For myself, I cannot doubt of it, as it was a matter entirely foreign to our negotiations—a matter of which the Indians could make neither claim nor complaint. I have spoke my mind freely respecting the business of attempting to injure a cause in this manner."

Of the last years of Col. Turbutt Francis' life we have not been able to learn any particulars. In "The Shippen Papers," previously referred to, it is stated that he died in 1797; but according to the assessment lists of Buffalo Township, Northumberland County, he was dead in 1782.

and parallel with the stockade, against which the excavated earth was thrown, forming a sloping embankment to the inner edge of the ditch.

Upon the completion of their stockade early in June the New Englanders named their fortified group of cabins "Fort Durkee," in honor of their leader, Maj. John Durkee.

Concerning the exact site of this primitive fort there have been some differences of opinion in recent years. Chapman (see page 19), writing in 1818, stated in his "Sketch of the History of Wyoming"—page 76—that the settlers "built a fort a short distance from the bank of the river by the side of a small stream which flows through the plain. * * Near the fort they erected about twenty log houses, which were provided with loop-holes. * * Their fort consisted of a strong block-house surrounded by a rampart and entrenchment, and being guarded by the river on one side, and a morass extending along the brook on another, afforded a very secure place of refuge." Contemporaneously with the writing of his history Chapman drew a map of Wyoming Valley, which he intended should be published with the history. The original map is now in the possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, and upon it is indicated the brook mentioned above, as well as the site of Fort Durkee. William L. Stone (see page 19), writing in 1839, said in his "Poetry and History of Wyoming"—page 163—"their [the settlers'] first work was to build a fort upon a convenient site, protected by the river on one side and a creek and morass upon another. It was a regular military defense, consisting of a strong block-house, surrounded by a rampart and entrenchment. In the immediate neighborhood of the fortress * * they erected about thirty log houses, with loop-holes." Charles Miner, following Chapman and Stone in point of time, states in his "History of Wyoming" (page 109): "270 or 280 able-bodied men in all assembled on the river banks, where Wilkesbarre now stands, on the 10th of April [1769]. The block-house at Mill Creek was too remote from the flats near the old town of Wywamick, where large fields, long since cleared, invited cultivators. A new fortification, called Fort Durkee, after the new commander, was therefore erected on the banks of the river at Fish's Eddy (near the lower line of the borough) and twenty or thirty [huts] were built in its immediate vicinity."

The brook, or creek, referred to in two of these quotations, was the little stream which formerly emptied into the river at Fish's Eddy, and which is described on page 59.* What Chapman and Stone refer to as a "morass" was, without much doubt, a *ravine*—as indicated on the sketch reproduced in Chapter XVIII—through which the aforementioned brook flowed.

In the foregoing statements of Chapman, Stone and Miner are the following well-ascertained errors: (1) There are in existence certain letters, reports and affidavits written and executed in Wyoming Valley and elsewhere in the years 1769-'71 (we shall quote from some of them hereinafter), which show conclusively that, excepting the small block-houses hastily and rudely built early in March at the mouth of the Lackawanna, the New England settlers *neither erected nor occupied* at Wyoming in 1769 any other houses than the twenty odd huts or cabins

* See, also, in connection therewith: On page 455, "A Plot of the Manor of Stoke"; on page 516, "Plot of the Original Township of Wilkes-Barré"; in Chapter XVIII, a reproduction of "A Sketch of the Encampment at Wyoming in 1779," and in Chapter XXIII, a "Map of Wilkes-Barré and its Suburbs in 1872."

which we have described as being *surrounded by a stockade*, and which constituted Fort Durkee. (2) There were no New England settlers in Wyoming in April, 1769, as stated by Miner. Durkee and his company did not arrive here until May 12th, as we have previously shown. (3) "The block-house at Mill Creek," referred to by Miner, was the small block-house erected early in January, 1769, by Captain Ogden, and occupied by him as a trading-house. There was no intention shown or effort made on the part of Major Durkee to oust Ogden and take possession of his block-house. The objective point of the New Englanders was the locality near Ogden's abandoned store-house, at the bend of the river, and it was there, and nowhere else, that they halted, encamped and, a few days afterwards, erected their log cabins—later incorporated into Fort Durkee.

In referring to the erection of Fort Wyoming in 1771, on the river bank below Northampton Street, Wilkes-Barré, Charles Miner states ("History of Wyoming," page 126): "Ground was broke and a fortification commenced on the bank of the river, *sixty rods above Fort Durkee*." The site of Fort Wyoming (which fort is fully described hereinafter) was well known to Mr. Miner. In fact, when in 1800 he came to Wilkes-Barré to reside, "the remains of this fort were in tolerable preservation," as he himself has stated; but all traces of Fort Durkee had then disappeared. The positive statement of Mr. Miner, that these two forts were only sixty rods (or 990 feet) apart, seems to have been accepted by all subsequent writers of Wyoming history as an absolutely correct statement; and in consequence the generality of people in this community have come to understand that Fort Durkee was located where now stands the residence of Mr. William L. Conyngham, at the southeast corner of South Street and West River Street. Supposing this to be a certainty, then it cannot be true that the fort stood "on the banks of the river at Fish's Eddy"—as Mr. Miner has also stated—for that locality is distant 200 yards or more from the Conyngham residence; nor was it possible for the fort to stand—as stated by Chapman and Stone—on or near the bank of the little brook which emptied into Fish's Eddy, and at the same time occupy the ground now covered by the Conyngham residence. The fact is, unquestionably, that Mr. Miner's positive statement as to the distance between Fort Durkee and Fort Wyoming was based upon a guess.

To the present writer it seems very clear that *Fort Durkee stood a few rods south-west of the intersection of the present West River Street and Ross Street*—being only a short distance from the river and near the right bank of the ravine through which ran the brook previously mentioned. The evidence upon which the writer bases his judgment is as follows:

(1) The location referred to was a desirable one, because, in the first place, it was in a measure protected against the near approach of would-be assailants—on one hand by the river, and on the other by the ravine; in the second place, clear and unobstructed views of the upper and lower reaches of the river could be had from that point, and the approach of boats up and down the river could be seen for some distance; in the third place, the ground just there had been for some years almost entirely cleared of trees, they having been cut down and utilized in building the houses and fences required for Teedyuscung and his Delawares, and in building Ogden's store-house (see pages 371 and 444); in

the fourth place, it was contiguous to the extensive plain—treeless, stoneless and fertile (now known as the Wilkes-Barré Flats, and described on page 50)—which had been in part cultivated by the Indians, and which the New Englanders purposed using in their agricultural operations; in the fifth place, it was at, or in close proximity to, the intersection of the much-traveled trails running from Tioga Point down along the river and from Easton and Bethlehem over the mountains to Wyoming—as described on page 445.

(2) Isaac A. Chapman, the author of the first published history of Wyoming, was a skilled surveyor as well as a practised writer, and in his history and on the manuscript map previously mentioned (both of which were prepared in the year 1818) he located the site of Fort Durkee near the nameless brook to which we have so frequently referred—at a considerable distance south-west of South Street.

(3) In the Spring of 1830 George Jones, A. M., then a Tutor in Yale College, spent some time in Wilkes-Barré in company with Prof. Benjamin Silliman of Yale, and while here drew a “Map of the Wyoming and Lackawanna Valleys, principally from a map constructed by Col. John L. Butler of Wilkesbarre.” This map was published in *The American Journal of Science and Arts* for July, 1830 (No. 2 of Volume XVIII), and the site of “Fort Durgee” is thereon noted near the confluence of the aforementioned little brook and the river, at the elbow of the river some distance below South Street.

(4) As previously mentioned, Miner states in his “History of Wyoming” (page 109) that Fort Durkee was “erected on the banks of the river at Fish’s Eddy.” The location of this eddy is described on page 59, *ante*.

(5) In 1850 there was published a “Plan of the Town of Wilkesbarre from original surveys by J. C. Sidney of Philadelphia,” and on that “plan” the “site of Fort Durkee” is indicated as being 450 feet north-west of the junction of Ross Street with South River Street; which would make the site about 150 feet west of the intersection of the present West River Street and Ross Street—the former street having been laid out, and the latter street having been extended to intersect it, since the “plan” referred to was published. (See in Chapter XXXVI a reduced facsimile of the abovementioned “plan.”)

(6) In 1895 Mr. Amos Stroh, an aged citizen of Wyoming Valley, wrote an account of an incident that occurred in 1835 or 1836 with relation to the sites of some of the old Wyoming forts. Several Wyoming Valley survivors of the Revolutionary period were gathered together one day on the site of Fort Wyoming, and with them were Col. John L. Butler (born at Wilkes-Barré in 1796) and Mr. Stroh, then a youth. The latter, in his account, says (see Johnson’s *Historical Record*, V: 163):

“Mr. Butler stated that those places [the fort-sites] should be marked by permanent stones, for in a few years the exact spots would be unknown. Some one remarked that the ‘records’ would tell. Mr. Butler replied: ‘Years ago everybody was a surveyor, and did it [surveying] with a squint of the eye; and when the eyesight told him it was so many rods, it was so recorded. But the time is coming when the rising generation will demand locations, lines and courses by the fraction of an inch.’ * * * The party then went to the location of *old Fort Durkee*, which was in the westerly side of an orchard, below the Common, *near the bank of a small stream that flowed to the river at Fish’s Eddy.*”

The orchard referred to above was that of Jabez Fish. Where the residence of William L. Conyngham, previously referred to, is now located, formerly stood, for many years, the frame dwelling-house of Jabez Fish, an early Wyoming settler. He owned forty-six acres of land extending

along the river bank from South Street, Wilkes-Barré, to the "Meadow Road" (now the "Old River Road"), and having a frontage on the river of 174 rods. Mr. Fish's orchard stood east of the ravine previously referred to, in the locality where now West River Street and Ross Street intersect; and, according to an advertisement published in February, 1806, the orchard contained "200 trees, producing from sixty to eighty barrels of cider annually." In the orchard was "a never-failing spring of water"—perhaps the selfsame spring from which the inmates of Fort Durkee obtained their water-supply.

(7) In the Summer of 1770 Samuel Wallis, an experienced surveyor, was in Wyoming Valley assisting to survey The Susquehanna Company's lands (see Chapter XI), and from observations which he made at that time he found the latitude of Fort Durkee to be $41^{\circ} 14' 27''$ north. (See F. C. Johnson's *Historical Record*, I: 121 and III: 70.) As previously mentioned (see page 44), the latitude of Wilkes-Barré's Public Square is $41^{\circ} 14' 40.4''$ north, which was ascertained with great care by the Pennsylvania Geological Survey in 1881, and is recorded on a monument erected at that time in the Square. It is evident, therefore, that the difference in latitude between this monument and the site of Fort Durkee, according to the observations of Wallis, is $13.4''$ or about eighty rods. On the map facing page 456 the respective latitudes of these two points are indicated by two east and west lines, or parallels of latitude; and on an inspection of the more southerly of those lines it is apparent that where that line intersects South River Street is the point in the line nearest to Fish's Eddy—due north of the "Ice Pond," indicated on the map. It may be safely presumed, however, that the instruments used by Samuel Wallis in making his observations were of a simple—perhaps primitive—character, and that he neither attempted nor deemed it necessary to be absolutely accurate in his reckoning. Allowing, therefore, for supposed errors and probable inaccuracies, we may confidently conclude that *Fort Durkee stood a few rods southwest of the intersection of the present West River Street and Ross Street.*

In June, 1899, Wyoming Valley Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, of Wilkes-Barré, erected on the River Common—a few feet from the north side of South Street, at the corner of West River Street—a monument marking the site of Fort Durkee.* A tablet of bronze let into the monolith bears this inscription:

"FORT DURKEE was built 82 feet southwest of this Stone in 1769 by the Connecticut settlers as a defence against the Indians. It became a military post in the contest over the jurisdiction and title to the Wyoming lands between the settlers and the Proprietary Government.

"Erected by the Wyoming Valley Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, June 14, 1899."

* For an account of the dedicatory exercises see Chapter L.III.



FORT DURKEE MONUMENT.

In locating the site of the fort "82 feet south-west" of their monument the "Daughters" simply fixed upon the spot—the ground now occupied by the residence of William L. Conyngham—which has generally been understood heretofore to have been the site.

A few scraps of information relating to certain features of Fort Durkee—additional to those already mentioned—have been gleaned from various letters and other documents written in the years 1769-1771 by men familiar with the structure. The fort occupied about one-half an acre of ground and was of quadrangular form. At the north-west corner, facing the river, there was a gate, and at the south-east corner there was another one. The buildings within the stockade were chiefly on the north, east and south sides of the quadrangle. Near the middle of the stockade forming the westerly side of the fort there was an elevated sentry-box, and it is probable that there was a second one on the opposite side—overlooking the plain on which the town-plot of Wilkes-Barré was subsequently laid out.

This plain was almost entirely covered with a growth of Common Pitch Pine (*Pinus Rigida*) at the time of the coming of the Yankee settlers in 1769. Referring to that period seventeen years later, Col. Timothy Pickering wrote (see his "Life," II: 256): "Wilkesbarre was a pitch-pine plain, though pretty fertile; yet by no means comparable with the flats before described [in the extract on page 50, *ante*]. Its surface is considerably higher than that of the flats, and being of a drier, firmer soil, is a more suitable plat for a town." Chapman, writing in 1817, stated* that the plain on which Wilkes-Barré was built was "twenty-eight feet above the common surface of the river."

In many natural features Wyoming Valley resembled at that time central and eastern Connecticut, and this fact helped to make the former region attractive to the natives of the latter sections of country. There was a "great" river—very similar to the Connecticut River, and in some respects quite like the Thames—flowing into which were a smaller river and numerous creeks; there were lowlands and uplands, "dark-some gorges" and sunlit plains; there were rocks and crags a-plenty, and vast forests of splendid timber. But to the men from Connecticut there was nothing so desirable or attractive among all the features of this new country as the several thousand acres of stoneless and treeless flats, more arable and fertile than the richest fields in New England. As soon as the settlers under Major Durkee had made their log cabins habitable they proceeded to clear and break up for cultivation land on the flats south-west of their settlement, and by the first of June they had 200 acres planted with Indian corn, turnips and pumpkins, "which were tended well and were very promising of good crops." The portion of the flats which was put under cultivation was shut in on the land side by rail fences.

In the meantime, while the work of building and planting was going on, the number of settlers was being gradually increased from time to time by arrivals from New England and elsewhere. The local committee, called the "Committee of Settlers," for the management of the affairs of the settlement and its government, was early organized in conformity with the several resolutions passed by The Susquehanna Company, and Major Durkee was chosen as the head of this committee,

* See Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, V: 34.

with the title of "President of the First Settlers." The community was governed and managed in very much the same manner as a military camp in an enemy's country would be regulated and commanded. Scouts were sent out and sentries were posted each day and night; no stranger was allowed to come into the settlement to tarry unless he bore proper credentials from the authorized representatives in New England of The Susquehanna Company—except he should receive permission from the "Committee of Settlers" on the ground; no member of the community was permitted to leave the settlement at any time without a furlough or written pass granted by President Durkee. The latter's office was an important one, for his duties were executive, judicial and military in their character.

May 24, 1769, in pursuance of the directions he had received some days previously from Governor Penn (see page 489), Sheriff Jennings of Northampton County arrived in Wyoming. In a deposition made by him before James Biddle, Esq., at Philadelphia, June 1, 1769, the Sheriff described his experiences here, as follows* :

"The next day [May 25th], having given notice to the people settled there of his [the Sheriff's] intention, the said intruders, to the number of 150 or thereabouts, assembled together, and this deponent read to them with a loud voice a proclamation published by the Governor May 16th. That previous to his reading the same Major Durkee, one of the intruders, told him they would permit him to read the proclamation, but were determined not to obey it, for that those lands were in the Colony of Connecticut and not in Pennsylvania. That after the said deponent had finished reading the said proclamation a gun was fired over his head, and the said deponent immediately retired [in company] with the said Major Durkee. That the said intruders have built about twenty very strong log houses, with loop-holes to fire through, and they constantly carry their fire-arms on all occasions. And this deponent further saith that he doth believe it is impossible for him to raise a sufficient force within the said County to dispossess and arrest the said intruders—they being, as 'tis said, upwards of 300 able-bodied men, and in daily expectation of being joined by 200 more."

The following list of 195 names, copied from a list made up by the Clerk of the Committee of Settlers on the 2d of June, 1769, shows who were actually on the ground in Wyoming, under the auspices of The Susquehanna Company, at that date. In addition to the men here named the twenty men of the "First Forty," who had been conveyed as prisoners to Easton and released on bail (as described on page 478), are to be considered as having been settlers in May and June and fully entitled to participate in the allotment of lands in the "Forty" township; although, observing the terms of the recognizances into which they had severally entered at Easton, they had not returned to Wyoming.

Allen, Noah	Briggs, Peris	Draper, Simeon
Angell, Daniel	Brown, Daniel	Draper, Thomas
Avery, Christopher	Buck, Elijah	Draper, William
Avery, Elisha	Buck, Jonathan	Dean, Capt. Ezra
Ashley, Benjamin	Budd, Benjamin	Dean, Josiah
Atherton, James—Jr.	Buell, Ezra	De Long, John
Ayers, Peter	Carey, Eleazar	Dingmans, Jacob
Alden, Capt. Prince	Carrington, Jonathan	Dorchester, Benjamin
Arnold, Ephraim	Carvan, Morgan	Dorrance, John
Arnold, Joseph	Cass, Daniel	Dorrance, Lemuel
Barton, Rowland	Clark, John	Dunkin, James
Baker, John	Chesebrough, Sylvester	Durkee, Andrew
Badger, Samuel	Coleman, Naniad	Durkee, Maj. John
Babcock, Elisha	Comstock, John	Evans, James
Bradford, Peris	Comstock, Peter	Franklin, John
Bennett, Isaac	Colt, Abraham	Fellows, Ephraim
Bennet, Thomas	Cooke, Jabez	Ferlin, Thomas
Beach, Nathan	Corey, Jenks	Fish, Jabez
Bingham, Abisha	Churchill, William	Frisbie, Zebulon

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV : 342.

Forsythe, James	Kenyon, John	Shaw, John
Fuller, Stephen	Knight, Thomas	Stearns, Ebenezer
Gallup, William	Lawrence, Asa	Sterling, John
Gardner, Christopher	Lawrence, Gideon	Stevens, Phineas
Gaylord, Joseph	Lauffer, Joshua	Sweet, Samuel
Gray, Thomas	Lee, Asa	Smith, Abel
Gerold, Duty	Lee, John	Smith, James
Green, Job	Lee, Joseph	Smith, John—Esq.
Green, Job—Jr.	Lee, Noah	Smith, Lemuel
Gore, Daniel	Leonard, Jesse	Smith, Oliver
Gore, Obadiah—Jr.	Leonard, William	Sill, Jabez
Gore, Silas	Lewis, Elijah	Shoemaker, Benjamin—Jr.
Goss, Comfort	Lothrop, Cyprian	Slocum, Joseph
Goss, Nathaniel	McClure, Thomas	Stone, Ebenezer
Goss, Philip	Manvil, Nicholas	Story, Samuel
Haines, Daniel	Marvin, David	Strong, Henry
Harris, Peter	Marvin, Samuel	Squier, Zechariah
Harrod, Asher	Marvin, Uriah	Taylor, Preserved
Hawksey, Zebulon	Matthews, Benjamin	Thayer, Zephaniah
Hebbard, Ebenezer	Maxfield, Joshua	Tracy, Isaac
Hebbard, Moses	May, James	Teed, Zophar
Hebbard, Moses—Jr.	Mead, David	Tennant, Caleb
Hewitt, Benjamin	Metcalf, Andrew	Terry, Parshall
Hewitt, Benjamin—Jr.	Miles, Stephen	Thomas, Elias
Hewitt, Gershom	Millington, Samuel	Vorce, Timothy
Hillman, Joseph	Mitchell, John	Wall, Henry
Hinsdale, Stephen	Mock, Abijah	Wallworth, Thomas
Hopson, Gurdon	Morgan, Samuel	Wallsworth, John
Hopkins, Robert	Morse, Joseph	Wallsworth, William
Hopkins, Timothy	Murdock, Daniel	Walter, Aaron
Hotchkiss, Samuel	Murphy, John	Watson, Nathaniel
Hull, Diah	Nesbitt, James	Wybrant, Samuel
Hull, Stephen	Northrop, Ebenezer	Webster, Joseph
Hungerford, Stephen	Norton, Ebenezer	Weeks, Philip
Hunter, Robert	Olcott, Thomas	Weeks, Thomas
Hurlbut, Reuben	Orms, Jonathan	Westover, Theophilus
Hurlbut, Stephen	Orton, Samuel	White, Caleb
Jackson, Robert	Parks, Elias	White, William
Jenkins, Stephen	Park, Silas	Whitney, Joshua
Jeorum, Zerubbabel	Peirce, Abel	Whittlesey, David
Jewell, Eliphalet	Perkins, John	Wightman, Zerubbabel
Johnson, Edward	Post, Oliver	Wiley, John
Johnson, Solomon	Read, Noah	Wise, Frederick
Jolley, John	Roberts, Jabez	Witter, Elijah
Knapp, Hezekiah	Savage, Abraham	Yale, Enos
Kenne, Cyrus	Satterlee, Benedict	Yale, Ozias

From the journals* of the Moravian missionaries at the Indian town of *Friedenshütten* (see page 443) we glean:

"May 25, 1769.—A white family from Schoharie, in two bateaux, put to shore in distress, having lost their most valuable effects by the bateaux upsetting when yet on the lake [Otsego]. They had buried a child of three years on the journey. *Wyoming is their destination*, and the father intends to erect a shop and do blacksmithing."

On or about the 7th of June Charles Stewart and John Anderson, with three assistants, went from Ogden's block-house at Mill Creek, Wyoming, to *Friedenshütten* (where they arrived June 10th) "for the purpose of surveying Wyalusing for one William Smith of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. They desisted, however, on hearing from the Indians the assurance given them by the Governor in March [1769] that Wyalusing would, at all hazards, be reserved for their use."†

While Deputy Surveyor Stewart and his companions were at *Friedenshütten* "a white man with his wife and six children, on their way

* See "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society," I: 202.

† Immediately after this visit from the Pennamite surveyors the Wyalusing, or *Friedenshütten*, Indians again memorialized Governor Penn on the subject of the lands then occupied and cultivated by them, and in his reply the Governor said, among other things: "One thing I want to tell you—that I expect you will not give encouragement to the New England people who have taken possession of the Proprietaries' land at Waiawamick [Wyoming]."—"Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society," I: 204.

to settle at Wyoming," arrived (June 12th) in a couple of canoes at *Friedenshütten* and spent a few hours there. In May, 1769, one Richard Smith was engaged, with others, in surveying lands in the vicinity of Lake Otsego, New York. On the 31st of the month, at the house of one Yokum, on the Susquehanna, several miles below the lake, Smith and his party "met with one Dorn, a Dutchman, with his family from Canajoharie, going to settle at Wywomoc [Wyoming]." "He informs us," wrote Smith in his journal* at the time, "that 130 families from his neighborhood on the Mohawk River have actually bought there [at Wyoming] and are about to remove." It is quite probable that Dorn and his family were the travelers who tarried at *Friedenshütten* for a few hours, as mentioned above.

About the 15th of June Major Durkee, John Smith, Esq., and Capt. Ezra Dean set out from Wyoming for Easton, to attend the trial of the twenty settlers set down for the term of the Northampton County Court beginning Monday, June 19th. On that date a gentleman in Philadelphia wrote to a friend in Connecticut as follows† :

"On Tuesday last [June 13th] arrived in town from Connecticut the Hon. Eliphalet Dyer, with his son Mr. Thomas Dyer, and Jedidiah Elderkin, Esq., with his son Mr. Vine Elderkin, and on Saturday [June 17th] they set out for Easton, where they expect to meet a considerable number of the New England adventurers from Wyoming.

"We hear from Cumberland County that sundry persons have been up to the settlement of the New England adventurers at Wyoming, who inform that the settlement consists at present of upwards of 300 men, and more are daily arriving. That they have built several large houses, have planted 200 acres of land with Indian corn, have good store of all necessaries and are daily making further improvements. That they treat everyone who goes among them with so much friendship and hospitality, and appear so upright and humane in their tempers, as to engage the respect and esteem of all their visitants. That they have with them a number of men of the best character, great experience and good sense, and it is said the adventurers will be speedily increased by great numbers from New England and other parts, and are so strongly supported by numerous and able friends that we may hope soon to see the trade of this Province considerably increased by their industry and success."

For some reason now unknown the case against the Yankees at Easton was continued to the September Term of Court, and the bail of the defendants having been renewed the majority of them repaired with Major Durkee to Wyoming, while the others returned to their respective homes. During Major Durkee's absence from Wyoming an exciting occurrence had taken place here. Miner says ("History of Wyoming," page 110):

"Col. Turbot Francis, commanding a fine company from the city [Philadelphia], in full military array, with colors streaming, and martial music, descended into the plain and sat down before Fort Durkee about the 20th of June; but finding the Yankees too strongly fortified, returned to await reinforcements below the mountains."

Relative to this occurrence Parshall Terry, in his affidavit referred to on page 403, *ante*, deposed :

"They [the settlers] fenced and carried on a large branch of farming business, peaceably and unmolested, until some time in June [1769], when a Colonel Francis—said to belong to Philadelphia—accompanied with a large party of armed men, appeared at Wyoming and drew near to our block-house at Wilkesbarre and demanded a possession of our houses and possessions, and threatened, in case of refusal, he, the said Francis, would set fire to our houses and kill our people. After using many threats he, the said Francis, withdrew with his party."

Still another account of the Francis fiasco is given in a communication made to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut by Eliphalet Dyer, Jedidiah Elderkin and Nathaniel Wales, Jr., under date of March 27, 1771. It is as follows‡ :

* See Halsey's "The Old New York Frontier," page 142.

† See *The New London Gazette*, June 30, 1769.

‡ See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV : 401.

"June 22d [1769] Colonel Francis, with sixty armed men, in a hostile manner, demanded a surrender of our houses and possessions. He embodied his forces within thirty or forty rods of their [the settlers'] dwellings, threatened to fire their houses and kill our people unless they surrendered and quitted their possessions, which they refused to do; and after many terrible threatenings by him, he withdrew."

Colonel Francis, as we have previously shown, was a native of Philadelphia and had spent there the greater part of his life prior to 1769; but he was then living at Fort Augusta, and the men whom he led in the expedition against the Yankees at Wyoming were all from Fort Augusta or its vicinity. What is probably the most authentic account of that futile affair—inspired, as we have previously indicated (see page 491), by Governor Penn—is contained in a letter written by Capt. Prince Alden* to Timothy Green, the printer, of New London, Connecticut—being dated at "Wiwawmuck, in Connecticut, on Susquehannah River, June 26, 1769." It reads in part as follows:

"Maj. John Durkee, John Smith, Esq., and Capt. Ezra Dean being gone to Easton Court, one of our spies informed us that one Colonel Francis was gathering a mob at Shamokin against us, with design to remove us off our settlement. Being apprised of this our men thought proper to picket in our houses, and put things in a proper posture of defence. The 22d [of June] our spies gave fresh information, that the mob was on their way, and they judged their number consisted of between 60 and 70, and in the evening they came and strung along the opposite side of the River for more than a mile, judging by their whooping, yelling, and hideous noise and firing of guns.

"The 23d, in the morning, one Captain Ogden, with two more, came to know if our committee could be spoke with by Colonel Francis, which was consented to. About 8 in the morning the Colonel came, seemingly in an angry frame by his looks and behavior. He told us he had orders from the Governor of Pennsylvania to remove us off (which he in a short time contradicted), and demanded entrance into our town (or city), which was refused; and continued he—"You have lost your case at Easton, and I have 300 men here

* PRINCE ALDEN was born in Lebanon, New London County, Connecticut, October 28, 1718, third child of Andrew and Lydia (*Stanford*) Alden. Andrew Alden (born 1673; married February 4, 1714) was the eldest child of Capt. Jonathan Alden of Duxbury, Massachusetts, who was the youngest son of John and Priscilla (*Mullins*) Alden of the *Mayflower* Pilgrims.

In 1758, during the French and English War, Prince Alden was Quartermaster of the troop of horse attached to the 3d Connecticut Regiment commanded by Col. Eleazar Fitch (see page 481), and was wounded in a skirmish near Fort Ticonderoga. In 1760 he was promoted Lieutenant and later Captain in the Connecticut forces. Captain Alden became a member of The Susquehanna Company in 1761, by the purchase of a half-right from Isaac Tracy of New London, one of the Susquehanna Company, and he came to Wyoming in May, 1769, in the company of settlers led by Major Durkee. When Fort Durkee was surrendered to the Pennamites (as described in Chapter XI) Captain Alden returned to his home in what is now Montville, New London County, where his wife and children were still residing. He did not come back to Wyoming until early in 1773, when he, John Comstock and Cyrian Lothrop, representing a number of Connecticut proprietors in the Susquehanna Purchase, located and laid out for them the township of Newport—about eight miles south-west of Wilkes-Barré. (See map facing page 468.)

In May, 1773, Captain Alden went to Connecticut, settled up his affairs there and in a short time returned to Wyoming with his wife and nine children and all of their movable property. January 17, 1774, the township of Newport was granted by The Susquehanna Company to those proprietors who had applied for it, and for whom it had been located, as previously mentioned. Captain Alden having acquired one and one-half rights in addition to his original half-right in the Susquehanna Purchase, was allotted land on those rights in each of the three "divisions" of Newport Township.

Accompanied by his wife and some of his children Captain Alden fled from Wyoming after the battle of July 3, 1778, and proceeding to Connecticut remained there—presumably at his former home—until late in 1780 or early in 1781, when he and his family returned to Newport. In 1795 Captain Alden sold out his interests in Newport, and with his son Mason Fitch Alden removed up the Susquehanna River to that part of Braintown Township, Luzerne County, which is now Meshoppen, Wyoming County, Pennsylvania. There he lived until his death, May 22, 1804, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. His wife had died in Newport about 1790.

According to the records of the First Congregational Church at Lebanon Prince Alden was married December 18, 1746, to Mary (born April 24, 1727), eldest child of Capt. Adonijah and Sarah (*Fitch*) Fitch and great-granddaughter of the Rev. James Fitch of Norwich, Connecticut, mentioned on page 251. Prince and Mary (*Fitch*) Alden were the parents of the following-named nine children, all of whom were born in what is now Montville, Connecticut. The births of the first seven children were entered in 1766 on page 21 of Volume II of "New London Records—Births, Marriages and Deaths," and the original entry is still in existence.

i. *Mary Alden*, born December 1, 1747; married to ——— Boles. ii. *Mason Fitch Alden*, born October 25, 1750; married prior to 1779 to Mary Thompson (born June 30, 1752; died March 19, 1814); died at Meshoppen, Pennsylvania, June 14, 1812. iii. *Abigail Alden*, born August 11, 1753; married (1st) in 1776 to John Jameson (born June 17, 1749; killed by Indians July 8, 1782); married (2d) in 1787 to Shubal Bidlack, fourth and youngest son of Capt. James and Mehetabel (*Durkee*) Bidlack; died in Hanover Township, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, June 8, 1795. iv. *Sarah Alden*, born February 6, 1756; married to Nathaniel Cook. v. *Lydia Alden*, born October 31, 1758; married, prior to 1800, to Benjamin Bidlack (born February 25, 1759; died November 27, 1845), third son of Capt. James and Mehetabel (*Durkee*) Bidlack; died about 1808. vi. *Prince Alden*, born March 14, 1762; married March 14, 1788, to Sarah Nesbitt (born September 8, 1767; died February 15, 1824); removed to Tioga County, New York, where he died about 1820. vii. *Andrew Stanford Alden*, born May 5, 1766; married to Elizabeth Atherton, and in 1788 removed from Wyoming Valley to Tioga County, New York. viii. *John Alden*, born about 1769; married (1st) to Agnes Jameson (born April 25, 1766; died about 1791); married (2d) to Nancy Thompson. ix. *Daniel Alden*, born in 1772; married to Anne Brooks.

with me and 100 more coming, and my men are so unruly and ungoverned that it is hardly in my power to keep them from you; and they will kill your cattle and horses, and destroy your corn, and block up the way so as to cut you off from all communication for provisions, and your Government will not own you.' We told him that we had a good right to the land by Charter from the Crown, and Deed from the Indians, and that we could not, consistent with the votes of the Susquehanna Company, give it up, and should not. Then he made proposals of agreement that we should possess the land on the East Branch, except that what Ogden and some others of them improved, and they to enjoy the West Branch, till decided by law; and he would give us an hour to consider, and give him an answer. We sent him word that we would not comply with his terms, for it was not in our power.

"Finally he concluded to move off with his mob to Shamokin (which is about 60 miles) and wait there about ten days for the committee to send our proposals, which, if he liked, it was well; if not, he could come again. And further, he desired our men might be kept in the Fort till his men should be gone, lest they should hurt us. Towards night they moved off, seemingly well pleased with their conquest. As near as we can learn their number did not exceed 50 men, and a considerable part of them in our favor." * *

[Signed]

Francis Alden

The "Penn-Physick Manuscripts" (previously referred to) contain certain items bearing upon the Francis expedition, in the shape of charges in an account rendered by Charles Stewart to Governor Penn for "expenses at Wyoming." Some of those charges are in these words: "May, 1769, paid for 4 cwt. of flour at Wioming, £5; paid twenty-two men, for three days each—hired to assist Colonel Francis, but discharged by order of Colonel Chew*—£13, 4sh. June 21st, paid twenty-one of these men for their expences home—half a dollar each—£3, 18sh. 9d."

At Philadelphia, June 25, 1769, Judge Edward Shippen, Jr. (see page 360), wrote to his brother-in-law Col. James Burd, at Tinian, on the Susquehanna, as follows† :

"I have received your letters of the 23d May and the 11th *inst.*, and have communicated to the Governor what you say concerning the New England people, who will, I believe, now give us no more trouble—twenty of them having been last week at Easton Court indicted for riots and forcible entries; which proceeding has so intimidated them that Major Dyer and their other principal abettors have agreed to *remove immediately from the Susquehanna lands* and give the Government no more trouble about their claims, unless they shall be able to obtain a determination in their favor in England. On this consideration the Government will forbear any rigor in the prosecutions on these indictments; which, however, are to hang over their heads till they have given up the possession of the lands. Wherefore, unless you hear something more of this affair hereafter, you need not give yourself any further trouble concerning the apprehending of any of these people."

Very shortly after the return from Easton, Pennsylvania, to Windham, Connecticut, of Messrs. Dyer and Elderkin, they, in conjunction with Samuel Gray, as members of the Executive Committee of The Susquehanna Company, notified the members of the Company (by an advertisement in *The New London Gazette*) to meet at Windham on the last Wednesday in July, "as matters of importance relative to the affairs of the Company" specially called for their consideration. In pursuance of this notice a meeting was held at Windham on the 26th of July. Colonel Dyer presided, as Moderator, and the chief business transacted was the discussion and disposal of the "question whether they would recall the people [then] on the Susquehanna lands under the votes of the Company." The question was decided in the negative; after which it was voted "to desire Col. Samuel Talcott to repair with our people to Easton, to attend and advise in their cause." The Company then adjourned, to meet at Windham on the first Wednesday in September, 1769.

* The Hon. Benjamin Chew, Attorney General of the Province.

† See "The Shippen Papers," previously mentioned.

Shortly before the holding of the meeting just referred to Dr. Benjamin Gale of Killingworth, Connecticut (who was a member of the General Assembly of Connecticut, and had been an original member of The Susquehanna Company and one of the grantees in the Indian deed), published a 4x6 pamphlet of 34 pages entitled: "Dr. Gale's Letter to J. W., Esq." About one-half of the pamphlet was devoted to the affairs of the The Susquehanna Company (to the pretensions of which Doctor Gale was then opposed), and reference was made to the memorial, or petition, presented to the Assembly by Colonel Dyer and others, in behalf of the Company, praying for a deed of lease and release. (See pages 469 and 470.) Doctor Gale stated that when the committee of the Assembly had in hand this petition some members of the Assembly who were opposed to the matter prepared a formal protest, ready to be used should the Assembly decide to grant the prayer of the petitioners. This protest the Doctor printed in his pamphlet, and the last paragraph of it read as follows: "The vote of The Susquehanna Company to admit *the Paxton men*, as they are called (who are the malcontents of Pennsylvania), has rendered it dishonorable for the Legislature of this Colony to countenance their claim." To this "Letter" Colonel Dyer immediately replied with a printed pamphlet of twenty-six pages, in which he charged that Doctor Gale had "grossly misrepresented facts and erred from the truth," and especially "when he says that The Susquehanna Company have voted to admit the Paxton men, *which is not true.*"

The "Paxton men" referred to by Dr. Gale and Colonel Dyer were certain inhabitants of the Paxtang region in Lancaster (now Dauphin) County, Pennsylvania, referred to on pages 426-428. A number of these men, as well as some of the men of that part of Cumberland County lying along the western bank of the Susquehanna opposite Paxtang, had been at Wyoming with Major Clayton in October, 1763. Being chiefly farmers—when not engaged in war-like enterprises—they were not slow in concluding that Wyoming Valley would be a very desirable place in which to live and cultivate the soil. Consequently, when they learned early in 1769 that The Susquehanna Company purposed to renew its settlement of the valley, these Pennsylvanians proposed to the Executive Committee of the Company that they would, upon certain conditions, associate themselves with the New England settlers in improving and holding possession of the Company's lands at Wyoming. In the circumstances it was deemed desirable that certain representatives of the Company should have a personal interview with these men in the counties of Lancaster and Cumberland, and so, about the first of April, four or five trustworthy members of the Company were sent forward from Connecticut. They were to go through New York to the Delaware River, down which they were to voyage to Easton; thence they were to journey overland to the Susquehanna. Having transacted their business with the Pennsylvanians at Paxtang they were to procure a boat at one of the settlements in that locality, load it with such provisions as would be needed at Wyoming, and then proceed up the river to the valley—endeavoring to land here about the time Major Durkee and his company would arrive.

On the 10th of May, 1769, Col. Turbutt Francis, previously mentioned, was at Harris' Ferry (now Harrisburg), in the Paxtang region,

en route from Philadelphia to Fort Augusta, and to Col. James Burd, at Tinian, some six miles below Harris', he wrote as follows* :

"I would not have passed your house without calling on you, but had very particular business which pressed me. There are now here five or six New Englanders from Wyoming, who are come down to purchase provisions for their friends, and, perhaps, *have some other plan in view*. If you could lay hold of them with propriety I fancy it might be of service, as they are in want of provisions at Wyoming. It would prevent these provisions from going up to them, and would deter others from coming down on the same errand. They talk of going hence on Monday next [May 15th]. I shall start for Augusta this afternoon, to spend my Summer."

Colonel Burd was at that time one of the magistrates in and for the county of Lancaster, which accounts for this information and the accompanying suggestion being sent to him by Colonel Francis. While the latter made a good guess when he surmised that the New Englanders had "some other plan in view" than the purchase of provisions at Paxtang, he was very far astray from the facts in the case when he presumed that the men had journeyed there from Wyoming. When Francis wrote, there were no New Englanders in Wyoming. It is more than probable that the coming of James McClure and his companions to Wyoming—as mentioned by Charles Stewart in his letter to Governor Penn, printed on page 488—and the visit of the men from Cumberland County—as described in the letter on page 499—were in consequence of the visit of the Yankees to Paxtang and its vicinity. Later—probably in June or July—Lazarus Young, William Young, John Espy, George Raab and Adam Stager came from either Paxtang or Hanover, in Lancaster County, to Wyoming, where they joined the Yankees at Fort Durkee.

When Major Durkee returned from Easton to Fort Durkee, and learned of the hostile demonstrations which had been made a day or two previously by Colonel Francis and his "corps" from Fort Augusta, he immediately proceeded to strengthen the defenses of Fort Durkee and to cause the sentinels and scouts of the settlement to redouble their vigilance. About the same time—say the last of June or early in July, 1769—Major Durkee compounded and originated the almost unique name "WILKESBARRE," and bestowed it upon the settlement and territory at and immediately adjacent to Fort Durkee.

In the Spring of 1769, when the Wyoming colonists left New England, it was well known that Col. JOHN WILKES (who had been a member of the British Parliament, and whose name was indissolubly connected with Liberty in the minds of the American colonists and their friends) was suffering what his admirers and followers believed to be an unjust imprisonment in the King's Bench Prison, London. At the same time Col. ISAAC BARRÉ (who had been an officer in the English army in America in the campaigns of 1758 and 1759, and had been personally known to Major Durkee—who, it will be recalled, was also an officer in the Provincial service during the same campaigns) stood in the British House of Commons as the foe of America's oppressors, and was almost unrivalled as a brilliant speaker, and hardly surpassed by any of the Opposition—even by Edmund Burke himself—in violent denunciations of the Government.† Among the admirers of Wilkes and Barré in Connecticut, during the period to which we refer, it is doubtful if there was one who surpassed in earnestness and devotedness the tried and steadfast patriot John Durkee. Other members of the Durkee

* See page 219 of "The Shippen Papers."

† For extended sketches of JOHN WILKES and ISAAC BARRÉ, see Chapters IX and X.

family in Windham County were also lovers of Liberty and Free Speech—and so it was that when in October, 1767, a son was born to Maj. John Durkee he gave to him the name "*Barré*"; and when in July, 1768, a son was born to Andrew Durkee, cousin of John, he received the name "*Wilkes*."* Andrew Durkee was for a time in Wyoming in 1769. (See his name in the lists on pages 497 and 509.)

John Durkee, Sr.

Stephen Durkee

William Durkee

Andrew Durkee

John Durkee

Wilkes Durkee

Barré Durkee

The earliest recorded mention of the name "*Wilkesbarre*" that the present writer has been able to find, after long and diligent search, is on page 176 in Book "B" of the original records of The Susquehanna Company, mentioned on page 28, *ante*. It occurs in a certificate, or receipt, therein recorded as follows :

"WILKESBARRE 31ST JULY, 1769—received of GEORGE RAAB of the Province of Pennsylvania the sum of Twenty Spanish Mill'd Dollars, which Intitles him to one half share or Right in the Susq^h purchase so called, by virtue of a vote of the Proprietors the 12th day of April, 1769.

"P^r. JN^o. DURKEE, President of the first settlers."

The next mention of the name that we have been able to find is in a copy of a receipt produced before the Confirming Commissioners at Wilkes-Barré in 1787, and recorded in the minutes of their proceedings referred to on page 29, *ante*, paragraph "(4)." The copy is in these words :

"WILKESBARRE AUGUST 25th, 1769—received of ADAM STAGER 20 dollars and $\frac{2}{3}$ which entitles him to one whole right or share of land in the Susquehanna purchase, he paying 19 dollars more.

[Signed] "JN^o. DURKEE, President."

At Windham, Connecticut, under date of August 8, 1769, Colonel Dyer wrote to William Samuel Johnson, Esq., in London (see page 478), relative to The Susquehanna Company's agent and counsel in London, John Gardiner, Esq. (see page 443), who had "run away" from London to the West Indies without first turning over to a representative of The Susquehanna Company the *deed and other papers* belonging to the Company which were in his hands. Colonel Dyer stated that he had sent to Gardiner at St. Kitts, West Indies, instructing him to send the papers in question to Mr. Johnson. Continuing, Colonel Dyer wrote† :

"Sent forty of our people on ye lands. Soon after their arrival Governor Penn sent a party, took twenty of them and carried them off to Easton, where they are bound over for a riot and for forcibly entering on the Proprietaries' land and cutting down thirty trees, to the terror of the people, &c. The lands were *vacant*—no possessors there—and the people were obliged to march forty miles from the settlements to get to where our people were, *in order to be terrified!* Our people behaved with the utmost caution—not to offer any abuse or insult, but yet were determined not to be carried off until overpowered with numbers.

"After that we sent on 200 or 300 resolute men with Major Durkee at their head—with *no intention to hold the lands by force*, but to oblige the Proprietaries to bring their action of ejectment, that the matter of right and title might be brought into question and fairly tried and decided, first, in the Province, and then, by appeal to the King's Council. They [the Pennsylvanians] have not been able to remove the people, and they still

* See page 481.

† See the original letter among the unpublished papers of William Samuel Johnson in the possession of The Connecticut Historical Society.

remain there building and improving and cultivating their lands, though not without threats of removing them by force. We are ready to submit to any civil action or process, whereby the title to our claim may be fairly tried, and to that purpose our possession is absolutely necessary. * * * You may be assured that our people have behaved in the most quiet and inoffensive manner. They have gained much credit in that part of ye world, and the people of note and consequence, as well as others, in that Province are much in favor of our people and the Connecticut claim.

"They still hold us in the first prosecution for a riot. My son and Major Elderkin's were with the 'First Forty' who went up in the Winter, and are of those bound over to Easton Court. Major Elderkin and myself have been at Philadelphia, from thence to the Court at Easton; but the cause was continued, and the twenty indicted for a riot [were] obliged to be recognized in £100 principal and £100 surety, each—for their appearance at the next Quarter Sessions, and also in the meantime to their good behavior—amounting to the enormous sum of £4,000, which is esteemed excessive and in the highest degree oppressive to the subject. But the Judges are *under the immediate influence of the Governor*, being of his appointment." * * *

About the 15th of August, 1769, the inmates of Fort Durkee at Wilkes-Barré were surprised by a friendly visit from some fifty-six Indians, who had come down the Susquehanna from Chenango, and its vicinity (see page 219), in a small fleet of canoes. The chief men of the party were "Seneca George," "a Captain of the Six Nations"; "Last Night," King of the Conoys; *Genquant*, an Onondaga sachem; Isaac Still (mentioned on page 364), who had joined the company at Sheshequin, and "James Nanticoke," and they were on their way to Fort Augusta, where "Seneca George," by invitation of Governor Penn, was to hold a conference with Colonel Francis (the Governor's representative) and receive condolences and presents on account of the death of his only son, who had been shot some time previously in Pennsylvania by an unknown person. These Indians encamped over night near Fort Durkee, and the next morning proceeded on their way to Fort Augusta, where they arrived in the morning of Saturday, August 19th. The next day (Sunday) the Rev. William Smith, D. D., Provost of the College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania)—who had unexpectedly arrived at Fort Augusta about a half hour before the Indians landed there—conducted religious services at the fort, which were attended by the Indians, as well as by the white people of the place. Isaac Still interpreted for the Indians on that occasion, as well as at the conference, which was begun at the fort on Monday and was attended by all the Indians, Colonel Francis, the Rev. Dr. Smith, Joseph Shippen, Secretary of the Provincial Council (see page 361), Frederick Weiser, son of Conrad Weiser, deceased, Charles Stewart (who had followed the Indians down from Wyoming), and about 100 of the inhabitants of Shamokin and vicinity.*

At that time Charles Stewart, Amos Ogden and John Anderson and a considerable party of their adherents were still in possession of the block-house and cabins at the mouth of Mill Creek and in the immediate neighborhood, and they were diligently cultivating the land on Jacob's Plains—and probably on Abraham's Plains also—building fences and making other small improvements. Meanwhile Stewart and his assistant surveyors were lotting out to numerous holders of warrants—issued by the Pennsylvania Land Office—large bodies of land at various points within the bounds of The Susquehanna Company's Purchase. From the records of the Land Office we learn that among those warrantees who, during the period from June to October, 1769, had lands surveyed to and for their use in the so-called Wyoming region, were the follow-

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX: 610 *et seq.*

ing: Jacob Lumbey (208 acres); Thomas Hays (329 acres); John Anderson (306 acres); Thomas Lake (215 acres above the mouth of Tunkhannock Creek); Charles Harrison (318 acres on Abraham's Plains); William Tharp (tract of 302 acres called "Londonderry,"* on the westerly bank of the Susquehanna, four and a-half miles above the mouth of Fishing Creek); William Grey (tract of 301 acres, called "Raphoe," adjoining "Londonderry" on the north); David Chambers (tract of 298 acres, called "Bloomsburry," about five and a-half miles above the mouth of Fishing Creek and adjoining "Raphoe" on the north); Philip Grandin (tract of 295 acres, called "Freehold," about six miles up stream from the mouth of Fishing Creek, and adjoining "Bloomsburry" on the north.

At Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, August 7, 1769, Lewis Gordon, Esq., of Easton (see pages 473 and 476), wrote to Edmund Physick, Esq., Receiver General of the Province, as follows† :

"Meeting accidentally with Mr. John Anderson, who intends for Philadelphia in a day or two, and has lately come from Wyoming *where he has resided these several years past*, and has been an eye-witness to many transactions of Messrs. [Charles] Stewart and [Amos] Ogden relative to their disposition of the Manor lots there, I thought it would not be amiss that you should ask him some questions on that subject, as it might add some weight to what has already been said, and give more light into that matter—being convinced you are desirous to sift it to the bottom and to find out the truth. He is, therefore, charged to deliver this hasty scrawl into your own hand. * * *

"Questions to be asked [Anderson]. * * (1) Whether Mr. Stewart gave Mr. Jennings timely notice (when he, Mr. Stewart, went first up to Wyoming) to acquaint the people of this County of the Proprietaries' terms, to give them an equal chance with those of New Jersey? (2) Whether, when the Northampton people went up, Mr. Stewart did not tell them the lots were all disposed of; whether at last, what lots were granted them were not all without the Manor (as it now proves), for the lines of the Manor were kept secret for some hidden purpose—which, if you examine him upon, he can give a plausible reason for; and whether, upon the whole, they were not superciliously dealt with, receiving ambiguous and uncertain answers—particularly one Nicholas Snider, who, being pretty knowing and more earnest than the rest, was not threatened to be sent to prison for his impertinence. (3) Whether the people of this County did not go several times in a body of ten or fifteen men together and offer to settle immediately; by which means the New England people would undoubtedly have been frustrated, had our people been encouraged. (4) Whether one or two lots were not granted to Mr. Ledlie,‡ the Sp! B! of those people [the Yankees] and a great stickler for them from the beginning; and whether Benjamin Shoemaker's son was not also promised,§ but was disappointed, on being taken prisoner with them. (5) Whether Mr. Stewart can claim any merit to grant lots to rich men in New Jersey,|| who, it can be proved, never intended to settle themselves or children there, but offered to let their lands to our country people on shares. (6) How many of our country people have got lots within the Manor?"

One week later Justice Gordon wrote again (this time from Easton) to Receiver General Physick, as follows :

"I make no doubt you are by this time pretty well informed and convinced how affairs at Wyoming have been conducted, and how partially the people of this county have been dealt with by those the Government so highly confided in. * * * It is the opinion of all men that, had proper measures been pursued by the gentlemen intrusted, a prior settlement by our own people was very practicable, and that the New England men might have been entirely frustrated and disappointed. But, it is said, instead of employing time properly, it was consumed in vain and fruitless journeys back and forth to Wyoming from New Jersey, writing expresses, etc., whilst their whole plan—instructions and all—were most industriously concealed from our people, who could obtain lots on no other terms than those offered by the New Jersey men—namely, to take them on shares, and so enjoy the privilege of becoming their tenants.

* It was customary at this period, and for some years subsequently, for many of the Pennamites as well as the Yankees at Wyoming to give fancy names to their plantations, and even to their town lots. This custom is more fully referred to hereinafter.

† See the "Penn-Physick Manuscripts," previously mentioned.

‡ See last paragraph, page 475.

§ See letter of Stewart and Jennings to Governor Penn, on page 473.

|| For instance, Stewart's father-in-law, Judge Samuel Johnston. See page 459.

"The bearer, Mr. [Peter] Kechlein, late Sheriff [of Northampton County], is a man of good sense, well acquainted in the County, has an interest and influence in it, and, as he knows divers of those whose applications have been so superciliously rejected and the New Jersey men preferred, I thought him a fit person to give you an account of such of their transactions as he knows. * * * But what avails it to be sensible of the mismanagement when we know not how to rectify it? As to what is already granted, that cannot be recalled. All that can be done is to put it out of the power of those gentlemen to grant more.

"If the New England people will not peaceably abandon their settlements (which appears not likely, after all their expence, trouble and fatigue), what can be done? To drive them off by force and violence is by no means eligible, and may prove unsuccessful. What then remains but to offer to the *Pennsylvanians* the lands not yet disposed of, on moderate terms, and to get men of spirit and influence (if any such there be!) to rouse and encourage them to make a settlement, late as it is. But I *would not have them settle in a body, as the New England people have done*, but upon separate plantations, and at a distance from one another; by which means they may yet get the whole land in their possession without bloodshed, and *wearry and tire out the New England men, already almost spent with fatigue and expence!*"

Governor Penn having been fully informed that the Yankees were still in Wyoming, and that they seemed determined to keep possession of the lands upon which they were settled, wrote from Philadelphia under date of August 24, 1769, to Colonel Francis at Fort Augusta, in part as follows* :

"As the New England men have not thought proper to observe their agreement made at Easton [in June], but seem determined to retain their unlawful possession at Wyoming, I must desire you to exert your influence in raising as good a party as you can in order to assist the Sheriff of Northampton in executing the King's writ on the New England people at Wyoming, who were indicted at Easton; and I hope you will find the people in your neighborhood as willing to embark in the affair as they have heretofore shown themselves. * * * I send you £—— to defray the expence of the expedition. It is hoped you will be able to procure the people to go without pay, as they have already manifested a very good disposition to bring the intruders to justice."

On the same day Messrs. Stewart and Ogden (who were probably then in Philadelphia, or perhaps at their homes in New Jersey†) were desired by the Governor, in writing, to immediately repair to Wyoming in order to carry on a correspondence with Colonel Francis and with Sheriff John Jennings of Northampton County. "If," wrote the Governor, "upon going to Wyoming you find that all the persons indicted have left the place, you are immediately to advise both Colonel Francis and the Sheriff of it." At the same time the Governor sent a letter of instructions to the Sheriff, containing, among other things, the following‡ :

"You are to summon to your aid as many of the inhabitants of the County as you may judge necessary. It is expected that a number of people‡ from the West Branch of the Susquehanna will join you in the neighborhood of Wyoming, whom you will also take to your assistance. * * * As you are a stranger to the persons indicted, you should take with you such of the persons settled at Wyoming under Pennsylvania as are acquainted with them, to show or point out to you those named in the writ. You are to be cautious not to arrest any who are not named in the writ, except they oppose you in the legal execution of your duty, or attempt a rescue, or otherwise commit a breach of the peace; in either of which cases you may arrest and detain them until they can be carried before a Justice to answer for their offense.

"If the persons named in the writ, or any of them, retire to any house and refuse to admit you, you are first to demand entrance and inform those within that you have the King's writ against the several defendants; and if they afterwards refuse to open the doors you will be justified in breaking them open and entering to make the arrest. But before you proceed this length it is absolutely necessary you should know that one or more of the defendants are within the house; but in this case it would be well if, before you use force, you would parley with the wrong-doers, and urge arguments to induce them to desist from their illegal purpose.

"As the New England men threaten to oppose you, in the execution of your duty, with force and violence, it is prudent that you and your party should furnish yourselves

* See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX : 606.

† Stewart was at Fort Augusta on the 21st of August, as we have noted on page 505.

‡ See "Pennsylvania Colonial Records," IX : 606.

§ Colonel Francis and his party.

with arms for your defense and preservation only; but not to make use of them unless reduced to the necessity of doing it by an illegal and violent resistance—in which case you may oppose force with force. It is, however, highly recommended to you to exercise on this unhappy occasion the utmost discretion and prudence, to avoid the effusion of blood, and that neither you nor your party strike, fire at or wound the offenders unless you are first stricken, fired on or wounded. At the same time that it is required of you to act a spirited and resolute part in using your utmost endeavors to arrest the offenders, it is not expected or desired that you should expose yourself and your party to unnecessary danger, or run great hazards, if you should be opposed by numbers so greatly superior to you that there is no probability of succeeding in the attempt—which must be left to your own judgment and observation on the spot. In such case you are to return and make your report to me, in order that I may apply to General Gage* to furnish me with the military force to support the civil power and enforce the execution of the laws."

Five days subsequently to the writing of the foregoing communications by Governor Penn an interesting and important document† was prepared at Wilkes-Barré. It reads as follows:

"WILKES BARRE, SUSQUEHANNAH RIVER, AUGUST 29th 1769.
"To the Honorable the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut to be holden at Newhaven within s^d Colony on the second Thursday of October next.—

"The Petition of John Durkee, Stephen Gardner and the rest of the subscribers Inhabitants of s^d Colony and proprietors and settlers on Susquehannah River and now Improving on the same: To your Honours would Humbly show that your Petitioners by their Petition to your Honours in the year 1753 obtained Liberty from your Honours to purchase a certain Tract of Land of the several Tribes of Indian Nations that Claim^d the same and also Liberty of a further purchase; and some time after the obtaining s^d.

* Brig. Gen. THOMAS GAGE, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, and having his headquarters in New York City.

† The original of this petition is MS. "14" in the volume of MSS. entitled "Susquehannah Settlers, 1755-1796, Vol. I"—mentioned on page 29, *ante*. The following reduced photo-reproduction of a portion of the first page of the original was specially prepared for this book.

Liberty your Honours Petitioners at an open Congress at Albany when all the Governors of the Northern Colonys Down as far as Virgene, or the Deputies Governors, were then present, and in the most fair Legal and open Manner your Petitioners proceeded and made their purchase of a large tract of Land on s^d Susquehannah River of the Sachems and Chiefs of the six nations of Indians; and made payment to the full satisfaction and Content of s^d sachems and chief men of s^d Tribes;

“And in the year 1762 some of your petitioners with others of the Proprietors of s^d Lands Proceeded and took Possession of s^d Lands for them selves and the Rest of the Proprietors; But not being able to Defend the same, Being beset by the Indians on the one side and the Mobbs from the Back Parts of Pensilvania on the other; after many were slain the remainder fled into the old settlements not being able to prosecute their s^d settlement, much to the Prejudice of some of your Petitioners; Till the year 1769 when *some of your Honnours Petitioners* Proceeded to said Lands in order to Improve the same, and Buill housen thereon, but being beset by Mobbs from the north Part of Pensilvania and their housen set on fire over their heads and much of their affects destroy^d in the flames and otherwise; and they by force and Violence taken off three Possessions and Carried out of this Colony into one of the north Countyes of Pensilvania and there under Colour of Law kept and Confin’d some of your s^d Petitioners; and still continue by threatening to Destroy us and our whole affects and to hire the Indians to Destroy us and by Every unfair and unlawfull way Endeavour to Intimidate any and Distress your Petisioners to the Great Prejudice and Detrement of your Petisioners Prosecuting their s^d settlements; on which we your Petisioners have been at Great Expense in Building housen mills and other nesseserry Buildings; and a Great number of us having brought our whole estates how and now our fortunes are wholly Dependant upon the Prosecuting this setelment; yet being wholly Destitute of any Protection of the Laws of this Colony your Honnours Petisioners was Greatly Destressed sufferers Being without the Advantage of any Recovery of Dammages to us in Person or Estate.

“Now your Honnours Petisioners pray that your Honnours would *Errect & Establish a County here on this River* and appoint and Commissionate all nesseserry officers as in the other Countys in this Colony; or in some other way Grant Releif as your Honnours in Wisdom shall think best: Whereupon your Honnours Petisioners beg lieve to seigest that if your Honnours should grant releif in the Present Distressing Circumstances it would not onely be the Effectual means of holding and securing to your Honnours Petisioners their Just Rights and Previlidges But greatly accommodate the further settlement of the Vacant Lands in this westward part of the Colony and no doubt be a means of Christianizing the several Indian nations in this western part of the Colony and spreading the Gospel amongst them; therefore pray your Honnours that we your Petisioners and the Proprietors of s^d Lands as above s^d may be taken under your Honnours wise Consideration so that proper authority may be Granted to us as your Honnours shall think best & your Honnours Petisioners in Duty bound shall ever pray—

Jn^o Durkee,
Isaac Tripp,
Stephen Gardner,
John Smith,
Benjamen Sheomaker,
Thomas Dyar,
Vine Elderkin,
John Jinkins,
Chris^o Avery,
Silas Park,
Moses Hebard,
Jonathan Corey,
Stephen Hurlbutt,
Elisha Avery,
Obadiah Gore Jun^r
William Gallup,
William Buck,
Daniel Brown,
Abel Smith,
Silas Gore,
Solomon John Johnson,
Elijah Lewis,
John Shaw,
Charles Walworth,
Jonathan Carrington,
Benjamin Matthews,
Asher Herriott,
Jabez Cooke,
Joshua Haul,
William White,
Joseph Frink,

Benedick Satterlee,
Cyprian Lothrop,
Silvester Chesebrough,
Noah Read,
Philip Weeks,
Ebenezer Heberd,
Jordan Hopson,
David Mead,
Josiah Dean,
Samuel Marvin,
Thomas Olcott,
Philip Goss,
Nathaniel Goss,
James Ray,
Sam^l Wibron,
Henry Dow Tripp,
Henry Strong,
Daniel Brown,
Robert Hunter,
Ebenezer Stone,
Sam^l Millington,
John Comstock,
Amos Briggs,
James Atherton,
John Bud,
Peter Ayers,
Timothy Smith,
Theophilus Westover,
Daniel Gore,
Dan Murdock,
Thomas Gray,

Jabez Fish,
Asa Gore,
David Whittlesy,
Ozias Yale,
Joshua Whitney,
Peter Comstock,
Elijah Shoemaker,
Stephen Manning,
Samuel Gaylord,
Edward Johnson,
Andrew Durkee,
Stephen Hungerford,
John Brokaw,
Benjamin Follett,
James Nisbitt,
Nathan Denison,
Oliver Smith,
Silas Birgom,
Thomas Knights,
Joseph Gaylord,
Ebenezer Norton,
John Murphy,
John Wylie,
Zopher Ted,
William Park,
Daniel Hayns,
Ephraham McKoy,
Job Weeks,
Jedidiah Olcott,
Isaac Barra,
Ezra Buell,

John Kinyon,	Daniel Angell,	Peter Harris,	John Lee,
Parshall Terry,	Enos Yale,	Hezekiah Linkou,	John Baker,
Ephraim Arnold,	Aaron Walter,	Asa Edgerton,	George Babcock,
Benjamin Hewit,	Isaac Bennit,	Jonathan Hebard,	David Marvin,
Zebulon Hoxsie,	Jonathan Orms, Jun ^r ,	Moses Hebard, Jun ^r ,	John Holly,
Stephen Jenkins,	Timothy Force,	Benj. Hewit,	John H. Dageor,
Youngs Morgan,	Asahel Lee,	Phin ^s Stevens,	John Skids,
Benjamin Rennals,	Isaac Tracy,	Joseph Palmer,	John Talle,
Daniel Holly,	Abel Peirce,	John Franklin, [Sr.],	Roasel Franklin,
Joseph Arnold,	Micael Seely,	Jabez Robbards,	William Wallworth,
Robert Hopkins,	Oliver Post,	Hickman Dole,	Nathan Beach,
Stephen Miels,	Abraham Sawitz,	Balcher Fredrick,	William Walworth,
Prince Alden,	Jeheial Franklin,	Nicholas Uplinger,	John Walworth,
Stephen Hinsdale,	John Dorrance,	Elizer Carey,	Uriah Marvin,
John Groves,	Thos Bennet,	Thomas Suttun,	Elisha Babcock,
Marvin Clark,	James Forsyth,	William Heberd,	Richard Brockway,
Ebenezer Stearns,	Simeon Draper,	Stephen Cooke,	Ebenezer Gray,
Elijah Witter,	Amos Morgan,	Joshua Lanpher,	Timothy Hopkins,
Joshua Maxwell,	Lem ^l Smith,	L. Humius,	Eliphalet Jewell."

[Paper endorsed:] "The Petision of John Durkee and others for a County on Susquehannah River. Oct^r 1769."

This petition is in the handwriting of Ebenezer Gray, Esq. (mentioned in the note on page 292), and attached to it are the names of 169 men who were of mature age—neither women nor youth having signed it. The names of some persons were signed by the writer of the petition (presumably by direction of those particular persons), thus accounting for the unusual spelling of certain names. This document, which has never before been printed, accurately represents the number and names of the New England settlers in Wilkes-Barré at the date mentioned. A number of names to be found in the list on pages 497 and 498 are missing from this, but that is because the men were absent from the settlement; some having resigned their rights, and others being temporarily away on furlough—as for instance, Capt. Zebulon Butler and Capt. Harris Colt, who had gone to Connecticut before the signatures were attached to the petition. The original of the pass* issued to them, and herewith reproduced, is in the handwriting of Major Durkee, and is now in the possession of the present writer.

Withsbarre 30th Augt 1769
The Barers Capt. Zebulon Butler & Capt. Harris Colt are permitted to Return to the
Windham & to Return to this place in sixty
Days *for Jno Durkee President.*

Captains Butler and Colt—who were residents and neighbors in the town of Lyme, New London County, Connecticut, and whose respective

* It reads as follows :

"The Barers Capt. Zebulon Butler & Capt. Harris Colt are permitted to Return to Windham & to Return to this place in sixty days—
 "pr. JNO. DURKEE, President."

families were still settled there—went to Windham at this time to attend the adjourned meeting of The Susquehanna Company to be held on the 6th of September, and to report the condition of affairs in Wyoming. The meeting was duly held, and among other matters of business transacted the following votes were passed :

“*Voted*, That Col. Samuel Talcott be agent for the Company to assist in the suit at Easton. If he cannot go, then the General Committee to appoint some one. *Voted*, That the persons that are bound over to answer at the Court at Easton this month shall receive three dollars to bear their expenses on their way there. *Voted*, That £10 be paid to Maj. John Durkee, John Smith, Esq., and Mr. Stephen Gardner, Committee at Susquehannah, for the purpose of defraying the necessary extraordinary expenses of the Committee—to be used at their discretion. That £18 be paid to Isaac Tripp, Benjamin Pollett and John Jenkins, as a committee, to be equally divided and paid to the several persons now bound over to the Court at Easton, and that shall set out on their journey to said Court—to be paid to each one in equal proportion to the distance of the way each one lives from said Court—for the purpose of defraying their charges in said journey. And that there be paid into the hands of said committee forty shillings more for each of said persons bound over, and that shall appear there—for the making necessary provision for their support at Easton ; said committee to be considered as three of the persons for whose benefit said money is granted. *Voted*, That Humphrey Avery, Isaac Tripp, Elizur Talcott and Colonel Dyer be appointed to confer with Col. Samuel Talcott and request him to go to Easton as agent for the Company, to assist the proprietors now bound over to Court to be held this month, and take care of said cause—he to be paid a handsome reward for his said service.”

Two days after the aforementioned meeting was held the following item of news—probably derived from Captains Butler and Colt—was printed in *The New London Gazette* :

“By late advices from Wyoming, on Susquehannah River, we learn there are about 200 settlers there under the conduct of Maj. John Durkee of Norwich, and that they have secured 500 loads of good hay, and sown 200 acres with wheat, and are yet sowing. The most of their Indian corn is very good. The several mobs raised by the Pennsylvanians to dispossess the settlers have proved abortive. And we further learn that Major Durkee so behaves and conducts that he hath got the universal esteem of all the settlers ; and notwithstanding the disadvantages he is under of not having any law, either civil or martial, to govern the people by, yet he quiets all their uneasinesses, and they are well united, and do not only love and fear, but honor and obey the Major, who is superiorly accomplished for such an undertaking. He is steady, affable, mild and gentle, but resolutely determined to defend their just rights against their unjust opposers, and hath hitherto succeeded to the great terror of those evil-doers ; which gives us great hopes, by the blessing of God, of the settlement of this Colony being greatly enlarged, and thereby a door opened for the spreading of the glorious gospel among the natives of this land, so that the wilderness shall blossom as the rose, and the desert become a fruitful field.”

September, 1769, was a busy month at Wyoming. On the 20th of the month, at Fort Durkee, a petition was drawn up and signed, reading as follows :

“To the HONOURABLE GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the Collony of Connecticut to be holden at Newhaven on the second thursday of Octo^r: nexte.

“The memorial of us the Subscribers Inhabitants of the Province of Newyork humbly sheweth that whereas we your memorialists being greatly opprest by Quit Rents, and under great necessity for lands for ourselves and children, and having understood that your Honours having large extension of lands to the Westward of Susquehannah, by your Charter grant, we your memorialists therefore pray that your Honours would grant to us the Subscribers a small tract of land lying to the westward of the Lands known by the name of the Susquehannah Purchase. We your memorialists therefore humbly Propose that if your honours would grant unto us your memorialists a Township of six miles square of lands lying westward of said Susquehannah lands a quit claim of all your Right and title to sd lands which you have by your Charter grant, at your present sessions, your memorialists will give an honourable Price for the same in Cash or Good Security sufficient to the satisfaction of the Collony. And your memorialists shall in Duty Bound ever Pray &c.

“*Dated at Wilksberry Sept: 20th 1769.*—

“KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS that we the Subscribers Inhabitants of the Province of Newyork do hereby Constitute and Appoint our trusty Friend JEDIDIAH ELDERKIN Esq. of Windham in the Collony of Connecticut our lawful attorney on the within memorial, in our name and stead to appear at the General Assembly for us to act as though we was Personally present. Granting unto our said attorney full

Power of Substitution In and about the Premises. In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals this 20th Septr. 1769—Wilksbury on Susquehannah.

“Present—

“Jno. Durkee,
“Chris^o Avery.

“Thomas Knights,
“James Nisbitt,
“Richard Knights,
“Zopher Teed,
“John Franklin,
“Solomon Teed,
“Parshall Terry,
“Thos Sutton,
“Benjⁿ Matthews, Junr
“Amos Woodworth,
“Aaron Aspenwall,
“Nathan Beach,
“Benjⁿ Matthews.”

The writer of the foregoing appears to have been uncertain as to how the new name of the settlement should be spelled, and so he spelled it in two different ways—“Wilksberry” and “Wilksbury.” On the 11th of September a petition similar in form and substance to the foregoing had been drawn up and signed by Lazarus Young, John Espy and William Young, who described themselves as “of the Province of Pennsylvania,” and appointed Jedidiah Elderkin their attorney. On the 12th of September a petition of the same character as the aforementioned, but dated “Province of New York, September 12, 1769,” was signed by the following-named (who set forth that they were “inhabitants of the Province of New York,” but who were actually at Fort Durkee at that time): Simeon Draper, Peter Harris, William Buck, Elijah Buck, Richard Brockway, David Mead, James Atherton, Oliver Smith, John Wallworth, Asahel Lee, Stephen Miels, Eleazar Carey, James Stark, Christopher Stark, Jr., Aaron Stark, William Stark, Nathan Kees, William Reynolds, William Wallworth, Amos Stafford, John Stafford, James Smith, Jr., John Groves, Isaac Barra, Zebulon Hoxsie and John Kinyon. On the 15th of September William Holly, John Holly, Michael Seeley and William Leonard—describing themselves as “of the Province of East New Jersey”—signed at Fort Durkee a petition similar to the foregoing, in which they named Jedidiah Elderkin as their attorney. The following, dated the 18th of September, is a copy of a power of attorney intended to accompany one of the abovementioned memorials.

“Know all men by these that we the Subscribers, inhabitants of the Colony of Rhode Island, do hereby constitute and appoint our trusty friend Jedidiah Elderkin, Esq., of Windham, in the Colony of Connecticut, our lawful attorney on the within memorial, in our name and stead to appear at the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut to be holden at Newhaven on the 2d Thursday of October next—for us to act and transact, as though we were personally present, accepting what our said attorney shall lawfully do in and about the premises; granting unto our said attorney full power of substitution. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands at WILKESBARRE ON THE BANKS OF THE SUSQUEHANNAH RIVER, this 18th day of September, 1769.

“Present—

“Peter Harris,
“John Groves,

“Stephen Jenkins,
“Silvester Chesebrough,
“Daniel Angell,
“James Hopkins,
“Robert Hopkins.”

These several memorials and powers of attorney, together with the memorial dated the 29th of August, and set forth in full on pages 508 and 509, were delivered into the hands of Christopher Avery, who, about the 1st of October, set out for Connecticut. It was expected that the petition of The Susquehanna Company for “a lease and release” of their lands by the Colony of Connecticut would be taken up and finally acted on at the October session of the General Assembly, to which the

matter had been continued—as noted on page 470—and it was intended that these later documents should be laid before the Assembly at the same time. They were duly presented to the Assembly—presumably by Major Elderkin—and the originals are now to be seen in the volume of manuscripts referred to on page 29. The following is a reduced reproduction of the power of attorney last mentioned, which is in the handwriting of Major Durkee.

Know all men by these that we the subscribers
 Inhabitants of the Colony of Rhode Island to w^{ch}ly Constituted
 & appointed our singly chosen Jrdial Col^l Durkee Esq^r of Providence
 our Attorney in Lawfull & Lawfull Attorney in the
 Memorial in our Name & stead to appear at the
 general Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut to be holden
 at New Haven on the 2^d Thursday of Oct^r Next— for us
 to see & transact or to see we were personally present
 accepting what our said attorney shall lawfully do in
 & about the premises— Granting unto our said attorney
 full power of substitution— in witness whereof we have
 hereunto set our hands at Providence in the County
 of the said Providence, this 18th day of Sept^r 1769

Stephen Jenkins
 Silvester Chamberlough
 Daniel Angell
 James Hopkewell
 Robert Hoopes

Samuel Avery, at Norwich, Connecticut, under date of October 25, 1769, wrote to Major Durkee as follows* :

* * * "Christopher Avery is now at the Assembly. He has been very industrious to promote the affair and to gain all the interest and influence in his power. We do not know whether he will return here from the Assembly, or go directly to you. We are very agreeably entertained with your conduct and character there, which every one that come from you are full of. * * * I understand it is the advice of many, and even some of the leaders of the Company, and even some of the committee of the Company here, for the settlers all to quit their possession and come off if the Assembly act nothing in your favor."

Christopher Avery returned to Fort Durkee from Connecticut about the 1st of November, with the dispiriting report that the Assembly had taken no action on the memorials which he had carried to New Haven, and that upon the Company's memorial, previously mentioned, a committee of conference had again been appointed.

Parshall Terry, in his affidavit mentioned on page 403, states "that some time in the month of September [1769], † a small part of the [Wyoming] settlers, being at work at some distance from their block-houses, were attacked by a party of men, said to be commanded by the Ogdens, and several of the settlers were beat and wounded." Col. Eliphabet Dyer, Samuel Gray, Esq., Maj. Jedediah Elderkin and Nathaniel

* The original letter is in the possession of the present writer.

† It was Friday, September 22d.

Wales, Jr., Esq., in a long communication made to Governor Trumbull in March, 1771, relative to the affairs of The Susquehanna Company, stated* :

"In September [1769] Amos and Nathan Ogden, with twenty-six others, armed with pistols and clubs, assaulted and wounded sundry of our people, whereby their lives were endangered.† The same month thirteen of our people, in three canoes loaded with wheat and flour, about sixty miles below Wyoming were met and robbed of their canoes and loading by thirty armed men who came from Fort Augusta, about one-half mile away. In the same month came on the [adjourned] trial of many of our men at Easton. The charge against them was riot. * * In the course of the trial challenge was made to a jurymen for having some time before expressed an opinion openly against our people—but neither that nor any other exception would prevail. The jury were treated with wine by the King's Attorney before verdict, which verdict was brought in against the prisoners, and they condemned to pay a fine of £10 each, with large costs, *in which was included the cost of the wine the jury were treated with.*"

Messrs. Dyer and Elderkin, in their joint-affidavit mentioned on page 475, state with reference to the trial of the settlers at Easton in September that "they were convicted and punished accordingly with fines and costs to the amount of about sixty dollars each. Some made payment, and others being impoverished were committed to prison, where they remained until *they made their escape.*"

Colonel Talcott having been either unable or unwilling to go to Easton to act as counsel for the New Englanders, Colonel Dyer was sent in his stead, with authority to employ a Philadelphia lawyer to assist him in the case. He accordingly secured the services of Richard Peters, 2d, later Judge Peters (mentioned in the note on page 262), and together they proceeded to Easton and defended the twenty "rioters." David Hayfield Conyngham of Philadelphia, an intimate friend of Judge Peters, wrote many years later in his "Reminiscences"‡ the following paragraph relative to Judge Peters' connection with this case. "The Gaol [at Easton] then being built of logs could only hold from twenty to thirty persons, and the Judges and lawyers not knowing what to do with so many demanding daily of the Sheriff bread and quarters, he [Peters] told me he went among them and *advised them to go home*; and, meeting Col. E. Dyer, asked him to walk out with him to talk over the business they had in hand; and, returning, went to the prison, when the Sheriff told them that the whole party of Yankees had gone off." The escape of the prisoners occurred in the evening of Sunday, September 24th, and the next day the Sheriff prepared an advertisement which was printed some days later in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* at Philadelphia, and probably in other newspapers. It read as follows :

"£60 REWARD!"

"*Easton, September 25, 1769.*—WHEREAS, in the night of the 24th *inst.* the following persons made their escape out of the goal at Easton, *viz.*: Benjamin Follett, William Buck, Samuel Gaylord, Richard Brockway, Timothy Smith, Timothy Peirce, Ezra Belding, Silas Bingham, Stephen Harding, Elias Roberts, Rudolph Brink Vanorman and

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," First Series, IV: 401.

† The Moravian missionaries at *Friedenshütten* (Wyalusing) recorded in their journal, under the date of October 23, 1769, the following (see "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society," I: 200): "We cautioned the Indians not to hunt at Wyoming, as intelligence reached us of a collision there between the New England settlers and the Pennsylvanians." News traveled slowly in those days.

Relative to the preparations which had to be made to bring about the "collision" abovementioned, and as to the expense attending the same, we get some information from the previously-mentioned "Penn-Physick MSS.," I: 111: 89 and IV: 227 and 229. September 15, 1769, Charles Stewart paid Joseph Morris and John Dick each £10, 15sh. "in full"—presumably for services. The same date William Ledlie was paid £1, 12sh. 7d. for stores. September 19, Charles Stewart paid Thomas Craig, Jr., "for himself, horse and expenses, four days, riding and summoning men to go to Wioing, £2, 5sh." Same date, "paid George Wolf for himself and expenses going over the mountain, five days, to provide necessaries for the people summoned to Wioing, £1, 7sh.; paid Conrad Teeter for a beef cow, £2, 6sh." In October, 1769, Receiver General Physick paid to Charles Stewart £220, 11sh. 1d., "in full for his account for stores, wages for sundry people, and for dividing [into lots] Sunbury and Stoke Manors."

‡ See the "Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society," VIII: 231.

Nathan Denison—being a company from Connecticut who were lately convicted and imprisoned for committing a riot at Lachnawanock, on the East Branch of the River Susquehanna; which said escape was effected by the aid and assistance of one Thomas Dyer, who, being at liberty, had free access to his companions. I, the subscriber, do therefore hereby offer the above reward for all the said delinquents, or £5 for each of them that shall be taken up and secured in any of His Majesty's goals within this Government, &c.

[Signed] "JOHN JENNINGS, Sheriff."

None of these twelve "delinquents" was captured, for, as expeditiously as possible, they proceeded to their respective homes, beyond the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania Courts and the grasp of their processes.

About the middle of September, 1769, arrangements were made by the "Committee of Settlers" at Fort Durkee with respect to the locating and laying out of the five "gratuity," or "settling," towns, or townships, provided for by the resolutions of The Susquehanna Company, as described on pages 465 and 466. It was decided that the three authorized by the Company to be located together should be surveyed on the east side of the Susquehanna, and the remaining two on the west side. David Mead, one of the settlers, who was a practical surveyor, was selected to run the lines, and "Deacon" Timothy Hopkins, Capt. Eliphallet Whittlesey, Capt. Prince Alden, John Smith, Esq., and Christopher Avery, Esq., were appointed "a committee to reconnoiter and view the ground for the townships, and to assist the surveyor in laying out and pitching them." Nathaniel Wales and Andrew Metcalf assisted the aforementioned in laying out one or more of the townships. What surveyor Mead was paid for his work we have not been able to learn, but each member of the committee named above was paid four shillings per day for his services. Twelve days were occupied in doing the necessary work, which was completed by the first of October. However, *the boundaries only* of the five townships were surveyed and laid down at that time, the work of subdividing each township into "divisions" and "lots" being done in 1770 and subsequent years.

The first township to be surveyed comprehended the settlement of the Yankees at Fort Durkee and that of the Pennamites at Mill Creek, and it formally and immediately received the name which, some weeks previously, had been bestowed by Major Durkee upon the Yankee settlement—"Wilkesbarre." South-west of and adjoining "Wilkesbarre" there was surveyed a township which included the former site of the village of the Nanticoke Indians, and also the whole or a part of the township of Nanticoke which had been laid out by the Pennamites in April, 1769, as mentioned on page 487. To this township the Yankees gave the name "Nanticoke"; but a year or two later—as is more fully related hereinafter—"Hanover" was substituted for the original name by the then proprietors of the township. Adjoining "Wilkesbarre" on its north-eastern boundary the third township was surveyed, to which, subsequently, the name "Pittstown" was given—later changed to "Pittston." Passing over to the west side of the river the surveyors laid out for the "First Forty," in the locality previously selected by those settlers, the township to which they were entitled. This township was known and referred to as the "Forty Township" until the Summer of 1771, when it received the name "Kingstown," subsequently changed to "Kingston." Adjoining the "Forty Township" on its south-west boundary the fifth and last of the settling towns was laid out. To it, later, was given the name "Plymouth." The relative locations of these five townships are fairly well shown on the map facing page 468.

None of these townships was square, as the Company, by its resolutions, contemplated they should be; and none of them contained exactly twenty-five square miles of land. The metes and bounds of "Wilkesbarre" were as follows: Beginning at a point on the river bank, in the locality of the present village of Plainsville; thence south, 61° east, 1,497 perches (4.67+ miles) to a point beyond the crest of Wilkes-Barré Mountain; thence south, $44^{\circ} 30'$ west, 1,950 perches (6.09+ miles); thence north, $51^{\circ} 30'$ west, 1,554.5 perches (4.85+ miles) to the river, and thence, along the eastern margin of the river, to the place of beginning. The township thus contained nearly twenty-nine square miles of territory, and, as is shown by the plot on page 516, included nearly one-half of the Pennsylvania Proprietaries' Manor of Stoke. Further, the island at the bend of the river, now called Fish's Island, was (as noted on page 51) annexed to and considered a part of this township, and for many years thereafter was known as "Wilkes-Barré Island."

It cannot be doubted, apparently, that the name which Major Durkee coined and bestowed upon this town was "Wilkesbarre"—or, written so as to indicate the correct pronunciation of the name, "Wilkesbarré." The Major's original design or intention was, clearly, to make of two proper names *a new word*—"Wilkesbarré," a name *sui generis*! This idea may have been—indeed, probably was—suggested to him by the name of *Saybrook*, an ancient town within the borders of his native Colony and situated only about twenty-five miles from his birth-place; a town whose name, it was well understood, had been compounded of the names of two men—as mentioned on page 240, *ante*. Moreover, it was the common custom at that time, in America as well as in England, to write and print as one word the name of a town or place formed either of two nouns or of an adjective and a noun. Thus, in England there were then "Easthamstead," "Newhaven," "Westfield," "Newbourn," "Newcastle," "Newmarket" and "Kingswood"; while in America there were, in addition to "Saybrook," "Halfmoon," "Easthampton," "Marblehead," "Northampton," "Westchester" and "Newhaven"—the name of the well-known Connecticut city being at that period written "Newhaven" as often as "New Haven." Major Durkee was no dullard; he had seen something of the world, and the abovementioned facts were undoubtedly known to him. At any rate, from an examination of the various known and accessible examples of Major Durkee's handwriting, in which the name of our town appears, we find that he invariably wrote it "Wilkesbarre." He may have done this ignorant of the fact that Colonel Barré, in writing his name, used "é" and not "e"; or, knowing the fact, may have mistakingly looked upon the diacritical mark over the "e" as unnecessary.

Uninformed as to the etymology of the name, and having heard it mispronounced in a variety of ways, many persons in the early days of the town wrote the name "Wilksborough." Examples of this form written in 1771 and 1774 are still in existence. In the Act of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania erecting the county of Luzerne, passed September 25, 1786, the name of our town was printed "Wilkesburg"; but in a supplement to the Act passed in 1788 the name was printed "Wilkesborough." Colonel Pickering, for a short time after he took up his residence here in 1787, used the form "Wilkesburg," but

later he wrote the name "Wilkesborough"—these being the two forms used in the Legislative Acts mentioned. Afterwards, having discovered what the real name of the town was—"as originally given to it by the New England people"—Colonel Pickering wrote the name always "Wilkesbarre"; some times, however, writing the diacritical mark over the final "e." In January, 1789, he brought the matter of the name of the town to the attention of President Mifflin of the Supreme Executive Council of the State, and in a resolution passed by the Council in March following, relating to certain affairs in Luzerne County, the name "Wilkesbarre" appeared for the first time in the official records and enactments of the State of Pennsylvania.

In many of the records of the Courts of Luzerne County for the years 1788 and 1789—writs, records of convictions, Sheriff's returns, etc.—"Wilksborough" and "Wilkesborough" appear, as written by attorneys and the officers of the county. "Wilksburg" appears on a map of Pennsylvania published in *The Columbian Magazine* for January, 1788; also on the map accompanying Weld's "Travels through the States of North America," first published in 1798—although in the body of the book the author uses the form "Wilkesbarré." In the twenty-fourth edition of Webster's "Spelling Book," published at Boston in 1802, there is a list of the various counties in the United States, with their chief towns, and "Wilksburgh" is given as the county-seat of Luzerne County, Pennsylvania. "Wilksbury" was another form that the name early took when written by some of the local scribes. We find this spelling in some of the minutes of town-meetings held in 1771, and in the records of The Susquehanna Company for the year 1773. It was used as late, even, as 1789 in certain deeds. Judge Matthias Hollenback used the form "Wilksberre" in an acknowledgment to a deed in December, 1789. "Wilksbarry" was the manner in which Ezekiel Peirce, clerk of a town-meeting in 1772, spelled the name. Col. Nathan Denison wrote "Wilksbarra" in February, 1789. This same form was used by Lord Butler, Sheriff of Luzerne County, in a deed written and executed by him in September, 1789; but in 1793, in writs issued by him as Prothonotary of the county, he used the form "Wilksbarre." Col. John Franklin sometimes used the form "Wilksbarra" prior to 1785, but after that year he invariably wrote the name "Wilksbarre." The Rev. Jacob Johnson used the form "Wilksbarre" in the years 1772 to 1779, and perhaps in later years. His son, Jehoiada P. Johnson, used the same spelling as late as 1804. On Reading Howell's map of Pennsylvania, published by authority of the State in 1791, "Wilksbarre" appears*; as it does also on an engraved map of the State in Proud's "History of Pennsylvania," published in 1798. From original letters among the "Pickering Papers" (mentioned on page 29) we learn that in 1789 Judge Richard Peters used the form "Wilkesbarre"; in 1788 Tench Coxe wrote "Wilkesborough" and William Montgomery "Wilksborough."

The separation of the name into two parts, and the use of "B" instead of "b" in writing the last half of the name, was of very infrequent occurrence in early days. The first known instance of the use of this form is shown in the document reproduced on page 508. In February, 1770, Zebulon Butler wrote "Wilks Barry," and in the following April he wrote "Wilkes Berry" and "Wilks Barre." After 1771 or 1772 he

* See Chapter XXIII for a reproduction of a portion of this map.

invariably wrote the name "Wilks Barre"; which same form was sometimes used—in early years, at least—by John Jenkins, Sr. The use of the diacritical mark over the final "e" seems, from the beginning, to have been observed by very few persons. Colonel Pickering, who was an exceedingly well-informed man, and who was careful and particular in matters of detail, used the form "Wilkesbarré" in his diary in February, 1787, and subsequently to 1791 he used it frequently. "Wilkesbarré" was the form generally used by Judge Thomas Cooper, a man of wide information and much culture; and in all the certificates issued by him and the other commissioners under the Act of April 4, 1799, for lands in this township, the name of the township was *printed* "Wilkesbarre" and *written* "Wilkesbarré."* In 1816 a work on "Gas Lights," written by Judge Cooper, was printed at Philadelphia, and the name of our town appears therein "Wilkesbarré." Throughout the various editions of Stone's "Poetry and History of Wyoming," mentioned on page 19, "Wilkesbarré" is the form used.

It is very evident, from a patient and painstaking examination of a large number of original letters, town minutes, legal documents, Court records (transcribed in dockets) and many newspapers, books and pamphlets, that, for at least the first fifty years of the life of this town, its name was written and printed "Wilkesbarre" by more than a great majority of the people who had occasion to use it. It would be impracticable to give here, in support of this statement, many illustrations from the sources mentioned—in fact, it seems unnecessary to do so. But, as recording a matter of history, it is deemed desirable to give some of the most substantial evidences of the prevailing use of this form during, and subsequently to, the period mentioned.

In numerous deeds executed prior to 1810 "Wilkesbarre" is the usual spelling. In the original records of the township—entitled "Votes of the town of Wilkesbarre"—from 1791 to 1805, inclusive, the form here given is used. On a neatly engraved map in Judge Cooper's "Some Information Respecting America," published at London in 1794, and at Dublin in 1795, the town of "Wilkesbarre" on the Susquehanna is noted. The same appears on a map of Pennsylvania by D. F. Sotzman, published in 1797. In Morse's "American Gazetteer," published at Boston in 1797, there is a map of the United States engraved from an original drawn by Abraham Bradley, Jr., formerly of Wilkes-Barré but then a clerk in the General Post Office at Washington. In the descriptive part of this "Gazetteer" Wilkes-Barré is referred to as "Wilksbarre, or Wilksburg, a post-town of Pennsylvania." There is, in the first volume of the Duke de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt's "Travels through the United States of America" (published at London in 1799), a carefully engraved map of the United States and Canada, upon which "Wilkesbarre" is noted. In June, 1804, a large map of the United States was published, the drawing of which was the work of Abraham Bradley, Jr., previously mentioned. "Wilkesbarre" is the form in which the name of our town appears thereon; and in the same form it appears on a map of Pennsylvania published in 1811 by Reading Howell.

In legal documents and other papers written in the years 1790 to 1796 we find that Putnam Catlin and Rosewell Welles, leading members of the Luzerne Bar, and Robert Traill, a well-known lawyer of

* See a photo-reproduction of such a certificate in Chapter XXXVI.

Easton, Pennsylvania, wrote the name of Luzerne's county-seat "Wilkesbarre"; and in like form it was written in 1802 and '03 and later years by Thomas Wright, Ebenezer Bowman, William Ross, Lord Butler and Dr. Robert H. Rose—as is shown by original documents in the collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Jacob Cist, a learned and cultured man, and for some years Postmaster of this town, wrote its name "Wilkesbarre" for many years until, at least, 1824. Garrick Malley thus wrote it in 1830, and likewise Steuben Butler in 1829. Judge Jesse Fell, who was appointed Town Clerk of Wilkes-Barré in 1796, and held the office for a number of years, and who was Secretary of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., for twenty-five and a-half years, was an elegant penman, and he wrote the name of our town always "Wilkesbarre." The same form was used in 1806 and later years by Thomas Graham, who was Recorder of Deeds in and for Luzerne County at that time. Capt. Andrew Lee in 1807, and his son, Col. Washington Lee, in 1821, wrote the name "Wilkesbarre." In a similar way the Rev. Nicholas Murray, a very able and intelligent man, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Wilkes-Barré, wrote the name in the years 1829-'33, and perhaps later.

March 17, 1806, the Act of Assembly was passed which erected the "town-plot of Wilkesbarre" and its vicinity into "a body politic and corporate in law, by the name and style of the Burgess and Town Council of the Borough of Wilkesbarre." However, in the earliest recorded minutes of the Borough Council—which are in the handwriting of Joseph Wright and Peleg Tracy—the name of the borough is written "Wilkes Barre." On the printed bill-heads used by the Wilkes-Barré Academy in 1812 "Wilkesbarre" was the spelling. The name appeared in the same form on the "shin-plasters," or substitutes for money, emitted in 1816 by the Easton and Wilkes-Barré Turnpike Company and by the Wilkes-Barré Bridge Company. (See reproductions of some of these "shin-plasters" in subsequent chapters.) "Wilkesbarre" is the form in which the name is printed on Reading Howell's map of Pennsylvania published in 1817. In that year Isaac A. Chapman, author of the first history of Wyoming Valley, wrote as follows to Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania* (see V: 34): "Wilkesbarre * * was laid out about the year 1775 [*sic*] by Col. John Durkee, from whom it received its name, in compliment to Wilkes and Barre." * *

On a map of Pennsylvania published by Carey & Lea at Philadelphia in 1820 "Wilkesbarre" appears; as, also, it does many times in Hazard's *Register* during the years 1828-'33, and without doubt in later years. The name appears in this form on the map published in 1830 in Silliman's *Journal*, and referred to on page 494, *ante*. The present writer has seen numerous letters written by Wilkes-Barré people in 1821 and 1822 and mailed at Wilkes-Barré. They were all postmarked—in the handwriting of the Postmaster—"Wilkesbarre," followed by the date of posting. "Wilkesbarre" is the only form in which the name appears on an engraved map accompanying "A History of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company" (published in 1839); in Sherman Day's "Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania" (published in 1843); in Miner's "History of Wyoming" (published in 1845); on a map accompanying a "Report on the North Branch Canal" (issued in 1847); on the engraved "Plan of the Town of Wilkesbarre" (published in 1850,

and reproduced in Chapter XXXVI, *post*); on the map accompanying a "Report of the Superintendent [W. R. Maffet of Wilkes-Barré] of the North Branch Canal for 1855"; in the three editions of Peck's "Wyoming," mentioned on page 20, *ante*; in Rogers' "Geology of Pennsylvania," printed in 1858; in both editions of Pearce's "Annals of Luzerne County," mentioned on page 20, *ante*; in Appleton's "Hand-book of American Travel," edition of 1872, and in the official publications of the Tenth and Eleventh Censuses of the United States.

The earliest issues of a Wilkes-Barré newspaper now known to be in existence are some copies of the *Gazette*, published in 1799, and the name of our town appears therein only in one form—"Wilkesbarre." In *The Luzerne Federalist*, published here, "Wilkesbarre" was the invariable form in which the name appeared during the years 1802 to 1810, inclusive. An examination of the files of *The Gleaner*, published here, shows "Wilkesbarre" in use during 1811, but in 1812 "Wilkes-Barre" and "Wilkesbarre" were both used—one form about as frequently as the other; while in 1813 and 1814 "Wilkes-Barre" was used almost exclusively. In *The Susquehanna Democrat* (published in Wilkes-Barré) "Wilkesbarre" and "Wilkes-Barre" were used—one as often as the other—during the years 1810 to 1812; but in 1814 "Wilkesbarre" was used almost wholly, and was used exclusively in 1821, 1822 and 1823. In *The Wyoming Herald* (published here) "Wilkesbarre" was invariably used during the years 1818-'27. In *The True American*, published at Philadelphia August 24, 1816, was an advertisement of Isaac A. Chapman, dated at "Wilkesbarre"; while in the next column was an advertisement of Catlin, Overton & Co., dated at "Wilkes-Barre."

In *The Republican Farmer and Democratic Journal* for the years 1838 and 1839 the form "Wilkesbarre" was almost invariably used; and in the same paper, as late as 1848, "Wilkesbarre" appeared in many of the advertisements and items of local news. In *The Luzerne Democrat* for 1847 and 1848 "Wilkesbarre" was the single form used; but in 1849 "Wilkesbarre" was printed at the head of the local and editorial columns, and "Wilkes Barre" in the title, or heading, on the first page. In the body of the paper one form of the name appeared as often as the other. A similar use of the name is to be found in the files of the same paper for 1852. As late as 1849 and 1850 "Wilkesbarre" often appeared in the advertisements and news items of *The Wilkes-Barre Advocate*; and in *The True Democrat* for 1852 and 1853 "Wilkesbarre" was often used in editorials, advertisements and news items. "Wilkesbarre" frequently appeared in advertisements and local items in the *Record of the Times* as late as 1853.

We have already mentioned the few instances that have come to our notice of the use of "B" instead of "b" in the writing of Wilkes-Barré prior to 1800, and have incidentally referred to some similar instances which occurred subsequently to 1805—about which period, or a few years later, an earnest effort seems to have been made by some of the local newspaper writers—or, perhaps, printers—and a few others to displace "Wilkesbarre" by "Wilkes-Barre." In the records of the office of the Register of Wills of Luzerne County we find "Wilkesbarre" used almost uniformly prior to 1800; but about 1805 "Wilkes-Barré" is found in places. In *The Susquehanna Democrat* of August, 1815, we find "Wilkesbarre" heading the column of local news, but in the various

advertisements we find "Wilkes-Barre" as often as we find "Wilkesbarre." In 1829 Judge John N. Conyngham, an educated man familiar with the history of this town—although then a new-comer here—wrote "Wilkes Barré." In 1840 George W. Woodward wrote "Wilkes-Barre," and Harrison Wright and Charles Denison each wrote "Wilkes Barre." In *The Wilkes-Barre Advocate* during the years 1836 and 1839 "Wilkes-Barre" and "Wilkesbarre" both appeared—the latter form the more frequently, however.

In the "United States Official Postal Guide" for 1886, published by authority of the Post Office Department, the name of our town appeared in four different places, and in each instance was printed "Wilkes Barre." For a number of years preceding the year mentioned, and for four or five years following it, the name was printed in the "Guide" in that same form; while in contemporary publications of other Departments of the Government the name was printed "Wilkesbarre," "Wilkes-Barre" and "Wilkes-Barré." At the same time, in the same publications, many other towns throughout the country were having their names served up in like varied style. Finally, in September, 1890, the "United States Board on Geographic Names" was created by order of the President of the United States, for the purpose of securing uniformity of geographical nomenclature in Government publications. This Board consists of ten officials in the Departments at Washington, and, as we have previously intimated, the creation of the Board was the result of the confusion in the various Bureaus and Departments of the Government due to different spellings and pronunciations of geographic names. Indeed, even among the publications of the same Bureau the spelling of many words was not uniform.

From the beginning the Board agreed that in general the name which was in common use should be adopted. "Even where the present name is a changed or corrupted one, *if it has become firmly established*, the Board keeps its hands off. But where a choice is offered between two or more names for the same locality—all sanctioned by local usage—the opportunity to secure the most appropriate and euphonious one is improved." Among many other matters the Board *discourages the use of diacritical marks over letters, and hyphens between parts of names*. Where a name consists of more than one word, it prefers to combine the parts into one. Hence, applying these two last-mentioned principles, we have *Newhaven* for "New Haven," *Santafe* for "Santa Fé," *Fairhaven* for "Fair Haven," *Whiteplains* for "White Plains," *Whitehaven* for "White Haven" and *Wilkesbarre* for "Wilkes-Barré."

It is well understood that "Wilkesbarre" is the form approved and adopted by the abovementioned Board to be followed *in writing and printing the name of our town in Government correspondence and publications*; and yet, although the recommendations of the Board are obligatory on the various Departments of the Government, there is still a lack of uniformity of usage shown by certain officials. I have before me as I write an official letter written to me by the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General in April, 1901, in which is used the form "Wilkes-Barre"; and the same form appears in letters written to me by two different officials of the Department of Agriculture in 1903, while "Wilkesbarre" was the form used in the same year by an official of the Department of the Interior. The various cyclopædias of names, gazet-

teers and encyclopædias, and the metropolitan newspapers quite generally, published in this country, use the form "Wilkesbarre." Relative to this use a writer on the staff of *The New York Herald* stated in that paper June 1, 1902 :

"Wilkesbarre newspapers cannot understand why many of the metropolitan papers insist upon spelling the name of their city in one word, whereas they invariably divide it in two. The name of the city is peculiar, and no person unfamiliar with the circumstances understands why there is a division. Two officers in the Revolutionary army went to the Wyoming Valley, with their followers, after the surrender of Cornwallis, and founded a settlement on the banks of the Susquehanna. *Their names were Wilkes and Barre*, and local custom has never sanctioned the union into a single word."

Here was certainly a very praiseworthy effort to explain *why* the Wilkes-Barréans of to-day prefer "Wilkes-Barré" to "Wilkesbarre"; but the writer's zeal was more than counterbalanced by his ignorance of facts. It is true, nevertheless, that at least ninety-nine-one-hundredths of the citizens of this town (including the publishers of all our newspapers and periodicals) have for many years now preferred the form "Wilkes-Barre" to any other form of writing or printing the name of our town; and the desire to see this come into general use is constantly growing and strengthening. The principal reason for this is *the very laudable wish* to keep Isaac Barré in memory—to honor him equally with John Wilkes. But why stop half-way? Why be satisfied to use the hyphen and "B" and not use "é"? Not only did Isaac Barré use the diacritical mark over the final "e" in writing his surname—therefore making it a part of his surname—but the use of this mark shows, exactly and precisely, the pronunciation of the last syllable of the name. Often, in recent years, the present writer has heard in Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts the name of this town pronounced *Wilks-bär*—"ä" having the sound of "a" in "far." No educated or well-informed person would ever pronounce the name in that way if "é" were used instead of "e" in writing or printing the last syllable.

It is unquestioned, as previously stated, that John Durkee named this town "Wilkesbarre"; which form of the name was recognized and confirmed by the Legislature of Pennsylvania in 1806 in erecting the "town-plot of Wilkesbarre" into the "borough of Wilkesbarre," thus giving legislative authority to a name which custom had then sanctioned for more than thirty-five years. There is, therefore, the very best authority for using the form "Wilkesbarre," or, more correctly written—in view of the etymology of the name—"Wilkesbarré." But, on the other hand, we have in opposition to this a form which has been in almost general use here in Wyoming Valley for fifty years, or more, through a desire on the part of our people, as stated above, "to keep Isaac Barré in memory." "Barré" was his name, and "WILKES-BARRÉ" should be, and *is*, the name of our town!

As to the pronunciation of this name. Seemingly there is no end to its varieties; and in producing and perpetuating some of the varieties our own people are as careless and slovenly as the most skillful word-twisters among those *not* "to the manner born." The name—a compound word of three syllables—is pronounced neither *Wilks-bär*, *Wil-kès-bär*, *Wilks-bäre-ry* nor *Wilks-bäre-eh* as so often heard, but *Wilks-bä-rä*—with a slight accent on the first syllable; "i" in the first syllable being sounded as "i" in "pin," "a" in the second syllable as "a" in "mat" and the final "é" as "a" in "mate." The French "e" with the "close" accent has the sound last noted.

In "The Century Cyclopedia of Names" (New York, 1894) the pronunciation of the surname of Isaac Barré is given as "Bä-rä" ("ä" having the sound of "a" in "far"); and it is stated that "his name forms a part of the name of Wilkes-Barré, *now* Wilkesbarre, in Pennsylvania." If the name of Barré was ever pronounced in this manner (which is very doubtful) it is quite certain that the last two syllables of the name of our town are not, and never have been, thus pronounced.





CHAPTER IX.

THE RIGHT HON. JOHN WILKES, PATRIOT, STATESMAN, AND A FRIEND
TO LIBERTY.

“Sure, WILKES’ character is hard to know,
Or whether he is Britain’s friend or foe.
How can we judge him either good or evil,
Since one a patriot calls him, one a devil!
And yet, while this bedaubs and that belabors,
WILKES shares of vice and virtue with his neighbors.”
—From “*Liberty is the Pillar that
Supports the Glory of Man*” (1801).

“Says JOHN WILKES to a lady—‘Pray name, if you can,
Of all your acquaintance the handsomest man.’
The lady replied—‘If you’d have me speak true,
He’s the handsomest man who’s the most unlike you.’”
—*The Wilkesbarre Gazette* (1798).

A well-known English writer, in “an anniversary study” of John Wilkes made some seven years ago, said: “Mankind has always wondered, and will no doubt continue to wonder, without much profit, at the apparent unworthiness of the instruments which are selected to achieve great ends; and the supposed lack of high qualities appropriate to the part in history he was called upon to play has always been the feature dwelt upon in considering the career of the senior partner in the firm of ‘Wilkes & Liberty,’ who admitted that he at least was never a Wilkesite, but did more for the success of the joint business than if he had been.”

“We write the biographies of nobody, and celebrate the centenaries of nothing”; but John Wilkes, in spite of his moral reputation, stands for a good deal more than nothing in the constitutional history of England. He was not, as King William IV said of a well-known naval officer, when proposing his health, “sprung from the dregs of the people.” His father, Israel Wilkes, was a malt-distiller of Clerkenwell, London, who thrived by his distillery and lived in the style of a city magnate, keeping his coach-and-six. He was hospitable and fond of the society of men of letters and culture, and, though a Churchman, tolerant of dissent in his wife. He was a grandson of Edward Wilkes of Leighton Buzzard in Bedfordshire (of the time of Charles I), who had four children oddly named Matthew, Mark, Luke and Joane.

Luke Wilkes, abovementioned, was Chief Yeoman of the Wardrobe to King Charles II, and his son Israel—previously mentioned—was born in 1695 and about 1720 was married to Sarah, daughter of John Heaton

of Hoxton, London. Through his wife Israel Wilkes came into possession of Hoxton Square. Israel Wilkes (who died in London January 31, 1761) was the father of four children—two sons and two daughters. *Israel Wilkes*, the eldest son, was placed as a partner in the business house of a Mr. De Ponthieu, and ultimately was married to the latter's daughter Elizabeth. The business of De Ponthieu and Wilkes not prospering, the latter removed to America with his family shortly after the Revolutionary War, and settled in the city of New York, where he died November 25, 1805. About that time, or earlier, his son, Charles Wilkes, became a cashier in the New York branch of the United States Bank. The latter's son, Charles Wilkes, Jr., born at New York in 1801, became noted as an American admiral, explorer and scientist. He entered the United States Navy in 1818; became Lieutenant in 1826, and commanded in 1838-42 an exploring expedition which visited South America, the Hawaiian Islands and other little-known regions. Of this expedition Lieutenant Wilkes wrote a six-volume "Narrative." In 1855 he was promoted Captain in the Navy, and in November, 1861—in the early days of the Civil War—being in command of the U. S. S. *San Jacinto*, he intercepted the British steamer *Trent* on the high-seas and took off as prisoners the Confederate Commissioners Mason and Slidell. In 1862 Captain Wilkes was promoted Commodore, and in 1866 Admiral. Besides the "Narrative" previously mentioned he was the author of "Theory of the Winds" and other works. He died at Washington, District of Columbia, February 8, 1877. The elder sister of Admiral Charles Wilkes became the second wife of Lord Francis Jeffrey (born 1773; died 1850), the noted Scottish critic, essayist and jurist, who spent six months in the United States in 1813.

Heaton Wilkes, the youngest son of Israel and Sarah (*Heaton*) Wilkes, succeeded to his father's distillery business, but mismanaged it and died December 19, 1803, impoverished and without issue. The daughters of Israel and Sarah Wilkes seem to have had a tinge of oddity, or of something worse. *Sarah Wilkes*, the elder of the two, was an eccentric recluse—the prototype, indeed, of *Miss Havisham* in Charles Dickens' "Great Expectations." She lived for many years in Bloomsbury, London, secluded from the world. She had apartments up two flights of stairs, with thick blinds before the windows to exclude the day-light; and she kept either lamps or candles burning in her rooms continually. She died unmarried.

Mary Wilkes, the second daughter, was the most singular of the Wilkes family, and exhibited a remarkable career of combined adventure and eccentricity. She was thrice married, her first husband being an opulent merchant, Samuel Stork, who, on his death, was succeeded in business by his head clerk Hayley—afterwards a city Alderman—whose fortune was made by marrying the widow Stork. She was exceedingly well informed and had unusual conversational talents, and she sought with avidity the society of men who were distinguished in the world by their talents and their writings. She had a contemptuous opinion of her own sex, which she took no pains to conceal. Her disregard of propriety was conspicuously manifested on many occasions. She invariably attended all the more remarkable criminal trials at the Old Bailey, where she regularly had a certain place reserved for her. When the testimony of witnesses or the arguments of counsel became such that

decorum, and even the judges themselves, called for the withdrawal of all women from the court-room, she never stirred from her place, but persisted in remaining to hear the whole case, with the most unmoved and unblushing earnestness of attention.

Some years after the close of the Revolutionary War, her husband being dead, Mrs. Hayley made a voyage to this country with her most intimate counselor, confidant and friend, a certain American, to look after some of her business affairs here. Shortly thereafter the gentleman was summoned to return to England on important business. He and Mrs. Hayley were expecting to be married, but he responded to the business summons, intending to come back to America after only a short absence. Within a week following his departure, however, Mrs. Hayley was married to a young man named Jeffrey, who, in the temporary absence of Mrs. Hayley's confidant and *fiancé*, was looking after her affairs. But, after a very short honeymoon, Mr. and Mrs. Jeffrey arrived at the conclusion that a mutual separation was expedient. Mrs. Jeffrey took an early opportunity to recross the Atlantic, and after a short residence in London removed to Bath, where she spent her remaining years.

JOHN WILKES, the second son of Israel and Sarah (*Heaton*) Wilkes, was born in St. John's Square, Clerkenwell, London, October 17, 1727. Without wasting his time—like some other young men of his period—amid the "prejudice and port" of Oxford University, he went to Leiden in the Netherlands, where he entered the University in September, 1744. Among his friends and contemporaries at that then famous and much-frequented seat of learning were Alexander Carlyle, William Dowdeswell and Charles Townshend (the last two subsequently Chancellors of the British Exchequer); but his especial friends during his residence at Leiden were Andrew Baxter (a noted Scottish metaphysician, then at Utrecht, some thirty miles from Leiden) and Baron d'Holbach.

Wilkes acquired at Leiden a useful working knowledge of Latin, and the capacity to converse with elegance and freedom in the French tongue; and he also seems to have picked up more than a bowing acquaintance with Greek. Even then he was a pushing, enterprising fellow, amusing, and excellent company, and eagerly desirous of making a mark in the world, and disposed to adopt extravagant profligacy as the easiest and most agreeable method of doing it. He was afflicted with a tutor whose views were not those of Wilkes. He was a Dissenting minister of Unitarian proclivities, who passionately desired to convert his brilliant pupil to his way of thinking, and so worried Wilkes that, from conviction or expediency, the latter expressed his entire disbelief in the Scriptures—which led to a rupture between the old man and the youth. After finishing his course at Leiden Wilkes spent some time in travel in the Rhine-lands, and then returned home, having been abroad less than two years.

In October, 1748, just before his twenty-first birth-day, Wilkes was married, in deference to his father's wishes, to a woman ten years his senior. She was Miss Mary Mead, daughter of a Mrs. Mead of Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire, widow of John Mead, a dry-salter who had carried on business on London Bridge and had made money. Mrs. Mead was the daughter of a gentleman named Sherbrooke, a resident of Buckinghamshire and a man of considerable property. All Mrs. Mead's brothers and sisters dying this property became hers, and her daughter

Mary was an heiress. The Meads were strict Dissenters, in an age when it meant something more than a reputation for greater austerity than other folks; and a more incongruous match than that into which John Wilkes entered has seldom been known. It combined the disadvantages which flow from marriage at an immature age, and those which are usually supposed to result from an alliance founded on business principles. The lady was well off, but possessed no other recommendation in the eyes of her husband, for she liked to retain and hoard her money, while he was anxious to spend it. "It was a sacrifice to Plutus, not to Venus; I stumbled at the very threshold of the temple of Hymen"—wrote Wilkes thirty years later.

This marriage placed Wilkes in possession of an estate at Aylesbury worth £700 a year; while his wife had a handsome jointure and greater expectations. But in the course of a short time Wilkes found life at Aylesbury distasteful, whereupon he took a handsome house in Great George Street, Westminster, London. There a variety of company and splendid dinners almost every day required an expensive establishment. But, what was infinitely worse, was the introduction by Wilkes into his house of a number of juvenile bacchanalians of audacious manners and vulgar language. There is nothing to commend in Wilkes' choice of associates at that time. The leading spirits of the vicious band were Lord Sandwich, later First Lord of the Admiralty, and the most notorious of debauchees (if Wilkes was bad, there can be no doubt that Sandwich was a hundred times worse); Sir Francis Dashwood, afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer, and later Lord Le Despencer; Thomas Potter, son of the then Archbishop of Canterbury, a barrister-at-law and, although a depraved sensualist, the intimate friend of the Hon. William Pitt, later the Earl of Chatham; Lord Orford; Paul Whitehead and John Hall Stevenson.

Not content with the ordinary indulgences of depraved tastes these associates and others founded the well-known companionship of the "Medmenham Monks," or "The Franciscan Club," a profane and profligate confraternity which had its headquarters in an old Cistercian abbey at Medmenham on the Thames, in Buckinghamshire. Sir Francis Dashwood had purchased this abbey and converted it into a temple to a nameless pagan deity. Over the grand entrance was a copy of the famous inscription on Rabelais' Abbey of Thelème—"Fay ce que voudras." The inscriptions, pictures and sculptures in and about this building were certainly prurient enough (unless the "Monks" were very much belied) to warrant all the gossip of the times—which surely were the strangest times through which the Anglo-Saxon people ever passed. One of the pictures in the "abbey" portrayed Sir Francis Dashwood (the head of the Order) in the habit of a Franciscan friar, kneeling before a nude Venus and holding a goblet in his hand. These "Monks of Thelème"—as they were sometimes called—were twelve in number, and they practised what the gossip of the day alleged to be a blasphemous burlesque upon the monastic system and the rites of the Church of Rome. The "abbey" was fitted up with cells, and the "Monks," assuming the habit of the Order of St. Francis, performed with grave mockery the ceremonies and observances of the conventual service. It is needless to describe the quality of the nuns who were admitted to a participation in those services, nor of the choruses which were chanted, nor of the

images which represented the Virgin and the Saints. "The Franciscan Club" was for some time the wonder and the scandal of London; and it is said that none of the "Monks" surrendered himself to the orgies of the confraternity with more of the true Rabelaisian abandon than Wilkes, although he despised their puerile mummeries. Many of the prime carouses of the band were held at Wilkes' house in Great George Street.

In April, 1749, Wilkes was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1754 he served in the office of High Sheriff of Buckinghamshire, and in April of that year contested the Parliamentary representation of Berwick-on-Tweed, spending £4,000 over it. The Delaval family swayed that borough, and engaged a vessel to bring some of their supporters from London; but Wilkes bribed the Captain to steer for the coast of Norway, where, in time, he duly landed the free and independent electors. Wilkes, however, lost the election, and had the audacity to present a petition against his opponent's return. Young Delaval, who had been returned, on being thus attacked made a speech which was full of wit, humor and buffoonery, and kept the House in a continued roar of laughter. "Mr. Pitt came down from the gallery and took up the matter in his highest tone of dignity. He was astonished when he heard what had been the occasion of their mirth. Was the dignity of the House of Commons on so sure foundations that they might venture themselves to shake it?"

In politics as in vice Wilkes was thorough. He was clever, independent, agreeable, and possessed influential friends; and when we consider his career as a whole it would seem that his early excesses were rather the result of a desire for notoriety than of pure viciousness. This is no excuse for him, but it affords an explanation of his conduct as a young man, for during the rest of his life he was certainly no worse than most of his contemporaries in society.

Wilkes' habits were far from giving pleasure to his wife and her mother, and they soon saw that Mrs. Wilkes' fortune could not hold out for long against the inroads made upon it, especially if her husband was determined to adopt a political career for which, indeed, he possessed almost every qualification. In consequence, about 1756 or 1757, a separation between Wilkes and his wife was arranged by mutual consent. Wilkes retained the Aylesbury estate and the custody of his only legitimate child, Mary, who was born August 5, 1750. Wilkes and his wife never lived together again, and she died in 1784.

In July, 1757, by an arrangement with Pitt and Potter, Wilkes succeeded the latter as Member of Parliament from Aylesbury. Wilkes' share of the expenses of the canvass amounted to about £7,000. By further judicious outlay he secured his seat at the general election held in March, 1761. In the meantime he had become Lieutenant Colonel of the Bucks regiment of militia, of which Sir Francis Dashwood was Colonel. Wilkes entered Parliament a loyal supporter of Pitt. With the latter's brother-in-law, Lord Temple,* he was closely associated in

* RICHARD GRENVILLE, Earl TEMPLE, was born September 26, 1711. In 1734 he was chosen, through the influence of his uncle Lord Cobham, to represent in Parliament the borough of Buckingham, and in subsequent Parliaments he sat as one of the Knights of the Shire of the county of Buckingham. He succeeded to the Earldom of Temple in October, 1752, and inherited the large estates of Stowe and Wotton. Lord Temple became First Lord of the Admiralty in the administration formed by Mr. Pitt in November, 1756, and in June, 1757, was made Lord Privy Seal. In 1758 he was constituted Lord Lieutenant of the county of Bucks, and in February, 1760, was made a Knight of the Garter. At the accession of George III (October 25, 1760) he continued to be Lord Privy Seal until Mr. Pitt went out of office in October, 1761, upon the question of war with Spain, when he also resigned; and at that period began the unhappy

the organization of the Bucks militia, and through the influence of Pitt and Lord Temple Wilkes hoped to obtain either the embassy at Constantinople or the Governorship of Quebec. He was disappointed, however, and attributed his want of success partly to Pitt's indifference, but much more to the malign influence of Lord Bute.* He seriously disapproved of Bute's foreign policy, and also of his system of government; but mortification probably added vigor and venom to the attacks with which, in the violent pamphlet warfare into which he immediately plunged, he harassed the favorites of the King.

Wilkes began with a pamphlet published in March, 1762, which caught the public ear and damaged the Government. He followed up his advantage in *The Monitor* in May and June, and was answered in *The Briton* by its editor, Dr. Tobias Smollett.† About that time Wilkes was enabled to make amends to Dr. Samuel Johnson for a piece of supercilious criticism, for which the Doctor had a grudge against him. It seems that in the "Grammar" prefixed to the first edition (1755) of his "Dictionary" Johnson had stated concerning the letter "H" this strange dictum: "It seldom, perhaps never, begins any but the *first* syllable." Whereon Wilkes gave in the *Public Advertiser* several examples of the contrary, and then closed with this comment: "The author of this observation must be a man of quick apprehension and of a most comprehensive genius." Though Johnson took no notice of the sneer, it rankled. But a few years later, after Wilkes had made amends to the Doctor, and the two were brought together through Boswell's intervention, Johnson, although he detested Wilkes' principles, was charmed with his wit, and said: "Jack has a great variety of talk, Jack is a scholar and Jack has the manners of a gentleman."

In the Spring of 1762, in connection with Charles Churchill (the "poor poet and poorer divine," who, from 1760 to 1764, was a prominent figure in London) Wilkes founded *The North Briton*, the first number of which appeared on the 5th of June. Just about that time Wilkes became Colonel of the Bucks regiment, succeeding Sir Francis Dashwood, who, upon his elevation to the peerage as Lord Le Despencer, had resigned the command of the regiment.

Wilkes established *The North Briton* in order that, through its columns, he might answer the Government hacks, and so effectually did

estrangement from his brother, George Grenville (mentioned on page 532 and in the notes on page 41, *ante*), who remained in office as Treasurer of the Navy, and adhered to the policy and influence of Lord Bute.

Lord Temple now became one of the most active and zealous leaders of opposition to the administration of Lord Bute, and, in consequence of his open encouragement and patronage of John Wilkes, he was dismissed from his office of Lord Lieutenant of Bucks in May, 1763, and was succeeded by that model (?) nobleman, Lord Le Despencer—previously mentioned—the decorations of whose country-house were so indelicate as to shock Wilkes himself. Lord Temple became reconciled with his brother George in May, 1765, and in regard to the taxation of America—the Stamp Act, etc.—he invariably supported the policy of his brother. Lord Temple died September 11, 1779.

* JOHN STUART, third Earl of BUTE, was born in 1713. In 1760, at the time of the accession of George III, Bute was, and had been for several years, an officer of the young Prince's household. In March, 1761, he was appointed by the King one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and May 29, 1762, he became Prime Minister. His Government is memorable only as one of the most unpopular that ever held office in Great Britain, its fundamental principle being the supremacy of the royal prerogative. Bute was not only incapable, but, worse than that, was deemed, by the popular verdict, unfit to be Prime Minister because (1) he was a Scot, (2) he was the King's friend and (3) he was a dishonest man. The disgraceful intrigue which placed Bute in power half sacrificed the conquests of the Seven Year's War, and commenced the long struggle between the King and the Opposition. The fact that Bute was a Scot, and that he had overthrown by underhand means Pitt, the popular idol, was the most tangible charge against him. Just then Scots were very unpopular in London.

Bute resigned his office of Prime Minister April 8, 1763. For the next few years he retained his influence over the King, but thereafter his life was spent in retirement. He died March 10, 1792.

† SMOLLETT, some six years older than Wilkes, was a native of Scotland. From 1744 to 1767 he lived in England and on the Continent, devoting himself to novel, historical and miscellaneous writing. In addition to editing *The Briton* he was the editor for awhile of *The Critical Review*. He was the author of "The Adventures of Roderick Random," "The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle," "The Adventures of Count Fathom," and a number of other works.

he catch the public taste that he made the Government a laughing stock. Nor did he disdain to fly at lower game. He lampooned William Hogarth, the noted painter and etcher, he satirized his quondam friend Dashwood and quizzed Lord Talbot, the Steward of the royal household. Early in October, 1762, Wilkes was with his regiment in camp on Bagshot Heath near Winchester. Lord Talbot was also there. Col. Norborne Berkeley (afterwards Lord Botetourt, and Governor of Virginia in 1768-'70), writing from Bagshot Heath to Earl Temple under date of October 7, 1762, said* :

"Lord Talbot having questioned Colonel Wilkes upon the subject of *The North Briton* in which he was mentioned, and received for answer that his Lordship had no right to question him, and that he would not tell him whether he did or no, Colonel Wilkes was desired by me to meet Lord Talbot Tuesday evening [October 5th], and met him accordingly. Before they walked out the inclosed† was given to me to deliver to your Lordship in case Mr. Wilkes fell. The matter between them was decided by pistols to both their satisfactions, and without hurt to either. When we returned I offered to give back Colonel Wilkes' letter, but was desired to inclose it to your Lordship as a proof of the regard and affection he bore you at a minute which might have been very near his last."

Wilkes subsequently wrote a full account of this affair, saying among other things :

"I found Lord Talbot in an agony of passion. He said that I had injured, that I had insulted him, that he was not used to be injured or insulted. What did I mean? Did I or did I not write *The North Briton*? He would know; he insisted on a direct answer; here were his pistols. I replied that he would soon use them, that I desired to know by what right his Lordship catechised me about a paper which did not bear my name. His Lordship insisted on finishing the affair immediately. I told him that I should very soon be ready, that I did not mean to quit him, but would absolutely first settle some important business. After the waiter had brought pen, ink and paper I proposed that the door of the room might be locked, and not opened until our business was decided. Lord Talbot, on this proposition, became quite outrageous, declared that this was mere butchery, and that I was a wretch who sought his life. I reminded him that I came here on a point of honour, to give his Lordship satisfaction, and that I mentioned the circumstance of locking the door only to prevent all possibility of interruption. He then said he admired me exceedingly—really loved me—but I was an unaccountable animal! But would I kill him, who had never offended me? He soon after flamed out again, and said to me: 'You are a murderer; you want to kill me. But I am sure that I shall kill you. If you will fight—if you kill me—I hope you will be hanged! I know you will!' I asked if I was first to be killed and afterwards hanged; that I knew his Lordship fought me with the King's pardon in his pocket, and I fought him with a halter about my neck.

"When I had sealed my letter I told Lord Talbot that I was entirely at his service, and I again desired that we might decide the affair in the room, because there could not be a possibility of interruption; but he was quite inexorable. He then asked me how many times we should fire. I said that I left it to his choice; I had brought a flask of powder and a bag of bullets. Our seconds then charged the pistols which my Lord had brought. We then left the inn and walked to a garden at some distance from the house. It was near seven, and the moon shone very bright. We stood about eight yards distant, and agreed not to turn round before we fired, but to continue facing each other. Harris gave the word. Both our fires were in very exact time, but neither took effect. I walked up immediately to Lord Talbot and told him that now I avowed the paper. His Lordship paid me the highest encomiums on my courage, and said he would declare everywhere that I was the noblest fellow God had ever made!"

A week after his rencounter with Lord Talbot Wilkes wrote to Earl Temple as follows‡ :

"The affair between me and Lord Talbot is much talked of, and the camp censure Lord Talbot for firing only one pistol; the seconds both having declared that before we went out Lord Talbot asked me how many rounds we should fire, and my answer was, '*Just as many as your Lordship pleases.*' I am caressed more than I will tell; and a most favorite object, whom I have unsuccessfully made tenders to ever since I first met

* See "The Grenville Papers," I : 477.

† This was a note addressed by Wilkes to Earl Temple and reading as follows: "My Lord—I am here just going to decide a point of honour with Lord Talbot. I have only to thank your Lordship for all your favours to me, and to entreat you to desire Lady Temple to superintend the education of a daughter whom I love beyond all the world."

‡ See "The Grenville Papers," I : 486.

her here, now whispers me that she will trust her honour at the first shepherd's minute to a man who takes so much care of his own. I must look into my old friend *Johnson* for what is synonymous to the word 'honour,' to guess at the fair one's meaning."

Wilkes' attacks on the Government in the columns of *The North Briton* were so vigorous that he frightened Lord Bute into resigning his office as Prime Minister, which he did on the 8th of April, 1763, and was succeeded by George Grenville,* "one of the most destructive statesmen with whom a nation can be cursed—a man who mistakes obstinacy for firmness." Unnoticed by the authorities forty-four numbers of *The North Briton* had passed from the press, although some of them contained scurrilities that might well have called for attention; but Bute had wisdom enough to let Wilkes alone. Finally, on the 23d of April, 1763, "No. 45" of this journal came from the press. It contained nothing as bad as many of the preceding numbers, but it did contain a severe criticism on the King's speech at the opening of Parliament. The following paragraphs have been extracted from an original copy of that issue of the journal:

"The King's speech has always been considered by the Legislature, and by the public at large, as the speech of the Minister. This week has given the public the most abandoned instance of Ministerial effrontery every attempted to be imposed on mankind. I am in doubt whether the imposition is greater on the Sovereign or on the Nation. Every friend of his country must lament that a Prince of so many great and amiable qualities, whom England truly reveres, can be brought to give the sanction of his sacred name to the most odious measures, and to the most unjustifiable public declarations from a Throne ever renowned for Truth, Honour and unsullied Virtue. * * *

"The preliminary Articles of Peace† were such as to have drawn the contempt of mankind on our wretched negotiators. All our most valuable conquests were agreed to be restored. * * * The Minister cannot forbear, even in the King's speech, insulting us with a dull repetition of the word *Economy*. I did not expect so soon to have seen that word again, after it had been so exploded, and more than once, by a most numerous audience, hissed off the stage of our English theatres. Let the public be informed of a single instance of Economy—except, indeed, in the Household! Is it not notorious that in the reduction of the army not the least attention has been paid to Economy? Many unnecessary expenses have been incurred, only to increase the power of the Crown—that is, to create more lucrative jobs for the creatures of the Minister. * * * A despotic Minister will always endeavor to dazzle his Prince with highflown ideas of the prerogative and honour of the Crown, which the Minister will make a parade of firmly maintaining. I wish as much as any man in the kingdom to see the honour of the Crown maintained in a manner truly becoming Royalty. I lament to see it sunk even to Prostitution. What a shame was it to see the security of this country, in point of military force, complimented away, contrary to the opinion of Royalty itself, and sacrificed to the prejudices and to the ignorances of a set of people the most unfit from every consideration to be consulted on a matter relative to the security of the House of Hanover!"

Within a few days after the publication of "No. 45" of *The North Briton* Grenville ordered the issue of a General Warrant against the authors, printers and publishers of this "seditious and treasonable

* GEORGE GRENVILLE—younger brother of Earl Temple, mentioned on page 529—was born October 14, 1712. In December, 1744, he was made Lord of the Admiralty. He was Treasurer of the Navy from 1754 till May, 1762, when he was made Secretary of State for the Northern Department. He was leader of the House of Commons from October, 1761, till October, 1762, when he became First Lord of the Admiralty. In April, 1763, on the resignation of Lord Bute, he became First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. In July, 1765, he was dismissed from office, and never again accepted any appointment in the Government.

He obtained the nickname of "The Gentle Shepherd" as the result of an encounter which he had with Pitt. "He interposed in defense of Dashwood's proposition of an additional duty on cider, and reminded the House that the profusion with which the late war with France had been carried on necessitated the imposition of new taxes. He wished gentlemen would show him where to lay them. On his repeating this question in his querulous, languid, fatiguing tone, Pitt, who sat opposite to him, mimicking his accent aloud, repeated these words of an old ditty: 'Gentle shepherd, tell me where!' and then, rising, abused Grenville bitterly." The principal measure with which Grenville's name is associated in history is that of the American Stamp Act. It has been said, and probably with truth, that he was not the author of that measure; but that he adopted it, and ever defended it with the utmost zeal and ability, cannot be denied. The measure may have been patriotic and well-intentioned on the part of Grenville, but the result was unfortunate to Great Britain. It was not, however, until the result became known, that it met with so much of party condemnation, for it is notorious that the Stamp Act originally passed both Houses of Parliament with very little discussion and less opposition.

George Grenville died at London November 13, 1770.

† The Definitive Treaty of Peace between England and France had been concluded at Versailles in February, 1763, and was referred to in the King's speech.

paper." Under this warrant Wilkes was arrested and brought before Lords Egremont and Halifax, the Principal Secretaries of State, for examination. He refused to tell them anything, and April 30, 1763, was committed to the Tower "for treasonable practices"—in other words, for libeling the Government. The documents in the case set forth that Wilkes, as the author of the article in *The North Briton*, "No. 45," had attacked and treated with unreserved freedom the King's speech, and had "endeavored to sow sedition and alienate the affections of His Majesty's subjects." Upon his reception at the Tower Wilkes desired that he might not be lodged in any room in which a Scot had ever been confined; and he refused to occupy a room in which Lord Egremont's father had been a prisoner years before on account of his Jacobitism. Such was Wilkes' popularity after he had been committed to the Tower that his enemies found they were burning their hands in attempting to roast him.

Wilkes' house in Great George Street was thoroughly ransacked by order of Egremont and Halifax, and all his papers, of every description, were bundled up, carted away and delivered into the possession of these noble Lords.

Under date of May 3, 1763, the Duke of Grafton wrote to Earl Temple as follows* :

"A letter from Mr. Wilkes, which I enclose, came to me while I was out riding this morning. * * I went, as I think every acquaintance is almost bound to do, to see Mr. Wilkes in his confinement, to hear from himself his own story and his defence. * * Hearing of the shyness of lawyers in general to undertake his cause, as also the manner (perhaps unwarrantable) of his confinement, I was more desirous than ever to show that no subject of this country should want my countenance against oppression."

Two days after the Duke of Grafton's visit to Wilkes in the Tower Earl Temple, who was still Lord Lieutenant of Buckinghamshire, received orders to dismiss Wilkes from the Bucks militia, "His Majesty deeming it improper that he should continue to be Colonel." Lord Temple did as he was directed, at the same time expressing the concern he felt at the loss of an officer who was, "by his department in command, endeared to the whole corps." Two days later Lord Temple was dismissed from the office of Lord Lieutenant. On the 6th of May Wilkes was brought into Court on a writ of *habeas corpus*. Chief Justice Pratt (afterwards Lord Camden) justified the warrant and the action of the Crown on the general merits of the case, but ordered the release of Wilkes on the technical ground that he was a Member of Parliament. In one day Wilkes became a popular idol by the folly of the Ministry and the King. He emerged from the Tower a lion. London was illuminated. Ladies marked their brooches with "No. 45," and gentlemen their coaches. The excitement of the occasion was fanned by the enthusiasm for "Wilkes and Liberty!" When the news of Wilkes' release from the Tower reached Aylesbury there were great rejoicings, bonfires, illuminations, etc., in all parts of the town.

On the day of his release Wilkes wrote from his house in Great George Street to Lords Egremont and Halifax as follows :

"On my return here from Westminster Hall, where I have been discharged from my commitment to the Tower under your Lordships' warrant, I find that my house has been robbed, and am informed that *the stolen goods are in the possession of one or both of your Lordships*. I therefore insist that you do forthwith return them to your humble servant,
[Signed] "JOHN WILKES."

* See "The Grenville Papers," II : 53.

Wilkes subsequently brought actions for false imprisonment against both the Secretaries of State, and the printers who had suffered with him did likewise. They all recovered heavy damages, and Lord North afterwards confessed that these futile and disastrous proceedings had cost the Treasury in all no less than £100,000 in legal expenses.

The day after his return to his home Wilkes wrote to Lord Temple: "I hope by two [o'clock] to have the excellent pamphlet 'On the Seizure of Papers' ready to submit to your Lordship." This was a pamphlet written by Lord Temple anonymously. The manuscript was revised by Wilkes, and the pamphlet was the second production of the private press which Wilkes had established at his house in Great George Street.

The King's enemies and those of the Ministry were naturally the friends of Wilkes. Among them Lord Temple must be accorded the first place, for the energy he showed, not only in giving counsel, but also the sinews of war for carrying on the campaign. Nor were his talents by any means despicable. By some writers and critics of his time and later he was believed to be the author of the celebrated "Letters of Junius."*



JOHN WILKES.

Reproduced from an engraving after the original caricature etched by Hogarth.

There is no doubt that he was a very clever and malignant antagonist, who preferred dealing his blows with the least danger to himself. Macaulay wrote of Temple: "Those who knew his habits tracked him as men track a mole. It was his nature to grub underground. Wherever a heap of dirt was flung up, it might be suspected that he was at work in some foul, crooked labyrinth below." Temple's support of Wilkes, however, was quite above-board, and the King retaliated by removing him from the Lord Lieutenancy of Bucks, as previously mentioned, and appointing Lord Le Despencer to the vacancy.

Shortly after this Hogarth published his celebrated caricature of Wilkes, in which the latter is represented with a leering, impudent face, with the expression of a

satyr. Some 4,000 impressions of this etching were sold at the time, and nothing that was done to injure Wilkes had more effect than this

* Written and published during the years 1769-72. They are referred to more fully in the succeeding chapter.

caricature with its "inhuman squint and demoniac grin." Men looked at it and unhesitatingly pronounced the subject of it a villain. Wilkes, who had been the friend and was the warm admirer of the artist, justly said that such a pencil as Hogarth's should "speak to all ages and to all nations," and not "be dipped in the dirt of a faction of a day." Moreover, he displayed at once good nature and good sense by writing as follows with regard to this pictorial attempt to villify him :

"It must be allowed to be an excellent compound caricature, or, rather, a caricature of what Nature had already caricatured. I know but one apology to be made for this gentleman, or, to speak more properly, for the *person* of Mr. Wilkes ; it is, that he did not make himself, and that he never was solicitous about the *case* of his soul (as Shakspeare calls it), only so far as to keep it clean and in health. I never heard that he once hung over the glassy stream, like another Narcissus, admiring the image in it, nor that he ever stole an amorous look at his counterfeit in a side mirror. His form, such as it is, ought to give him no pain, while it is capable of giving so much pleasure to others. I believe that he finds himself tolerably happy in the *clay cottage* to which he is *tenant for life*, because he has learned to keep it in pretty good order, while the share of health and animal spirits which Heaven has given him should hold out. I can scarcely imagine he will be one moment peevish about the outside of so precarious, so temporary, a habitation. * *

Equally memorable was Wilkes' reply to a friend who, some years later, requested him to sit to Sir Joshua Reynolds and have his portrait painted to be placed in the London Guildhall—he then being so popular a character that the Court of Aldermen would willingly have paid the expense. "No!" replied he. "No! they shall never have a delineation of my face, that will carry to posterity so damning a proof of what it was. Who knows but a time may come when some future Horace Walpole will treat the world with another quarto volume of historic doubt, in which he may prove that the numerous squinting portraits on tobacco-papers and half-penny ballads, inscribed with the name of John Wilkes, are '*a weak invention of the enemy*'; for that I was not only unlike them, but—if any inference can be drawn from the partiality of the fair sex—was the handsomest man of the age I lived in."*

Under date of June 30, 1763, at his house in Great George Street, Wilkes wrote to Lord Temple as follows :

"My character has been most wickedly and maliciously attacked, on account of my conduct as Colonel of the Bucks militia, and particularly in respect to the clothing of the regiment. * * I am so deeply engaged with Serjeants, Counselors, Attornies, etc., that I shall not be able to eat a single strawberry out of my own garden."

A week later Wilkes wrote from the same place to Lord Temple as follows† :

"I beg to congratulate your Lordship on the glorious verdicts which the English juries of yesterday and to-day have brought in.‡ The iron rod of oppression was lifted very high, but a few honest Englishmen have saved their country. The joy of the people is almost universal. The trial of yesterday lasted nearly twelve hours. I found almost as much difficulty to get to the 'King's Arms,' where we dined, as I did to get from Westminster Hall to George Street, and the people were almost as loud in their applauses. The two days have been most propitious to Liberty, most honourable to me. The Chief Justice is adored, and Serjeant [John] Glynn has increased a very great stock of reputation."

The following was written to Lord Temple by Wilkes, July 9, 1763 :

"The trials of last Wednesday and Thursday have demonstrated to me where the strength of our cause really lies; for the merchants are firm in the cause of Liberty. They refused to bring in a special verdict, though the Chief Justice wished, and Attorney

* The portrait of Wilkes as Lord Mayor of London, which appears as a frontispiece to this History, is a reproduction from an engraving by W. Dickinson (published in London November 9, 1774, and now owned by Mr. George S. Bennett of Wilkes-Barré) after a portrait painted by R. E. Pine.

† See "The Grenville Papers," II : 70.

‡ On a trial before Lord Chief Justice Pratt, July 6, 1763, in which the plaintiff was one of the journey-men printers who had been taken into custody by the King's messengers under the General Warrant in the previous April, as hereinbefore described, the jury brought in a verdict in favor of the plaintiff, with £300 damages. The following day another plaintiff obtained a verdict of £200.

General Yorke and the Solicitor General and three Serjeants repeatedly urged it. * * The City are warmly my friends, and talk of £20,000 damages to me. * * In the pleadings the Attorney General highly condemned *The North Briton* for private scandal, for attacking public characters and for creating disunion between England and Scotland, and said that lenity had been mistaken for weakness, that the attack had at last reached the Throne itself, the sacred person of the King, etc. That this question was between Government and faction, between order and confusion, and in defence of the King's personal honour—with an infinite deal of other trash. * * *

"The effect these causes have had on the public is amazing, and the Bill of Exceptions is universally condemned as tyrannical. My spirit is applauded for having first dared to attack the Secretaries of State. * * I hear from all hands that the King is enraged at my insolence, as he terms it. I regard not his frowns nor his smiles. I will ever be his faithful subject—never his servant. * * Hypocrisy, meanness, ignorance and insolence characterize the King I obey. My independent spirit will never take a favour from such a man. I know that I have neither the lust of power nor of money; and if I leave my daughter less dirty coin, I will leave her more honest fame. I trust, next to her own virtues, her greatest honour will be derived from her father. * * *The North Briton* is almost finished. I wish to know your Lordship's opinion about printing 'No. 45' in the volumes. My name does not appear. I have cured the paper by a variety of extracts of the Duke of Argyle's speech. I have printed 2,000 copies of *The North Briton*. There are not 120 subscribers. They will be sold at a half guinea. I am not a little out of pocket by such a bold undertaking—but *The North Briton* and Wilkes will be talked of together by posterity, and the work is, I believe, the most just and animated account of last year's politics at home."

The North Briton was still in course of publication, being set up and printed in Wilkes' house in Great George Street by the journeymen employed by Wilkes; who, at the same time, was preparing to republish, in book form, all the back numbers of the periodical. Lord Temple advised against the republication of "No. 45", but in opposition to his judgment Wilkes republished it singly, and reprinted it as well for insertion in the volume to be issued. On the 26th of July Wilkes left London for Paris, where he had the happiness of finding his daughter in perfect health." She was then in her fourteenth year, and for some time had been living in Paris with a lady who was superintending her education. Wilkes wrote Lord Temple that his daughter gave him "the most sincere testimonies of real affection—many, many tears of joy." He wrote also that, en route from London to Paris, he had been received at Canterbury and Dover "with many marks of regard; and I [he] found the true glory and stability of our country—the English sailors—no enemies to *Wilkes and Liberty!*" Wilkes continued in Paris for some weeks, and on the 29th of August wrote to Lord Temple:

"I am detained here much beyond my intention, for I find the house in which Miss Wilkes is does not quite answer my plan of her education; and I need not mention to your Lordship how much in my heart her welfare rises superior to every other consideration."

One day in Paris, while walking with Lord Palmerston to the Church of Notre Dame, Wilkes was accosted by a certain Captain Forbes—a fervid Scot, whom he had never before seen or heard of—who insisted that Wilkes should fight a duel with him that day for having spoken disrespectfully of Scotland and the Scots. Wilkes promised to indulge him, but said that he was then under an engagement of a similar nature with Lord Egremont, previously mentioned. (A few months later Egremont died very suddenly, and was succeeded in his office by Lord Sandwich.) In September, 1763, Wilkes returned to England, and from Stowe Lord Temple wrote to him: "I am very glad you are once again upon English ground, and that your usual spirit and fortitude have extricated you so far from another extraordinary situation." With this letter Lord Temple sent an original poem of twenty-four verses addressed "To John Wilkes, Esq." It ran, in part, as follows:

"What Muse thy glory shall presume to sing?
 So highly honoured by a mighty King!
 The Minion, doubtless to exalt thy praise
 Beyond the bounds of humble poet's lays,
 Devised the contest, whence such triumphs rose
 O'er lovely Freedom's most malicious foes.
 What groveling Courts or influenced juries find,
 Shakes not the tenor of thy manly mind.
 Thy cause hath been by a whole nation tried;
 For thee that mightier jury dares decide,
 And from her ashes bids fair Truth revive,
 In all her native charms of 'Forty-five.'
 When Kings to measure with a subject deign,
 The lustre of imperial state they stain;
 For competition on a level brings
 The meanest subject and the proudest Kings."

A few months prior to this there had been printed on Wilkes' private press some twelve or thirteen copies of a brief poetical tract entitled "An Essay on Woman." Through the faithlessness and treachery of one of Wilkes' printers an incomplete copy of this tract was placed in the hands of the Rev. Mr. Kidgell, a disreputable fellow, who was chaplain to the Earl of March, an iniquitous nobleman, better known later as "Old Q." This "Essay" had been written many years previously, originally in French, and only recently then had been translated into English by Thomas Potter, mentioned on page 528, *ante*. Wilkes was not the author, although he may have written some of the notes appended to the poem. The scandalous "Essay" was neither published nor intended to be published. Only a dozen copies were ordered by Wilkes to be printed—intended, no doubt, as presents for the twelve "Monks of Medmenham." The work had not yet been completed when Wilkes went to Paris, and he later declared that he had never given a copy of the "Essay" to any one. The following description of the tract is from a "review" of it published by Chaplain Kidgell in the Winter of 1763.*

"This Essay is a parody on Mr. Pope's 'Essay on Man,' almost line for line, printed in red, with annotations under the name of the Bishop of Gloucester. The frontispiece, engraved curiously on copper, contains a motto very suitable to a work which is calculated to depreciate the sex; and a most obscene print by way of decoration, under which is engraved in Greek characters 'The Savior of the World.' Beneath that inscription something too scandalous and defamatory of private character to endure a repetition. * * The title is succeeded by a few pages entitled 'Advertisement and Design,' in which every degree of decency is renounced, in order to prepare a welcome and familiar reception to the foulest of all language, and a species of impiety that is incredible. The expressions throughout the whole book, in every page, and almost every word of it, shameful and obscene, without any manner of concealment or reserve. * * In the variations and notes upon this obscene parody the Holy Scriptures are illiberally prostituted to illustrate the gross ideas of a libidinous blasphemer. The profaneness throughout the work is of a shocking, new and wonderful invention."

The ridicule which the "Essay" heaped on the Athanasian Creed Wilkes subsequently justified by quoting Archbishop Tillotson's wish that the Church were fairly rid of that creed; and, with regard to the alleged indecencies of other portions of the "Essay," after making sundry cracks in the glass houses in which many of his accusers dwelt, he confessed that the "Essay" contained "a few portraits drawn from warm life, with the too high coloring of a youthful fancy; and two or three descriptions, perhaps too luscious, which, though Nature and Woman might pardon, a Kidgell and a Mansfield† could not fail to condemn."

* See *The New London Gazette*, February 24, 1764.

† WILLIAM MURRAY, first Earl of Mansfield; a Scot, and at this time Chief Justice of the King's Bench and a prominent member of the Cabinet. He has been called "the founder of English commercial law."

Wilkes, according to his biographers, does not appear to have lost any friends by the publication of the poem, either among men or women, although the following item from *The New London Gazette* of February 24, 1764, would indicate the contrary.

"John Wilkes, before the meeting of Parliament, had certainly lost a great deal of his popularity by the restless endeavors of the numerous and powerful enemies he has brought upon himself. His private character was scrutinized and every action of his life that wit, power or malice could represent in a blamable or ridiculous light was exposed to the public. * * The greatest blow to his popularity was a monstrously obscene and blasphemous pamphlet, imputed to him and said to have been printed at his house, with annotations under the name of the Bishop of Gloucester."

Lord Sandwich (who at this time was unfriendly to Wilkes), Lord March and two or three others of the same kidney confederated together and concocted a plot for the overthrow of Wilkes by the aid of the stolen "Essay" in their possession. Parliament met for the first time after its Summer and Autumn recess on the 15th of November, 1763, when an exciting scene took place in the House of Lords. Before the King's speech was read Lord Sandwich arose with the "Essay" in his hand, and, affecting to be deeply shocked, denounced the whole as a blasphemous, obscene and abominable libel; at the same time entering a formal complaint that "a notorious breach of the privilege of the House had been committed in affixing the name of William Warburton the Bishop of Gloucester to notes upon this most scandalous, obscene and infamous libel entitled 'An Essay on Woman,' and another printed paper entitled 'The Veni Creator Paraphrased.'" An address was then voted to His Majesty, praying him to give directions for the prosecution of the author, "as yet undiscovered."

On this same day there were also exciting scenes in the House of Commons, where Wilkes was present as the Member from Aylesbury. Grenville, by direction of the King, laid before the House a full report of the proceedings against Wilkes by the Government relative to the publication of "No. 45" of *The North Briton*. Lord North immediately moved that:

"It is the sense of the House that the paper is a false, scandalous and seditious libel, containing expressions of the most unexampled insolence and contumely towards His Majesty, and the grossest aspersions upon both Houses of Parliament; the most audacious defiance of the authority of the whole Legislature, and most manifestly tending to alienate the affections of the people from His Majesty, to withdraw them from their obediences to the laws of the realm, and to excite them to traitorous insurrection against His Majesty's Government."

The debate on this motion seemed to let loose all the angry passions of the principal members of the House. Among these was Samuel Martin, who had been Secretary to the Treasury under Lord Bute. In "No. 37" of *The North Briton* he had been described as "a very apt tool of Ministerial persecution, with a spirit worthy of a Portuguese inquisitor looking for carrion"; and in "No. 40" he had been referred to as "the most treacherous, base, selfish, mean, abject, low-lived and dirty fellow that ever wriggled himself into a secretaryship." In the course of the debate Martin arose, and, looking steadily at Wilkes, declared that "whosoever the writer of that paper [*The North Briton*] was, in that work he was mean enough to stab another man's reputation. He was a coward and a malignant scoundrel!" The next day Wilkes sent Martin a note in these words:

"You complained yesterday before 500 gentlemen that you had been stabbed in the dark by *The North Briton*, but I have reason to believe that you was not so much in the dark as you affected and chose to be. Was the complaint made before so many gentle-

men on purpose that they might interpose? To cut off every pretense of your ignorance as to the author, I whisper in your ear that every passage of *The North Briton* in which you have been named or even alluded to was written by your humble servant,

[Signed] "JOHN WILKES."

To this note Martin sent a prompt reply, in which he desired Wilkes to meet him in Hyde Park with a brace of pistols. A few hours later the two men met in Hyde Park—less than two miles distant from Westminster Palace. Wilkes accepted Martin's weapons (pistols), though he had a right to select the sword, with which he was more skillful. (It was learned afterwards that, in expectation of a duel, Martin had been for several months practising at a target.) The two men walked together some little distance, in order to avoid observation, and then turned aside and faced each other a few paces apart. At the second fire Wilkes received a ball in his groin. He bled very much, and Martin (who was uninjured) came to him desiring to render him assistance. Wilkes replied that he was killed; that Martin, who had "behaved like a man of honor," would better escape. Horace Walpole, writing of this duel, said: "Wilkes has been shot by Martin, and instead of being burnt at an *auto-da-fé*, as the Bishop of Gloucester intended, is revered as a saint by the mob; and, if he dies, I suppose the people will squint themselves into convulsions at his tomb, in honor of his memory." Wilkes would have been killed by Martin's bullet but for a fortunate accident. He was hit in a very delicate region, but the ball had first struck two of the metal buttons on his coat and waist-coat, and had thus spent its force. An ardent admirer subsequently placed those buttons in a silver box, on which was engraved the following inscription:

"These two simple but invaluable Buttons preserved the life of my Beloved and Honest friend JOHN WILKES, in a duel fought with Mr. Martin on the 16th of November, 1763, where true courage and humanity distinguished him in a manner scarcely known in former ages. His invincible bravery, as well in the field as in the glorious assertion of the liberty of the subject, will deliver him down, an unparalleled example of public virtue, to all future generations."

Wilkes' wound was really serious, and he was confined to his bed under the care of a physician and a surgeon. But his enemies in the House of Commons, anxious to proceed with the hearing of his case, suspected that he was exaggerating his injuries and attempting to delude the Government; whereupon the House directed two physicians to visit him and report upon his case. Wilkes declined to receive these physicians, but suggested the attendance of the King's physician and the Serjeant-surgeon, on the ground that if he was to be watched a couple of Scots were the most proper fellows to act as spies.

December 1st the two Houses of Parliament joined in ordering that *The North Briton*, "No. 45," should be burnt "by the hands of the common hangman" on the following Saturday (December 3d) at the Royal Exchange, and that the printer of the sheet should be placed in the pillory. On the appointed day when the hangman, attended by certain city officers, arrived on the ground he found awaiting him a great mob, who greeted him with a storm of hisses. Some of the mob took the fagots from the pile and beat the constables and the Sheriff (Thomas Harley). As the mob would not allow the fagots to be lighted the Sheriff had the paper burnt at a torch—the mob meanwhile shouting "Wilkes and Liberty!" Later the mob used the fagots in burning a petticoat and a jack-boot—a delicate reference to Lord Bute and the

Princess Dowager—and then they took *The North Briton* printer to the pillory in a coach marked “No. 45,” and took up a collection for him to the amount of £200.

The House of Commons, after one or two postponements of Wilkes' case, finally appointed the 19th of January, 1764, for a hearing. But Wilkes, who now saw that his ruin had been determined upon, embarked on Christmas-day at Dover for Calais, en route for Paris. On the 19th his case was taken up by the House, and the next morning at four o'clock, after an all-night session, it having been formally resolved that he had published “a false, scandalous and seditious libel, full of insolence and contempt,” he was expelled from the House. A few days later George Grenville wrote to a friend: “We have got rid of Mr. Wilkes, who was expelled with only one negative voice, and who will find too late how much too far he has gone.” In Paris Wilkes was received as a brother-in-arms by his old school-friend, D'Holbach, and by Diderot, the celebrated philosopher and writer. He was also countenanced by the French Court, and he made a figure in the salons. He became immensely popular in the best circles through his agreeable manner, ready wit and high spirits. This charm of address never failed him, even when his fortunes were at their lowest ebb. He spent money freely, as only those can afford to do who live on others, for he was drawing on Lord Temple and other friends the whole time. At Paris, under date of February 25, 1764, Wilkes wrote to Lord Temple as follows* :

“I am not disposed to lose myself in womanish complaints on the hardness of my fate, and the variety of persecutions I have suffered even from those I had most obliged. Nature has given me some philosophy; books and observation have added greatly to the stock. * * * I believe that I have not lost my time here. Besides the business of the day, which I do not neglect, I wish to give posterity an useful book, in which I would, first, at large examine our ideas of political liberty; in the second part, treat of the English Constitution and Government, and in the last, relate my own story. * * I will only say, in the anguish of my heart, that I owe what I suffer to the neglect of your Lordship's advice; that I foresee all the consequences of being so entirely at the mercy of an abandoned Administration and vindictive judge,† and intend never to put myself in their power, though I leave my dear native country and all the charms it ever had for me. I will add one thing more—that I will never make the most distant kind even of what might be interpreted a submission, but will endeavor to act, wherever I am, a great, an honest and a disinterested part.”

February 21, 1764, notwithstanding the absence of Mr. Wilkes, the cases against him—one concerning *The North Briton* and the other the “Essay on Woman”—were tried in the Court of King's Bench before Lord Mansfield, the defendant's personal enemy (owing to some transaction that had occurred during the Berwick election nearly ten years before). Wilkes was ably defended by his friend Serjeant John Glynn, but in both cases he was found guilty. In view of his absence sentence was deferred for the time. On Sunday, August 5, 1764, a proclamation was made by the Under Sheriff of Middlesex at the great door of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, in the following words:

“JOHN WILKES, late of the parish of St. Margaret, within the Liberty of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, *Esquire*, appear before the Lord the King at Westminster on Tuesday next, after the morrow of All Souls, to satisfy the Lord the King of your redemption, on account of certain Trespasses, Contempts and Misdemeanors whereof you are impeached, and thereupon * * you the said JOHN WILKES, you are convicted.”

For the first few weeks of his stay in Paris Wilkes lodged at the Hotel de Saxe, an expensive place. Then he took apartments in the Rue St. Nicaise, and brought his daughter there to live with him. In

* See “The Grenville Papers,” II : 268.

† Lord Mansfield, previously mentioned.

the meantime, in anticipation of his probable outlawry in England, he had settled his entire property on his daughter. Under date of November 1, 1764, he wrote as follows to Earl Temple from Boulogne, whither he had gone from Paris to see his friend Churchill—who died there three days after this letter was written.

"I consent to Miss Wilkes' leaving me and coming to England. I will quit the expensive and luxurious Paris, where I have been more *fêlé* than has done me good. I will cross the Alps, live quite alone in some town of Italy, neither seen nor known, visiting nor visited, and I will confine myself to whatever Mr. [Humphrey] Cotes* sends me. I will never exceed it one shilling. I shall employ this active mind in an employment I am not totally, perhaps, unqualified for—I mean the history of my own country since the Revolution.† I will try to equal the dignity of the ancient historians, and as I shall bring it down to my own times, I shall have an opportunity of telling my own story and of doing justice to the very few friends I love and [whom] their country ought to adore. With these resolutions, fixed as fate, I shall not die of the pip. My pen will every day be adding to my fortune, and I will not return to England while I am a shilling in any man's debt. * * This vile town almost anticipates *my outlawry*. It is composed of *outlawed smugglers*. * * When I think of England I am pretty well weaned from it, and I am not sure that I do not more execrate the *Minority* than the *Majority*."

On the very day that the foregoing letter was written, Wilkes, having failed to respond to the summons to appear in the Court of King's Bench at Westminster and receive sentence, was formally outlawed. A change of Ministry came the next year to flatter Wilkes' hopes of a return to England. Grenville's interminable harangues in the Royal closet had bored the King into giving him his *congé*, and the Marquis of Rockingham had taken his place. Wilkes, not unnaturally, expected a free pardon, and something more, when his friends got into power, but he soon learned that an inconvenient friend will only receive his reward when he becomes troublesome. Early in May, 1766, Wilkes unexpectedly arrived in England from Paris. His visit—which was made with the intention of attempting to procure a pardon—was unknown to any one connected with the Government. After a very brief stay he returned in haste to Paris. Under date of May 27, 1766, the Bishop of Carlisle wrote :

"The Ministers are embarrassed to the last degree how to act with regard to Wilkes. It seems they are afraid to press the King for his pardon, as that is a subject His Majesty will not easily hear the least motion of ; and they are apprehensive if he [Wilkes] has it not that the mob of London will rise in his favor—which God forbid !"

On the fall of Rockingham in July, 1766, William Pitt was appointed Premier and created Earl of Chatham.‡ For the Cabinet formed by Lord Chatham the Duke of Grafton was chosen First Lord of the Treasury, but in September, 1767, he became the virtual head of the Ministry on account of the illness of Chatham ; and upon the resignation by the latter of the post of Premier early in 1768, Grafton was promoted to the vacancy. On the accession of the Duke of Grafton to the

* A wine-merchant in London who looked after the private business affairs of Wilkes during the latter's residence abroad.

† This "History of England" was begun in the Winter of 1764-'65 with a great flourish of trumpets and many promises, and from his prospective publisher Wilkes secured £400 in advance. Only the "Introduction"—consisting of about fifty pages—was written, and this was published in 1768. Not another line was ever written.

‡ When the Earl of Rosebery was installed as Lord Rector of Glasgow University in November, 1900, he said in his rectorial address: "Had the elder Pitt, when he became First Minister, not left the House of Commons, he would probably have retained his sanity and authority, and he would have prevented or suppressed the reckless budget of Townshend, induced George III to listen to reason, introduced representatives of America into Parliament and preserved the thirteen Colonies to the British Crown. Is it fanciful to dwell for a moment on what might have happened? The Reform Bill of 1832 would probably have been passed much earlier, for the new blood of America would have burst the old vessels of the Constitution. It would have provided a self-adjusting system of representation, such as now prevails in the United States, whereby the increasing population is proportionately represented. And at last, when the Americans became a majority of the seats, the Empire would, perhaps, have been moved solemnly across the Atlantic, and Britain would have become a historical shrine, the European outpost of the world-empire. What an extraordinary revolution it would have been! The greatest known, without blood-shed—the most sublime transference of power in the history of mankind."

leadership of the Government Wilkes began to think that he might return to England with safety, for the Duke had been one of his boon companions, though the experience he had had in respect to Sandwich might have made him more cautious. The character of Grafton has been drawn for all time by "Junius": "Sullen and severe without religion, profligate without gaiety, you live like Charles II* without being an amiable companion, and for aught I know may die as his father did, without the reputation of a martyr."

In November, 1766, Wilkes quietly made another hasty trip to England, again with the hope of obtaining a pardon; but he met with no success. In May, 1767, Wilkes was still in Paris, and his daughter was again with him, having returned from her visit to England. Wilkes wrote at that time to Lord Temple:

"Miss Wilkes, who is all I can wish or desire, is on the best terms with her mother's family, with whom she constantly corresponds. They all doat upon her, but I do not choose she should, on the verge of seventeen, be with them; because I would not have them choose a husband for her, instead of her father. Mr. Jacomb, the attorney of the old folks, told Miss Wilkes that, as an outlaw, I had no right to her—the whole right was in the mother; but nature told her the contrary. I therefore found it too dangerous to let my daughter remain with them, and I preferred the encountering with greater difficulties here. Time has cured me of a thousand follies, which too gay a nature had sowed my youth with. * * I have bought experience, and dearly, too. I am now turned to economy in earnest."

At last impatience and impecuniosity determined Wilkes to end his exile at all costs, and in December, 1767, he set out once more for England. He traveled by way of Holland, and having set sail from Ostend arrived at London February 6, 1768. He took a small house in Prince's Row, in the immediate vicinity of his former residence in Great George Street, Westminster. His presence in London, which must have been known to the Government, seems to have been ignored. He was still an outlaw, but no effort was made either to conciliate him or to bring him before the Courts. Finally, on the 4th of March, he addressed himself to the King; but the course he took must have been intended as an affront, for, instead of presenting in the usual way a formal petition for pardon, he made his application to the King by a letter, which his servant handed in at Buckingham House. It was worded as follows†:

"SIRE, I beg thus to throw myself at your Majesty's feet and supplicate that mercy and clemency which shine with such lustre among your Princely virtues.

"Some former Ministers whom your Majesty, in condensation to the wishes of your people, thought proper to remove, employed every wicked and deceitful art to oppress your subjects, and to revenge their own personal cause on me, whom they imagined to be the principal author of bringing to the public view their ignorance, insufficiency, and treachery to your Majesty and the nation. I have been the innocent and unhappy victim of their revenge. I was forced by their injustice and violence into an exile, which I have never ceased for several years to consider as the most cruel oppression; because I could no longer be under the benign protection of your Majesty in the land of liberty.

"With a heart full of zeal for the service of your Majesty and my country, I implore, Sire, your clemency. My only hopes of Pardon are founded in the great goodness and benevolence of your Majesty; and every day of freedom you may be graciously pleased to permit me the enjoyment of in my dear native land, shall give proofs of my zeal and attachment to your service.

"I am, Sire, your Majesty's most obedient and dutiful subject,

[Signed] "JOHN WILKES."

Of this letter no notice was taken. Six days later, Parliament having been dissolved, Wilkes offered himself as a candidate for election to

* This Duke of Grafton was the grandson of the first Duke of that name, who was an illegitimate son of Charles II by the Countess of Castlemain.

† See *The New London Gazette*, June 10, 1768.

the next Parliament, to represent the city of London, and "to the worthy Liverymen of the city" he issued the following address* :

Gentlemen and Fellow Citizens—In deference to the opinion of some very respectable friends, I presume to offer myself a candidate for my native city of London, at the ensuing general election. The approbation you have been pleased on several occasions to express of my conduct induces me to hope that the address I have now the honor of making you will not be unfavorably received. The chief merit with you, gentlemen, I know to be a sacred love of liberty, and of those generous principles which at first gave and secured to this nation the great charter of freedom. I will yield to none of my countrymen in this noble zeal, which has always characterized Englishmen. I may appeal to my whole conduct, both in and out of Parliament, for the demonstration that such principles are deeply rooted in my heart, and that I have steadily pursued the interests of my country, without regard to the powerful enemies I created, or the manifest dangers in which I must thence necessarily be involved; and that I have fulfilled the duties of a good subject.

"The two important questions of public liberty, respecting *General Warrants and the seizure of papers*, may perhaps place me among those who have deserved well of mankind by an undaunted firmness, perseverance and probity. These are the virtues which your ancestors never failed to exert in the same national cause of liberty, and which the world will see renewed in their descendants on every great call of freedom and our country.

"The nature and dignity of the trust, Gentlemen, which I now solicit, strike me very forcibly. I feel the warmest zeal for your interests, and affection for your service. I am conscious how unequal my abilities are, yet fidelity and integrity shall in some measure compensate that deficiency, and I will endeavor, through life, to merit the continuance of your approbation—the most precious reward to which I aspire. If I am honored with so near a relation to you, it will be my ambition to be useful, to dedicate myself to your service and to discharge with spirit and assiduity the various and important duties of the distinguished station in which I may be placed by the favor of you, Gentlemen, the Livery of London.

"I am, with the utmost respect, Gentlemen, your most faithful and obedient humble servant,
[Signed] "JOHN WILKES."

The candidature of Wilkes having been favorably received in the city he issued a second address a few days later, in which he said :

"I cannot express the joy of my heart at the noble and generous manner in which you have shewn your acceptance of the humble tender of my services. So honorable a testimony of esteem from my fellow-citizens has made the deepest impression on me. My future life will best prove the sincerity and warmth of my gratitude. It shall pass in every endeavour to promote the interests of this great city, and in a steady attention to preserve our excellent constitution and the cause of liberty in which we are all embarked. I hope to have the honor of paying my personal respects to you, Gentlemen, on Wednesday next [March 16, 1768], at our Guildhall, and I beg your support and early attendance."

The polling began at the Guildhall on the 16th and continued for several days. When the result was announced Wilkes found himself at the bottom of the poll with 1,247 votes. Nothing daunted he immediately offered himself as a candidate for the county of Middlesex. The polling, which was conducted at Brentford, continued from the 19th to the 28th of March, and the scenes and doings of that period beggar description. Fitzgerald, in his "Life of Wilkes," says "it would be difficult to give an idea of the time of riot and disorder that now set in—intimidation and violence, with the most extraordinary excitement. Wilkes had of a sudden become an almost heroic figure; his name was on almost every tongue." During the polling mobs lined all the roads that led to Brentford and took particular pleasure in forcing the superior classes to do homage to their idol. "Wilkes and Liberty" was the one topic of the day in letters, newspapers and conversation. Paintings of the head of Wilkes were adopted as signs for public houses, and he himself told the story of the old lady who, pointing to one of these signs, said, "Aye, there he swings, everywhere but where he ought to be!" Upon the outer walls and doors of numerous churches were posted

* See *The New London Gazette*, June 10, 1768.

printed placards bearing these words: "The prayers of this congregation are earnestly desired for the restoration of Liberty, depending on the election of Mr. Wilkes." The Austrian Ambassador, the Graf von Seilern, most solemn and haughty of the representatives of a solemn Court, was dragged from his carriage by the mob and had to submit to being held with his legs in the air while a man chalked "45" on the soles of his boots. Every coach on the streets was stopped, and if its occupants did not hurrah for "Wilkes and Liberty!" the windows were broken, and in any event the number "45" was deeply scratched on the varnished sides.

The wildest work of the mob was done after the closing of the polls on the night of the 28th of March, and on the following day and night. Some person having written "Damn Wilkes and Liberty!" in several places on the walls of a house in Soho Square, which had formerly been occupied by the Tripolitan ambassador but was then vacant, the mob were so enraged that they broke every window in the house, and did considerable damage to other houses in the same square that were not illuminated in honor of Wilkes' victory—for he had been elected by a large plurality. London was illuminated for two nights at the command of the mob, who made their rounds at intervals during each night and ordered those who had extinguished their candles to relight them; their windows being smashed if they neglected to obey. The beautiful Duchess of Hamilton had her house battered with stones because she refused to illuminate it. The residences of the Duke of Gloucester and of Lord Weymouth were similarly attacked for a like reason, while the windows and lamps of the Mansion House (the official residence of the Lord Mayor) were all broken. The Earl of Hillsborough (Secretary of State for the Colonies), in passing by Charing Cross on his way to his office in Whitehall, had the windows of his carriage smashed by the mob, and was otherwise insulted. During the course of the election forty-seven lives were lost. Wilkes wrote letters to the nobility and gentry whose property had been either defaced or destroyed by the mob, "expressing his great concern for such outrageous and scandalous behavior, and assuring them that his friends and himself took the utmost pains to restrain the intemperate zeal of the populace previous to and at the time of election; but that they could not foresee or suspect any irregularities in the metropolis after it was over."

A gentleman in Aylesbury, Wilkes' former home, writing to a friend in London under date of March 30, 1768, said*:

"This day about noon we received the news of Mr. Wilkes' election for the county of Middlesex by a great majority. The inexpressible joy that appeared among the inhabitants in general is not to be conceived. The bells were immediately set a-ringing, and continued upwards of twelve hours, and every inhabitant of the town appeared with a blue cockade in his hat, interwoven with the words "Wilkes and Liberty!" and underneath, "The Worthy Freeholders of the County of Middlesex who Voted for Him!" The windows in every house of the town were illuminated, and several of the principal inhabitants provided hogsheads of beer at their own expence, at different parts of the town, for the populace. Bonfires were immediately made, and the evening concluded with the greatest joy and decorum imaginable. The next morning the populace carried a blue flag round the town, whereon was painted the portrait of Mr. Wilkes, and underneath, "Wilkes and Liberty!"—accompanied by a great number of the principal inhabitants, who, as soon as the parade ended, fixed it on the Town Hall, there to remain to the latest posterity."

Diderot, at Paris, wrote to Wilkes a letter of congratulation, closing with this sentence: "The august Senate of Great Britain will still

* See *The New London Gazette*, June 10, 1768.

count a Wilkes among its most illustrious members; and the liberty of your country will still find in you a generous defender of its rights and privileges." But there were some people, of course, who were not at all pleased with Wilkes' success—as is indicated by the following letter* from Alexander Wedderburn (mentioned in a note on page 441, *ante*) to George Grenville, written at Morley, in Yorkshire, April 3, 1768.

"How different has the scene been in the South, and how little reason can any man have for leaving a country of plenty, frugality and sobriety, as this is (where laws execute themselves, and where *the name of Wilkes is never profanely joined with Liberty, nor mentioned but with detestation*), to inhabit a great bedlam under the dominion of a beggarly, idle and intoxicated mob without keepers, actuated solely by the word 'Wilkes,' which they use (as better savages do a walrus) to incite them in their attempts to insult Government and trample upon law. Wilkes, I dare to say, is vain enough to imagine that he has raised all this tumult; but in my opinion he is as innocent of it as the staff that carries the flag with his name upon it. The mob has been made sensible of its own



THE POLLING AT AN ELECTION IN ENGLAND.

A photo-reproduction of an engraving after the picture painted by William Hogarth in 1753.†

* See "The Grenville Papers," IV: 263.

† The maimed, the lame, the blind and the sick are shown in this picture hastening to the hustings to give their *independent* votes. The two contending candidates, seated at the back of the polling-booth, anticipate the event. One of them, coolly resting upon his cane in a state of stupid satisfaction, appears to be as happy as his nature will admit, in the certainty of success. Very different are the feelings of his opponent, who, rubbing his head with every mark of apprehensive agitation, contemplates the state of the poll, and shudders at the heavy expense of a contest in which he is likely to be the loser. On goes the day; and the grave business of registering the names and counting up the votes, hour by hour, is watched by both candidates with the most anxious expectancy—each "state of the poll" showing either candidate the chances he sustains of being returned.

The first person who tenders his oath to the swearing-clerk is an old soldier, and probably a brave one, for he has lost a leg, an arm and a hand in the service of his country. A brawling advocate, with that loud and overbearing loquacity for which Billingsgate and the Bar are so deservedly eminent, puts in a protest against the vote being received, on the ground that the law ordains that "the person who makes an affidavit shall lay his *right hand* upon the book"; but this man, having had his right hand severed from his arm, cannot comply with the letter of the law, and therefore is not competent to make an affidavit. An opposing advocate (standing behind the clerk) replies to this protest that, although the veteran has lost much of his blood and three of his limbs in the service of his King, yet the sword which deprived him of his hand did not deprive him of his birthright. It might as well be argued, he asserts, that the handless veteran is excluded from the rites of matrimony because he cannot *pledge his hand*. The law must and will consider the *substitute for the hand* to be as good as the hand itself.

The next in the line of worthy and independent freeholders is evidently a deaf idiot, who, fastened in his chair, is brought by his attendants to give his vote for a fit person to represent him in Parliament. Behind him are two men carrying a sick man wrapped in a blanket; after them follows a blind man, and then a lame man.

importance, and the pleasure which the rich and powerful feel in governing those whom Fate has made their inferiors, is not half so strong as that which the indigent and worthless feel in subverting property, defying law, and lording it over those whom they were used to respect.

"A 'Jack Straw' or a John Wilkes are but the instruments of those whom they seem to lead. * * Has not the mob of London as good a right to be insolent as the unchecked mob of Boston? Was not the attack on Bedford House an encouragement to pull down any other house in London? And is it wonderful that the populace should at last assist the endeavours of those who for five years past have been making interest for Mr. Wilkes?"*

A few days after the announcement of Mr. Wilkes' election a London newspaper printed the following :

"It is confidently said that the legal life of Mr. Wilkes in Parliament will prove the certain death of the Scottish interest at Court; that expiring Jacobitism will, for the same reason, be totally extinguished, and that Mr. Wilkes' well-known aversion to the Romish superstition will greatly promote the present strict enquiry into the state of it in these kingdoms. * * We learn from Edinburgh that, on the night of the 4th *inst.* [April], several hundred persons assembled there and carried on their shoulders a figure which they called 'Wilkes'; and after parading the streets and shouting 'Wilkes and Liberty!' they carried him to the Grass-market, where they chaired the mock hero on the stone where the gallows is usually fixed at executions. After making a fire they committed the effigy to the flames, scattered the ashes in the air, and then dispersed."

"The only opponent of Wilkes who was consistent throughout," says Fitzgerald,† "and who all through was for dealing with the arch-agitator in the most summary fashion, was the King. In fact, the whole seemed to be really fought out between two men, His Majesty and Mr. Wilkes. The former identified him with the lowest scum of the population, and seemed to believe that he was ready to burn, sack and ravish. He held him accountable for the excesses of the mob. In alarm for the safety of the palace, he had sat up during the whole night when the town was illuminated. * * He was infinitely disgusted at the unaccountable inaction of the Ministers in not arresting the outlaw on his arrival. He wrote to one of his Secretaries: 'If he is not soon secured, I wish you would inquire whether there is no legal method of quickening the zeal of the Sheriffs themselves.'"

Wilkes, unmolested, carried out his duly announced plans by presenting himself at Westminster Hall on the 13th of April. On his appearance in the Court he made a speech to the Judges, offering to submit himself in everything to the laws, and adding a short defense on the two charges of publishing *The North Briton* and the "Essay on Woman." He complained also of the records of the Court having been altered by Lord Mansfield. The case was then duly argued by counsel, whereupon Lord Mansfield held that Wilkes was not properly "before the Court"—that he must be formally brought there on a writ, or warrant. Westminster Hall—as well as both the court-yards of Westminster Palace—was crowded by the populace on this occasion, but there was no disorder. Upon retiring from the Court Wilkes repaired to Waghorn's coffee-house near by, and upon appearing at one of the windows thereof was greeted with vigorous applause and cheering by the crowd in the street. Later in the day he was served by a Sheriff's officer with a writ of "*capias utlugarum*"—under which he was permitted to remain at large, on his parole of honor to surrender when sent for. Wilkes im-

* In less than a year after this time Alexander Wedderburn exerted himself as much in the defense of Wilkes as ever he did in his condemnation. His vote on the popular side of the Middlesex election question in February, 1769, lost him his seat in Parliament. Through the friendship of Lord Clive for George Grenville, and on the recommendation of the latter, Wedderburn was elected to Parliament from Bishop's Castle in November, 1769. While he was out of Parliament he went about making harangues and supporting violent resolutions against the Government, and was more of a *Wilkesite* than even Wilkes himself.

† "The Life and Times of John Wilkes," I : 336.

mediately announced in public that he would formally surrender his outlawry on Wednesday, April 20th. George Grenville writing in reference to this said: "A great concourse of people is expected on Wednesday—the very expectation will alone make it. But, besides, I was told yesterday that Mr. Fitzherbert had advised Wilkes to prevent all crowd on that day, and that Wilkes in answer swore that he would be carried down to the Court on the shoulders of the city of London."

From a London newspaper of April 21, 1768, we get the following :

"Yesterday morning Mr. Wilkes came from his lodgings in a hackney-chair to the Parliament Coffee-house, in Old Palace-yard, being preceded by three gentlemen, who most pressing recommended silence and good order to the populace, as did Mr. Wilkes also from the chair. He staid at the coffee-house till the Court was sat, and then went the back way into the Court, where his surrender was not accepted. The matter was argued by counsel, and it is said that according to law Mr. Wilkes should have surrendered himself to the Sheriff. The pleadings of the counsel lasted till near two o'clock, when Mr. Wilkes left the Court. * * Among other prudent measures used yesterday for the preservation of peace, the locks were taken off the muskets belonging to the Middlesex militia, lest the mob should seize them."

In a London newspaper of April 28, 1768, we find the following :

"Yesterday morning about nine o'clock Mr. Wilkes was brought to Westminster Hall by virtue of the writ of *capias utlugarum*. He did not come into the Court of King's Bench till four minutes before three o'clock in the afternoon. A writ of error was allowed, after which it was argued whether the said gentleman could be admitted to bail; when, after several learned arguments and debates—which lasted till half past six o'clock—it was the opinion of the Court that he could not. In consequence thereof he was committed to the King's Bench Prison; to which place, as Mr. Wilkes was going from the Hall in an hackney-coach, attended by Messrs. Stichall and Holloway, tipstuffs to the Rt. Hon. Lord Mansfield, the mob stopped the coach at the foot of Westminster Bridge, on the Middlesex side, took out the horses and drew the coach along the Strand, Fleet Street, etc., to Spitalfields. When they came to Spital Square they obliged the two tipstuffs to get out, and let them go very quietly away. They then drew Mr. Wilkes to the Three Tuns Tavern, in Spitalfields, where, from a one-story window, he earnestly entreated them to retire; but they refused, saying they would watch him till the morning. However, soon after they dispersed, and Mr. Wilkes went to the King's Bench between ten and eleven last night."

The next morning Lord Temple wrote to Mr. Wilkes as follows :

"I little thought I should ever pay a visit to the King's Bench Prison; but the same opinion which carried me to see you in the Tower now incite me to take an opportunity (before I leave town for the Summer) of returning my thanks to you in person for your sober and discreet conduct of yesterday, manifested in a dutiful submission to the law, though carried on against you with the most unnecessary rigour by refusing bail. I applaud your wise and humane discouragement of all tumult and disorder, in which I doubt not but you will persevere. Though I have not seen you for many years, yet I shall bring with me the same heart warm for your support of the just rights and dignity of the Crown, and for the defence of the constitutional privileges of Englishmen, violated in so many instances in your person."

This was the last letter written by Lord Temple to Wilkes, and shortly afterwards the friendship which had existed between the two men for so long was broken—Wilkes having grievously offended his Lordship by some remarks which he had printed.

The new Parliament being appointed to meet on the 10th of May there was an expectation that Wilkes would endeavor, by some means, to take his seat in the House of Commons, and a great crowd of people assembled near the prison. A riot ensued, the military were called out by the magistrates in pursuance of the advice of Lord Weymouth—communicated in an official letter—and one man was killed and several were wounded by the soldiers. Subsequently a letter of the Secretary for War, conveying an expression of the King's approval of the conduct of the officers and men on this occasion, was the subject of much caustic comment by "Junius." In the meantime the appeal of Wilkes against his outlawry had been argued—Serjeant Glynn appearing in his behalf—

and on the 8th of June Wilkes was brought from the prison to the Court to hear the judgment, which was a reversal of the outlawry on a technical point. But the Court took advantage of the opportunity to pass sentence on Wilkes for reprinting and publishing *The North Briton*, "No. 45," and for printing the "Essay on Woman." In the one case he was sentenced to pay a fine of £500 and (having already been in prison for six weeks) to undergo a further confinement of ten months; while in the other case he was to pay a fine of £500 and be imprisoned for a twelve-month. At the end of these terms he was to find sureties for his future conduct during seven years. A writ of error to the next House of Lords was immediately applied for by Wilkes, and he announced his determination to bring his whole case before Parliament by way of petition.

The quarrel of Wilkes with the Ministry gave him great popularity in the American Colonies with the opponents of the Government, and every political and public move made by Wilkes and his followers was chronicled in due time in the American newspapers—particularly in those of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Some of the issues of those papers published in May and June, 1768, had their news columns almost entirely filled with items relating to Wilkes; as for example, *The New London Gazette* of June 10, 1768—a sheet of four pages, each 7½x12 inches in size, with three columns to a page—devoted five and a-half columns to the doings of Wilkes and the Wilkesites. When news reached Boston that Wilkes had been returned to Parliament as Member for Middlesex, "the friends of liberty, Wilkes, peace and good order—in other words, the Sons of Liberty"*—assembled at the Whig Tavern in Boston "to the number of *forty-five* and upwards" and formulated an address to Wilkes. They congratulated his country, the British Colonies and himself on his happy return to the land worthy such an inhabitant. They expressed their confidence that he would convince Great Britain and America "that he was one of those incorruptibly honest men reserved by Heaven to bless and perhaps save a tottering empire." Feeble and infirm as was the British Constitution, they would not despair of it. To Mr. Wilkes they owed much for his strenuous endeavors to preserve it. They asked leave, therefore, to express their confidence in his approved abilities and steady patriotism. His perseverance in the *good old cause* might still prevent the great system from dashing to pieces. In concluding they begged him to accept the copy of "The Farmer's Letters"† which they sent with the address; the sentiments of the "Farmer" being theirs.

The foregoing address, together with "The Farmer's Letters," were forwarded to Wilkes' brother-in-law, Alderman Hayley, by whom they were duly delivered to Wilkes at the King's Bench Prison. Under date of July 19, 1768, Wilkes sent a reply to the address—professing himself extremely honored by it and the valuable present which accompanied it. Nothing could give him more satisfaction than to find the true spirit of liberty so generally diffused through the most remote parts of the British monarchy. He thanked them very heartily for the generous and rational entertainment of "The Farmer's Letters," in which the cause of freedom was perfectly understood and ably defended. As a member of the Legis-

* Mentioned on page 482, and more fully referred to in Chapter X.

† "Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer," by John Dickinson. For a fuller reference to these "Letters," and for a portrait of the author and a sketch of his life, see a subsequent chapter.

lature he would always give a particular attention to whatever respected the interests of America, which he believed to be intimately connected with and of essential moment to the parent country and the common welfare of the great political system. After the first claims of duty to England and of gratitude to the county of Middlesex, none should engage him more than the affairs of the Colonies. He would ever avow himself a friend to universal liberty, and he held Magna Charta to be in as full force in America as in England. The only ambition he felt was to distinguish himself as a friend of the rights of mankind, both religious and civil. The favorable opinion, which the committee of the Sons of Liberty in the town of Boston had been pleased to express of him, was a great encouragement and a noble reward of his efforts in the service of the kingdom.

The Sons of Liberty answered this letter shortly after its receipt—the members of the organization having assembled to hear the letter read and to spend an evening in drinking toasts to the health of Wilkes and his friends, and to the cause they represented. In their reply the “Sons” congratulated themselves on their well-placed confidence, and presumed much on the exertions of such a martyr to universal liberty as John Wilkes. They felt, with fraternal concern, that Europe in a ferment and America on the point of bursting into flames more pressingly required the patriot senator, the wise and honest counselor, than the desolating conqueror. Numerous friends in the Colonies having discovered a great desire to see Wilkes’ letter, they preferred a request for permission to publish it; and then they concluded with these words: “With ardent wishes for your speedy enlargement, elated expectations of sharing in your impartial concern for your country—the spreading empire of your sovereign, wherever extended—we remain, Unshaken Hero, your steady friends and much obliged humble servants.”

At Norwich, Connecticut, the headquarters of the Sons of Liberty in Connecticut, Wilkes’ election to Parliament was celebrated on June 7, 1768. The principal men of the town and vicinity assembled at Peck’s Tavern on the Green, near the Liberty Tree (see page 591). A bounteous repast was served, all the furniture of the tables—plates, bowls, tureens, tumblers, napkins, etc.—being marked “No. 45.” The Liberty Tree was decked with new emblems, among which, and conspicuously surmounting the whole, was a banner inscribed with “No. 45” and “Wilkes and Liberty!” During and after the repast forty-five toasts were drunk, some of which were: “The King”; “The Queen”; “Wilkes and Liberty”; “No. 45”; “The British Parliament”; “The Royal Patriots of America”; “The Governor and Colony of Connecticut”; “All the Sons of Liberty on the Continent”; “No Internal Taxes in this Colony but such as are laid on us by our own Assemblies”; “No Bishops for America, to eat up the Tythe Pigs”; “May we never want a Wilkes, and may Wilkes never want Liberty”; “Success to our American Manufactories”; “Success to Trade and Navigation.”*

Wilkes’ imprisonment was, in a measure, a long triumph. Hampers of game and wine were sent to him continually from all quarters, and money poured in upon him from sympathizing patriots. Meanwhile he sent numerous addresses to his constituents and communications to the newspapers. In one of the latter he incorporated a copy of Lord Wey-

* See *The New London Gazette*, June 10, 1768, and *The Connecticut Courant* (Hartford), July 4, 1768.

mouth's letter to the City magistrates (alluded to on page 547, *ante*)—which by some unknown means he had obtained—introducing it with this remark: "It shows how long the horrid massacre in St. George's Fields had been planned and determined upon before it was carried into execution, and how long a hellish project can be brooded over by some infernal spirits without one moment's remorse." When Parliament met, November 14, 1768, Wilkes' petition was presented, setting out all his grievances in detail. His case was taken up at an early day by the two Houses in conference, when his libellous comments on Lord Weymouth's letter were considered. Later his petition was taken into consideration, and over it there was a hot debate in the House of Commons. Burke inveighed against the Ministers, declaring it was safer to libel the Constitution than the Ministers; while Col. Isaac Barré went so far as to style Wilkes "a wicked, daring, infamous incendiary" and "an infernal parricide." Finally, on the 3d of February, the House resolved, by a vote of 219 to 137, "that John Wilkes, Esq., who hath expressed himself the author and publisher of an insolent, scandalous and seditious libel [against Lord Weymouth], and who has been convicted in the Court of King's Bench of having printed and published a seditious libel and three obscene and seditious impious libels, and been sentenced to twenty-two months' imprisonment, *be expelled this House*, and that a warrant be issued for a new election." In the meantime, about the first of January, Wilkes had been chosen Alderman of the Ward of Farringdon-Without, London, by a very considerable majority; on which occasion "a great number of the gentlemen of the Lumber Troop, of which he [Wilkes] was a member, repaired to their suttling-house, where they drank health, prosperity and liberty to Mr. Wilkes, under a discharge of forty-five pieces of cannon, which were fired off before the door of the house."*

Under date of February 6, 1769, a gentleman in London wrote to *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia) as follows:

"Setting aside all prejudices and popular clamor against Wilkes' former irregularities, we must acknowledge that he has done and suffered more for the cause of liberty than any patriot in our time; and in all his latter conduct he has been so steady and so consistent that it has gained him universal applause. He is not only idolized by the mob, but caressed and supported by a great majority of sensible thinking men."

Immediately upon his expulsion from the House Wilkes, with the aid of his friends, began to canvass for his re-election. The polling took place on the 16th of February and resulted in Wilkes being again returned; on learning which the House, on the 17th of February, resolved, by a vote of 235 to 89, that Wilkes having suffered expulsion he "was and is incapable of being elected a Member to serve in this present Parliament."

February 20th Wilkes issued from his prison an address to the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, in which was this paragraph:

"The unanimity you have shown in the second choice of me as your representative, has not prevented my second expulsion. Another writ is ordered, and I must again entreat you to confirm your former choice by honoring me a third time with your votes."

On the same day that this address was issued a meeting of a large number of Wilkes' friends—Members of the House of Commons, and others—was held at the London Tavern. Certain resolutions were adopted, the preamble of which read in part as follows: "Whereas John Wilkes, Esq., has suffered very greatly in his private fortune from the

* See *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 6, 1769.

severe and repeated prosecutions he has undergone in behalf of the public; and as it seems reasonable to us that the man who suffers for the public good should be supported by the public," etc. A subscription was then set on foot "to support the cause of Wilkes," when the sum of £3,340 was immediately subscribed. On March 16th a fresh election of this extending series was held, and once more Wilkes was triumphantly returned; but on the very next day the House of Commons declared his return "null and void," and issued a writ for a new election. The poll for this new election was taken at Brentford on the 13th of April, and Wilkes received 1,143 votes against 296 given to his opponent, Col. Henry Luttrell. The next day several thousand freeholders, carrying banners and preceded by a band of music, marched from Brentford to the King's Bench Prison to congratulate Wilkes on his victory. The publicans, all the way from Brentford to Knightsbridge, sold their beer at three pence per pot, in honor of Wilkes, as they said. At night houses were illuminated and church bells were rung.

On April 15th the House voted that "Henry Luttrell ought to have been returned, and therefore do order said return to be amended accordingly"; and some days later they declared "that H. Luttrell is duly elected." The scandalous contempt shown by the House for the rights of the electors soon enlisted on behalf of Wilkes every advocate for freedom in the country. No man, whatever his demerits, can help becoming a hero when his enemies persist in thrusting the role upon him. Chatham thundered on his behalf, Burke and Rockingham came to visit him in prison, and a society was organized for the purpose of paying his debts. The conduct of the House was denounced by Lord Camden (then Lord Chancellor) as a direct attack upon the principles of the Constitution—for which assertion of the popular right to choose a representative his Lordship was ultimately forced from the Government. Henry Cavendish, the celebrated physicist, grandson of the Duke of Devonshire, declared with great warmth: "I do from my soul detest and abjure, as unconstitutional and illegal, the damnable doctrine that the House of Commons can make, alter, suspend or abrogate the law of the land." This patriotic outburst became a regular toast at political banquets. The Common Council of the city of London presented to the King a strongly-worded remonstrance against the course his Ministers had adopted, and a bold denunciation of the House of Commons—for which many of the latter body would have had the principal movers of the address committed to the Tower, but fear of the popular indignation prevented them from proceeding to extremity. In this memorable address, or remonstrance—which greatly offended the King—the Common Council declared:

"The majority of the House of Commons have deprived your people of their dearest rights. They have done a deed more ruinous in its consequences than the levying of ship-money by Charles I, or the dispensing power assumed by James II. A deed which must vitiate all the future proceedings of this Parliament, for the acts of the Legislature itself can no more be valid without a legal House of Commons than without a legal Prince upon the throne. Representatives of the people are essential to the making of laws, and there is a time when it is morally demonstrable that men cease to be representatives. That time is now arrived. The present House of Commons do not represent the people."

March 30, 1769, Wilkes addressed another letter to the Sons of Liberty at Boston, in which he stated that if he had been permitted to take his seat in the House of Commons he would have been eager to move the repeal of the late Act which laid the new duties on paper,

paint and other articles. He would have done this from the full persuasion, not only of its being highly impolitic and inexpedient, but likewise absolutely unjust and unconstitutional—a direct violation of the great fundamental principles of civil liberty. The present session of Parliament had been, in many instances, most unfavorable to public liberty; but he hoped that the next, and a more upright Administration, would restore all the subjects of the British Empire to the possession of their rights. He had read with grief and indignation the proceedings of the Ministry with regard to the troops ordered to Boston, as if it were the capital of a province belonging to enemies, or in the possession of rebels. He admired exceedingly the prudence and temper of the American patriots on so intricate an occasion, maintaining at the same time their own dignity and the true spirit of liberty. Their moderation prevented the effusion of blood, which had been shed by the military in St. George's Fields on the most frivolous pretext and in the most inhuman way. He submitted to them the propriety of the publication of any letters which might pass between them.

"Many unforeseen engagements and unavoidable accidents" prevented an early reply to the aforementioned letter, and it was not until November 4, 1769, that a letter was sent to Wilkes from Boston, signed by James Otis, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Richard Dana, Benjamin Kent, John Adams, Joseph Warren, Benjamin Church, Thomas Young and Josiah Quincy, Jr., a committee representing the Sons of Liberty. This letter contained among other paragraphs the following* :

"We yet too sensibly feel the loss of every right, liberty and privilege that can distinguish a freeman from a slave, not to sympathize in the most tender manner with you in the conflict you have been so long engaged in, and in the sufferings you now severely labor under—so far as we can judge, only for a firm and intrepid opposition to Ministerial despotism. We easily perceive the causes and motives of that relentless, unremitted ardor and fury with which you are persecuted.

"With us also the laws seem to lie prostrate at the feet of power. Our city is yet a garrison filled with armed men, as our harbor is with cutters, cruisers and other armed vessels. A main guard is yet placed at the doors of our State House. The other side of the Exchange is turned into a guarded den of revenue officers, to plunder our trade and drain the country of its money, not only without our consent, but against repeated remonstrances. The military are guilty of all kinds of licentiousness. The public streets are unsafe to walk in, for either sex, by day or by night. Prosecutions, civil and criminal, against the inhabitants, are pushed with great rancor and rigor, while those against the troops and revenue officers and their confederates are frowned upon and embarrassed by every possible means in the power of those who are inimical to the rights of the subject.

* * * Such, without exaggeration, is the present wretched state of the once happy and flourishing city of Boston. Such, in a degree, is the state of all our trading towns; and such, in effect, is the state of the whole continent.

"There has not been, since the last war, a naval force stationed in St. Lawrence River sufficient to cover a city from an attack of six sail of the line. The forces are in a manner all drawn down to the coasts of the ocean, in conjunction with an army of revenue officers and a fleet of small cruisers and cutters to destroy your own commerce; and they are accordingly as greedy after their prey as if cruising on a foreign enemy. The Indian nations on the great rivers St. Lawrence and Mississippi, which are well known to surround all the British Colonies, are left at liberty to intrigue as usual with the French and Spaniards, to cut the throats of our back inhabitants at pleasure. * * * The French and Spaniards never will forget nor forgive the severe drubbing they received in the last war; and from all appearances it is much to be apprehended that the parties to the Family Compact are meditating some great blow, and are as like to strike in North America as in Corsica. However light some may make of the loss of Canada, there is reason to fear, should the French ever be suffered to repossess themselves of that country, the event would soon prove fatal to Britain, if not to the whole British Empire."

In London, in July, 1769, a duel was fought in Hyde Park at night between the Rev. Mr. G—— and Mr. D——, a Scottish officer in the Navy. It was occasioned by the officer declaring in a public coffee-

* See Sparks' "Library of American Biography," VII : 358.

room that Mr. Wilkes was not only an infamous scoundrel but a rank coward, and that all who supported his cause merited the same character. Mr. G—— took the officer by the nose and told him they would see who was the greatest coward. They immediately adjourned to Hyde Park, attended by two gentlemen of the Army, and after a contest of some five minutes the clergyman wounded the officer in the sword-arm, and that terminated the dispute.

Early in November, 1769, Wilkes' long-pending action against Lord Halifax for damages (see page 534, *ante*) came to a trial, and the jury brought in a verdict for £4,000 against the defendant. About that time the various numbers (from "1" to "68") of *The North Briton*, "revised and corrected by the author—with explanatory notes"—were republished in two volumes in London. About that time, also, Wilkes' cause was unexpectedly strengthened by the wielder of the most vigorous pen in the kingdom—the celebrated "Junius." The first of this famous writer's letters to attract particular attention had appeared in January, 1769, the month in which Wilkes began his struggle with the House of Commons. In later letters "Junius," waiving his early objections to the private character of Wilkes, adopted his cause warmly, and in a remarkable letter addressed to the King, published in the *Public Advertiser* December 19, 1769, "Junius" gave a forcible summary of all the points involved in the Middlesex election question, and then appealed to His Majesty to pardon Wilkes. "Discard," wrote "Junius," "those little personal resentments which have too long directed your public conduct. Pardon this man the remainder of his punishment, and, if resentment still prevails, make it what it should have been long since, an act, not of mercy but of contempt." A gentleman writing to George Grenville the day after the publication of this letter said*: "The opinion that *Wilkes* was 'Junius' has been very general; but the 'Junius' of to-day will, I think, destroy the supposition."

At that time the British Ministry, under the lead of the Duke of Grafton, was in the full career of the tyranny and corruption which marked the persecution of Wilkes, fired the protests of Edmund Burke and Lord Chatham and even of George Grenville and Lord Mansfield, called forth the invectives of "Junius" and finally precipitated the American Revolution. So recklessly did the coterie in the King's confidence carry out their policy that finally some of the Ministers themselves revolted at the wrongs they were compelled to be responsible for. Lord Granby, a brave soldier, threw up the command of the army, declaring that his past service to the Ministry in Parliament for the invasion of popular rights was the greatest misfortune of his life. Lord Chancellor Camden resigned, saying that he had accepted the great seal fully intending never to be led into courses which he could not approve; but experience had taught him that he had overrated his own independence. Often had he hung his head in Council, and showed in his countenance a dissent which it would have been useless to express in words; but the time had come when he must speak out—and resign his office. A fortnight later—in January, 1770—the unsavory Duke of Grafton was forced to resign his Premiership, being succeeded by Lord North.

April 17, 1770, Wilkes was released from the King's Bench Prison—his term of imprisonment having expired and his fines having been

* See "The Grenville Papers," IV: 495.

paid. His debts, too, to the amount of £12,000 and upwards, had been paid by the society which had been organized for the purpose. Moreover, he was an Alderman of London, and was at the height of his popularity. About a year after his release, while sitting as a magistrate in the City (in virtue of his office as Alderman), he had the good fortune to be able to strike another blow for freedom. The House of Commons had passed a resolution forbidding the "indignity" of reporting their debates. The printers of two newspapers violated the terms of this resolution, and orders were issued summoning them to appear before the House; but the orders being disregarded a King's messenger was sent into the City to arrest the delinquents on a warrant issued by the Speaker of the House. One of the printers was arrested, when resistance was made and a struggle took place. Thereupon a constable—purposely stationed close at hand by the Wilkesites—instead of aiding the messenger arrested both him and his prisoner and brought them to the Mansion House. That evening about six o'clock an exciting scene occurred there. Lord Mayor Crosby and Aldermen Wilkes and Oliver were on the bench and were about to deal with this case, when the Deputy Serjeant-at-arms of the House of Commons appeared and demanded, in the name of the House, that the messenger should be released and the arrested printer handed over to his custody. The magistrates not only declined to do this, but released the printer and made out an order committing the messenger to jail on the ground that he had assaulted a citizen of London. Later the Lord Mayor, "with seeming reluctance," agreed to accept bail for the messenger. "This cleverly arranged *coup* caused much consternation, for the House of Commons saw with an instinct of dread that what was really impending was nothing less than a renewal of their contest with Wilkes."

A few days later the Lord Mayor, Wilkes and Oliver were summoned to attend the House. Wilkes stayed away, but the other two obeyed the summons. Oliver defied the House and was committed to the Tower, and later the Lord Mayor was sent there also. (See page 597.) Three times Wilkes was directed to appear before the House, and three times he treated the notice with contempt. After a futile struggle the House had to give way, and Wilkes chuckled over this tribute to his power, whereby he contrived to humiliate the House in return for all it had made him suffer. He went about free, while the Lord Mayor and Alderman Oliver remained in the Tower till the end of the Parliamentary session. Wilkes, who might well boast of his victory, heard no more of the matter. The King wrote to his Ministers: "I will have nothing more to do with that devil Wilkes." Thus ended this extraordinary episode, the most conspicuous of Wilkes' many triumphs. Ever since then the reporting of Parliamentary debates has been an *uncontested privilege of the press!*

In July, 1771, Wilkes was elected Sheriff of London and Middlesex, and courted popularity by disallowing the attendance of the military at executions. He also discountenanced the trying of prisoners in chains and the taking of money for admission to the Court of Old Bailey. January 24, 1772, he was presented by the Common Council with a silver cup worth £100, in recognition of his services to the City. In this and the following year he was returned at the head of the poll for the mayoralty, but was rejected by the Court of Aldermen. However, the un-

questionable services rendered by Wilkes to the popular cause ultimately insured his election, and on the 8th of October, 1774, after a desperate struggle with the nominees of the Court party, he was declared the duly elected Lord Mayor of London. The same day he delivered an address to "the Common Hall." Of course the King of England could not be expected to be glad at Wilkes' election to the mayoralty, and a rumor was almost immediately circulated that the Lord Chancellor, on Wilkes being presented to that official, would signify to him that the King did not approve of the citizens' choice. "If he dare," said Wilkes, "I will tell him to inform the King that I am as fit to be Lord Mayor as he (Lord Bathurst) is to be Chancellor!" As Wilkes would have kept his word, the formal approval of the election was duly made. When, after his induction into office, Wilkes was presented to George III—who then met him for the first time—the King remarked that he (Wilkes) was the best bred Lord Mayor he had ever known.

Shortly after Wilkes had announced his candidature for the mayoralty Parliament was dissolved, and Wilkes immediately came forward to stand as a candidate for Middlesex County, at the next general election, with his friend Serjeant John Glynn. The following "engagement" was signed and published in September by the two candidates :

"We do solemnly promise and engage ourselves to our constituents, if we have the honor of being chosen representatives in Parliament of the county of Middlesex, that we will endeavor to the utmost of our power to have passed an Act for the repeal of the four late Acts respecting America, viz. : The Quebec Act, establishing Popery and the system of French Canadian laws in that extensive Province; the Boston Port Act; the Act for altering the Charter of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and the Act for the trial in Europe of persons accused of criminal offences in America*—being fully persuaded that the passing of such an Act will be of the utmost importance for the security of our excellent Constitution and the restoration of the rights and liberties of our fellow-subjects in America."

On the 29th of October Wilkes was once more, and for the fifth time, returned Member of Parliament for Middlesex. No opposition was offered now to his taking his seat, and he took it on the 2d of December. Thus, after ten years' struggle against all the influence of the Court and Ministry, Wilkes had obtained a seat in Parliament and the chief magistracy of London. Besides, *he had established forever three of the most cherished rights of the subject*—freedom from arbitrary arrest, freedom of the press, and the right of the electors to choose their representatives without dictation from any authority. The day was yet to come when he was to oblige the House to direct that all the records of the resolutions passed against him should be expunged by their Clerk before his eyes. Then his victory was complete, for the House had already censured "General Warrants." Wilkes continued to represent Middlesex throughout the remainder of his Parliamentary career.

Wilkes' term as Lord Mayor—which is commemorated by an obelisk in Ludgate Circus—coincided with the definitive adoption by the Government of the policy of coercing the American Colonies. The Common Council of London sent protest after protest to King and Parliament against the oppression of the Colonies; and Lord Mayor Wilkes, the placeman's *bête noire*, was in his element in the attitude of presenting such remonstrances. April 10, 1775, Lord Mayor Wilkes, accompanied by the Sheriffs, several Aldermen, and a committee of the Livery, went from the Guildhall to St. James' Palace to present to the King "an

* Relative to the passing of this lastmentioned Act, see page 599, *post*.

address, remonstrance and petition" of the City Government, praying for the removal of the then Ministers "for their iniquitous measures with respect to their fellow-subjects in America." The paper was read aloud by the City Counselor, who gave it to the Lord Mayor who delivered it to the King with a half-bent knee and the most profound reverence. The stubborn, fat-witted King handed the paper to a Lord in waiting, and then, deliberately taking a paper from his pocket, read the following answer :

"It is with the utmost astonishment that I find any of my subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which, unhappily, exists in some of the Colonies in North America. Having entire confidence in the wisdom of my Parliament, the great Council of the Nation, I will steadily pursue those measures which they have recommended for the support of the constitutional rights of Great Britain, and the protection of the commercial interests of my kingdoms."

Following the reading of this an awkward silence of about two minutes ensued, when the Lord Mayor made a low bow, then retreated backwards to the middle of the room and made a second bow, and, in like manner, a third bow at the door, when the King removed his hat to his Lordship and thus ended the business for that time.

Repeatedly snubbed, London went on "encouraging the rebellious disposition" of which the King complained, and as a last resort addressed the electors of the whole country, deploring a war which originated in violence and injustice "and must end in ruin." Three months before the Declaration of Independence was signed in Philadelphia the Common Council of London begged George III to suspend hostilities in order to attempt a reconciliation. The King replied that he would extend clemency "as soon as the rebellion was at an end." "London was helpless, but she could and did refuse to give any subscription in support of the war. Let it be remembered to her honor that her action was dictated throughout less by commercial considerations than by adherence to the great principle of taxation without representation."

Wilkes did not possess the ready eloquence which is characteristic of the born leader of the masses. His speeches were always carefully prepared. Macaulay says that "his speaking, though pert, was feeble, and by no means interested his hearers so much as to make them forget his face, which was so hideous that the caricaturists were forced, in their own despite, to flatter him." Lord Brougham, in his "Sketches of Public Characters who Flourished During the Reign of George III," wrote of Wilkes :

"Of the light but very important accomplishments which fill so prominent a place in the patriotic character—great eloquence and a strong and masculine style in writing—he had but little. His compositions are more pointed than powerful; his wit shines far more than his passions glow; and as a speaker, when he did speak, which was but rarely, he showed indeed some address and much presence of mind, but no force, and produced hardly any effect. If we are to judge of Wilkes' speaking by the very few examples preserved of it, we should indeed form a very humble estimate of its merits. Constant declamation about rights and liberties and tyrants and corruption, with hardly the merit of the most ordinary commonplaces on these hackneyed topics, seem to fill up its measure—with neither fact nor argument nor point nor anything at all happy or new in the handling of the threadbare material. But what it wanted in force it probably made up in fury; and as calling names is an easy work to do, the enraged multitude as easily are pleased with what suits their excited feelings, gratifying the craving which excitement produces for more stimulus. That he failed, and signally failed, whenever he was called upon to address an audience which rejects such matters, is very certain. In Parliament he was seldom or never heard after his own case had ceased to occupy the public attention [about 1782]."

But Brougham, it must be remembered, was by birth and education a *Scot*, and when he came to London to live Wilkes had been dead eight

years. He never saw Wilkes, and judged of his personal appearance from portraits and caricatures. Besides, Brougham was himself an eloquent and a ready speaker; he also received favors from Royalty, and was in consequence inimical to all who opposed kingly authority, Ministers and Parliaments. He had little praise for any man who had stood up in England and openly and boldly championed the rights of the American Colonies before and during the Revolutionary War. Despite of Lord Brougham's statement Wilkes made some very strong and sensible speeches in Parliament during the progress of the American War; speeches which are interesting reading—to Americans, at least—even at this late day. The following paragraphs are from a speech delivered by Wilkes in the House of Commons February 6, 1775, in the course of a debate on a resolution "that an Address be presented to His Majesty * * * that it is our [their] fixed resolution, at the hazard of our [their] lives and properties, to stand by His Majesty against all rebellious attempts, in the maintenance of the just rights of His Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament."*

"The business before the House, in its full extent, respecting the British Colonies in America, is of as great importance as was ever debated in Parliament. It comprehends almost every question relative to the common rights of mankind, almost every question of policy and legislation. The Address now reported from the Committee of the Whole House appears to be unfounded, rash and sanguinary. It draws the sword unjustly against America; but before Administration are suffered to plunge the nation into the horrors of a civil war, before they are permitted to force Englishmen to sheathe their swords in the bowels of their fellow-subjects, I hope this House will seriously weigh the original ground and cause of this unhappy dispute, and in time reflect whether Justice is on our side and gives a sanction to the intended hostile proceedings.

"The assumed right of taxation, without the consent of the subject, is plainly the primary cause of the present quarrel. Have we then, sir, any right to tax the Americans? * * * If we can tax the Americans without their consent they have no property, nothing they can call their own with certainty; for we might by violence take the whole as well as the part. The words 'liberty and property,' so dear to an Englishman, so pleasing in our ears, would become a cruel mockery, an insult, to an American. * * * It will, I foresee, be objected: Is America, then, to enjoy the protection of Great Britain, and to contribute nothing to the support of that parent State which has so long afforded it safety and security—which has carefully and tenderly nursed it to this hour of its present strength and greatness? The Americans themselves have given the fullest answer to this objection, in a manner not to be controverted, by their conduct through a long series of years, and by the most explicit declarations. Equally in words and actions, of the most unequivocal nature, they have demonstrated their love, their ardour, their strong filial piety towards the mother country. They have always appeared ready, not only to contribute towards the expenses of their own Government, but likewise to the wants and necessities of this State, although perhaps they may not be over-fond of all the proud, expensive trappings of Royalty.

"In the two last wars with France they far exceeded the cold line of prudence. With the most liberal hearts they cheerfully gave you nearly their all, and they fought gallantly and victoriously by your side, with equal valour against our and their enemy, the common enemy of the liberties of Europe and America, the ambitious, faithless French, whom now we fear and flatter. * * * The siege and capture of Louisbourg, the various successful operations against the general foe, without the least knowledge, much less participation, on our part, are the fullest proofs of the warm affection of their hearts to this country, and of their readiness to bear more than their share of the public expense and burthen. But, sir, the whole was the gift of freemen, our fellow-subjects, who feel that they are, and know that they have a right to be, as free as ourselves. * * *

"The Americans, sir, have of late been treated, both within doors and without, in a manner which marks no small degree of injustice, and even a wantonness of cruelty. * * * It has been asserted that they are forward and angry enough to wish to throw off the supremacy of the mother country. Many express resolutions, both of the General Congress and the different Provincial Assemblies, are the fullest evidence of the sense which the Americans entertain of their obedience and duty to Great Britain. They are too numerous to be quoted. Their full claim, as stated by themselves, is so explicit and clear, that I beg leave to read it to the House from their petition to the King. It declares, '*We ask but for peace, liberty and safety!*' Surely, sir, no request was ever more modest and reasonable, no claim better founded. * * * The Address, sir, mentions the particu-

* See "American Archives," Fourth Series, I: 1549.

lar Province of the Massachusetts Bay as in a state of actual rebellion. * * Whether their present state is that of rebellion, or of a fit and just resistance to unlawful acts of power—to our attempts to rob them of their properties and liberties, as they imagine—I shall not declare. This I know: A successful resistance is a *revolution*, not a *rebellion*! Rebellion indeed appears on the back of a flying enemy, but revolution flames on the breast-plate of the victorious warrior.

"Who can tell, sir, whether in consequence of this day's violent and mad Address to His Majesty the scabbard may not be thrown away by them as well as by us; and, should success attend them, whether in a few years the independent Americans may not celebrate the glorious era of the Revolution of 1775 as we do that of 1688! The generous efforts of our forefathers for freedom, Heaven crowned with success, or their noble blood had dyed our scaffolds like that of Scottish traitors and rebels, and the period of our history which does us the most honor would have been deemed a rebellion against the lawful authority of the Prince—not a resistance authorized by all the laws of God and man—not the expulsion of a tyrant. The policy, sir, of this measure I can no more comprehend than I can acknowledge the justice of it. Is your force adequate to the attempt? I am satisfied it is not. Do you recollect that the single Province of Massachusetts Bay has at this moment 30,000 men well trained and disciplined? You will not be able to conquer and keep even that single Province. The noble Lord (North) with the blue ribband proposes only 10,000 of our troops to be sent there, including the four regiments now going from Ireland; and he acknowledges, with great truth, that the Army cannot enforce the late Act of Parliament. Why then is it sent? Boston, indeed, you may lay in ashes, but the Province will be lost to you. * *

"The Americans will certainly defend their property and their liberties with the spirit of freemen—with the spirit our ancestors did, and I hope we should exert on a like occasion. They will sooner declare themselves independent, and risk every consequence of such a contest, than submit to the galling yoke which Administration is preparing for them. An Address of this sanguinary nature cannot fail of driving them to despair. They will see that you are preparing not only to draw the sword, but to burn the scabbard. In the most harsh manner you are declaring them rebels. Every idea of a reconciliation will vanish. They will pursue the most vigorous measures in their own defense."

The following is a portion of a speech delivered by Mr. Wilkes in the House October 26, 1775, on a motion to present an Address to the King in reply to a speech that day delivered by him from the Throne.

"Sir, I entirely agree with the honourable gentleman who seconded the motion for an Address to His Majesty, that every man ought now to speak out; and, in a moment so important as the present, to the whole Empire. * * * I call the war with our brethren in America an unjust, felonious war, because the primary cause and confessed origin of it is to attempt to take their money from them without their consent, contrary to the common rights of all mankind, and those fundamental principles of the English Constitution for which Hampden bled. I assert, sir, that it is in consequence a murderous war, because it is an effort to deprive men of their lives for standing up in the just cause of the defence of their property and their clear rights. * * *

"I think this war, sir, fatal and ruinous to our country. It absolutely annihilates the only great source of our wealth—which we enjoyed unrivalled by other nations—and deprives us of the fruits of the laborious industry of near three million of subjects, which centered here. That commerce has already taken its flight, and our American merchants are now deploring the consequences of a wretched policy, which has been pursued to their destruction. * * *

"I speak, sir, as a firm friend to England and America, but still more to universal liberty and the rights of all mankind. I trust no part of the subjects of this vast Empire will ever submit to be slaves. I am sure the Americans are too high-spirited to brook the idea. Your whole power, and that of your allies (if you had any) and of all the German troops—of all the ruffians from the North whom you can hire—cannot effect so wicked a purpose. The conduct of the present Administration has already wrested the sceptre of America out of the hands of our Sovereign, and he has now scarcely even a postmaster left in that whole Northern Continent. More than half the Empire is already lost, and almost all the rest is in confusion and anarchy. The Ministry have brought our Sovereign into a more disgraceful situation than any crowned head now living.

"England was never engaged in a contest of such importance to our most valuable concerns and possessions. We are fighting for the subjection, the unconditional submission, of a country infinitely more extended than our own; of which every day increases the wealth, the natural strength, the population. Should we not succeed, it will be a loss never enough to be deplored; a bosom friendship soured to hate and resentment. We shall be considered as their most implacable enemies; an eternal separation will follow, and the grandeur of the British Empire will pass away. Success, final success, seems to me not equivocal, not uncertain, but impossible! However *we* may differ among ourselves, *they* are perfectly united. On this side the Atlantic party rage unhappily divides us; but one soul animates the vast Northern Continent of America, the General Congress and each Provincial Assembly. An appeal has been made to the sword, and at

the close of the last campaign what have we conquered? Bunker Hill only—and with the loss of 1,200 men. Are we to pay as dearly for the rest of America? The idea of the conquest of that immense continent is as romantic as unjust.

"The honourable gentleman who moved the Address says 'the Americans have been treated with lenity.' Will facts justify the assertion? Was your Boston Port Bill a measure of lenity? Was your Fishery Bill a measure of lenity? Was your Bill for taking away the Charter of the Massachusetts Bay a measure of lenity, or even justice? I omit your many other gross provocations and insults, by which the brave Americans have been driven into their present state. He asserts that they avow a disposition to be independent. On the contrary, sir, all the declarations, both of the late and present Congress, uniformly tend to this one object—of being put on the same footing the Americans were in in the year 1763. This has been their only demand, from which they have never varied. Their daily prayers and petitions are for 'liberty, peace and safety.' I use the words of the Congress of the last year. They justly expect to be put on an equal footing with the other subjects of the Empire, and are willing to come into any fair agreement with you in commercial concerns. If you confine all our trade to yourselves, say they; if you make a monopoly of our commerce; if you shut all the other ports of the world against us, do not tax us likewise. If you tax us, then give us a free trade, such as you enjoy yourselves.

"It must give, sir, every man who loves this country the deepest concern at the naming in the Address of foreign troops—Hanoverians and Hessians—who are called to interfere in our domestic quarrels. The militia, indeed, are, we are told, to be now employed, and that noble institution is at present complimented by Ministers; but we know they hate the very name of a militia, and that measure is adopted only because the embodying of these forces enables Administration to butcher more of our fellow-subjects in America.

"Sir, I disapprove not only the evil spirit of the whole Address, but likewise the wretched adulation of almost every part of it. My wish and hope, therefore, is, that it will be rejected by the House, and that another, dutiful, yet decent, manly Address, will be presented to the King, praying His Majesty that he would sheathe the sword, prevent the further effusion of the blood of our fellow-subjects, adopt some mode of negotiation with the General Congress in compliance with their repeated petitions, and thereby restore peace and harmony to this distracted Empire."

In the House of Commons on the 27th of November, 1775, Alderman Richard Oliver (mentioned on page 554), who was at this time also one of the representatives from the city of London in the House, moved an Address to the King. In support of the proposed Address Mr. Wilkes spoke in part as follows:

"Mr. Speaker—The Address to His Majesty, which the honourable gentleman has moved this day, is so essentially different from all other late Addresses to the Throne, that I own it meets with my hearty concurrence. I think it, sir, of the utmost consequence to know the original authors and advisers of this unjust, pernicious and calamitous war, which has already deluged with blood a part of America, and spread horror and devastation through that whole Northern Continent. When so many Provinces of the Empire are already lost, and the rest actually engaged in a cruel civil war, we ought not to sit down in criminal supineness. It becomes our duty, as the grand inquest of the nation, to find out and punish the delinquents by whose fatal counsels such evils have been brought upon this convulsed and almost ruined State. We owe it to the people at large; and several of us have it in express charge from our constituents.

"We are, I fear, sir, on the eve of an eternal political separation from the Western World, unless a very speedy reconciliation should take place. If the present motion happily meets with success, I am sure it will do more towards a sincere, lasting and hearty union with America than all the captious and fallacious proposals of Administration. The Americans will then believe we indeed desire a reconciliation with them, and they will at length begin to have confidence in our counsels, when they see the vengeance of Parliament fall on the authors of our common calamities. * * * I really think, sir, this is almost the only method now left of extricating ourselves with honour and dignity from our present alarming difficulties.

"After a very bloody campaign you have conquered only one hill of less than a mile's circumference, for you were suffered to land as friends, in the only seaport town of any consequence which you possess. Would the noble Lord, whom His Majesty has lately raised to one of the highest civil offices, if he were sent on a military service there, would he venture, even at the head of the whole British cavalry, to advance ten miles into the country? He would not, I am persuaded, be so rash; nor do I think his spirit quite daring enough to make the attempt. And is any Minister weak enough to flatter himself with the conquest of all North America? The Americans will dispute every inch of territory with you, every narrow pass, every strong defile, every Thermopylæ, every Bunker Hill. A train of most unfortunate events will probably ensue, and the power of recruiting, perhaps subsisting, your weakened forces at such a distance be lost. After an un-

availing struggle of a very few years, when the ruined merchant and manufacturer besiege your doors, you will perhaps think of naming Ambassadors to the General Congress, instead of the wild and expensive job and farce now in contemplation, of thirty Commissioners, with a salary of £4,000 each, to cry 'Peace!' where there is no peace.

"Yet, sir, I think peace absolutely necessary between Great Britain and America, and, therefore, I approve the present motion, as holding out the olive branch. The Americans are rapidly increasing in population, and in the knowledge of all the useful arts of life. Alas! sir, they are not ignorant even in the fashionable art of murdering our own species. The late worthy Governor of Pennsylvania* declared at the bar of the other House that that Province grew now more corn than was sufficient for the supply of its inhabitants; that they exported considerable every year; that they perfectly understood the art of making gunpowder, and had effected it; that they had established several works to procure saltpetre; that they had the materials and means in great plenty of casting iron cannon; that the art of casting both brass and iron cannon, as well as of fabricating small-arms, had been carried to great perfection; and that they were expert in ship-building beyond the Europeans. He declared, likewise, that that single Province had actually enrolled twenty thousand men in arms, embodied, but not in pay, and had four thousand minute-men ready on the first notice of any real danger. The authentic accounts of the preparations for the forming, training and disciplining of troops in the Massachusetts Bay and in Virginia are equally formidable; nor are they inconsiderable in the other United Provinces. Every idea of force, therefore, on our side, must appear infatuation.

"All wise legislators, sir, have calculated the strength of a nation from the number of its inhabitants—the laborious, strong and active. The population in most parts of America is doubled in the course of nineteen or twenty years; while that of this Island is known rather to have decreased since the year 1692. The emigrations of late from the three kingdoms have been amazing and alarming. Our own people have fled in multitudes from a Government under which they starved. * * * The Americans, sir, are a pious and religious people. With much ardour and success they follow the first great command of Heaven—"Be fruitful and multiply!" While they are fervent in these devout exercises—while the men continue enterprising and healthy, the women kind and prolific—all your attempts to subdue them by force will be ridiculous and unavailing, and will be regarded by them with scorn and abhorrence. They are daily strengthening, and if you lose the present moment of reconciliation, to which this motion tends, you lose all. America may now be reclaimed or regained, but cannot be subdued!

"Gentlemen, sir, do not seem to have considered the astonishing disadvantages under which we engage in this contest against the combined powers of America, not only from the distance and natural strength of the country, but the peculiar and fortunate circumstances of a young, rising empire. The Congress, sir, have not the monstrous load of a debt of above one hundred and forty millions, like our Parliament, to struggle with, the very interest of which would swallow up all their taxes! Nor a numerous and hungry band of useless placemen and pensioners to provide for; nor has luxury yet enervated their minds or bodies. Every shilling which they raise will go to the man who fights the battles of his country. They set out like a young heir with a noble landed estate, unincumbered with enormous family debts; while we appear the poor, old, feeble, exhausted and ruined parent—but exhausted and ruined by our own wickedness, prodigality and profligacy.

"Sir, I daily hear the Americans, who glow with a divine zeal for liberty in all its branches, misrepresented in this House, and the ostensible Minister is diligent in propagating the most unjust calumnies against them. The noble Lord with the blue ribbon† told us the liberty of the press was lost throughout America. The noble Lord deceives us in this, as in many other things. From experience we know that his intelligence can never be relied upon. The liberty of the press, the bulwark of all our liberties, is lost only in Boston, for his Lordship's Ministerial troops govern there only. The press is free at Watertown (but seven miles distant from Boston), at Philadelphia, Newport, Williamsburgh, and in the rest of North America. I will give the House the demonstration. General Gage's foolish and contemptible proclamation against Samuel Adams and John Hancock—two worthy gentlemen, and, I dare to add, true patriots—even that proclamation, declaring them rebels and traitors (while the Generals Washington, Putnam and Lee, with all the naval commanders in arms, were unnoticed by him), appears reprinted in all the American papers. I believe all the curious, futile orders he has issued, all his unmeaning declarations and proclamations, will be found as exact in the Pennsylvania, Watertown and other American newspapers, as in the *Gazette* published by his authority in Boston—which, in other respects, is as partial and false as that published by authority of the American Secretary‡ in this capital."

* RICHARD PENN, JR., son of (v) Richard Penn mentioned in the first paragraph of the note on page 386, *ante*, and younger brother of John Penn mentioned in the note on page 262. Richard Penn, Jr. (born in 1734), was Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania from October, 1771, till September, 1773, and such was the confidence of the people in him that when, early in the Summer of 1775, he embarked for England he was entrusted with the second petition of the Continental Congress to King George. On his arrival in London he was examined (November 10, 1775) in the House of Lords on the subject of American affairs. Subsequently he became a Member of Parliament. He died in England May 27, 1811.

† Lord NORTH, the Premier.

‡ Lord GEORGE GERMAIN, Secretary of State for America.

The following paragraphs are from a speech* delivered by Mr. Wilkes in the House of Commons October 31, 1776, shortly after news had reached London regarding the battle of Long Island (mentioned on page 485.)

"The affair of Long Island has been misrepresented and greatly magnified to the House. The superiority of numbers was very considerable. General Howe lauded 22,000 men. The Provincials had only 6,000 effective men on that Island. They were ordered to retreat, and 4,000 did accordingly, without being attacked, embark for the island of New York. There was a real mistake of orders as to the other 2,000, but they acted as brave men always will act under a mistake of orders—they fought. They saw the enemy, left their entrenchments and attacked with spirit. From the superiority of numbers, and their flanks being neglected and unguarded, they were totally defeated. They did not, however, remain inactive, like cowards, on an important day of battle. No such imputation can be fixed on them! Nothing decisive can follow from the late successful affair on Long Island, no more than from the defeat on Sullivan's Island. New York will probably fall into your hands, but your situation will in that case be scarcely mended since the last year, for you then possessed the capital of North America—Boston. Is that great and important town advantageously exchanged for New York? I forgot that we still possess the fishing hamlet of Halifax!

"But, sir, we ought to take a much larger and more comprehensive view of this interesting scene, which is now fully disclosed. The important dispute of Great Britain with her Colonies has for a considerable time fixed the attention, not only of this nation, but of almost all Europe. The most essential interests of this country, and indeed of the greater part of the Powers of the Continent, are deeply interested in the event. The sacrifice of so much blood and treasure is to every State an object of the highest importance; to us, whose Empire seems mouldering away, of the nearest concern. I much fear that we are now brought by inextricable difficulties to the very verge of destruction. Since our last meeting, sir, the scene with respect to America has totally changed. Instead of negotiations with Colonies, or Provincial Assemblies, we have a war to carry on against the Free and Independent States of America—a wicked war, which has been occasioned solely by a spirit of violence, injustice and obstinacy in our Ministers, unparalleled in history. * * *

"Much has been said, sir, of the prophecy of the Ministers that the Americans would in the end declare themselves independent. I give the Ministers no credit for such a prophecy. They went on the surest grounds. They might very safely promulgate such a prediction, when they knew that the unjust and sanguinary measures which they intended to pursue must bring about the event. They drove the Americans into their present state of independency. * * * An honorable gentleman near me attacks the American *Declaration of Independency*, in a very peculiar manner, as a wretched composition, very ill-written—drawn up to captivate *the people!* That, sir, is the very reason why I approve it most—as a composition, as well as a wise, political measure—for *the people* are to decide this great controversy. If *they* are captivated by it the end is attained. The polished periods, the harmonious, happy expressions, with all the grace, ease and elegance of a beautiful diction, which *we* chiefly admire, captivate the people of America very little; but manly, nervous sense they relish, even in the most awkward and uncouth dress of language. Whatever composition produces the effect you intend, in the most forcible manner, is, in my opinion, the best; and that mode should always be pursued. * * *

"The speech [of the King], sir, states that 'if treason be suffered to take root, much mischief must grow from it to the safety of my [the King's] loyal Colonies.' Alas! sir, what *we* call treason and rebellion, and *they* just resistance and a glorious revolution, has taken root, and a very deep root indeed, and has spread over almost all the American Colonies. In this very speech we are told of their numbers, their wealth, their strength by sea and land. * * * We have now been carrying on for two years a savage and piratical, as well as an unjust, war. Every demand of Government has been complied with, and yet the great force employed both by sea and land has not hitherto recovered a single Province of all the confederated Colonies. On the contrary, the evil grows more desperate. * * *

"We have seen a federal union of thirteen free and powerful Provinces asserting their independency as high and mighty States, and setting our power at defiance. This was done with circumstances of spirit and courage to which posterity will do justice! It was directly after the safe landing of your whole force. In return we have barbarously plundered their coasts and set fire to their open towns and defenceless villages in a manner which disgraces the English name. In the midst of all the cruelties, terrors and devastations which follow your arms the spirit of the Americans is still unsubdued, and I hope and believe you will never conquer the free spirit of the descendants of Englishmen, exerted in an honest cause. They honour and value the blessings of liberty. They are determined to live and die freemen, notwithstanding the vain efforts of every arbitrary

* See *The Pennsylvania Journal* (Philadelphia), March 19, 1777.

power in Europe. It is a foolish attempt to think of conquering and holding the immense territory of North America when the whole country is united against us. * * *

"As to our unanimity at home, sir, the very idea is absurd, because impossible—while the present system of injustice and oppression continues in its full rigor. The American war is unjust and unconstitutional in its first principle, and, if persisted in, must end in our ruin. We have neither force to conquer nor strength to maintain such extensive conquests, if we could succeed. Our situation is become truly critical. The Constitution of this country is at home sapped by bribery and corruption. On the other side of the Atlantic it is assailed by violence and force of arms. * * * It is impossible for this island to conquer and hold America. They are determined and united. Your fleets may, indeed, every year carry horror through all their coasts. Your armies may possess some seaport towns, but the numerous and greatly increasing people of the Provinces will retire into the interior parts, of which you have already had some experience. Peaceful towns and villages will cover their fruitful plains, Liberty will fix her blest abode among them, the unmolested, happy inhabitants rejoicing that they are *procul a Jove, procul a fulmine*. * * * We must recall our fleets and armies, repeal all the Acts injurious to the Americans passed since 1763, and restore their Charters. We may then, if they will forgive, and can trust us, treat with them on just, fair and equal terms, without the idea of compulsion, and a foundation be laid for the restoration of peace, internal tranquillity and unity to this convulsed and dismembered Empire."

December 10, 1777, the last day of the sitting of Parliament previously to the Christmas recess, Mr. Wilkes moved in the House of Commons for a repeal of the Declaratory Act of 1766, as introductory to several other motions which he intended to make—if this one should pass—for the repeal of all the laws obnoxious to the Americans which had been passed since the year 1763. He declared that the repeal of these laws was required as a *sine qua non* by the Americans; and that in particular they had reprobated the Declaratory Act as the fountain whence every evil had flowed. After some debate the previous question having been put was carried by 160 to 12. (See page 592.)

While in Parliament Wilkes made some very vigorous speeches on the repeal of the Test Acts; he also advocated a public library for London, an additional grant to the British Museum, and the purchase for the nation of Lord Orford's pictures, which, for lack of £40,000, went to Russia, where they form the chief glories of The Hermitage. In December, 1779, Wilkes—then in the fifty-third year of his life—was elected Chamberlain of the city of London. This was an office of great emolument and considerable importance, and in the capacity of Chamberlain Wilkes welcomed to the city Nelson and other illustrious freemen. About the time of his election as Chamberlain Wilkes was restored to his former rank in the militia. In his "Recollections" Samuel Rogers, the London banker and poet (1763-1855), says of Wilkes: "I think I see him at this moment, walking through the crowded streets of the city, as Chamberlain, on his way to Guildhall, in a scarlet coat, military boots and a bag-wig—the hackney-coachmen in vain calling out to him, 'A coach, your honor?' He was quite as ugly, and squinted as much, as his portraits make him; but he was very gentlemanly in appearance and manners." At the time of the Gordon riots in London in the Summer of 1780 Colonel Wilkes was very active, not only as a magistrate, but as an officer in command of the militia called out to make arrests and to quell the mob. He saved the Bank of England, and received the thanks of the Privy Council for his exertions during that period of disorder and danger. Wilkes had now become a champion of law and order, and he held with credit, for the rest of his life, the valuable and substantial post of City Chamberlain.

Many years before Wilkes' election as Chamberlain, when he was stationed with his regiment at Winchester, he was fond of visiting the

Isle of Wight. There he became acquainted with a very beautiful young woman of obscure position (perhaps the "favorite object" alluded to in his letter to Earl Temple, on page 531, *ante*). The offspring of this acquaintance was a boy whom Wilkes made great efforts to have turn out a celebrity. He placed him in the finest school in Paris, and afterwards sent him to be taught at Hamburg; but finally the boy—whose name was William Smith, and who was brought up under the belief that he was Colonel Wilkes' nephew—persisting in being stupid, was sent to serve the East India Company. The mother had long before died.

Wilkes had, for years, a sneaking fondness for the Isle of Wight, and acquired a peculiar reputation there. Female servants in the inns where he lodged timidly refused to attend him. Old conservative inn-keepers were known to have turned him out of their houses, after he had registered his name; on which occasions, however, he was sure to be called in and lodged like a prince by some partizan hater of the King and Lord Bute. He was known as the "Liberty Boy," and he certainly seems to have understood how to take liberties. He did not hesitate to call his London residence his "Seraglio," and his significant name for the Isle of Wight was "Cypria."

From 1775 till 1786 Wilkes was a frequent visitor, for health and pleasure, at Brighton, then known as Brighthelmstone; but in 1788 he took on lease for fourteen years "Sandown Cottage," on Sandown Bay, Isle of Wight, and retired there annually during the Summer months, "perfectly happy," as he said, "with a few intelligent friends and a well-chosen library." His library was, indeed, an excellent one, and he had also in his cottage large collections of fine china and rare prints. In his grounds he maintained a well-stocked fish-pond, because, as he said, everything was to be had at the sea-side but fish. He raised classic tombs and columns in his garden, and inscribed them to the objects of his admiration, including himself. One built after the model of Virgil's tomb at Naples he used as a wine-bin.

Now an elderly man, with powdered queue (he was credited with the introduction into England of blue hair-powder), clothes of scarlet and gold-lace, ruffles and laces, and boots reaching above his knees, he employed his time in writing clever literary essays and his memoirs, and in startling the boys and girls as often as he walked about Sandown. He was very affable, however, opening his queer premises to all visitors, and doing the honors of the place himself to all comers. Under all his scarlet and gold he showed himself the most genuine revolutionist of the French school that England ever produced, by inviting the tradesmen of Sandown with whom he dealt to dine with him at his "villakin" (as he called it), giving them the most expensive wines, and enjoying hugely their queer remarks and behavior under such novel circumstances. He still indulged in the luxury of a private printing-press—though with more decorous results than of old, for he published translations or editions of such congenial classics as "Catullus," "Tiberius," and "Propertius," quaintly ending up with the severe moralist Theophrastus. He sent Lord Mansfield a copy of "Theophrastus," thus issued, and received the following reply—the delightful irony of which he no doubt fully appreciated: "Lord Mansfield returns many thanks to Mr. Wilkes for his 'Theophrastus,' and congratulates him upon his elegant amusement.

Theophrastus drew so admirably from nature that his characters live through all times and in every country." Wilkes had, before this, won the friendship of Lord Mansfield, who declared that Colonel Wilkes was "the pleasantest companion, the politest gentleman and the best scholar" he ever knew.

Colonel Wilkes died at his residence, 30 Grosvenor Square, London, December 26, 1797, and was interred in the vaults of Grosvenor Chapel, South Audley Street, without other memorial than a mural tablet bearing this inscription: "The remains of JOHN WILKES, a Friend to Liberty, born at London 17 October, 1727, O. S.; died in this Parish." The following announcement of his death was printed in *The Wilkes-barre Gazette* of March 13, 1798: "Died, at London, the celebrated JOHN WILKES, aged 71. *The person from whom Wilkesbarre derived a part of its name.*" No further mention of Wilkes was made in that or any later issue of the *Gazette*.

Wilkes was survived by his daughter Mary—a very estimable woman, to whom he was greatly attached—and by two natural children (William Smith, previously mentioned, and a daughter bearing the name of Harriet Wilkes, a woman of character and culture, who was treated with much consideration by Colonel Wilkes in his lifetime and by his daughter Mary after his death.) Miss Mary Wilkes died, unmarried, March 12, 1802, at the house in Grosvenor Square which she had occupied with her father, as well as after his death. She was possessed of a considerable estate, portions of which she devised to Harriet Wilkes, mentioned above, and to her cousin Charles Wilkes (see page 526), residing in the United States.

John Wilkes was somewhat above the middle height, and very spare. His complexion was sallow, and his features were irregular to the point of ugliness—his squint-eye and a curious leer lending them a sinister expression. His personal appearance certainly was not prepossessing, but he had fine manners and an inexhaustible fund of wit and humor which made his society acceptable even to those who distrusted him. John Almon,* who knew him intimately, and who showed no undue desire to extenuate his faults, summed up his character in these words: "His social qualities will live in the esteem of every one who knew him. An uncommon share of wit, an easy and happy flow of language, and a strong memory, all contributed to make his society a truly elegant and classic entertainment to his friends." No man, though helped by his enemies, could have achieved what he did without courage, resolution and profound sagacity, and he must have possessed much charm of character, as well as manner, to have won such pious souls as Hannah More,† Charles Butler (the English jurist, Roman Catholic historian, and miscellaneous writer), and the monks of Chartreuse, and have converted into friends the hostile Mansfield and the still more prejudiced Johnson.

By many writers of eminence Wilkes is never mentioned except in language of obloquy. Lord Brougham, in his sketches of "Public Characters," originally published in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1839, has this to say of Wilkes:

"Though of good manners and even a winning address, his personal appearance was so revolting as to be hardly human. High birth he could not boast. Of fortune he had but a moderate share, and it was all spent before he became a candidate for popular

* See page 569.

† See "The Memoirs of Hannah More," II: 109.

favor, and his circumstances were so notoriously desperate that he lived for years on patriotic subscriptions. Of those more sterling qualities of strict moral conduct, regular religious habits, temperate and prudent behavior, regular, industrious life—qualities which are generally required of public men, even if more superficial accomplishments should be dispensed with—he had absolutely nothing; and the most flagrant violations of decency on moral as well as religious matters were committed, were known, were believed and were overlooked by the multitude. * * * Wilkes was a fair classical scholar. He was more than this, he was a first rate Latinist—that is to say, he had a perfect critical acquaintance with the niceties of the Roman authors, especially the poets, whom he dearly loved. His knowledge of Greek literature, though not profound, was far from being contemptible; and some great classical scholar, who spent a day with him at the Isle of Wight not long before his death, expressed surprise at the extent of his acquaintance with the orators and dramatists of Greece.

“But here our panegyric must stop. He was a heartless reprobate, who made a trade of politics and a deliberate, systematic study of libertinism. Though one of the ugliest dogs in Christendom, with a big, chuckle head, white, glittering back-teeth, or rather tusks, and an infernal squint that might have scared a ghost, Wilkes, strange to say, was a prodigious favorite with women, and used often to boast that, give him half an hour’s use of his tongue, he would supplant the handsomest man in England in the affections of a lady!”

Lord John Russell, a less impulsive writer and a much sounder critic than Lord Brougham, has said:

“No man can now consider Wilkes as anything but a profligate spendthrift, without opinions or principles, religious or political; whose impudence far exceeded his talents, and who always meant *license* when he cried *liberty*.”

Just as it is possible that every man is a liar at heart, it is possible that Wilkes was a hypocrite from first to last. But to affirm this, as Earl Russell does, is not enough. Evidence of some value should be adduced to support the charge that the great agitator of the eighteenth century—the steadfast friend and zealous advocate of the rights of the American Colonies—was in every respect unprincipled, and in every particular an imposter. Taking his private utterances as fairer tests of his real opinions than any public declarations, the result is the reverse of unfavorable to him.

To pronounce a panegyric upon Wilkes because others have reviled him, would be a piece of absurdity—although not unprecedented. He was neither a perfect man nor a perfect monster. In his life, which was not that of an ascetic, and in his actions, which were not always defensible, he was but a type of the society wherein he moved, and a natural product of the age in which he lived. One of his misfortunes was to be frequently in debt; but in this matter he erred no more grievously than several great British statesmen of the same period whom their fellow-countrymen have delighted to honor—Lord Chatham and William Pitt, Edmund Burke and Charles James Fox. Wilkes was, however, free from one of the greatest vices of his age, for he was no gambler.

Another shortcoming was his proneness to free talk and loose living; but in these respects he was no worse than Sir Robert Walpole and Henry Fox, Lord Chesterfield and Lord Sandwich, Lord Chancellor Northington and Lord Chancellor Thurlow, while he was a pattern of purity compared with that polished gentleman, George, Prince of Wales (afterwards King George IV). Gibbon, who, in his autobiography, reprehends the tendency of Wilkes to unclean speech, has demonstrated, by many an allusion and many a foot-note in his history, that his own mind dwelt frequently on impure and unsavory topics. Lord March—who, in order that he might curry favor with the Court and in order that the Government might have a plausible pretext for prosecuting Wilkes, exerted himself to prove the latter guilty of the writing and publishing

of the "Essay on Woman" (see page 537)—was the most systematic corrupter of female innocence and the most thorough-paced rascal of the century.*

The personal shortcomings of Wilkes were perfectly well known to his contemporaries, yet they availed nothing in lessening his popularity among the great bulk of the people. Some persons, indeed, tried to disparage him by contrasting his private life with his public professions. The reply made at the time by "Junius" was accepted by all sensible men as conclusive, nor has its force and appositeness been weakened by time.

"It is not necessary to exact from Mr. Wilkes the virtues of a stoic. They were inconsistent with themselves, who, almost at the same moment, represented him as the basest of mankind, yet seemed to expect from him such instances of fortitude and self-denial as would do honor to an apostle. It is not, however, flattery to say that he is obstinate, intrepid and fertile in expedients. That he has no possible resource but in the public favor is, in my judgment, a considerable recommendation of him. I wish that every man who pretended to popularity were in the same predicament. I wish that a retreat to St. James' were not so easy and open as patriots have found it."

Wilkes' tender affection for his daughter and the constancy of his friendship are redeeming traits in his character. His free-thinking was only skin-deep. By nature unquestionably he was no demagogue, but a man of fashion, and dilettante. His part in public life he played with courage and consistency. Those who deny that he performed any service for which either his country or America ought to be grateful, and those who eulogize him as a patriot of the purest water, equally misapprehend his real position and misconstrue his actual achievements. That a man of the most despicable and abandoned character should for many years have waged a bitter and, in the end, a triumphant contest with the Court, with successive Ministries and with the Parliament, simply to gratify his personal malice and to gain a purely personal victory, is absurd and preposterous. A mere agitator can easily produce a temporary excitement in the public mind, and a momentary annoyance in Administration circles; but the utmost power of a demagogue is only a figment, where it depends solely upon individual prepossessions and personal antipathies. Had the aim of Wilkes been to make a position for himself by writing and speaking against the Government, and to make money out of sham patriotism, he would have been the scandalous hero of the hour, but would never have risen to be the leader of a strong party and "the most useful man in the kingdom." Personally he was subordinate to his cause—which was really that of the nation.

Sir Nathaniel William Wraxall, who was a contemporary of Wilkes, wrote of him as follows†:

"Wilkes could not properly be considered as a member of the Minority [in 1781-'82], because, though he always sat on that side of the House and usually voted with them, yet he depended neither on Lord Rockingham nor on Lord Shelburne‡; but his

* WILLIAM DOUGLAS, tracing his descent from the "Black Douglas" of Scottish history, was born in 1724. He succeeded his father as Earl of March, and in 1778 succeeded his cousin as fourth Marquis of Queensberry. This marquise, created in 1682, belongs to the Scottish peerage, and its motto is "Forward!" It would seem that the family have endeavored—in their own way—to live up to this motto, at least from the time of the fourth Marquis. He was for many years known as "Old Q," was famous for a long time as a patron of the turf, and was infamous always for his shameless debaucheries. Thackeray has given us graphic, yet revolting, glimpses of him. He is said to have "displayed great taste in a song," but to-day he lives solely through Wordsworth's indignant sonnet, composed at Neidpath, whose venerable trees "degenerate Douglas" had felled, either to spite his heir or to dower one who he flattered himself was his daughter. After long fearing death he died, unmarried and worth over £1,000,000, December 23, 1810, and was buried *beneath the communion-table of St. James' Church, Piccadilly, London.*

John Sholto Douglas (born in 1844), who bore the title of Marquis of Queensberry from 1858 till his death in January, 1900, was far and away the most eccentric peer of his day. He was an avowed agnostic, and his unconventionalities were numerous. He was the author of a code of rules governing pugilistic encounters, and known as the "Marquis of Queensberry Rules."

† See "Memoirs of Sir Nathaniel William Wraxall" (1772-1784), II: 48.

‡ See page 580.

predilections leaned towards the latter nobleman. Representing, as he did, the county of Middlesex, he spoke from a great Parliamentary eminence. He was an incomparable comedian in all he said or did, and he seemed to consider human life itself as a mere comedy. In the House of Commons he was not less an actor than at the Mansion House or at Guildhall. His speeches were full of wit, pleasantry and point, yet nervous, spirited, and not at all defective in argument. They were all prepared before they were delivered, and Wilkes made no secret of declaring that, in order to secure their accurate transmission to the public, he always sent a copy of them to William Woodfall* before he pronounced them.

"In private society, particularly at table, he was pre-eminently agreeable, abounding in anecdote, ever gay and convivial, converting his very defects of person, manner or enunciation to purposes of merriment or entertainment. If any man ever was pleasing who squinted, who had lost his teeth, and lisped, Wilkes might be so esteemed. His powers of conversation survived his other bodily faculties. I dined in company with him not long before his decease, when he was extenuated and feeble to a great degree; but his tongue retained all its former activity, and seemed to have outlived his other organs. Even in corporeal ruin, and obviously approaching the termination of his career, he formed the charm of the assembly. His celebrity, his courage, his imprisonment, his outlawry, his duels, his intrepid resistance to Ministerial and royal persecution, his writings, his adventures, lastly, his triumph and serene evening of life, passed in tranquillity amidst all the enjoyments of which his decaying frame was susceptible (for to the last hour of his existence he continued a votary to pleasure)—these circumstances combined in his person rendered him the most interesting individual of the age in which he lived.

"Since the death of Lord Bolingbroke, who died in 1751, and whose life bore some analogy to Wilkes' in various of its features, no man had occupied so distinguished a place in the public consideration. His name will live as long as the records of history transmit to future times the reign of George III. Notwithstanding the personal collision which may be said to have taken place between the King and him during the early portion of His Majesty's reign, Wilkes, like Burke, nourished in his bosom a strong sentiment of constitutional loyalty. He gave indelible proofs of it during the riots of June, 1780 [see page 562, *ante*], when Bull, one of the Members for London, with whom he had long been intimately connected, crouched under Lord George Gordon's mob, while Kennett, the Lord Mayor, exhibited equal incapacity and pusillanimity. And, though Wilkes lent his aid to overturn Lord North's Administration, yet he never yoked himself to Fox's car."

Wilkes' contemporaries, although they differed as to the value of his services, yet concurred in allowing him to have no living superior as a wit. One of them tells us: "He abounded in anecdote; wit was so constantly at his command that wagers have been gained that, from the time he quitted his home till he reached Guildhall, no one would address him who would leave him without a smile or a hearty laugh." He was endowed with a gift which is so un-English that an exact equivalent for it does not exist in our language. The French call it *esprit*, the English representative of which is "chaff"—which is *esprit* in the rough. J. E. Thorold Rogers says: "Wilkes may have been 'dull in Parliament'; he did bright things there, but he said his brightest among his private friends. His wit was easy and brilliant; not played off for effect, but often uttered for the conveyance of truth. Like Chesterfield, he uttered more wit than he wrote. It was bold, often impudent, but spontaneous. As for the wit by which he expressed a seeming hatred to the Scots, it was made all the sharper by the rage with which it inspired Scottish men. He seemed to hate the nation, when he really hated only an individual [Lord Bute] belonging to it, in whom he recognized an enemy to the British country and Constitution." Pages might be filled with the clever sayings attributed to Wilkes; but many things which were palpable hits and excellent jokes a century and more ago, appear pointless and weak now.

Once Wilkes asked an elector to vote for him. "No," replied the man warmly, "I'd rather vote for the devil!" "Yes," responded Wilkes, "but in this case your friend doesn't stand." At a city banquet Alder-

* WILLIAM WOODFALL (1746-1803) was for many years a Parliamentary reporter, a dramatic critic and a newspaper editor in London.

man Burnell—who had begun life as a bricklayer—was clumsily attempting to serve a soft pudding with a spoon, whereupon Wilkes called to him to “take a trowel to it!” When the King was about to go to St. Paul’s upon a certain occasion to offer public thanksgiving, Wilkes expressed a hope that Lord George Germain (who had fallen into disgrace on account of blunders committed at the battle of Minden, in 1759, and had been dismissed from the army) would be appointed “to carry the sword” before His Majesty in the procession. Once in the House of Commons Wilkes went up to the Speaker and privately told him that he had a petition to present to the House from a set of the greatest scoundrels and miscreants on earth. When called upon, however, shortly afterwards to present it, he said with the gravest possible face: “Sir, I hold in my hand a petition from a most intelligent, independent and enlightened body of men.” In a chop-house a rude-mannered customer annoyed the other customers by impatiently shouting for his steak. On its being finally set before him Wilkes observed: “Usually the bear is brought to the stake, but here the steak is brought to the bear.” Lord Eldon, recording that the respectable Company of Merchant Tailors had honored him with the freedom of their Company, added: “Their motto is ‘*Concordia parvæ res crescunt.*’” Wilkes construed these words thus: “Nine tailors make a man!” In his latter years Wilkes became reconciled to George III, and occasionally was found at the Court levees. “How is your old friend, Glynn, Mr. Wilkes?” asked the King on one occasion. “My old friend, your Majesty?” answered Wilkes. “He is no friend of mine. He was a *Wilkesite*, which I never was.” One day the Prince of Wales (subsequently George IV) was entertaining at dinner a number of guests, one of whom was Wilkes. The Prince being then estranged from the King, his father, said bitter things against him. During the dinner Wilkes proposed the King’s health. “Why, how long is it since you became so loyal?” asked the Prince. “Ever since I have had the pleasure of knowing your Royal Highness,” was the saucy reply.

The following paragraphs are from the pen of Joseph Dennie, who was, for a number of years, editor of *The Portfolio* (Philadelphia). They were printed in that periodical in August, 1809.

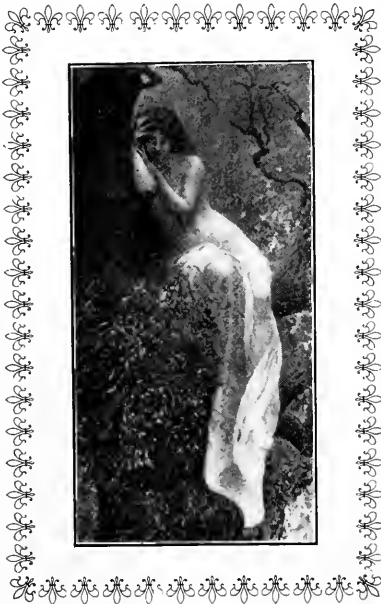
“During the debate in the House of Commons in the year 1770, Burke observed of the famous 45th number of *The North Briton*, written by the patriot Wilkes, that it was a spiritless though a virulent performance, a mere mixture of vinegar and water, at once sour and vapid. The expression of this sentiment is perhaps not more happy than the correctness of the criticism. It is amazing that any of Wilkes’ writings should ever have been popular, in the best sense of the word. They are certainly, for the most part, tame and inelegant productions. This is the more wonderful when we reflect that Mr. Wilkes was confessedly a man of wit and genius, an elegant classical scholar, and very advantageously distinguished for the fluency and felicity of his colloquial powers. In this respect he seems to have had some resemblance to Charles Fox, who certainly could talk well, though, in our opinion, he was never very famous for writing well.

“In the hands of John Wilkes and Charles Fox the pen appears to have moved sullenly over the page. But theirs was the voluble tongue to declaim and to delight! One spoke in the Senate, and men thought Demosthenes was resuscitated from the dead; another talked with his jovial friends, and it seemed as if they were listening to Aristippus, to Alcibiades or to Petronius Arbitrator. But when Wilkes and Fox retired to their closets they produced nothing but awkward memorials of their own imbecility.”

Of the writings of Wilkes which are in print and accessible, the present writer has consulted the following: (1) “The Correspondence of the late John Wilkes with his Friends, printed from the Original Manuscripts; in which are introduced Memoirs of his Life.” By John

Almon. Five volumes, London, 1805. (2) "The North Briton, Numbers 1 to 68. Revised and corrected by the Author, with Explanatory Notes." Two volumes, London, 1769. (3) "Speeches of John Wilkes in the Parliament appointed to meet at Westminster November 29, 1774; to its Prorogation, June 6, 1777." Two volumes, London, 1777. (4) "Speeches in the House of Commons by John Wilkes." One volume, London, 1786. (5) "A Letter to George Grenville, occasioned by the publication of the Speech he made February 3, 1769, for expelling Mr. Wilkes." London, 1769. (6) "J. Wilkes, Patriot; an unfinished Autobiography." Two volumes, Harrow, 1888. (7) "A Letter to Samuel Johnson, on 'The False Alarm' by Johnson." London, 1770. (8) "Letters from John Wilkes to his Daughter, 1774 to 1796; with a Collection of his Miscellaneous Poems, and prefixed with a Memoir of J. Wilkes." Four volumes, London, 1804.

In addition to Wilkes-Barré the following places and localities in the United States were named for John Wilkes prior to the year 1800: Wilkes County, in the north-eastern part of Georgia; Wilkes County, in the north-western part of North Carolina; Wilkesborough, a township in the lastmentioned county; Wilkesborough, a post-village (the county-seat of Wilkes County) in the abovementioned township.





CHAPTER X.

THE RIGHT HON. ISAAC BARRÉ, SOLDIER, ORATOR, STATESMAN, AND AMERICA'S ADVOCATE AND CHAMPION.

"It is a good thing for all Americans, and it is an especially good thing for young Americans, to remember the men who have given their lives in war and peace to the service of their fellow-countrymen; and to keep in mind the feats of daring and personal prowess done in times past by some of the many *champions of the Nation* in the various crises of her history."

"In Westminster Hall, and other homes of oratory in England, there have been as many noble blows struck, and as many pregnant words uttered, in behalf of the independence of America as there have been for the integrity of the British Empire."

—*The Hon. Joseph H. Choate, London, May, 1900.*

In an interesting sketch entitled "Col. Isaac Barré," prepared with great care, and read before the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society,* Wilkes-Barré, November 16, 1900, Mr. Sidney Roby Miner states:

"It would probably surprise a stranger to find how little is known here of the men after whom our city was named—especially of Barré. From the fact that the "Encyclopædia Britannica" contains no sketch of him, and scarcely the mention of his name, and the fact that in the few biographical encyclopædias where he is mentioned only the merest outlines of his career are given, it might be inferred that he was a man of no prominence and little influence. On the contrary, he was, in his day, not only conspicuous and prominent, but a man of influence and power, feared and respected by his opponents for his talents, his oratory, his invective and his courage, and loved by his friends for qualities which are not dwelt upon by his biographers, but which may be inferred from his associates and their devotion to him."

When the present writer began, some years ago, to collect facts and incidents for this sketch of Colonel Barré, he was, just as Mr. Miner seems to have been, surprised at the apparent paucity as well as the inaccessibility of such material. The French have a saying which runs somewhat in this wise: "The world never forgets its rich men. It *may* forget its great ones—will forget them, indeed, unless they have a drum beaten very loudly before them!" Isaac Barré was neither a rich nor a great man, but for many years he was a conspicuous and notable figure among the decent and honorable men constituting a small section of the large body of office-holders who managed the affairs of Great Britain in the reign of George III. Moreover, during the period referred to he was highly regarded in this country as an ardent advocate and a sincere champion of America's rights. Why, then, has Colonel Barré

* See "Proceedings and Collections" of that Society, VI: 113.

been neglected by the encyclopedists and the biographers? Chiefly, we think, because he left no descendants; wherefore, after the death of his personal friends and contemporary admirers, there was no one sufficiently interested in the subject of his life to take it up at the proper time and deal with it fully and satisfactorily, or, in other words, beat the biographic drum loudly and opportunely.

On the shore of the Bay of Biscay, on the western coast of France, lies La Rochelle. About the year 1568 it became the headquarters of the Huguenots, and upon the signing by King Henry IV, in April, 1598, of the famous "perpetual and irrevocable" Edict of Nantes—whereby many important civil and religious concessions were granted to the Protestants of France—La Rochelle became a Huguenot stronghold. In October, 1685, Louis XIV of France, by a proclamation, solemnly revoked and annulled the great and fundamental law enacted by his grandfather Henry at Nantes, and forbade the free exercise of the Protestant religion within the bounds of his dominions. Then began the depopulation of France, although the King pronounced the punishment of the galleys against those who sought liberty in flight, and ordered the confiscation of all the lands and houses which were sold by those proprietors who were preparing to quit the kingdom. Vigilant watch was kept at the frontiers, and frigates cruised along all the coasts, while proscription was organized *en masse*, and all the troopers in the land (who, on account of peace, were unemployed) were placed at the disposal of the Romish priests and bishops, to uphold their missions (known as the dragonades) with the sabre.

Within twenty years following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes France lost between 300,000 and 400,000 of her most active, industrious and enterprising citizens—including artisans and men of science and letters—who emigrated to England, Ireland, Switzerland, Holland and America. But, notwithstanding all the persecutions and emigrations, about two millions of the people in France continued to adhere to the Protestant religion. Meanwhile the episode in the history of French Protestantism known as the War of the Camisards had been begun and terminated, although it was not until 1710 that comparative peace was finally restored. Then, for upwards of ten years, the Protestants of France enjoyed partial repose—the reign of Louis XIV coming to an end with his death in 1715, and being followed by the regency of the Duke of Orleans until 1723, when Louis XV ascended the throne. In 1724 this fourteen-year-old King issued a severe edict against the Protestants, at the instigation of the Jesuits, and again the emigrations from France began.

At that time there dwelt in the district of La Rochelle a well-to-do *bourgeois* named Barré,* who had two sons—Jean and Pierre. The family were Huguenots, and Pierre, the younger son—then about twenty-four years of age—anticipating and dreading a renewal of the cruel oppressions under which his parents had suffered in his youthful days and earlier, determined, with a number of his fellow countrymen, to take refuge in Ireland. Settling in Dublin Pierre (or Peter, in English) Barré embarked in business, in a small way, as a grocer. The elder Barré and his son Jean continued to reside in or near La Rochelle, where the former died about 1739 and the latter in 1760.

* For the pronunciation of this surname see pages 523 and 524.

Contemporary with the Barrés in the district of La Rochelle lived a family named Raboteau. About 1724 a daughter of this family was offered the alternative of marrying a Romanist for whom she did not care, or of lifelong devotion in a nunnery to a religion which she detested. There was only one means of escape, for, as during the former persecutions of the French Protestants, heavy penalties were placed upon emigration, ships-of-war guarded the coasts, and chains and the galleys were reserved for the fugitive. An uncle of Mademoiselle Raboteau, who had some time before settled in Dublin as a merchant, was in the habit of paying occasional trading visits in his own vessel to La Rochelle. His niece informed him of her unhappy plight, and implored his assistance. He consented to aid her, and concealed her in La Rochelle till the time for his sailing drew nigh, when, placing her in an empty cask, he conveyed her on board his ship and sailed for Dublin. There, in 1725, she became the wife of her compatriot *émigré*, Peter Barré.

But little is known of the early life of the Barrés in Dublin. "From the nature of their exile," says Hugh F. Elliot in "Colonel Barré and His Times,"* "it is probable they were poor." It is stated in the "Dictionary of National Biography" that Peter Barré "rose by slow degrees to a position of eminence in Dublin commerce." He was a member of the Dublin Society of Arts and Husbandry from its foundation in 1750; in 1758 he was an Alderman of the city; in 1766 he was the owner of a warehouse in Fleet Street and a country-house at Cullen's Wood. He died about 1775, leaving to his son property in Dublin worth £300 a year.†

ISAAC BARRÉ, who seems to have been the only child of Peter and

— (*Raboteau*) Barré, was born at Dublin in 1726. He was entered



Facsimile of signature written
in middle-life.

as a "Pensioner" at Trinity College, Dublin, November 19, 1740, being then in the fifteenth year of his life. He became a "Scholar" in 1744, and took his degree in the following year. It being the desire of his parents that he should prepare for the Bar, he began his legal studies as soon as he had been graduated at Trinity. During the brief period that he was engaged in these studies David Garrick, the celebrated English actor, who was then joint-manager with Sheridan of the Dublin Theater, charmed with the displays of Barré's acting in some private theatricals, urged him to go upon the stage—coupling his arguments with the liberal offer of £1,000 a year. But Barré's inclination all along was for a military life, and so in 1746 he gave up the Law, declined Garrick's attractive proposition, and applied for and received a commission as Ensign in the 32d Regiment of Foot, then stationed in Flanders.

The profession which Barré thus embraced, and of which he was destined to remain for many years an active but undistinguished member, was, during the middle of the eighteenth century, at its worst period in Great Britain. When Barré entered the army the War of the Austrian Succession was raging on the Continent. It had been carried on for some time with uniform want of success, so far as the British contingent was concerned. Political corruption had sapped every branch and every rank of the British service. Commissions, promo-

* See *Littell's Living Age*, January 6, 1877.

† See *The Gentleman's Magazine* (London), August, 1817.

tions and favors were placed in one great mart and sold to the highest political bidder. The discipline of the army was sacrificed to the discipline of the House of Commons. Dissensions in the camp had already threatened the existence of the army, while divisions in the Cabinet precluded any hope that these dissensions would ever be entirely healed. Moreover, the internal condition of the British army was no better than its administration. To the favored few, indeed, many rewards were offered. There were perquisites, the very names of some of which are now almost forgotten. There was very nearly complete immunity from service for the officers, and many of them spent more time at Ranelagh Gardens on the Thames than they did with their regiments. But to Barré, and men like him, the army presented a very different aspect. They had no society but that of their brother officers; no reward but in the efficiency of their regiments.

"There was little in the officer of that day to recommend him. He was badly educated and very often profligate. He was the butt of satirists. Sometimes he was a school-boy, who staggered under the weight of his cockade; sometimes a shopman, attempting a military bluster. As for the discipline of the men, nothing could be worse. In the 'March of the Guards to Finchley' Hogarth has presented to us the wildest scene of confusion and licentiousness."



THE MARCH TO FINCHLEY.

A photo-reproduction of an engraving after the original painting by William Hogarth.*

* This picture was painted by William Hogarth (mentioned on pages 531 and 534) at some time between the years 1740 and 1750, and was originally dedicated by him to George II; but the King indignantly and rudely, though naturally enough, rejected this dedication. Thereupon Hogarth maliciously re-dedicated the picture to Frederick II, King of Prussia. It now adorns the walls of the Foundling Hospital, London. The scene depicted in the painting is laid in Tottenham Court Turnpike, with a view of Hampstead and Highgate in the background. In the middle-distance is seen a body of soldiers marching in tolerable order, accompanied by their baggage-wagon. There is no order or regularity, however, among the soldiers in the foreground, owing, in part, to the narrowness of the passage through the gate, but more to the liberty and license allowed to the sons of Mars on quitting their homes.

“To a young and aspiring man like Barré the first charms of such a profession must soon have yielded to a bitter sense of mortification. Crushed by the wealth of more fortunate comrades, with neither influence to command favor nor means to purchase it, his future prospects must have appeared most disheartening. It is true that many of the statesmen of that and of a later time—Henry Pelham, Conway, Shelburne, the great Pitt himself—were, or had been, soldiers; but these men were all favored by political connection, and of political connection Barré was entirely destitute.”*

After protracted negotiations the Continental war was ended by the peace concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle in October, 1748, whereby the House of Hanover retained the succession in its German States and in Great Britain. Barré's chance of snatching fame just then from any successful military exploit disappeared with the coming of peace; and thereafter, for nine years, we lose sight of him. We know that he spent part of that time with his regiment in Scotland and part at Gibraltar (where the “32d” was stationed for four years), but of his manner of life we are quite ignorant. Walpole asserts that he employed the intervals of duty in assiduous study, and Elliot concludes that “it is likely enough that this was the case, as no man could have acquired such a mastery of speaking, unless he had studied literature carefully and cultivated the art of composition.” October 1, 1755, Barré was promoted Lieutenant.

The seven years that succeeded the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle are described by Voltaire as among the happiest that Europe ever enjoyed. Commerce revived and the fine arts flourished, but, unfortunately, not all the elements of discord had yet been exterminated from Europe, and, in consequence, early in 1756 the Seven Years' War broke out. It was waged against Frederick the Great of Prussia by an alliance whose chief members were Austria, France and Russia. Frederick had the assistance of British subsidies and of some minor German States. France and England appeared as the leading Powers in this war, in which, however, they had only a secondary interest, for their quarrel really lay in the New World. The ancient rivalry between these two nations had, by colonization, been extended to various quarters of the world, and their interests once more came into collision in America, resulting in a formal declaration of war against France by England in May, 1756. As we have previously shown (on pages 261 and 297) a series of desultory conflicts, between the English on the one side and the French and their allies on the other, had been going on in America for two years prior to this declaration of war without being avowed by the mother countries. This struggle in America—known in our history as the French and Indian War—was closely connected and identified with the Seven Years' War.

When these wars broke out the Duke of Newcastle was the British Premier, William Pitt (subsequently Earl of Chatham) was Paymaster General of the Forces, and William Murray (afterwards to be famous as Lord Mansfield)† was Attorney General. Pitt soon attacked the Government, and was deprived of office. The people trusted Pitt as much as they distrusted Newcastle, and they determined to support the former. The hope, the force and the enterprise of the nation looked to Pitt, and to Pitt only, as the man who could save the country from what

* From Elliot's “Colonel Barré and His Times.”

† See pages 537 and 540.

—to a people conscious of its own strength and its own resources—must have seemed a living death. But Pitt was still too much disliked by the King (George II) to be available for the position of leader in the House of Commons; and so the Duke of Newcastle's Ministry soon fell. Then, for a short time, the Duke of Devonshire was at the head of a coalition Ministry which included Pitt; but the old King did not stand this long (only from November, 1756, till May, 1757), and one day suddenly turned all the Ministers out of office. Finally, June 29, 1757, a coalition of another kind was formed, which included Newcastle and Pitt. The former took charge of the Treasury Department and was Premier. Pitt was Secretary of State, with the lead in the House of Commons and with the supreme direction of all war and foreign affairs. He now, for the first time, had matters all his own way and became, to all intents and purposes, Prime Minister.

The accession to power of this coalition Ministry gave to the war with France, in particular, a new aspect. England was now, under the lead of the high-spirited and ambitious Pitt, about to enter upon the greatest career of conquest in her history. However, says Lord Macaulay, "the first acts of the new Administration were characterized rather by vigor than by judgment." Pitt at once proceeded to take energetic measures against France, and first of all he organized an expedition against Rochefort, an important French seaport and naval station, distant some eighteen miles from La Rochelle, previously mentioned.

Lieutenant Barré, longing for active duty in his profession, applied for permission to accompany this expedition in the capacity of a volunteer. His request was granted, and he was attached to the 20th Regiment of Foot, whose Lieutenant Colonel was James Wolfe,* and another of whose officers was Lord Fitzmaurice, a native of Dublin, like Barré, and then only twenty years of age. Wolfe acted as Quartermaster General of the Rochefort expedition, the troops of which were commanded by Sir John Mordaunt, Wolfe's friend; Admiral Sir Edward Hawke being in command of the convoying fleet. The combined forces arrived off the French coast September 20th, and remained there ten days, effecting nothing. In fact, the expedition terminated most ingloriously, and brought disgrace to nearly all concerned. Wolfe came home very indignant. He wrote: "We return to England with reproach and dishonor! We blundered most egregiously on all sides—sea and land. * * No zeal, no ardor, no care and concern for the good and honor of the country." His own zeal and ardor, however, had been marked, and Admiral Hawke gave the King a good opinion of him. It soon be-

* JAMES WOLFE was born in the county of Kent, England, January 2, 1727. He came of Welsh-Irish-Yorkshire ancestry, and was the eldest son of Gen. Edward Wolfe, an officer of merit and distinction who served under the Duke of Marlborough. In 1742, at the age of fifteen, James Wolfe received an Ensign's commission in a regiment of foot soldiers. In 1743 he took part in the famous battle of Dettingen, as Adjutant of his regiment. June 12, 1745, he was appointed Brigade Major, and for the next three years served on the staff. He was a staff-officer at the battle of Culloden, where his regiment lost one-third of its men. In January, 1749, he obtained a commission as Major in the 20th Regiment of Foot, commanded by Lord George Sackville. For awhile, in the absence of the Colonel and the Lieutenant Colonel, Wolfe was in command of the regiment. In March, 1750, Lord Bury became Colonel of this regiment, and Wolfe was promoted Lieutenant Colonel. In February, 1757, Wolfe accepted the post of Quartermaster General in Ireland—which was usually held by a Colonel—in the hope of obtaining that rank; but he was judged by his superiors to be too young for such promotion. The appointment to the Quartermaster Generalship did not take him away from his regiment (the "20th"), which then consisted of two battalions. (The subsequent events in the life of Wolfe are treated of in the following pages.)

After the death of Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham, at the age of thirty-two years, the British fleet conveyed his body home. It was landed at Portsmouth with military honors November 17, 1759, and was buried at Greenwich, his ancestral home. November 21st, in the House of Commons, Pitt moved an Address for a public monument to Wolfe. This was ultimately erected in Westminster Abbey, but was not unveiled until October 4, 1773.

came known that had Wolfe's counsels been followed the results would almost certainly have been different. Wolfe was really the only officer in the expedition whose conduct made him conspicuous. October 21, 1757, he was brevetted Colonel by direction of the King, and shortly afterwards the latter said to the Duke of Newcastle—who had suggested that Wolfe was a madman—"Mad, is he? Then I hope he will bite some others of my Generals!"

The Rochefort expedition marked a turning-point in the life of Isaac Barré, for his services attracted the attention of his superior officers and introduced him to the friendship and favor of Wolfe and Fitzmaurice, the two men who were to do more for him than anybody else in the world—for the former rescued him from obscurity after he had lingered a subaltern for eleven years, and the latter, a few years later, as Lord Shelburne, brought him into Parliament and became his patron and friend.

Reference is made on page 481 to the ineffective campaigns which were carried on by the English against the French in America in the years 1756 and 1757. Historians tell us that the lowest point ever touched by the Anglo-Saxon forces in America was reached in the Winter of 1757-'58, after the loss of Fort William Henry and Oswego. But by the beginning of 1758 Pitt had gained complete ascendancy in the Government, and by his genius, "unequalled and almost magical," had brought "the half moribund English nation into an ecstasy of patriotic ardor." His American program for 1758 was a new one only in the men who were to carry it out and the kind of spirit which animated it; but these were the forces which brought the war to a victorious conclusion in about two years.

"Such a war, surely, was never before carried on. The trained and disciplined battalions of the Old World—regiments whose names were long famous in history—fought side by side with a heterogeneous militia, bodies of partizans, scouts, wood-rangers, *coureurs-des-bois* and savage and ferocious Indians. The campaigns were conducted under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty through unbroken forests, over towering mountain ranges, on the bosom of great waters, by the shores of exquisite lakes and on the banks of a great river. The battles won and lost were infinitely more dramatic in their elements, and the results to the world more momentous, than those between greater forces in the familiar fields of Europe. * * Ticonderoga was the least remembered, though one of the bloodiest, most desperate and most dramatic battles of our history, at once a glory and a shame—the most humiliating reverse the English ever suffered at the hands of the French in America."

Early in January, 1758, Colonel Wolfe was summoned from Exeter to London, where he was offered the command of a brigade in the force which was to be sent against Cape Breton Island.* Pitt, with his wonderful insight into character, had selected Wolfe for this position. He accepted it, and by his influence Isaac Barré was detailed to the same expedition as Brigade Major. February 12, 1758, Wolfe and Barré embarked for Halifax, Nova Scotia, the place of rendezvous for the regular and Provincial forces. The fleet and transports (under command of Admiral Boscawen) numbered 157 vessels, and the land forces, consisting of more than 11,000 Regulars and 500 Provincials, were com-

* See page 297, next to the last paragraph, and page 481, seventh paragraph.

manded by Maj. Gen. Jeffrey Amherst. The expedition set sail from Halifax on May 28th, and on June 1st Louisbourg, on Cape Breton, was sighted. Louisbourg was undoubtedly the most important French stronghold in America. "It stood like a sentinel in the Atlantic to guard the maritime road to Canada, and was the first and strongest link of that chain of fortresses which had been destined to bind the rugged shores of the St. Lawrence with the sunny and fruitful regions of the Mississippi." The fort was built of stone, with walls more than thirty feet high, and a moat eighty feet wide. So great was its strength that it was indiscriminately called the "Dunkirk of America" and the "Gibraltar of America."

On June 8th the landing-boats were rowed from the transports to the shore of Gabarus Bay in three divisions—the third of which carried twelve companies of grenadiers, Fraser's regiment of Highlanders, 550 light infantry and some New England rangers under the command of Wolfe, with Barré as his Brigade Major. The siege of Louisbourg was begun, and, having been carried on for forty-nine days, the stronghold, with its garrison of 5,637 soldiers and sailors, was compelled to capitulate on July 26th. That the success of this siege was mainly due to Wolfe's skill, boldness and activity was clearly understood, and he became popularly known as the "Hero of Louisbourg." At the end of the Cape Breton campaign, early in August, 1758, Wolfe pressed Amherst to either make an attempt on Quebec or send help to Abercrombie, who had been repulsed at Ticonderoga.* Amherst set out to re-enforce Abercrombie, and Wolfe was sent with three battalions to destroy the French fishing-settlements on the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Barré, as a member of Wolfe's staff, took part in this minor expedition. On the 30th of the following September Wolfe and Barré set sail for England, where they arrived November 1st. Barré immediately rejoined his regiment, and Wolfe, having reported at headquarters, repaired to Salisbury where the second battalion of his old regiment was stationed. During his absence this battalion had been organized into a separate regiment (the "67th"), and the Colonelcy of it had been given to him.

Pitt was now organizing his grand scheme for expelling the French from Canada,† and he sought for merit wherever it was to be found. Wolfe wrote to Pitt, offering his services for the American campaign, and by Christmas it was settled that he should command the force to be sent up the St. Lawrence against Quebec, the enemy's capital in the New World. January 12, 1759, the rank of "Major General in America" was conferred upon Wolfe, and he was given, so far as possible, *carte blanche* in the choice of his chief staff-officers. Two of these, selected by him immediately, were Isaac Barré and Guy Carleton.‡ Barré's abilities had from the very first commanded the respect of Wolfe. January 13, 1759, Barré was promoted Captain in the regular establishment and appointed "Deputy Adjutant General and Major in America." On the 4th of the following May he was promoted to the post of "Adjutant General in America."

February 17, 1759, Wolfe, accompanied by Barré and other officers, sailed from Spithead in the flag-ship of Admiral Saunders, and after a

* See page 297, next to the last paragraph.

† See page 297, last paragraph, and page 482, second paragraph.

‡ He had taken part in the siege of Louisbourg as Lieutenant Colonel under Amherst. December 30, 1758, he was appointed "Quartermaster General and Colonel in America." For a brief sketch of his life see a subsequent chapter.

voyage of ten weeks arrived at Halifax, whence they proceeded to Louisbourg, the place of rendezvous for the forces which would compose Wolfe's command. In the beginning of June the expedition sailed from Louisbourg, through the Gulf of St. Lawrence into the river of the same name. The navigation of the river was difficult and tedious, for its shoals were intricate, its storms were destructive and its currents were powerful and rapid. Fire-ships were floated down upon the fleet by the French, and on one occasion five of the largest vessels of the fleet were nearly brought into collision while trying to make headway against strong winds and stronger currents. On the 27th of June Wolfe landed his forces on the Isle of Orleans, about four miles down the river from the city of Quebec. The whole Province of Quebec was in consternation. The French "had concentrated quite 14,000 men in and about the towering city ere Wolfe came with scarcely 9,000, and their fortifications stood everywhere ready to defend the place. For close upon three months the English struck at their strength in vain, first here and then there, in their busy efforts to find a spot where to get a foothold against the massive stronghold—Montcalm holding all the while within his defenses to tire them out; until at last, upon a night in September which all the world remembers, Wolfe made his way by a path which lay within a deep ravine upward to the Heights of Abraham."*

"After the lapse of almost a century and a-half the memory of that exploit is not dimmed. Once more we behold the busy but noiseless embarkation; again we feel the breathless silence which reigns over the dark river; again we see the intrepid ascent of its lofty and rocky bank"—a feat of such frightful risk as in war has scarcely a parallel. At the day-dawn of September 13, 1759, Wolfe found himself on the Plains of Abraham, where Montcalm, his supplies thus cut off, had no choice but to give battle. "Few actions in modern warfare have been more widely chronicled, more thoroughly analyzed or more permanently committed to fame than that. Hardly ever was there so dramatic a battle; hardly ever have such momentous consequences hung upon the issue of one. Everything about it was dramatic."† Wolfe's forces in their entirety consisted of ten battalions of Regulars (including the 47th Regiment of Foot mentioned on page 604, and the 60th Regiment of Foot, or the "Royal American Regiment,"‡ mentioned on page 346), three companies of grenadiers from the garrison at Louisbourg, three companies of light infantry and six companies of New England Provincials. These forces were divided into three brigades commanded, respectively, by Colonels George Townshend,§ James Murray and

* Woodrow Wilson's "A History of the American People," II : 94.

† Augustus C. Biell's "Sir William Johnson," page 195.

‡ According to an article by George A. Wade, published in *The Pall Mall Magazine* a few years ago, the British regiment with the most "distinctions" is "The King's Royal Rifle Corps"—the "Gallant 60th." It has thirty-four "distinctions." These are not inscribed on its colors, because "rifle" regiments do not carry colors; but they stand to the credit of the command and are engraved on the regimental coat-of-arms. This "crack" regiment was designated the "60th" two years after the formation of its first battalion. Its second battalion was not formed until 1795; in 1805 a third battalion was formed, and in 1807 a fourth. Until 1814 the regiment wore a scarlet uniform with blue facings, but in that year this was altered to a green uniform with scarlet facings. The regiment was under fire for the first time in 1757, and the first of its long roll of "distinctions" was won the following year at the siege of Louisbourg, previously mentioned, under the command of Colonel Monckton (mentioned on the next page). Its first great glory, however, was won on the Plains of Abraham, where it was foremost in the van under the command of its Lieutenant Colonel. Wolfe was so delighted with the valor of the men of the "60th" that he gave the regiment the motto "*Celer et Audax*," which it has borne ever since. The "60th" went through the Indian Mutiny, and earned the praises of the chief British officers.

§ GEORGE TOWNSHEND, born in 1724, was the eldest son of the third Viscount Townshend. He was at the battle of Fontenoy, took part in the suppression of the Jacobite rising of 1745, and fought at Culloden. Some years later he resigned his commission in the army, but in 1758 it was restored to him and he was detailed to command a brigade under Wolfe in the Quebec expedition. When Wolfe fell in the battle



DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE.

Photo-reproduction of an engraving after the original painting by Benjamin West.
Plate loaned by The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

Robert Monckton.* However, only about 5,000 of the troops took part in the battle on Abraham's Plains.

Early in the engagement Wolfe was wounded in the wrist by a musket-ball, but, binding up the wound with a handkerchief, he continued to give his orders with his usual calmness. After a short time he was wounded again, this time in the groin; but of this he took little heed—bidding those about him say nothing concerning his wounds lest his soldiers should grow faint-hearted. He then went forward to some high ground where there was an advance-post of the Louisbourg grenadiers, and at their head he charged the enemy. Here a third bullet struck him in the breast. He staggered and sat on the ground, whereupon Lieutenant Brown of the grenadiers, an officer of artillery and two private soldiers carried him in their arms about one hundred yards to the rear, disencumbered him of his arms and accouterments and laid him on the ground. "Don't grieve for me," he said to those around him. In a few minutes Barré and Monckton, who had been wounded a short time before, came up, and Wolfe asked eagerly how the battle went. He was told that the French had given way everywhere and were being pursued to the walls of the town. Just then was heard the cry: "They run! See how they run!" The dying hero asked with some emotion, "Who run?" "The enemy," replied an officer. Supported by Barré, Wolfe raised himself up on hearing this news, smiled, and feebly said: "God be praised! Now I die contented," and from that instant the smile never left his face till he died.†

The news of the glorious death of Wolfe at the age of thirty-two years, and of the fall of Quebec, reached London in the very week in which the Parliament met. Says Macaulay: "All was joy and triumph. Envy and faction were forced to join in the general applause. Whigs and Tories vied with each other in extolling the genius and energy of Pitt. His colleagues were never talked of or thought of. The House of Commons, the nation, the Colonies, our allies, our enemies, had their eyes fixed on him alone."

The battle of Quebec was unfortunate for Barré. A severe bullet wound which he received in his right cheek marred his personal appearance for ever and totally destroyed the sight of his right eye, while the death of Wolfe withdrew from him the protection and support of a patron and friend. While recuperating from his wound Barré made a sonnet on Abraham's Plains—which was at a critical moment of the engagement—Colonel Townshend had to take command of the British forces. He received the formal surrender of Quebec, and was appointed to succeed Wolfe as commander in Canada. In 1767, on the death of his father, he succeeded to the latter's title and estates. The same year he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; in 1787 he was created a Marquis, and in 1793 became a Field Marshal. He died in 1807.

* ROBERT MONCKTON, born in England in 1726, served in the army in Germany as early as 1743, and in Flanders in 1745. December 20, 1757, he was appointed "Colonel-commandant of the 60th ('Royal American') Regiment," mentioned on the preceding page. March 11, 1759, he was appointed second in command in Wolfe's expedition. In the battle on Abraham's Plains, September 13th, he was severely wounded in the breast, and was incapacitated for further service at that time. October 24, 1759, he was appointed Colonel of the 17th Regiment of Foot, and in the following December left Quebec for New York. Early in 1760 he was appointed to succeed General Stanwix (mentioned on page 346) in command of the troops in Pennsylvania and to the south, with headquarters at Philadelphia. (See page 390.) In February, 1761, he was promoted Major General, and the next month was appointed Governor of New York. In 1763 he returned to England, where, in 1770, he was promoted Lieutenant General. He died in 1782.

† BENJAMIN WEST, the eminent American painter, mentioned on page 139, knew Isaac Barré well and met him frequently in London during the years 1765-1790. In 1771 West painted his well-known picture, the "Death of General Wolfe"—which is now in the collection of paintings at Grosvenor House, London, and *not* in the British Museum as erroneously stated in the note on page 139. By the courtesy of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society we are enabled to present herewith a photo-illustration of an engraving after this painting, concerning which we learn from Mr. Miner's paper (mentioned on page 570) the following: "Leaning over the General [Wolfe], holding him tenderly in his arms while the surgeon, Colonel Adair, staunches the flow of blood with a cloth, is Barré. On Barré's right kneels Capt. Henry Smith, while behind him is Colonel Williamson. Opposite this group stands brave Colonel Monckton, who, shot through the lungs, is just falling backwards into the arms of two of his brother officers. He has a handkerchief pressed upon the wound in his breast." * * *

journey through parts of New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Later he joined the immediate command of General Amherst, previously mentioned, and continued with him—presumably as a staff-officer—during the campaign of 1760.* After fourteen years of service Barré thought himself justified in applying to Pitt for advancement, and accordingly in April, 1760, he wrote to the latter; but Pitt seldom favored such applications, and his answer was unsatisfactory—Barré's request being refused on the ground that "senior officers would be injured by his promotion." In the latter part of September, 1760, Amherst sent Barré to England with despatches to the Government relative to the capture of Montreal (on the 8th of September), and the other important events of the campaign then nearly ended.

With Barré's return to England a new epoch in his life began. On the Plains of Abraham he had lost his greatest friend. With Pitt's refusal of his application for promotion his hope of advancement in the military service had vanished. But he was now to find in Lord Fitzmaurice,† his former companion-in-arms, a more powerful patron, and in Parliament a wider field for his ambition and talents. Walpole says that it was the custom of Lord Fitzmaurice at that period to collect a knot of young orators at his house, and that Barré, who was one of the company, soon overtopped the others. However this may be, when Lord Fitzmaurice succeeded to the title and estates of his father, Lord Shelburne, in 1761, he nominated Barré to represent in Parliament the family borough of Chipping Wycombe. Barré was duly elected, and by successive re-elections he sat in Parliament for the borough mentioned from

* See page 298, third paragraph; page 482, third paragraph, and page 601.

† WILLIAM PETTY, LORD FITZMAURICE, the eldest son of the first Earl of Shelburne, was born at Dublin, Ireland, May 20, 1737. He succeeded his father as the second Earl of Shelburne in 1761. He was President of the Board of Trade in 1769, and from 1766 to 1768 occupied, with great and general approbation, the post of Secretary of State for the Home Department. In March, 1782, under the Premiership of the Marquis of Rockingham (who had just succeeded Lord North as Prime Minister), Lord Shelburne—who stood very close to the King—was appointed one of the Secretaries of State; but in the following July, on the death of Rockingham, the King appointed Shelburne Prime Minister, which post he held until the next year. In 1784 he was created first Marquis of Lansdowne. He died May 7, 1805.

In the "Memoirs of Sir Nathaniel William Wraxall" (1772-1784) it is stated (II: 60): "No individual in the Upper House [in 1781-'82] attracted so much national attention from his accomplishments, talents, and extensive information on all subjects of foreign or domestic policy, as the Earl of Shelburne. In the prime of life, and in the full vigor of his faculties, he displayed, whenever he rose to speak, so intimate a knowledge of the European courts as proved him eminently qualified to fill the highest official situation. His acquaintance with the Continent was minute and accurate, the result of ocular inspection on many points, corrected by reflection and improved by correspondence or communications with foreigners of eminence, whom he assiduously cultivated and protected. Mr. [Charles James] Fox himself was far inferior to Lord Shelburne in these branches of information. Nor was that nobleman less versed in all the principles of finance and of revenue than in the other objects of political study that form a statesman. His house, or, more properly to speak, his palace, in Berkeley Square, which had formerly been erected by the Earl of Bute, formed at once the center of a considerable party, as well as the asylum of literary taste and science.

"It is a fact that, during the latter years [1779-'82] of Lord North's Administration, Lord Shelburne retained three or four clerks in constant pay and employment under his own roof, who were solely occupied in copying State papers or accounts. Every measure of finance adopted by the First Minister passed, if I may so express myself, through the political alembic of Shelburne House, where it was examined and severely discussed. There, while [John] Dunning [see page 609, *post*, for a more extended reference to him, and for his portrait] and Barré met to settle their plan of action as leading members of the Opposition in the House of Commons, [Richard] Jackson [see page 441, *ante*]—who likewise sat in the same assembly, for New Romney, one of the Cinque Ports, and the variety of whose information had acquired him the name of 'Omniscient Jackson'—furnished every species of legal or general knowledge. Dr. Price, aided by Mr. Baring, produced financial plans, or made arithmetical calculations, intended to controvert and overturn or to expose those of the First Lord of the Treasury; while Dr. [Joseph] Priestley—who lived under the Earl of Shelburne's personal protection—prosecuted in the midst of London his philosophical and chemical researches. [For a sketch of Dr. Priestley's life see a subsequent chapter.]

"In his person, manners and address the Earl of Shelburne wanted no external quality requisite to captivate or conciliate mankind. Affable, polite, communicative, and courting popularity, he drew round him a number of followers or adherents. His personal courage was indisputable. Splendid and hospitable at his table, he equally delighted his guests by the charms of his conversation and society. In his magnificent library—one of the finest of its kind in England—he could appear as a philosopher and a man of letters. With such various endowments of mind, sustained by rank and fortune, he necessarily excited universal consideration, and seemed to be pointed out by Nature for the first employments. But the confidence which his moral character inspired did not equal the reputation of his abilities. His adversaries accused him of systematic duplicity and insincerity. They even asserted that, unless all the rules of physiognomy were set at defiance, his very countenance and features eloquently indicated falsehood. In order to fix upon him so injurious an imputation they gave him the epithet of 'Malagrida,' from the name of a Portuguese Jesuit well known in the modern history of that kingdom."

For a portrait of Lord Shelburne see page 609, *post*.

December 5, 1761, till 1774, and for Calne from 1774 till 1790, when, in consequence of a disagreement with his patron, he no longer sought re-election.

When Barré took his seat in the House of Commons on the 5th of December, 1761, Pitt had resigned from the Cabinet and Lord Bute (see note, page 530) had become the most influential of the Ministers. Bute quickly and unhesitatingly usurped the chief management of public affairs in the Cabinet, and the sole direction of the House of Lords—thereby provoking the jealousy and resentment of the King's veteran Minister, the Duke of Newcastle, who theretofore had distributed the patronage of the Crown. Bute carefully cultivated the friendship of George Grenville (mentioned on page 532), who was a malcontent, hated the war and was unfriendly to Pitt, who, he said, had brought division and unhappiness into his (Grenville's) family. He seemed even to look upon Pitt's marriage to his sister as an injury to himself.

About a month before the meeting of Parliament in the Autumn of 1761 it was found that the Government had not a single speaker in the House of Commons upon whom it could rely. There was literally nobody who would venture to withstand the eloquence and invective of Pitt, who, driven out of the Cabinet, was now in the ranks of the Opposition. The recollection of Pitt as an adversary—his scorn, his satire and his vehemence—still rankled in the breast of many a victim. Bute expected much of George Grenville. A message was sent to hurry him from Wotton. Every flattery was blandished upon him. He was far too valuable a servant to the King to be allowed to retire from active politics. He was offered the leadership of the House of Commons and the office of Secretary of State for the Northern Department. The leadership he accepted forthwith, but the Secretaryship he declined at that time—consenting, however, some seven months later, to take it. Before the meeting of Parliament the adhesion of another powerful supporter was secured in the person of Charles James Fox, whose services were purchased by the promise that, at an early date, his wife should be made a peeress. The negotiations with Fox were conducted by Lord Shelburne, who was then perhaps the most sincere friend possessed by Bute. He was seriously convinced of the necessity of peace among the warring factions, and was much more consistent than Bute in its pursuit.

Such was the condition of affairs when Barré entered upon his career in the House of Commons. Much was expected during that session. Scarcely ever had matters of greater importance been placed before Parliament. In the Commons the Government was supported by a large majority, but it was for the most part "a timid and dull herd." Pitt's eloquence awed them. His sarcasm scared them. None dared to enter the lists against him.

Barré, however, within five days after he had taken his seat and only a few days before the Christmas recess, broke the spell. He attacked Pitt with great fierceness of language. He overwhelmed him with abuse and his measures with reproaches. Pitt was a profligate Minister, the execration of the people of England, asserted Barré. "There he would stand, turning up his eyes to Heaven, that witnessed his perjuries, and laying his hand in a solemn manner on the table—that sacrilegious hand, that had been employed in tearing out the bowels of his mother country." Pitt maintained a haughty but discreet silence. Fox and a

few others applauded the speech, but the Members of the House, generally, were disgusted. It was too savage, even for bitter partizans. Horace Walpole was a witness of the incident. As he approached the House the tones of a new voice struck upon his ear, and as he passed the door the figure of a new speaker stood before his eyes. The House—which for the previous few years had scarcely ventured on a great debate, and which Pitt had tamed into such absolute submission that, as Walpole himself had once remarked, a “No!” was as likely to be heard from the House of Commons as from an old woman—presented a scene of the most violent confusion. Walpole describes Barré as being, at that time, a swarthy, massive, middle-aged man, of a military figure; a bullet, lodged loosely in his cheek, distorted his face and imparted a savage glare to his right eye. But, unprepossessing as was his appearance, Walpole admits that his diction was both classic and eloquent. “The harsh chord which Barré first struck, however, never ceased to vibrate. Through his Parliamentary career his speeches were marked by remorseless severity.”

For some time after his first display in the House Barré does not seem to have been a frequent speaker. A second attack on Pitt in 1762 received the most marked disapproval, and Barre’s voice was almost drowned by the shuffling, talking and coughing of his audience. In all probability this was the last act of hostility which he displayed towards Pitt, as a rapid change in the relation of parties was soon to effect a union that remained unaltered till death. In March, 1763, by appointment of Prime Minister Bute, Barré became Adjutant General of the British forces, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and a month or so later he was appointed Governor of Stirling Castle—the two posts being worth £4,000 a year. At nearly the same time Lord Shelburne became President of the Board of Trade. About this period the position of Bute had become most embarrassing. Fox, his ablest supporter—hated in the House of Commons, and in wretched health—was gradually withdrawing to his old friends. Bute had ventured to impose an unpopular tax. The city of London remonstrated, mobs were apprehended, and, as Bute had already suffered too much violence at the hands of the people not to dread a personal encounter, he resigned his office and was succeeded by George Grenville, previously mentioned.

One of the first acts of the Grenville Administration was the arrest under a “General Warrant” of John Wilkes, and his prosecution (fully described on page 532, *et seq.*). There was just then, as previously intimated, considerable popular dissatisfaction with the Government, but prior to the Wilkes episode there had been no tangible question upon which public opposition could, with any plausibility, unite. The prosecution of Wilkes and the legality of General Warrants supplied the want. During the Summer of 1763 Lord Shelburne resigned his office and joined the Opposition, and when Parliament met in November (see page 538) Shelburne, carrying Barré with him, had entered into a close and, as it proved, a lasting alliance with Pitt. Wilkes’ privilege as a Member of Parliament almost at once occupied the attention of both Houses, and although neither Shelburne nor Barré took any part in the debates on the various questions which arose in their respective Houses in connection with this mixed subject, they voted against the Government. To the King, who considered that officers of the army were also

politically servants of the Crown, this was an unpardonable offense, and he immediately determined on making an example. Barré was relieved of his office as Governor of Stirling Castle, and both he and Shelburne were dismissed from the army. (See page 611.)

Elliot, in his article, "Colonel Barré and his 'Times,'" previously referred to, says :

"There is no act in the reign of George III which is so difficult to excuse as the dismissal of officers for their votes in Parliament. It clearly shows either that the King completely misunderstood the English Constitution, or that he deliberately intended to destroy it. Even in those days, when political purity was at its lowest ebb, when boroughs were put up for sale, and when the votes of Members were bought by scores, there was yet a certain veil drawn over the infamy of the corruption. The old theory of the Constitution was maintained. The constituencies were supposed to represent the people, the Members were supposed to represent the constituencies, and the House of Commons was supposed to be a disinterested body of gentlemen deliberating for the good of the nation. This was a fiction, no doubt, but it was a very useful one, and went far to attach the people to the forms of a Constitution in itself excellent. If a Frenchman had told an Englishman in 1763 that he was governed by a dozen great Lords and a few Court favorites, he would have considered his nation insulted and the Frenchman a fool. But in fact, though this was not generally admitted, it was very nearly the case. It was left for George III to say boldly what most Englishmen had shrunk from saying. He avowedly considered every Member of the House of Commons who drew a public salary his own particular representative. In his own words, those who voted against the Court had deserted him, and must be punished."

During the session of Parliament which followed the dismissal of Barré from the army his reputation as a speaker rose rapidly higher and higher. The times were such as to afford great opportunities for a bold and clever man to earn distinction. The question of the legality of General Warrants redivided parties, and offered opportunities for new alliances. Barré seized the occasion to evince his new attachment to Pitt and to excuse his past conduct, and a reconciliation having been effected between the two men in February, 1764, their political attachment only ceased with Pitt's death some fourteen years later. As Pitt gradually withdrew from public life his place, to a certain extent, was filled by Barré. The latter had all the bitterness of invective and a great deal of the fire and declamation of the older statesman. He possessed the power of making himself feared, and he *was* feared.

The treaty of peace between France and England, executed at Versailles in February, 1763, made a great change in the condition of England in America. The connection of the English Colonies in America with the mother country was very peculiar, and embraced many of those inconsistencies between law and practise which are the result of great individual independence and a general disposition to decentralization. The doctrine that Colonies, in matters of commerce, should be completely subordinate to the mother country, was in 1764 as generally accepted in England as in France. The Colonies of England were not to compete with English home industries. They were to buy nothing except in the English markets. They were to sell nothing except in the English markets. This was the *theory* of the commercial system which bound together England and its American Colonies at the beginning of the year 1764; and the *law* was in accordance with the theory. Customs were imposed at the American ports, Vice Admiralty Courts sat to try offenses against the custom-laws, and there was a nominal revenue collected as the fruits of the system. While high duties were imposed in the continental ports of America, a large part of them were never paid. By law no tea might be sold in America except what had been imported from England. In fact, however, the importation of English

tea into America declined, while the consumption of tea by the Colonists rapidly increased. As previously mentioned, officers of customs were appointed; "but," says an English writer, "everybody knew that what made the place of an officer of customs so lucrative to him was his connivance at its breach." Smuggling was openly maintained along the Atlantic coast by the Colonies, and it is stated that, to collect a revenue of £2,000 in America in 1764, it cost England the sum of £8,000.

The time had clearly come—in the judgment of the British Government—for some change in the laws of trade; but, unfortunately for those in authority, the change decided upon was connected with another and a fatal circumstance. It was determined to tax America for the purpose of raising funds to help pay the debt of the late war and to meet the expense of the military defense of the Colonies. In March, 1764, upon the introduction of his annual budget, Prime Minister Grenville brought forward certain "Declaratory Resolves" with reference to the more effective enforcement of the old laws governing the importation of sugar and molasses into the Colonies, and to the tightening and extending of the old "Navigation Acts." At the same time he announced that he would, the next year, propose a direct tax upon the Colonies in the form of an Act requiring revenue stamps to be used on the principal sorts of documents employed in America in legal and mercantile business. "Loud and fierce was the indignation of New England over this revival of the 'Molasses Act.' Even without the 'Stamp Act' it might very likely have led that part of the country to make armed resistance."

In the beginning of February, 1765, the "Stamp Bill for the American Colonies" was introduced in the House of Commons. It met with very little opposition. Shelburne was absent from the House of Lords, and Pitt from the House of Commons. Barré was the single champion of any considerable mark who did battle for the Colonies; and he was very active in his opposition to the Bill. In a speech, perhaps the best of his many fine speeches on America, he commenced a course of opposition to the Administration which he consistently pursued to the termination of the Revolutionary War. Early in the debate on the Stamp Bill Charles Townshend,* after discussing the advantages which the American Colonies had derived from the late war, asked the question: "And now will these American children, planted by our care, nourished up to strength and opulence by our indulgence, and protected by our arms, grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden under which we lie?" This called to his feet Isaac Barré, who said †:

"They planted by your care! No, your *oppressions* planted them in America! They fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated, un hospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable; and, among others, to the cruelties of a savage foe the most subtle and, I will take upon me to say, the most formidable of any people on the face of God's earth! And yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country from the hands of those who should have been their friends. *They nourished up by your indulgence!* They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them in one department and another, who were, perhaps, the deputies of deputies to some Members of this House, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions and to prey upon them—men whose behavior, on many occasions, has caused the blood of those *Sons of Liberty* to recoil within them—men promoted to the highest

* Younger brother of George Townshend (mentioned on page 578), and at this time Paymaster General of the British forces. From his political instability he was called "The Weathercock."

† See Gordon's "History of the United States."

seats of justice, some who, to my knowledge, were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own.

"They protected by *your* arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defense; have exerted a valor—amidst their constant and laborious industry—for the defense of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And believe me—remember I this day told you so—the same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first will accompany them still. But prudence forbids me to explain myself further. God knows I do not at this time speak from motives of party heat. What I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart. However superior to me in general knowledge and experience the respectable body of this House may be, yet I claim to know more of America than most of you, having seen, and been conversant in, that country. The people, I believe, are as truly loyal as any subjects the King has; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them if ever they should be violated. But the subject is too delicate; I will say no more."

These sentiments were thrown out so entirely without premeditation—so forcibly and so firmly—that the whole House sat awhile amazed, intently looking without answering a word. The Stamp Bill was pending in the House of Commons between three and four weeks, at the end of which time it was passed—the largest number of votes which had been given against it in any stage of its progress not having amounted to fifty. It was concurred in by the House of Lords, where it appears to have met no resistance, and March 22, 1765, it received the royal assent. Benjamin Franklin—then in London, where he had been for some five months as agent for Pennsylvania—wrote to Charles Thomson (mentioned on page 354) at Philadelphia: "The sun of Liberty is set; you must light up the candles of Industry and Economy." Mr. Thomson answered: "I was apprehensive that other lights would be the consequence, and I foresee *the opposition that will be made!*"

The Stamp Act* was not to go into operation until the first of the following November. Concerning it the editor of "The Public Papers of George Clinton," mentioned on page 30, *ante*, states in his "Introduction":

"It provided that all instruments in writing—including all commercial and legal documents, newspapers, etc.—were to bear stamps, ranging in price from three pence to £10, and were to be purchased from the agents of the British Government. Without these stamps notes of hand were valueless, suits at law out of the question, marriages nullified, transfers of real estate and inheritances invalid. No one in England foresaw the slightest opposition to the Act. Otis in Massachusetts, Franklin of Pennsylvania, Knox from Georgia and Fitch, Governor of Connecticut, were of opinion that the Colonies would peaceably accept the situation. * * * The most prominent statesmen in Europe regarded the Americans as the best-natured and easiest-going people of the world. For years and years the Colonists had submitted to aggressions upon their rights and privileges and accepted rigorous taxation as a matter of course, and apparently seemed perfectly willing to receive nothing in return—not even protection."

The expression, "Sons of Liberty," made use of by Barré in his speech, fell flat and unnoticed in England; but three months later it was established as a familiar phrase in every patriot home in America. Notes of Barré's speech were taken by Jared Ingersoll, † of Connecticut, who, during its delivery, sat in the gallery of the House. He immediately sent home a report of the speech which was published in *The New London Gazette* and then reprinted in other newspapers, and thus the name of the "Sons of Liberty"—which the eloquent defender of the resisting Colonists had given to them—was soon on every lip. Men who had severed old established social relations and connections, abandoned the comfortable luxuries which they had grown to regard as part of their lives, and become settlers in a new country to battle with

* For the full text of the Stamp Act see Larned's "History for Ready Reference," V: 3183.

† Mentioned on pages 395, 405 and 483. In October, 1764, Jared Ingersoll, Samuel Wyllys (mentioned on page 283) and other Connecticut citizens had sailed for England from New London. Ingersoll returned home in July, 1765, with the appointment of Stamp Distributer for Connecticut.

internal discord and natural obstacles—which required iron courage, firmness and no little independence—were in no mood for unjust and tyrannical government. And so the alarm was sounded, and the people in various localities began to form secret societies—called the “Sons of Liberty”^{*}—solemnly pledged to resist the obnoxious Stamp Act. Treasonable resolves were handed about with great privacy in the city of New York, but no one had the courage to print them. John McCurdy—a Scots-Irish gentleman of education and wealth, a shipping merchant, resident in Lyme, New London County, Connecticut—being in the city, asked for them, and with much precaution was permitted to take a copy. He carried it home to his intimate friend, the Rev. Stephen Johnson, pastor of the Congregational Church at Lyme. Johnson, indignant at the serene composure of Governor Fitch and his associates, and vexed and grieved with the temper of the people of Connecticut—who seemed quite indifferent and inattentive to the consequences that might arise from an enforcement of the Stamp Act—determined if possible to arouse them to a better way of thinking. He wrote a fiery article, designed to bring the community to a sense of the public danger. It was printed in *The New London Gazette*, and pointed toward unqualified rebellion in case an attempt should be made to enforce the Stamp Act. Other articles of a similar character soon followed, while pamphlets, no one knew whence, fell, no one knew how, into conspicuous places.

On the 14th of August, 1765, Boston witnessed an outbreak such as she had never experienced before. At daybreak the people saw suspended from the “Liberty Tree”[†] an effigy of Andrew Oliver, the Stamp Distributer for Massachusetts, accompanied by emblems of Lord Bute and Prime Minister Grenville. That night an “amazing multitude,” bearing these effigies on a bier, passed down the main street of Boston and tramped through the State House crying “Liberty! Liberty!” “Property!” and “No Stamps!” The effigies were then burned; the house in which



it was thought the stamps were to be stored was torn down; the residence of Stamp Distributer Oliver was broken into and many of its furnishings were destroyed, while he was

^{*} See page 482, last paragraph, and pages 548 and 549.

[†] In many towns and villages at that period all notices, bulletins and other written or printed matter issued by the Sons of Liberty were posted on a particular tree, selected for the purpose and named the “Liberty Tree.” Sometimes a tall pole, specially erected, took the place of a tree and was designated as the “Liberty Tree.” There the citizens gathered, read the bulletins, discussed the latest public events, listened to political harangues and sang patriotic songs. The following is an authentic account of the dedication of an immense elm as a “Liberty Tree” by the Sons of Liberty in Providence, Rhode Island, July 25, 1768.

“A large concourse of people assembled, and an animated discourse was delivered, from the Summer-house which had been erected in the tree, by Silas Downer, a graduate of Harvard and a rising lawyer, after which the people in the Summer-house laid their hands on the tree, and the orator pronounced aloud these words: “We do therefore, in the name and behalf of all the true Sons of Liberty in America, Great Britain, Ireland, Corsica, or wheresoever they are dispersed throughout the world, dedicate and solemnly devote this tree to be a Tree of Liberty! May all our councils and deliberations under its venerable branches be guided by wisdom and directed to the support and maintenance of that liberty which our renowned forefathers sought out and found under trees and in the wilderness. May it long flourish, and may the Sons of Liberty often repair hither to confirm and strengthen each other. When they look toward this sacred elm may they be penetrated with a sense of their duty to themselves, their country and their posterity. And may they, like the house of David, grow stronger and stronger, while their enemies, like the house of Saul, grow weaker and weaker. Amen.”

The following stanzas are from a poem entitled “Liberty Tree,” written by the famous Thomas Paine and published in *The Pennsylvania Magazine* in 1775.

forced to resign his office.* Twelve days later a crowd gathered around a bonfire in front of the State House; the records of the Vice Admiralty Court were collected and tossed into the flames; the house of the Comptroller of Customs at the port of Boston was turned inside out. Thomas Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts, found himself obliged, on the night of August 26th, to flee for his life, and when he returned to the city—after order was restored—found his house had been pillaged of money, plate, valuable manuscripts and books.

In May information came from London to Philadelphia that, at the instance of Benjamin Franklin (still in London), John Hughes,† of Philadelphia, had been appointed Stamp Distributer for Pennsylvania. Early in September Mr. Hughes wrote to Dr. Franklin as follows‡ :

"The flame of rebellion is got to a high pitch among the North Americans, and it seems to me that a sort of frenzy, or madness, has got such hold of the people of all ranks that some lives will be lost before this fire is put out. I am at present much perplexed what course to steer, for, as I have given you reason to expect I would put the [Stamp] Act in execution, I cannot, in point of honor, go back, until something or other is done by the people to render it impossible for me to proceed. * * When it is known I have received my commission I fancy I shall not escape the storm of Presbyterian rage. My doom will soon be known; but whether I may live to inform you, is yet in the womb of Futurity. By Gov. [William] Franklin's letters, and by my last, you will see that Mr. Cox has resigned the Stamp Office for New Jersey. * * I shall be exceedingly obliged to you, if it is consistent with your judgment, to recommend my son Hugh for Mr. Cox's successor. My son is married and settled in New Jersey, and has a good estate, both real and personal."

On September 11th the Pennsylvania Assembly appointed Joseph Fox, George Bryan, John Morton and John Dickinson§ delegates to attend the congress to be held in New York early in the following month (see page 589), and on September 21st the Assembly adopted a series of resolutions, including the following:

"Resolved, That it is the inherent birthright and indubitable privilege of every British subject to be taxed *only by his own consent*, or that of his legal representatives in conjunction with His Majesty, or his substitutes. That the only legal representatives of the inhabitants of this Province are the persons they annually elect to serve as Members of Assembly. That the vesting an authority in the Courts of Admiralty to decide in suits relating to the stamp duties, and other matters foreign to their proper jurisdiction, is highly dangerous to the liberties of His Majesty's American subjects, contrary to Magna Charta—the great charter and fountain of English liberty—and destructive of one of their most darling and acknowledged rights, that of *trials by juries*.

"Resolved, That this House think it their duty thus firmly to assert, with modesty and decency, their *inherent rights*, in order that their posterity may learn and know that it was not with their consent and acquiescence that any taxes should be levied on them by any persons but their own representatives; and are desirous that these their resolves should remain on their minutes as a testimony of the zeal and ardent desire of the present House of Assembly to preserve their *inestimable rights* (which, as Englishmen, they have possessed ever since this Province was settled) and to transmit them to their latest posterity."

On Saturday, October 5th, the stamped paper for Pennsylvania arrived at the port of Philadelphia, the ship which brought it having

"In a chariot of light, from the regions of day,
The Goddess of Liberty came;
Ten thousand celestials directed the way,
And hinder conducted the dame.
A fair, budding branch from the gardens above—
Where millions with millions agree—
She brought in her hand as a pledge of her love,
And the plant she named *Liberty Tree!*"

"But hear, O ye swains! 'tis a tale most profane,
How all the tyrannical powers—
King, Commons and Lords—are uniting amain
To cut down this guardian of ours.
From the East to the West blow the trumpet
to arms,
Through the land let the sound of it flee;
Let the far and the near all unite with a cheer
In defense of our *Liberty Tree!*"

* The following account of the celebration of the eleventh anniversary of this eventful day has been taken from "American Archives," Fifth Series, I: 972: "Boston, August 15, 1776. Yesterday being the anniversary of the 14th August, 1765, the Sons of Liberty, with a number of their friends, met at Liberty Hall and erected a pole on the stump of Liberty Tree (the body of which was cut down by our worse than savage myrmidons the last Winter), where they hoisted the red flag, or *flag of defiance*. At twelve o'clock a number of patriotic toasts were drunk. A select number likewise met at the 'Bunch of Grapes,' in King Street, where flags were also displayed, and at one o'clock a company of the Train was paraded in King Street, with two field-pieces, which were discharged thirteen times; after which a number of patriotic toasts were drunk and three cheers given.

† Mentioned on pages 359-362 and 369-371.

‡ See Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, II: 249.

§ Later the author of the "Farmer's Letters" mentioned on page 548.

been anchored for some time at Newcastle on the Delaware, under protection of a man-of-war. When the two ships first appeared, coming round Gloucester Point, all the vessels in the harbor hoisted their colors to half-staff, the bells of the State House and Christ Church, muffled, were tolled until evening, and two negroes (one of whom belonged to Alderman Samuel Mifflin) beat muffled drums throughout all parts of the city during the day. All inquirers as to the why and wherefore of the bell-tolling and drum-beating were directed to repair to the State House for information; in consequence whereof several thousand citizens had assembled there by four o'clock in the afternoon. Mr. Hughes, writing a few days later of the events of this day, said:

"Accordingly the mob collected, chiefly Presbyterians and Proprietary emissaries, with Chief Justice William Allen's son at their head, animating and encouraging the lower class. I am well informed that great numbers of the ringleaders and promoters of this meeting declared and vowed destruction to my person and property if I refused to gratify them in their demands."

A meeting having been formally organized, "to consult on proper measures to prevent the execution of the Stamp Act," it was resolved to send a committee to Stamp Distributer Hughes (who was ill in bed at his home) to request him to resign his office. This committee was composed of James Tilghman, Esq., an attorney-at-law (mentioned in a note on page 489), Robert Morris, Charles Thomson (mentioned on page 354), Archibald McCall, John Cox and William Richards, merchants, and William Bradford, a printer and publisher. On the following Monday, at a large meeting of citizens held at Free Masons' Hall, the above-mentioned committee reported that Mr. Hughes had formally announced his resignation of the office to the Lieutenant Governor of the Province—John Penn. Some days later Mr. Hughes wrote to the Commissioners of the Stamp Office in London in part as follows*:

"I am extremely obnoxious to the Governor, and that for no other reason than that I have constantly, while I have been in the Assembly, endeavored to promote the King's interest. I am also unfortunate enough to be particularly hateful to the Chief Justice [William Allen], because I have charged him with being a rebel, upon his saying that if ever the government were changed we should find the King's little finger heavier than the Proprietors' loins. * * I also am particularly hateful to the Proprietary party because it was my interest, assiduity and influence in the House of Assembly that enabled the Province to send home Doctor Franklin, to present our petitions for a change of government from Proprietary to Royal. It is my private opinion that if the Province of Pennsylvania were changed from Proprietary to a Royal government, and some person appointed to govern it that had both interest among the people and a perfect knowledge of them—so as to be able to displace the disloyal, and put in power and commission such only as could be depended on and have demonstrated their loyalty to their King—such a person, after the changes aforesaid, might easily govern this Province, preserve the peace of it and keep it in subjection to His Majesty—which I think we hardly are at this time.

"Common justice calls upon me to say that the body of the people called Quakers seem disposed to pay obedience to the Stamp Act; and so do that part of the Church of England, and Baptists, that are not some way under Proprietary influence. But Presbyterians and Proprietary minions spare no pains to engage the Dutch and lower class of people, and render the Royal government odious. If His Majesty and his Ministers knew the pains taken by the Proprietary partisans to give a wrong bias to the minds of His Majesty's subjects, I am confident they would not suffer the powers of government to remain six months in the hands of any Proprietor on the continent."

On the 1st of October the merchants of the city of New York (under the lead of Isaac Sears, the aggressive chief of the Sons of Liberty) unanimously agreed that unless the Stamp Act were repealed they would refrain from importing goods from England. About that time boxes of stamped paper destined for Connecticut were forcibly taken from the sloop *Minerva* and destroyed by the Sons of Liberty of New

* See Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, II: 246 and 248.

York. In no place were the "Sons" more determined or were their opponents more influential than in the city of New York. It was the headquarters of the British forces in America, the commander of which, General Gage, wielded the powers of a viceroy. The chief executive of the Province of New York—Lieut. Governor Cadwallader Colden—(mentioned on page 32)—also resided there, and he was fully resolved to execute the Stamp Act. The latter was printed, and cried about the streets of New York, under the title of "The Folly of England and the Ruin of America."

October 7, 1765, a congress of twenty-eight delegates from nine of the Colonies met in the City Hall, in Wall Street, New York, and organized what is known in history as the "Stamp Act Congress." It was the first Colonial Congress. Previous to the meeting of this Congress a committee waited on Lieutenant Governor Colden, to solicit his aid and sympathy. His answer was: "Your Congress is unconstitutional, unprecedented and unlawful, and I shall give you no countenance." The presence of the troops encouraged the Lieutenant Governor, for a moment, to take a bold stand in behalf of the law. He ordered the fortifications strengthened and proper provision made for the reception of the stamps. He talked of firing upon the people, but was warned that if he did so he would be speedily hanged on a lamp-post. Great excitement existed in the city, and a civil war was feared. McEvers, the Stamp Distributer, had disappeared, fearing the fury of the populace, and no official dared touch the stamped paper when it was delivered by the Captain of the vessel in which it had been brought from England. The Corporation induced the Lieutenant Governor to deposit it in the City Hall for safekeeping. A torchlight procession, carrying images of Colden and the Devil, holding a copy of the Stamp Act, broke into Colden's coach-house, and, seizing his best coach, paraded it about town with the images upon it, and finally burned up the coach and images on the Bowling Green, in full sight of Colden and the garrison, who looked on from the Battery, speechless with rage, but afraid to interfere.

After eleven days' debate the Stamp Act Congress agreed, among other things, that trial by jury is the right of the British subject, and that the Stamp Act had a tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the Colonists. Having adopted resolutions, prepared an address and petition to the King and memorials to the House of Lords and the House of Commons, the Congress adjourned. Special measures were taken to transmit the proceedings to the unrepresented Colonies. Meanwhile the Sons of Liberty, through their committees of correspondence, urged a Continental Union; pledged a mutual support in case of danger; in some instances stated the number of armed men that might be relied on, and thus evinced a common determination to resist the execution of the Stamp Act.

With the arrival of the second consignment of stamped paper for New York came the newly-appointed Lieutenant Governor of the Province—Sir Henry Moore—"who won the affections of the people by declaring he would have nothing to do with the obnoxious papers." He further "conciliated the citizens by ordering the discontinuance of the erection of the fortifications begun by Colden at the fort, and by declaring that he would not meddle with the enforcement of the Stamp Act.

* * He endeavored in vain to restrain the demonstrations of the people and to bring them back to a sense of their loyalty." October 21, 1765, the sixteen Justices of the Peace of the county of Culpeper, Virginia, drew up and signed a protest to Lieutenant Governor Fauquier against the enforcement of the Stamp Act—setting forth, among other things, the unconstitutionality of the Act, which taxed them without the consent of their representatives and affected their lives and properties without granting them a trial by their peers. At the same time the Justices resigned their commissions. Four days later, in Philadelphia, the merchants and traders subscribed to a non-importation agreement, such as were then being signed all over the country. In this the subscribers agreed—"in consequence of the late Acts of Parliament and the injurious regulations accompanying them, and in justice to themselves and in hopes of benefit from their example"—to countermand all orders for English goods until the Stamp Act should be repealed, and that no goods which had been received for sale on commission should be disposed of until after the repeal of the Act.

By this vigorous combination and resistance in the several Colonies—due largely to the energetic work secretly carried on by the Sons of Liberty—the Stamp Act was made inoperative; and when November 1st came not a sheet of the stamped paper was to be procured, it having been destroyed, sent back to England or stowed away for safe keeping. On that date, when the Act, according to its terms, was intended to become operative, the day was ushered in at Boston with the tolling of bells, many shops and factories were shut, and effigies of the authors and friends of the Act were carried about the streets and afterwards torn in pieces by the populace. In November the Legislature of Rhode Island passed resolutions thanking Colonel Barré for the stand he had taken with respect to the Stamp Bill. Under date of March 8, 1766, Barré wrote to Governor Ward of Rhode Island as follows:

"I acknowledge the honor of receiving your letter of November 19th, with the resolutions of the General Assembly of Rhode Island. It is exceedingly flattering to me to find that my conduct has been agreeable to that body. * * The extending of our commerce upon broad and sound principles, the binding the hearts of our American Colonists to the mother country by the generosity and justice of our government, have been and shall continue to be the motive of my conduct." * *

In December, 1765, the New York Sons of Liberty held a meeting, whereat they resolved that they would "go to the extremity with their lives and fortunes to prevent the enforcement of the Stamp Act." This spirit resulted in bringing about an agreement (entered into on Christmas-day, 1765) between the New York "Sons" and the Connecticut "Sons" to unitedly and separately oppose in every way the obnoxious law. Apparently, at that time, the opposition to the law raged more fiercely among the "Sons" in New York and Connecticut than in Massachusetts; but in February, 1766, the Boston "Sons" accepted the proposal that they should unite themselves with the New York and Connecticut bodies. At the same time, in a letter to the brotherhood at Norwich, Connecticut, the Bostonians proposed to begin to carry out plans for a "Continental Union." March 25, 1766, a meeting of the Sons of Liberty held in Hartford, Connecticut, was attended by a large number of delegates from eastern Connecticut. Col. Israel Putnam, Maj. John Durkee and Capt. Hugh Ledlie were appointed a committee to arrange for a correspondence "with the loyal Sons of Liberty in other

Colonies." Captain Ledlie (who was then a resident of Windham) was sent as a representative to a general convention of the Order to be held at Annapolis, Maryland.

In the Autumn of 1765 the Sons of Liberty at Norwich, Connecticut, erected in the center of the town Green a tall pole for their Liberty Tree, decked with standards and appropriate devices, and crowned with a Liberty Cap. As early as 1766 there was constructed at the foot of this pole a booth, or summer-house, called "the Pavilion"; and there, almost daily, the people assembled* to hear the news, make speeches, sing patriotic songs† and encourage each other in the determination to resist oppression. Early in December, 1767, there was received at Norwich from the selectmen at Boston a copy of their famous "Circular," recommending the disuse of certain enumerated articles of British production. A town-meeting, to consider the subject, was immediately convened, and a committee was appointed, composed of the Hon. Hezekiah Huntington, the Hon. Jabez Huntington, Simeon Tracy, Maj. John Durkee, Gershom Breed, Dr. Daniel Lathrop and other prominent citizens. They brought in a report, which consisted chiefly of an agreement not to import, purchase or make use of certain articles produced or manufactured outside of America. The report was unanimously adopted and ordered to be printed in *The New London Gazette*.

The Grenville Administration survived the passage of the Stamp Act by only a few months. The King could tolerate the Ministers no longer. They had unpardonably affronted him in the Regency Bill. The Duke of Bedford was impertinent to him, and Grenville lectured him till he cried—in fact, life had become a burden to him under Grenville's domination. Therefore, in July, 1765, Grenville was dismissed and the Marquis of Rockingham became Prime Minister. Overtures

* See page 549.

† Soon after the passage of the Stamp Act became known in this country many patriotic lyrics appeared in print, and were freely disseminated. One of the best of these was written by Dr. Prime, of New York, the author of several poems of considerable merit. It is entitled "A SONG FOR THE SONS OF LIBERTY," and the following are some of its stanzas.

"In story we're told
How our fathers of old
Brav'd the rage of the winds and the waves,
And cross'd the deep o'er,
To this desolate shore,
All because they were loath to be slaves, brave boys!
All because they were loath to be slaves.

"Yet a strange scheme, of late,
Has been formed in the State,
By a knot of political knaves;
Who in secret rejoice
That the Parliament's voice
Has resolved that we all shall be slaves, brave
boys! etc.

"As the sun's lucid ray
To all nations gives day,
And the world from obscurity saves,
So, all happy and free,
GEORGE'S subjects should be—
Then Americans must not be slaves, brave
boys! etc.

"Heaven, only, controls
The great deep as it rolls,
And the tide, which our country laves,
Emphatical roars
This advice to our shores—
'O Americans, never be slaves, brave boys!' etc.

"To our Monarch, we know,
Due allegiance we owe,
Who the scepter so rightfully waves;
But no sovereign we own,
Save the King on his throne,
And we cannot, to *subjects*, be slaves, brave
boys! etc.

"Tho' fools stupidly tell
That we mean to rebel,
Yet all each American craves
Is but to be free,
As we surely must be,
For we never were born to be slaves, brave
boys! etc.

"Though against the repeal,
With intemperate zeal,
Proud GRENVILLE so brutishly raves,
Yet our conduct shall show,
And our enemies know,
That Americans scorn to be slaves, brave
boys! etc.

"With the beasts of the wood
We will ramble for food,
We will lodge in wild deserts and caves,
And live poor as Job,
On the skirts of the globe,
Before we'll submit to be slaves, brave boys! etc.

"The birthright we hold
Shall never be sold,
But sacred maintain'd to our graves;
And before we'll comply
We will gallantly die,
For we must not, *we will not*, be slaves, brave
boys! etc."

were immediately made by the Government to Pitt, Shelburne and Barré—rank in the army (or anything he liked) in addition to the Vice Treasurership for Ireland, being offered to Barré; but the alliance between these three men was now firm, and all offers were refused. The Tory party was left without a backbone by the refusal of Pitt to co-operate. Shelburne and Barré, however, committed a mistake in refusing to join the new Administration. When Parliament met, December 17, 1765, American difficulties were at a crisis. An English Parliament had never listened to such accumulated insults as now assailed both Houses. A powerful Opposition, led by Grenville, strenuously urged that no relaxation or indulgence should be granted to the Colonists. Pitt, on the other hand, rose from his sick-bed, and in speeches of extraordinary eloquence, and which produced an amazing effect on both sides of the Atlantic, justified the resistance of the Colonists. In one of his speeches he declared: "I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest. * * * I will beg leave to tell the House what is my opinion. It is that the Stamp Act be repealed absolutely, totally and immediately."

Early in this session of Parliament a Bill was introduced by the Government leaders in the House of Commons repealing the Stamp Act; and side by side with this measure there was brought in a Bill which declared "That the King's Majesty, by and with the consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, had, hath and of right ought to have full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the Colonies and people of America, subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever." Barré, co-operating with Pitt and Shelburne, acted neither entirely with the Government nor with the Opposition; and with respect to the abovementioned Bill he moved that the words "in all cases whatsoever" should be stricken out. This measure, which was passed February 24, 1766, in its original form, became known as the "Declaratory Act." While the Bill repealing the Stamp Act was pending in the House of Commons Benjamin Franklin was examined before a committee of the House. Among the questions then asked, and answered by Franklin, were the following*:

"*Q.*—What was the temper of America towards Great Britain before the year 1763?
Ans.—The best in the world. They submitted willingly to the government of the Crown, and paid, in all their Courts, obedience to Acts of Parliament. Numerous as the people are in the several old Provinces they cost you nothing in forts, citadels, garrisons or armies to keep them in subjection. They were governed by this country at the expense only of a little pen, ink and paper. They were led by a thread. They had not only a respect but an affection for Great Britain, for its laws, its customs and manners, and even a fondness for its fashions, that greatly increased the commerce. Natives of Britain were always treated with particular regard. To be an Old England man was, of itself, a character of some respect, and gave a kind of rank among us. * * * *Q.*—What used to be the pride of the Americans? *Ans.*—To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain. *Q.*—What is now their pride? *Ans.*—To wear their old clothes over again, till they can *make* new ones."

The Bill repealing the Stamp Act was passed through both Houses by large majorities, and when, on the 18th of March, 1766, the King rode to Westminster Palace to give the Royal assent to the Bill, there was such a vast concourse of people, huzzaing, clapping their hands, etc.,

*For a full list of the questions and answers of that very interesting examination see Larned's "History for Ready Reference," V: 3192, *et seq.*

that it took several hours for His Majesty to reach the House of Lords. As soon as the King had signed the Bill the merchants of London who traded with America despatched a vessel from Falmouth with copies of the new Act, under orders to put into the first port of the American Colonies and make known the fact of the repeal of the Stamp Act. There was great rejoicing among all classes in London; there were illuminations and bonfires, and all the ships in the river displayed their colors. The next day a procession of fifty coaches bore from the "King's Arms" tavern in Cornhill, to the House of Lords at Westminster, a large number of merchants (who did business with America) going to thank the King for signing the Repeal. Edmund Burke,* who was then serving his first term in the House of Commons, subsequently described the passing of the Repeal as "an event that caused more universal joy throughout the British dominions than perhaps any other that can be remembered."

"News of the repeal of the Stamp Act was received in America with every manifestation of delight. It was regarded as a great triumph for the Colonists; and in the victory many long-headed men saw the dawn of independence." When, early in May, news reached New York that the Act which had caused so much ill-feeling had been repealed, the Sons of Liberty in that city celebrated the event with much enthusiasm. A great meeting was held on "The Common," or "The Fields" (where the Post Office building now stands, in City Hall Park), a royal salute of twenty-one guns was fired and two immense bonfires were lighted. On June 4th, the King's birthday, a special celebration was organized. For the refreshment of the crowd in attendance an ox was roasted, twenty barrels of strong beer were tapped, and a hogshead of rum and other necessary ingredients were brewed into punch. A pole was erected, to the top of which were suspended twenty-five empty tar-barrels. At another part of the Common twenty pieces of cannon were ranged, and, amid their thunders, and to the music of a band playing "God Save the King," the Standard of England was displayed. As the crowning event of this day of celebrations—at which Lieutenant Governor Moore, hoping to strengthen the loyalty of the citizens, "politically encouraged them in their rejoicings"—a tall Liberty Pole was erected, bearing a flag inscribed "The King, Pitt and Liberty!"

The joy of the people, however, was of short duration. The provisions of the Mutiny Act began to be enforced ere long; in addition to

* EDMUND BURKE (previously referred to on pages 551, 553 and 565), a celebrated writer, orator and philosophic statesman, was born January 12, 1729, at Dublin, Ireland, where his father was an attorney-at-law. He was graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1748, after which, for awhile, he pursued a course of study in London for admission to the Bar. However, he never took kindly to the study of the law, and ultimately abandoned the idea of becoming a barrister. From 1750 to 1760 he was engaged chiefly in literary work. In 1759 the first volume of the *Annual Register* appeared, a work which Burke originated, and to which he contributed largely till 1788. In 1765 he became private secretary to the Marquis of Rockingham (see page 541), and in the same year was returned to Parliament as Member for Wendover. His eloquence at once gained him a high position in the Whig party and in the House of Commons. He represented Wendover in Parliament till 1774; from that year till 1780 he represented Bristol, and then, until 1794, represented Malton. In 1774 he delivered in the House of Commons his celebrated classic speech on American Taxation; in 1782-'83 he was Paymaster General and Privy Councillor; from 1786 to 1794 he conducted the impeachment of Warren Hastings.

During the American War of Independence Burke took an enlightened and a courageous attitude. Through his speeches there ran a continual insistence that the Colonies were to be conciliated, and that it did not matter for any practical purpose what the rights of Parliament were, so long as it was inexpedient to exercise them. Burke earned a place, not only beside, but at the head of, the English statesmen who opposed the American War altogether. During the course of the Hastings trial Frederick Montagu, a Member of Parliament (see page 611), said in defense of Mr. Burke: "I have been honored with Mr. Burke's friendship these four and twenty years. I will not mention the brilliancy of his imagination, the strength and depth of his understanding, or the energy of his eloquence. They are confessed by all. It may at once be said of my right honorable friend that he has embraced the whole compass of human knowledge. But what I most admire in my friend are the qualities of his heart, his consummate integrity and his unbounded benevolence."

Burke died at Beaconsfield, England, July 9, 1797.

which the British soldiers quartered in the city, irritated at the triumphant attitude of the citizens, soon devised plans to stir up trouble. On August 10th a party of "redcoats," or "lobster-backs," belonging to the 28th Regiment, cut down the Liberty Pole on the Common. The next day a meeting was held on the Common to raise another pole, during which the assemblage was attacked by some of the troops from the neighboring barracks, and several of the people were severely wounded. A few days later another meeting was held and a fine new pole was raised, only to be cut down on the night of September 23d. A third pole was erected September 25th, and by order of Lieutenant Governor Moore was permitted to stand. On March 18, 1767, it was leveled to the ground; but the next day a more substantial one, "well secured with iron bands," was erected, and, though repeated assaults were made on it by the "redcoats," it continued to stand—a trophy of the victory of the people—until January 16, 1770, when it was cut down by British Regulars quartered in the city. "The patriots in the city rose to a man. The next day a multitude of 3,000 gathered in 'The Fields' to express their detestation and indignation over this cowardly and audacious act. Appropriate resolutions were adopted, which declared to be enemies to the peace of the city all soldiers below the rank of Orderly who appeared armed in the streets, and all, armed and unarmed, who were found out of barracks after roll-call. The following day a scurrilous placard appeared. This placard reads as follows (see original in the New York Historical Society):

'God and a Soldier all Men most adore
In Time of War, and not before;
When the War is over, and all things righted,
God is forgotten, and the Soldier slighted.'

"Then follow references to the riotous disturbances in the city, to the Sons of Liberty, etc.—appended to which are the words 'The 16th Regiment of Foot.'"^{*} It was this placard which precipitated the fight at Golden Hill (on the present John Street, between Cliff Street and Burling Slip, New York), January 18, 1770, between a number of the Sons of Liberty and some soldiers of the 16th Regiment of Foot (British Regulars), when one citizen was killed, three were severely wounded and several were injured. Then and there was shed "the first martyr blood of the American Revolution!" "The town was thrown into commotion, the bells rang, and the news, with the exaggerations and embellishments incident to all occasions of alarm, spread through the country with the rapidity of lightning. Everywhere throughout the old Thirteen Colonies it created a strong sensation, and was received with a degree of indignant emotion which very clearly foretold that blood had only begun flowing."[†] Less than two months later (March 5th), in King Street, Boston, within the shadow of the old State House, a fracas occurred between a party of citizens and a squad of British Regulars, commanded by Capt. Thomas Preston, of the 29th Regiment of Foot. The soldiers fired upon the citizens, and five of the latter were killed and six were wounded. This event is referred to in history as the "Boston Massacre."

When news of the repeal of the Stamp Act, together with an account of the stand which Colonel Barré had taken with reference to the matter, first reached Boston, the authorities of that town voted to have a portrait

^{*} From the "Introduction" to "The Public Papers of George Clinton," previously mentioned.

[†] William L. Stone, in his "Life of Brant."

of Barré* painted and hung in Faneuil Hall. This was done, but the picture was subsequently destroyed by the British during the siege of the town in 1775. Within about two months after the news of the Repeal reached America Barré had become a member of the Government. Lord Rockingham had found himself utterly unable to contend with the adverse fortune which beset him. Pitt refused to join him, and the King made no secret of his hostility to the Ministers. The Opposition was bitter and formidable. Rockingham therefore retired in July, 1766, and (as mentioned on page 541) was succeeded by Pitt, now created Earl of Chatham. In the new Administration Barré became one of the Vice Treasurers for Ireland, as well as a Privy Councilor, with his rank (Lieutenant Colonel) and position in the army restored to him. His patron, Lord Shelburne, at the same time became one of the Secretaries of State. Barré held the office of Vice Treasurer until the break-up of the Ministry in October, 1768; but the King's hatred of him—a dislike second only to that felt for Wilkes at that time—blocked the promotion of Barré in the army and ultimately led to his retirement from the service.

With the entrance of Barré into the ranks of the Administration in the Summer of 1766 his prospects seemed brilliant. "He was in office under a great Minister for whom the country had long been sighing. The Minister was revolving in his mind vast schemes of foreign alliance and of Colonial reform, and Barré was certainly, in point of ability, though not in rank, the ablest representative of the Government in the House of Commons. It is natural to suppose that he expected to reap some of the glory of their accomplishment; but never was a bright dawn more quickly obscured. In a few months Chatham had disappeared. He still attempted,† from his retirement, to direct the reform of the East India Company, but he did it in such a way as to cause the greatest embarrassment to his friends. In the debates on India Barré took a prominent part. He had long taken an interest in the business of India. A few years before, when Sullivan and Clive were striving for supremacy at the India House, it was generally believed that, had Sullivan been successful, Barré would have gone to India instead of Clive.‡ A Bill was now brought in to regulate the affairs of the Company. Burke and Rockingham loudly protested against the infringement of the charter, while Barré became the champion of Parliamentary control. * * *

"On another point the Opposition were more successful. They forced the Government to reduce the land tax. Some equivalent for this loss was necessary. The Opposition knew this well. They also knew that [Charles] Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had declared the practicability of raising a revenue in America. * * A revenue Act was passed, and all the ill-will, all the terror, all the sedition, which it was hoped had subsided forever, awoke in America with

* The portrait of Colonel BARRÉ, which appears as a frontispiece to this History, is a reproduction from an engraving by W. T. Fry (published in London February 1, 1817, and now owned by Mr. George S. Bennett of Wilkes-Barré), after a portrait painted by A. G. Stuart and owned by the Earl of St. Vincent.

† His arrogance had increased, and it was so much intensified by irritating gout, that it became almost impossible to serve with him. His disease later almost approached madness.

‡ ROBERT CLIVE, Baron CLIVE of Plassey, born in England in 1725. At the age of eighteen he entered the service of the East India Company. In 1756 he commanded an expedition against the Nawab of Bengal, to avenge the tragedy of the Black Hole at Calcutta. In 1758 he was appointed Governor of Bengal. In 1760, owing to ill health, he returned to England, where he was elevated to the Irish peerage as Baron Clive of Plassey.

Lord Clive was Governor of Bengal a second time, from 1765 till 1767, when he resigned. His official conduct subsequently became the subject of Parliamentary inquiry, which resulted practically in his favor in 1773. He committed suicide at London in November, 1774.

fresh violence.* It seems strange that Shelburne and Barré, when we consider their disapprobation of the measure, and recollect that it was subsequently one of the chief features of their opposition, should not have tendered their resignations at once. That they did not do so proves either that they were prepared to hold office while the Government pursued a policy which they supposed was of vital danger to the country, or that the real consequences of American taxation had not as yet been thoroughly appreciated, even by its opponents.

"In the commencement of 1768 John Wilkes returned to England [see page 542, *ante*] and was elected a Member of the House of Commons. Immediately the passions on both sides burst into a flame. Affairs went rapidly from bad to worse. From acts of folly and violence the popular party rushed into libels, and very nearly into rebellion. From threats and rigor the Government proceeded to frame illegal resolutions in the House of Commons, and to fill the streets of London with troops. The dignity of Parliament, which generations of corruption, of buying, of selling and of bullying had never offended, was now declared insulted. The strife was between the New Age and the Old Age, and everything which was worst in both came conspicuously to the front."†

George III was a king by no means to be admired. So far as family matters went he was a model man, but beyond that he seems to have been not so dull as he was a most arbitrary master. Though decent at home, he permitted all kinds of corruption among the Court and Government officials. He insisted on being a ruler of the most positive character. He had no liking for Parliamentary rule. He wanted to be an autocrat, indifferent to the means he employed. Under George there were two supreme issues: Ministers were not held responsible to Parliament, and corruption in public place was rampant. As Erskine put it some years later—the House of Commons "instead of being a control upon the Crown, was become the great engine of its power." It was the King's policy—as a recent writer has stated—"to nullify the public control over Parliament as well as the control of Parliament over the Government; to obtain a Parliament unconnected with the people, and a Ministry unconnected with a Parliament."

The opinions of Shelburne and Barré and the Government were too divergent in 1768 for the two men to remain members of the Cabinet any longer, and so in the Autumn of that year they resigned their respective offices. About the same time the resignation of Chatham left the Duke of Grafton in name, as he had long been in reality, Prime Minister. The followers of Grenville, Rockingham and Chatham (who composed the Opposition) were, it is true, constantly at variance, but

* The leading spirit of the Chatham Ministry was Charles Townshend (mentioned on page 584), a brilliant statesman, but unscrupulous and unwise. His opinions were arbitrary; he regretted the repeal of the Stamp Act, as did also the King and the Parliament in general, who felt themselves to have been humiliated. Three measures affecting America were introduced in the House of Commons by Townshend May 13, 1767. They were: A suspension of the functions of the Legislature of New York for contumacy in the treatment of the Royal troops; the establishment of Commissioners of the Customs, appointed with large powers to superintend laws relating to trade; and, lastly, an impost duty on glass, red and white lead, painters' colors, paper and tea. This last was an "external" duty, to which the Colonists had theretofore expressed a willingness to submit. A revenue of £40,000 a year was exacted from the tax, which was to be applied to the support of a "civil list"—namely, the paying the salaries of the new Commissioners of Customs and of the Judges and Governors in the Colonies, who were to be relieved wholly or in part from their dependence upon the annual grants of the Colonial Assemblies; then, if a surplus remained, it was to go to the payment of troops for protecting the Colonies. Before the full effects of the new legislation could be seen, Townshend suddenly died; but in the new Ministry that was presently formed Lord North came to the front and adopted the policy of his predecessor—receiving in this course the firm support of George III, whose activity and interest in public affairs were so great that he "became his own Minister."

† From Hugh F. Elliot's "Colonel Barré and His Times"—previously mentioned.

they united in their ranks the most brilliant speakers of their time—Edmund Burke, John Dunning (see page 609) and Isaac Barré standing almost unrivalled in the House of Commons. At the beginning of his opposition Barré found all the materials at hand to make that opposition fierce and effective.

“During this period the position of the Government was difficult to the highest degree. The law imposed upon it the duty of maintaining order, but the police force at its disposal was composed of a few broken-down old men, who had become policemen simply because they were too aged or decrepit for other trades. Time and prescription had handed down to the House of Commons a vast mass of privileges which, to a certain extent, the Government was bound to protect, or, at all events, not to see lightly abused. The privileges of the House of Commons were now attacked by furious mobs. London became one seething mass of sedition. [See pages 543 and 547.] * * Not a day passed without its riot. The people rose in their trades. There were mobs of sailors, of weavers, of coal-heavers, of Thames watermen, of tailors, of hatters. The doors of Parliament were beset by an unruly multitude, who loudly called for redress, and beat the Members whom they considered hostile. The position was critical. Lord Mansfield prophesied that there would be a rebellion in ten days—but the Government called in the troops and the riots were quelled.”

In January, 1770, Lord North became Prime Minister, but no change occurred in the policy of the Government. The country seemed united against the Premier, and numberless petitions praying for a dissolution of Parliament were sent up to the King. A foreign war was imminent—Spain laying claim to the sovereignty of one of the Falkland Islands. Barré and those acting with him declared that the negligence of the Government amounted to a trifle less than treason, and the country was nearly involved in an expensive war for “an island which was little better than a barren moor, which had a detestable climate, no inhabitants, no trees, no commercial advantages, and no living creatures but the snipe and the flocks of wild geese which haunted its bogs.” Next—in the Spring of 1771—came the quarrels between the House of Commons and the printers. (See page 554.) Barré took a most active part in attempting to avert the blow from Lord Mayor Crosby. He tried all the Parliamentary usages by which, in those days, a feeble minority could oppose a tyrannous majority. The House had never “divided” so often in one night. The Speaker complained that he was tired to death, and did not know how the question would ever be settled. At last, when every expedient had failed, Barré got up and attacked the Government. As the speech which he then delivered affords a fair specimen of Barré’s declamatory style, and is also an illustration of the violence occasionally introduced into the Parliamentary debates of that period, the following passages from it are here introduced.

“What can be your [the Ministers’] intention in such an attack upon all honor and virtue? Do you mean to bring all men upon a level with yourselves, and to extirpate all honesty and independence? Perhaps you imagine that a vote will settle the whole controversy. Alas! you are not aware that the manner in which your vote is procured remains a secret to no man. Listen; for, if you are not totally callous, if your consciences are not seared, I will speak daggers to your souls and awake you to all the hells of a guilty recollection. Guilt, as the poet justly observes, is the source of sorrow. Trust me, therefore, your triumph shall not be a pleasing one. I will follow you with whips and with stings through every maze of your unexampl’d turpitude, and plant eternal thorns beneath the rose of Ministerial reprobation. * * *

"But it is in vain that you hope by fear and terror to extinguish every spark of the ancient fire of this Isle. The more sacrifices, the more martyrs, you make, the more numerous will the Sons of Liberty become. They will multiply like the Hydra's heads, and hurl down vengeance on your devoted heads. Let others act as they will, while I have a tongue or an arm they shall be free; and that I may not be a witness of this monstrous proceeding, *I will leave the House!* Nor do I doubt but every independent, every honest, man will follow me. These walls are unholy, they are baleful, they are deadly, while a prostitute majority holds the bolt of Parliamentary omnipotence, and hurls its vengeance upon the virtuous!"

As Barré retired from the House there were loud cries, "To the bar! To the bar!" but the Ministers wisely declined to increase their embarrassments by calling him to account. Sir George Savile protested against the action of the Government and then, accompanied by several of his friends, followed Barré from the House.

Barré continued steadfast in opposition, but the Court was not to be braved with impunity. In January, 1773, Lieutenant Colonel Morrison of the army, who was Barré's junior, was promoted over his head to the rank of Colonel. Barré immediately wrote to Lord Chatham as follows:

"The particular manner in which His Majesty has been advised to make a late promotion in the army, has so much the appearance of a premeditated affront to me that I feel myself under an absolute necessity of retiring from a profession in which I have served six and twenty years. * * This new discipline, my Lord, is surely not calculated to cherish the spirit of an army which your Lordship has taught to conquer in every clime. Directed as it has been lately, I am proud of renouncing the profession. To enable me to take this step with propriety to myself, and with decent respect to the King, I feel that I stand in need of the long experience and sound judgment of much abler men than myself."

Chatham advised Barré to formally petition the King for promotion in his proper turn. This he did, but nothing resulting from it he resigned from the army February 21, 1773. Both Prime Minister North and the Hon. Richard Rigby, Paymaster General of the Forces, expressed regret for the manner in which Colonel Barré had been treated, and there can be little doubt that the course pursued by the War Office with respect to Barré was suggested by the King.* In 1773 the Opposition party was dead, and its members, according to Walpole, were wriggling themselves into Court as fast as possible. Not a cloud, even the size of a man's hand, appeared in the sky. Late in February, 1774, however, news reached England that on the night of December 16, 1773, at Boston, in Massachusetts, a band of "Mohawks" had thrown overboard into the cold waters of the harbor, from three ships lying there, 342 chests of tea belonging to the East India Company and valued at £18,000. March 18, 1774, Lord North presented in the House of Commons a Bill for the immediate removal of the officers concerned in the collection and management of His Majesty's custom-duties at Boston, and to discontinue the landing and discharging of goods at that port. In the course of the long and earnest debate on this Bill—known as "The Boston Port Bill"—it was stated that Boston was "the port of the greatest consequence to England of any existing." In discussing the Bill Colonel Barré said, among other things†:

* * "The Bill before you is the first vengeful step that you have taken. * * As long as I sit here among you I will oppose the taxing of America. * * Keep your hands out of the pockets of the Americans and they will be obedient subjects. I think this Bill a moderate one, but I augur that the next proposition will be a black one. * * You have not a loom nor an anvil but what is stamped with America; it is the main prop of your trade. * * America employs all your workmen here; nourish and protect it, that they may be supported."

* See page 601.

† See "American Archives," Fourth Series, I: 46.

When the Bill came up on its final passage through the House Barré voted for it. He admitted afterwards* that he had supported the Administration in blocking the port of Boston, "but," said he, "I think I have no great guilt on that head, as I thought it was a measure adopted to produce a compromise for the damage the East India Company had sustained. The Ministers had given the most explicit assurances that the merchants of Boston desired such a Bill, and that the people of Massachusetts would, as soon as it was passed, immediately return to their duty." On March 31st, His Majesty "being seated on the throne in the House of Lords, adorned with his crown and regal ornaments, and attended by his officers of State—the Commons also being in attendance"—the Royal assent was pronounced on the Boston Port Bill.

Great Britain had now come, with respect to her American Colonies, to that fatal dilemma: "Resist, and we will cut your throats; submit, and we will tax you!" April 15, 1774, on motion of Lord North, there was brought before the House of Commons a measure entitled: "An Act for the Impartial Administration of Justice in the cases of persons questioned for any acts done by them in execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England." With respect to this measure the Premier said he hoped that it would effectually secure the Province of Massachusetts from future disturbances. Further, it "was to give every man a fair and impartial trial." Continuing, Lord North said:

"If it shall be found that a man is not likely to meet with a fair and impartial trial, the Governor will be empowered to send him to any of the other Colonies where the same kind of spirit has not prevailed; but if it should be thought that he could not have such fair and impartial trial in any of the Colonies, in that case he is to be sent to Great Britain, to be tried before the Court of King's Bench. * * * A measure such as this will show to that country that this nation is roused to defend its rights and protect the security of peace in its Colonies; and when roused, that the measures which it takes are not cruel nor vindictive, but necessary and efficacious. Temporary distress requires temporary relief. I shall, therefore, propose this Bill only for the limited time of three or four years.

"We must consider that everything that we have that is valuable to us is now at stake. * * * Governor Hutchinson comes home, and His Majesty has appointed as Commander and Governor-in-chief General Gage—a man whose great abilities and extensive knowledge of that country will give him a superior advantage. * * * There is one thing I much wish, which is the punishment of those individuals who have been the ring-leaders and forerunners of these mischiefs. A prosecution has already been ordered against them by His Majesty's servants, but I cannot promise myself any very good effect until this law shall have reached the Province."

During the discussion of this Bill in the House Colonel Barré delivered a speech which attracted considerable attention at the time, particularly in America; and which, for many years thereafter, was largely instrumental in keeping alive the regard and affection of the patriotic people of this country for Colonel Barré—for American writers and orators of the Revolutionary period often referred to the speech. Seventy years ago, and earlier, it was one of the stock pieces printed in the leading school "Readers" and "Speakers" of the country. In the circumstances, therefore, it seems appropriate to introduce it here.

"I rise with great unwillingness to oppose this measure—in its very infancy, before its features are well formed—or to claim that attention which this House seems to bestow with so much reluctance on any arguments in behalf of America. But I must call you to witness that I have been hitherto silent or acquiescent to an unexpected degree of moderation. While your proceedings, severe as they were, had the least color of foundation in justice I desisted from opposing them. Nay, more! Though your Bill for stopping up the port of Boston contained in it many things most cruel, unwarrantable and unjust, yet, as they were couched under those general principles of justice, retribution for injury, and compensation for loss sustained, I not only desisted from opposing, but assented to,

* See "American Archives," Fourth Series, VI: 286; also this page, last paragraph.

its passing. The Bill was a bad way of doing what was right ; but still it was doing what was right. I would not, therefore, by opposing it, seem to countenance those violences which had been committed abroad, and of which no man disapproves more than I do.

"Upon the present question I am totally unprepared. The motion itself bears no sort of resemblance to what was formerly announced. The noble Lord [North] and his friends have had every advantage of preparation. They have reconnoitered the field and chosen their ground. To attack them in these circumstances may, perhaps, savor more of the gallantry of a soldier than of the wisdom of a senator. But, sir, the proposition is so glaring, so unprecedented in any former proceedings of Parliament, so unwarranted by any delay, denial or preservation of justice in America, so big with misery and oppression to that country and with danger to this, that the first blush of it is sufficient to alarm and rouse me to opposition. It is proposed to stigmatize a whole people as persecutors of innocence and men incapable of doing justice ; yet you have not a single fact on which to ground that imputation.

"I expected the noble Lord would have supported this motion by producing instances of the officers of Government in America having been prosecuted with unremitting vengeance, and brought to cruel and dishonorable deaths, by the violence and injustice of American juries. But he has not produced one such instance ; and I will tell you more, sir—he cannot produce one. The instances which have happened are directly in the teeth of his proposition. Captain Preston and the soldiers who shed the blood of the people [see page 594, *ante*] were fairly tried and fully acquitted. It was an American jury—a New England jury, a Boston jury—which tried and acquitted them. Captain Preston has, under his hand, publicly declared that the inhabitants of the very town, in which their fellow-citizens had been sacrificed, were his advocates and defenders. Is this the return you make them ? Is this the encouragement you give them to persevere in so laudable a spirit of justice and moderation ?

"When a Commissioner of the Customs, aided by a number of ruffians, assaulted the celebrated Mr. [James] Otis in the midst of the town of Boston, and with the most barbarous violence almost murdered him, did the mob—which is said to rule that town—take vengeance on the perpetrators of this inhuman outrage against a person who is supposed to be their demagogue ? No ! sir, the law tried them ; the law gave heavy damages against them, which the irreparably-injured Mr. Otis most generously forgave, upon an acknowledgment of the offense. Can you expect any more such instances of magnanimity under the principle of the Bill now proposed ? But the noble Lord says : 'We must now show the Americans that we will no longer sit quiet under their insults !' Sir, I am sorry to say that this declamation is unbecoming the character and place of him who utters it. In what moment have you been quiet ? Has not your government, for many years past, been a series of irritating and offensive measures, without policy, principle or moderation ? Have not your troops and your ships made a vain and insulting parade in their streets and in their harbors ? It has seemed to be your study to irritate and inflame them. You have stimulated discontent into disaffection, and you are now goading that disaffection into rebellion.

"You know, sir, what constant care is taken in this country to remind the military that they are under the restraint of the civil power. In America their superiority is felt still greater. * * I have been bred a soldier ; have served long. I respect the profession, and live in the strictest habits of friendship with a great many officers ; but there is not a country gentleman of you all who looks upon the army with a more jealous eye, or would more strenuously resist the setting them above the control of the civil power. No man is to be trusted in such a situation. It is not the fault of the soldier, but the vice of human nature, which, unbridled by law, becomes insolent and licentious, wantonly violates the peace of society and tramples upon the rights of human kind. With respect to those gentlemen who are destined to this service—they are much to be pitied. It is a service which an officer of feeling and of worth must enter upon with infinite reluctance ; a service in which his only merit must be to bear much and do little.

"When I stand up as an advocate for America, I feel myself the firmest friend of *this* country. We stand upon the commerce of America. Alienate your Colonies and you will subvert the foundation of your riches and your strength. Let the banners be once spread in America, and you are an undone people. You are urging this desperate, this destructive, issue. You are urging it with such violence—and by measures tending so manifestly to that fatal point—that, but for that state of madness which only could inspire such an intention, it would appear to be your deliberate purpose. In assenting to your late Bill I resisted the violence of America, at the hazard of my popularity there. I now resist your frenzy, at the same risk here. You have changed your ground. You are becoming the aggressors, and are offering the last of human outrages to the people of America by subjecting them, in effect, to military execution. I know the vast superiority of your disciplined troops over the Provincials ; but, beware how you supply the want of discipline by desperation. Instead of sending them the olive branch, you have sent the naked sword. By the olive branch, *I mean a repeal of all the late laws*—fruitless to you and oppressive to them.

"Ask their aid in a constitutional manner, and they will give it to the utmost of their ability. They never yet refused it, when properly required. Your journals bear the recorded acknowledgments of the zeal with which they have contributed to the

general necessities of the State. What madness is it that prompts you to attempt obtaining that by force which you may more certainly procure by requisition? They may be flattered into anything, but they are too much like yourselves to be driven. Have some indulgence for your own likeness; respect their sturdy English virtue; retract your odious exertions of authority, and remember that the first step towards making them contribute to your wants is to reconcile them to your government."

This Bill, which Colonel Barré opposed with so much vigor, was passed by both Houses of Parliament, and May 20, 1774, received the Royal assent. At the same time there was pending in the House of Commons a Bill for the better regulating of the government of the Province of Massachusetts. With respect to this measure Colonel Barré spoke as follows* :

"The question now before us is, whether we will choose to bring over the affections of all our Colonies by lenient measures, or to wage war with them. I shall content myself with stating that when the Stamp Act was repealed it produced quiet and ease. Was it then in the contemplation of any sober, honest mind that any other tax would be laid on for at least a century? [Colonel Barré then, with all his eloquence, blamed the late Charles Townshend for loading America with a tax,] nor was he [Townshend] sufficiently cautious in choosing proper Commissioners for executing his trust. It was this which disgusted the inhabitants of Boston, and there has been nothing but riots ever since. You sent over troops in 1768, and in 1770 you were obliged to recall them. The people were fired at by the lawless soldiery, and seven or eight innocent persons were killed. They were carried about the town as victims of your revenge, to incite the compassion of the friends and relations of the deceased, and the next morning you were forced to order the troops out of town.

[Colonel Barré next condemned the behavior of Governor Hutchinson, as an accomplice in the prevailing disturbances, and commended the behavior of Governor Tryon, who, knowing that he could land the tea only at the muzzles of his guns, prudently sent it back to England. Continuing, the Colonel said:] "All other Colonies have behaved with nearly the same degree of resistance, and yet you point all your revenge at Boston alone; but I think you will soon have the rest of the Colonies on your back. I will tell the House a story that happened to us when we marched at Ticonderoga [see page 580, *ante*]. The inhabitants of that town looked upon the officers of the Corps as superior beings to themselves, and the youngest among the officers, I will answer for it, was highly treated and indulged by the fair sex to the utmost of our wishes; even their wives and daughters were at our service. If the same degree of civility prevails, think you that it is possible the execution of this Bill can ever be observed by your army? I was of the profession myself, and I beg leave to tell the House that I am no deserter from it. I was forced out of it by means which a man of spirit could not submit to. I take this opportunity to say again that *I am no deserter from my profession!*

"I think this Bill is, in every shape, to be condemned, for that law which shocks Equity is Reason's murderer; and all the protection that you mean to give to the military whilst in the execution of their duty will serve but to make them odious. You are by this Bill at war with your Colonies. You may march your troops from North to South and meet no enemy; but the people there will soon turn out—like the sullen Hollanders—a set of sturdy rebels. A perpetual exertion of your authority will soon ruin you; therefore let me advise you to desist. Let us but look a little into our behavior. When we are insulted by France and Spain, we negotiate; when we dispute with our Colonies, we prepare our ships and our troops to attack them. It has been the language of a noble Lord that when America is at our feet we will forgive them and tax them; but let me recommend lenient measures. I see nothing in the present measure but inhumanity, injustice and wickedness, and I fear that the hand of Heaven will fall down on this country with the same degree of vengeance."

In England, after the passage of the Boston Port Bill and the last-mentioned Act, as well as the intervening Acts, the general expectation was that not only Boston but Massachusetts would submit. But the time for submission was passed, and America was about to be severed from England forever. "The Boston Port Bill was received in America with honors not accorded even to the Stamp Act. It was cried through the streets as 'a barbarous, cruel, bloody and inhuman murder,' and was burnt by the common hangman on a scaffold forty-five feet high. The people of Boston gathered together in town-meeting at Faneuil Hall, and expresses were sent off with an appeal to all Americans throughout America. The responses from the neighborhood came like

* See "American Archives," Fourth Series, I : 86.

snow-flakes. * * Connecticut, as her wont is, when moved by any vital occurrence, betook herself to prayer and humiliation—first, however, ordering an inventory to be taken of her cannon and military stores. * * From all parts contributions in money poured into Boston, and resolutions were everywhere passed, declaring that no obedience was due the late Acts of Parliament; that the right of imperial taxation did not exist. * * In the fulness of time a cordon of ships was drawn around Boston, and six regiments and a train of artillery were encamped on the Common—the only spot in the thirteen Colonies where the Government could enforce an order.”* May 19, 1774, nearly a thousand people assembled at Farmington, Connecticut, and a Liberty Pole, forty-five feet tall, was erected by the Sons of Liberty. Then the Boston Port Bill was read, “sentenced to the flames, and executed by the hands of the common hangman.” The adoption of certain patriotic resolves followed, after which the assemblage dispersed.

The following lines† from a popular song—entitled “A Favorite Air”—which went the rounds of the press in the Colonies during the exciting times of 1774, indicate the spirit with which at that time the Sons of Liberty, as well as all other American patriots, were animated.

“Freedom’s charms alike engage
 Blooming youth and hoary age;
 Time itself can ne’er destroy
 Freedom’s pure and lasting joy.
 Love nor Friendship ever gave
 Half their blessings to the slave;
 None are happy but the free,
 Bliss is born of Liberty,
 Which from fair America
 Tyrants strive to take away.”

As previously mentioned (in the note on page 354) the First Continental Congress was in session at Philadelphia in September and October, 1774, and one of its important transactions was the issuing of an “Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain”—an appeal to their enlightened sympathies. It contained, among others, the following paragraphs:

“Our enemies charge us with sedition. In what does it consist? In our refusal to submit to unwarrantable acts of injustice and cruelty? If so, show us a period in your history in which you have not been equally seditious. We are accused of aiming at independence. But how is this accusation supported? By the allegations of your Ministers, not by our actions. Abused, insulted and contemned, what steps have we pursued to obtain redress? We have carried our dutiful petitions to the Throne. We have applied to your justice for relief. We have retrenched our luxury and withheld our trade. * * What has been the success of our endeavors? The clemency of our Sovereign is unhappily diverted; our petitions are treated with indignity; our prayers are answered by insults. * * Even under these circumstances what measures have we taken that betray a desire for independence? Have we called in the aid of those foreign powers who are the rivals of your grandeur? When your troops were few and defenseless did we take advantage of their distress and expel them from our towns? Or have we permitted them to fortify, to receive new aid and to acquire additional strength? * *

“If you have no regard to the connexion that has for ages subsisted between us; if you have forgot the wounds we have received in fighting by your side for the extension of the Empire; if our commerce is not an object below your consideration; if justice and humanity have lost their influence on your hearts, still motives are not wanting to excite your indignation at the measures now pursued. Your wealth, your honor, your liberty, are at stake! * * * A cloud hangs over your heads and ours; ere this reaches you it may probably burst upon us. Let us, then—before the remembrance of former kindness is obliterated—once more repeat those appellations which are ever grateful in our ears. Let us entreat Heaven to avert our ruin, and the destruction that threatens our friends, brethren and countrymen on the other side of the Atlantic!”

* E. G. Scott’s “The Development of Constitutional Liberty,” Chapter XI.

† See *The Connecticut Courant*, June 7, 1774.

At the same time the Congress ordered that there be prepared a loyal address to the King, assuring him that by abolishing the system of laws and regulations (duly enumerated) of which the Colonies complained, the jealousies they had caused would be removed, and harmony would be restored. "*We ask but for peace, liberty and safety!*" they declared.*

A newly-elected British Parliament convened November 30, 1774, but no serious measure relating to America was taken up until January, 1775, after the Christmas recess. Among other matters then brought before the House of Commons were the aforementioned addresses of the Continental Congress to George III and his subjects in Great Britain. The Ministers had a large majority in the Parliament, and even apart from party interest the genuine feeling of both Houses ran strongly against the Americans. The Earl of Chatham (Pitt), however, having returned to active politics after his long illness, had completely identified himself with the American cause, and he advocated with all his eloquence measures of conciliation. He moved in the House of Lords an address to the King praying that he would, as soon as possible, "in order to open the way towards a happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America," withdraw the British troops stationed in Boston. Continuing, he said :

"When your Lordships have perused the papers transmitted us from America; when you consider the dignity, the firmness and the wisdom with which the Americans have acted, you cannot but respect their cause. History, my Lords, has been my favorite study, and in the celebrated writings of antiquity have I often admired the patriotism of Greece and Rome; but, my Lords, I must declare and avow that, in the master States of the world, I know not the people nor the Senate who, in such a complication of difficult circumstances, can stand in preference to the delegates of America assembled in General Congress at Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your Lordships that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty Continental nation, must be vain, must be futile. * * * I repeat it, my Lords, we shall one day be forced to undo these violent acts of oppression. They must be repealed—you will repeal them! I pledge myself for it, that in the end you will repeal them. I stake my reputation on it! I will consent to be taken for an idiot if they are not repealed! Avoid, then, this humiliating, disgraceful necessity. With a dignity becoming your exalted situation, make the first advance to concord, to peace and to happiness!"

February 6, 1775, in the debate in the House of Commons on an Address to be presented to the King—more fully referred to on page 557, *ante*—Edmund Burke made an earnest speech against the Address. Solicitor General Wedderburn (see page 545) replied to Burke, speaking largely of the goodness of Great Britain to America. He thought it highly necessary to enforce the laws, and complained much of the dispositions of the Americans being encouraged by those persons in England who avowed their cause. In response to the Solicitor General Colonel Barré "allowed that the Americans might be encouraged by their confidence in having friends at home, when they recollected that a few years ago the voice of the gentleman [Wedderburn] who spoke last was made hoarse in condemning the measures of Great Britain towards America." Barré then highly eulogized Colonels Howe, Burgoyne and Clinton, who were to be promoted in rank and assigned to military duty in America. He lamented that England would lose their services when the course of events must call for it—for, if England incurred a civil war, a foreign war was inevitable. He insisted that no honor could be gained in America. He avowed a fear that England would not vanquish the Americans, and urged that it was the duty of the

* See page 557, *ante*.

English to cherish the Americans. He reproached the spirit of the Administration, which, in all foreign transactions, readily sacrificed the honor of the nation, but in dealings with the people of the nation—when the people's good ought to be the first object—pride and dignity were their only principles. He said he felt himself connected with America more than any man in the House, and added, in conclusion: "You are this night to decide whether you are to make war on your Colonies."

October 26, 1775, the King delivered a speech from the throne to both Houses of Parliament. Subsequently, in the Commons, a motion was made that an Address be presented to the King, thanking him for his speech and assuring him "that we [the Commons] have long lamented the condition of our unhappy fellow-subjects in America, seduced from their allegiance by the grossest misrepresentations and the most wicked and insidious pretenses, * * and we hope and trust that we shall, by the blessing of God, put such strength and force into His Majesty's hands as may soon defeat and suppress this rebellion." One of the first to speak against this motion was John Wilkes—whose speech is given, in part, on pages 558 and 559, *ante*. Colonel Barré spoke later in the same day.* He entered minutely into the particulars and consequences of the Summer campaign (Lexington, Concord and Boston), and drew a conclusion that if an army of 22,000 of the British forces, with 20,000 Provincials, twenty-two sail of the line and more than as many frigates, were three years in subduing Canada, what little prospect could there be for 10,000 men to effect the conquest of all America.

Colonel Barré then stated that he had received a letter from Major Caldwell, who was settled on a large estate in Canada, who assured him that the Canadians were not by any means to be driven into the war. As to himself (Barré), he stood there a humble individual, brought into Parliament,† with reluctance on his own part, by the hand of friendship; that His Majesty thought proper to call him into his service, but when the matter of General Warrants was discussed in the House (see pages 532 and 538), and his conscience directed him to oppose the measure—which he modestly did by a silent vote—a young officer was purposely put over his head, as an intimation that his services were no further necessary. He retired, without repining, on a scanty pittance, as he would have done to the most mortifying state, without a murmur. His Majesty again thought proper to call him into his service, and made him one of the joint Vice Treasurers of Ireland; which office he held but a short time, owing to a change of both men and measures. Since that time he had retired with the name, indeed, of Colonel, yet, in truth, simply but Mr., Barré. He desired the noble Lord before him to say if he had ever solicited the smiles of Government. In touching on the War Office arrangements in America he said that, though he had lost one eye in America, he had still one military eye left which did not deceive him. "The Americans have been called *cowards*," said he. As to being cowards, they were certainly the greatest to his knowledge, for "the 47th Regiment of Foot—which behaved so gallantly at Bunker Hill (an engagement that smacked more of defeat than victory), and

* See "American Archives," Fourth Series, VI: 39.

† At that time, as well as for more than a year previously, and for a number of years subsequently, Barré and John Dunning sat in the House as the representatives of Calne, a small town in Wiltshire, some sixteen miles from Bath.

which was the very corps that broke the whole French column and threw them into such disorder at the siege of Quebec"—was, in 1759-'60, "three parts composed of these *cowards*."

Barré declared that he would not say much of himself in a military capacity, to give weight to this account; yet it could not but be flattering to him to reflect that the dead Wolfe and the living Amherst had honored him with their esteem. He animadverted with great severity on Lord North for having said some time previously that, if Parliament would give him the men and the money he had asked for, he would immediately pilot them safely through the American storm. He then ridiculed the absurdity of General Gage's signing the flowery answer to General Washington's clear and manly letter, affirming that Gage's letter was not the composition of the commander-in-chief, but that he had been compelled to father it by superior powers. Gage was a good officer, but a plain man. Concerning himself and his friends, Barré observed that they were held up as the leaders of faction; that the conversation of Ministers with each other was which of them (Barré and his friends) should be sent to the Tower first. Oppose the King they could not wish to do, he asserted, for their ancestry seated his family on the throne; but, to carry their point against the present unfeeling Administration, he (Barré) would readily go to the block. He then concluded with a recommendation to Prime Minister North to embrace the present, the only moment tolerated by Heaven, for an accommodation with the Americans.

In reply to Colonel Barré Solicitor General Wedderburn (previously mentioned) made a fiery speech. He said, among other things:

* * "Relinquish America! What is it but to desire a giant to shrink spontaneously into a dwarf? Relinquish America and you also relinquish the West Indies, and confine yourself to that narrow insular situation which once made you hardly discernible on the face of the globe. My heart swells with indignation at the idea. Relinquish America! Forbid it, ye spirits of Edward and Henry, whom Englishmen once held in veneration and burned to imitate! Forbid it, thou spirit of Wolfe, who, if thou hast any consciousness of thy country's wrongs, blushest to see a companion [Barré] of thy victories so tamely give up thy conquest! * * * Establish first your superiority, and then talk of negotiation. Did Rome, when Hannibal marched triumphantly up to her walls, sue for peace? She had more wisdom and spirit. She knew the moment was not favorable, and would not listen to any propositions till the tide of fortune changed. Why should we not follow so bright an example? * * * Had my advice been taken (gentlemen insinuate that it is taken too much), the House must do me the justice to own that a much more powerful force than General Gage had would have been sent to America."

A few months later (February 20, 1776) a motion made by Charles James Fox, relative to the ill success of the British army in America, was under discussion in the House of Commons. Colonel Barré was particularly severe on several of the statements made by Solicitor General Wedderburn. He charged the latter and the other Ministers with the loss of America. With much emphasis he exclaimed: "Give us back our Colonies! You have lost America! It is your ignorance, blunders, cowardice, which have lost America!" He said he had heard the noble Lord George Germain (mentioned on page 568, *ante*), the Secretary of State for the Colonies, recently called "the Pitt of the day." This he ridiculed. Then, referring to affairs in America, he asserted that the British troops, from an aversion to the service, had misbehaved at the battle of Bunker Hill. He condemned the Ministers in the strongest terms, and told them that their shiftings and evasions would not protect them, though they should be changed every day and made to shift places at the pleasure, and sometimes, too, for the sport, of their secret directors.

Colonel Barré further observed that the late appointment of a new Secretary of State was a proof that some weak and perhaps foul proceedings had happened, which made such an arrangement necessary; but, though changes might happen every day, he was well convinced measures never would, till the whole fabric of despotism fell at once and buried in its ruins the architects, with all those employed under them. He begged to assure them, once more, that America would never submit to be taxed, though half of Germany were to be transported over the Atlantic to effect it. General Burgoyne thereupon arose, and with warmth contradicted Colonel Barré in the flattest manner. He allowed that the British troops gave way a little at one time at the battle of Bunker Hill, because they were flanked by a fire out of the houses at Charlestown; but they soon rallied and advanced, and no men on earth ever behaved with more spirit and firmness till they forced the enemy out of their entrenchments.

January 15, 1776, a treaty was signed at Cassel between George III and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel relative to the hiring by the latter to the former of troops (the "Hessians") to be used in America. Some six weeks later this subject was being considered in the House of Commons, when Colonel Barré reminded Lord Barrington—the Secretary for War—of the assurance he had given on a former occasion that no foreign troops were meant to be employed in America. Turning then to Lord North Barré indulged in some severe strictures on him and his colleagues. He told them, in no uncertain words, that they were not fit to conduct the affairs of a great nation, either in peace or war. He attacked the treaties and those who advised them, and pointed out the great danger of introducing such a number of foreigners into the kingdom. Later in the debate Paymaster General Rigby expressed his astonishment at what had fallen from Colonel Barré—who had condemned the war as impolitic, ruinous and unjust—when he recollected that that very gentleman had both spoken and voted "for the Boston Port Bill, which was the great, leading and fundamental basis of the present civil war."

Early in March, 1776, the Secretary for War moved in the House of Commons for a grant of upwards of £845,000 "for defraying the extraordinary expenses of the British land forces in America between March 9, 1775, and January 31, 1776." In discussing this motion Colonel Barré declared that the annals of the country did not furnish another instance in which a nominal body of 11,000 troops—never amounting, at any time within the period mentioned, to above 8,500—had cost the nation so much money. The Lexington-Bunker Hill campaign was ludicrously compared with the glorious campaigns of the Duke of Marlborough, and then Barré concluded by eulogizing, in the highest terms, the late Gen. Richard Montgomery, an account of whose death (December 31, 1775) at the attempt of the Americans to take Quebec, had reached London only a few days before. Following Barré Edmund Burke and Charles James Fox vied with each other in eulogies of Montgomery.

In the Autumn of 1776 France and Spain were arming and equipping large additions to their regular military and naval forces, and in England there were many apprehensions of danger from these two nations. October 31, 1776 (the same day that John Wilkes delivered

the speech quoted, in part, on page 561, *ante*), Colonel Barré spoke in the House of Commons with respect to the situation of the affairs of Great Britain—which he described as “awful, alarming and tremendous.” He spoke these words, he said, with fear and trembling; but the country seemed to be near the crisis of her fate. He then entered into a discussion of the state of the nation’s naval establishment, and declared that it was by no means a match for the united forces of France and Spain. He recommended to the Ministry to *make up matters with America*. “We had,” he asserted, “in the last war 12,000 seamen from America, who would now, should France attack England, be fighting against us.” He said further that all the useful part of the British navy was on the coast of America—in fact, that matters were so bad at home that unavoidable ruin hovered over their devoted country. “Recall, therefore,” said he, “your fleets and armies from America, and leave the brave Colonists to the enjoyment of their liberty.” This closing sentence created loud laughter among the occupants of the Ministerial benches.

About that period Lord North, having announced at a City dinner the receipt of intelligence of an important advantage gained by the British troops over the “rebels” in America, was taken to task by Colonel Barré and Charles James Fox, who were present, for applying such language to their “fellow-subjects in America.” “Well, then, to please you,” responded North, “I will call them the gentlemen in opposition on the other side of the water.”

February 6, 1778, Edmund Burke made a memorable speech in the House of Commons—Horace Walpole denominated it “the *chef-d’œuvre* of Burke’s orations.” He referred to General Burgoyne’s talk with the American Indians as the “sublimity of bombastic absurdity,” in which Burgoyne demanded the assistance of seventeen Indian tribes on the ground of “considerations of our holy religion, and regard for our Constitution.” Though he enjoined them not to scalp men, women or children alive, yet he promised to pay them for any scalps of the dead. “Seventeen interpreters from the several nations,” said Burke, “could not have given the Indians any idea of Burgoyne’s reasons; and the invitation was just as if, at a riot on Tower Hill, the keeper of the wild beasts there had turned them loose, but adding: ‘My gentle lions, my sentimental wolves, my tender-hearted hyenas, go forth! but take care not to hurt men, women or children.’” Burke then grew serious, and as the former part of his speech had excited the warmest and most continued bursts of laughter (even from Prime Minister North and Paymaster General Rigby) so he drew such a pathetic picture of the cruelties of the King’s army—particularly in the case of a young woman on whose ransom, not beauty, some soldiers had quarreled, and then murdered her—that “he drew iron tears down the cheeks of Colonel Barré, who implored Burke to print his speech.” Barré declared, with many invectives against the Bishops, that the speech ought to be pasted up on every church under the Bishops’ proclamation for the fast—and that he himself would paste it upon some churches.*

April 7, 1778, in the House of Lords, the Earl of Chatham made a powerful address against the surrender of America—declaring that war, with whatever issue, would be preferable to the proposed terms of peace. This address secured a majority against the motion, and the war was

* See G. H. Jennings’ “Anecdotal History of the British Parliament,” page 155.

continued. But it was the orator's last effort, for his physical powers suddenly failed, and he fell down on the floor of the House stricken by a mortal illness. He died at his home in Kent on the 11th of the following May, and was honored with a public funeral, which took place June 9th from the "Painted Chamber" in the House of Parliament and proceeded to Westminster Abbey, where interment took place. In the funeral procession was "a banner of the Barony of Chatham, supported by Col. Isaac Barré, the Dukes of Northumberland, Richmond, and Manchester, and the Marquis of Rockingham, in close mourning." It was a strange satire on the life of Barré that he, who had first attained Parliamentary distinction by attacking William Pitt, should have been the most zealous mourner for the Earl of Chatham!

Shelburne and Barré, with all those who had acted with Chatham, now ranged themselves with the Rockingham party. All the bitterness and invective of which Barré was master were arrayed against the Government. "There was much fair ground for criticism. The justice of the war was, indeed, a matter of opinion; but the method in which it was conducted, the vast grants of Parliament which remained unaccounted for, and the scandalous corruption of contractors, were subjects of the justest censure. Barré moved for an inquiry into the public accounts. Lord North was in no position to oppose a motion so plausible, and so he made the motion his own. A commission was appointed, which naturally languished under Ministerial protection." About that time, during one of the debates on the American War, Colonel Barré attacked Lord North violently, calling him the scourge of the country. Upon this Lord North, for almost the only time in his life, it is said, lost his temper, and declared that he had "been used, from that quarter, to language so uncivil, so brutal, so insolent —." At these words the House got into an uproar, and Mr. Thomas Townshend called upon Lord North to apologize. The latter said he was ready to ask pardon of the House, but not of Barré. At the end of a tumult of three hours' duration he consented to ask pardon even of Barré.

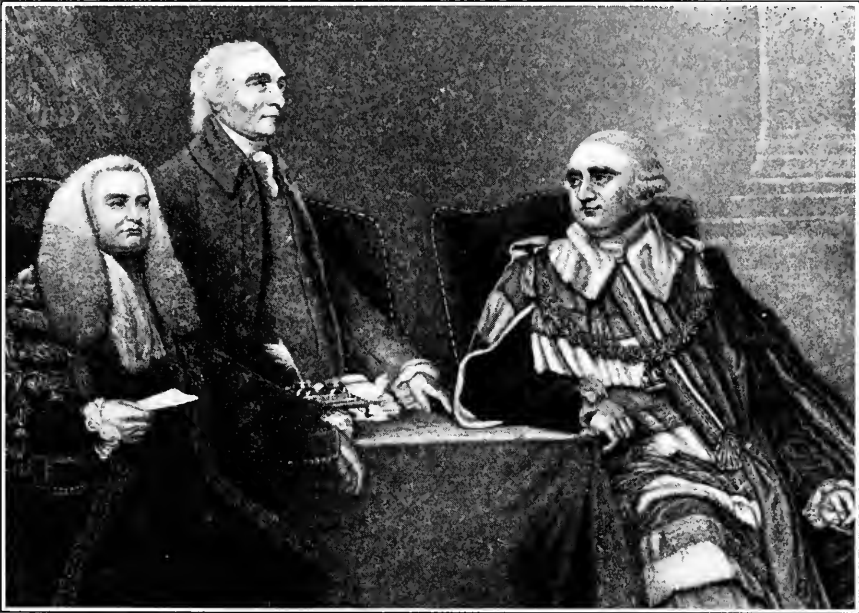
Sir Nathaniel William Wraxall, in his "Memoirs" covering the period of 1772-1784, states (II: 37):

"In surveying the Opposition side of the House of Commons at this time [1781], the idea of BARRÉ naturally and unavoidably suggests itself after that of Burke. Both were natives of the same country—Ireland—and both had attained to vast celebrity in their adopted country, England. But no sort of comparison could be made between their talents, acquirements, or claim to general admiration—in all which Burke possessed an infinite superiority. Of an athletic frame and mould, and endowed with extraordinary powers of voice, BARRÉ, as a speaker, roughly enforced rather than solicited or attracted attention. Severe and sometimes coarse in his censures or accusations, he nevertheless sustained his charges against Ministers with considerable force of argument and language. He was more measured in his panegyrics than Burke. Slow, measured and dictatorial in his manner of enunciation, he was never carried away by those beautiful digressions of genius or fancy with which Burke captivated and entertained his audience. Master, nevertheless, of his subject, and more attentive than Burke not to fatigue the patience of the House when he saw it eager to rise, he frequently obtained a more indulgent hearing. Deprived already of one eye, and menaced with a privation of both; advanced in years; grey-headed and of a savage aspect, he reminded the beholders when he rose of Belisarius rather than Tully. Yet, possessing a cultivated understanding, conversant with the works of antiquity, and able on occasion to press them into his service, he sometimes displayed great diversity of information.

"Near him, on the same bench, in the front ranks of the Minority, usually sat his friend and colleague [John] Dunning. Never, perhaps, did Nature enclose a more illumined mind in a body of meaner and more abject appearance. It is difficult to do justice to the peculiar species of ugliness which characterized his person and figure, although he did not labor under any absolute deformity of shape or limb. Sir Joshua Reynolds alone could give a good portrait of Dunning. His picture of Lord Shelburne, Lord Ashburton

[Dunning] and Colonel Barré has surely no superior—the characters so admirable, the likenesses so strong.

“A degree of infirmity and almost of debility or decay in his [Dunning’s] organs augmented the effect of his other bodily misfortunes. Even his voice was so husky and choked with phlegm that it refused utterance to the sentiments which were dictated by his superior intelligence. But all these imperfections and defects of configuration were obliterated by the ability which he displayed. In spite of the monotony of his tones and his total want of animation as well as grace, yet so powerful was reason when flowing from his lips, that every murmur became hushed and every ear attentive. It seemed, nevertheless, to be the acute sophistry of a lawyer rather than the speech of a man of the world or the eloquence of a man of letters and education. His legal talents soon afterwards [in 1782] raised him to the peerage [as Lord Ashburton], just in time to attain that elevation, as his constitution speedily sank under accumulated disorders, which hurried him prematurely to the grave [in 1783]. This distinguished man, who was not exempt from great infirmity of mind, felt or perceived so little his corporeal deficiencies, as to consider his person with extraordinary predilection. Fond of viewing his face in the



LORD ASHBURTON, COL. ISAAC BARRÉ AND LORD SHELburnE.

A photo-reproduction of an engraving after the original painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds.*

glass, he passed no time more to his satisfaction than in decorating himself for his appearance in the world.†

“He and Barré, who were fellow-laborers in the same vineyard, represented likewise the same borough, Calne, and belonged, or at least looked up, to the same political chief—Lord Shelburne. They consequently were animated by no common principle of union or of action with Fox and Burke, except one—that of overturning the Administra-

*The original of this picture, now owned by Lord Northbrook, London, was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1782. Lord Ashburton (John Dunning) is seated at the left in the picture, in his robe and wig as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Lord Shelburne is seated at the right, arrayed in the regalia of a Knight of the Garter, while Colonel Barré, in civilian dress, is depicted standing between the two Lords.

†JOHN DUNNING (previously mentioned on page 580) was born in 1731, and at the age of thirty-three years was eminent as a Crown lawyer. (See page 41.) His argument as counsel for John Wilkes against “General Warrants” made future fame and fortune secure. In March, 1768, through the influence of Lord Shelburne, he was returned to Parliament as one of the Members for Calne. Later in that year, although Solicitor General, he took no part in the debate on the expulsion of Wilkes from the House. (See page 550.) In 1774 Dunning ably supported before the Privy Council the petition of the Massachusetts Assembly for the removal of Governor Hutchinson. It was upon that occasion that Alexander Wedderburn made his violent personal attack on Benjamin Franklin—referred to in the note on page 41. In 1782, at the request of Lord Shelburne, the King raised Dunning to the peerage as Baron Ashburton, and appointed him to the post of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. At his death in 1783 he was succeeded as Baron Ashburton by his second son, *Richard Barré Dunning*—who died without issue in 1823.

tion of Lord North. On all other points a secret jealousy and rivalry subsisted between the adherents of the Shelburne and the Rockingham parties."

At the beginning of 1782 there came an agitation in England which was not far from a revolution. Petitions from all parts of the kingdom were sent to the King demanding a change of Ministers. The days of Lord North's administration of public affairs were numbered. "The Opposition, however, was unable to effect Lord North's removal, or to provoke his voluntary resignation, by any censures passed on the American War," states Sir Nathaniel William Wraxall.* "Lord North, who was individually beloved in and out of the House—even by those who most disapproved or opposed many of his measures—was likewise steadily supported by his Sovereign." The war, alone, had preserved the Government—but England was now sick of war. In America she had been beaten. At home she was oppressed by taxation, and was looking to economical reform. Finally the Reform Party won a signal victory. "They had terrified a venal House of Commons into a protest against the Royal rapine and secret tyranny on which many of its members depended for their places and not a few for their livelihood." In March, 1782, the King was forced to appoint a Cabinet composed of men who were pledged to destroy corruption. The Marquis of Rockingham (previously mentioned) was named as Prime Minister and Shelburne as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

March 8, 1782, a short time before the change of the Ministry, resolutions were introduced in the House of Commons imputing the misfortunes of the war to "the want of foresight and ability" in Ministers. In the debate which followed, Welbore Ellis,† who had just resigned from the office of Treasurer of the Navy to succeed Lord George Germain as Secretary of State for the Colonies, said: "When I accepted the seal I was possessed of a lucrative employment to which no responsibility attached. I was undoubtedly in a warm, comfortable bed, out of which I have been summoned to take an active part in the Ship of State." The opportunity was too favorable for Burke to lose. Starting up as soon as the new Secretary had finished, he attacked him with those shafts of classic wit, satire and ridicule which he knew so well how to launch against his opponents. "It was true," he allowed, "that the Treasurer of the Navy had quitted a warm bed, with his eyes hardly open, and had ventured into a vessel leaky, foundering, and tossed by tempestuous winds. He has been most unwise so to do; and to him I may apply the words of Brutus, when he asks his wife—

'Wherefore rise ye now?

It is not for your health, thus to commit

Your weak condition to the raw, cold morning!"

"The Secretary of State declares," continued Burke, "that he has left a warm bed for a post of danger. In my firm belief it has been left merely with the intention of introducing a Scotch warming-pan." The allusion to Lord Dundas—a Scot, and at that time Lord Advocate of Scotland—which was too palpable to be mistaken, excited no little laughter. After awhile Dundas arose and said: "The honorable Member, whose classic redundancy of wit always charms this audience, has been pleased, when addressing the Secretary of State near me, to men-

* In his "Memoirs" (previously mentioned), II: 216, *et seq.*

† A native of Ireland, and a son of the Bishop of Meath. In March, 1761, he was returned to Parliament with John Wilkes for the borough of Aylesbury. A few years after his retirement from the office of Secretary of State he was created Baron Mendip.

tion his quitting a snug, warm bed in order to make room for a Scotch warming-pan. Now I see no reason, when I look at the gentlemen opposite me—if their eager expectations of coming into power are fulfilled—why it should not be an *Irish* warming-pan which is to be introduced into that bed.” A retort so apposite turned the laugh against Burke; and, before three weeks had elapsed, the possibility suggested by Lord Dundas had become a fact, for Colonel Barré was appointed Treasurer of the Navy, and shortly afterwards was given a pension of £3,200 a year—to take effect “whenever he should quit his then office.” This pension was ten times as large as the Government Bill then before the House of Commons proposed to allow to any one person. Therefore the pension was attacked, and Barré for the first time found there was something to be said in favor of pensions. Relative to this matter Wraxall (previously mentioned) has the following to say (“Memoirs,” II: 360):

“A pension of £3,200 a year having been granted to Colonel Barré by the Administration of which Lord Rockingham constituted the head, and another very considerable pension having been given at the same time to Lord Ashburton—the two principal friends of Lord Shelburne in both Houses of Parliament—these grants (the consideration of which was unexpectedly brought forward July 9, 1782, a few days after the coming in of the Shelburne Ministry*) became severely arraigned. It seemed, indeed, impossible not to feel a degree of astonishment at contemplating such profuse donations of the public money made by Ministers who condemned Lord North’s want of economy; who were with difficulty induced to give a pension of £2,000 a year to Lord Rodney for having defeated the French fleet and saved Jamaica; who themselves had recently reduced the household of the Sovereign, and who loudly asserted their personal disinterestedness.

“D. P. Coke * * * moved for an Address to request of His Majesty to declare which of his Ministers had dared to recommend the grant of the pension in question to Barré. The three Lords of the Treasury present having all admitted that it was the Marquis of Rockingham’s act, and Frederick Montagu, one of the number, not only justifying it as a remuneration merited by Barré for his long services in that assembly, but adding that all he regretted was his not having signed a warrant for a similar sum to another distinguished servant of the public, namely, Burke, Barré himself then arose. In a speech well-conceived, and delivered from the Treasury bench, he detailed his military sufferings and honorary as well as pecuniary renunciations. The post of Adjutant General and the government of Stirling Castle, both of which offices had been conferred on him by the Crown as a reward for his services under the immortal Wolfe in Canada—posts of which officers were only deprived for military offenses—he had sacrificed. ‘I was,’ said he, ‘an enemy to General Warrants. I voted against them in this House, and for this political transgression I was dismissed the very next day from my military employments. I should now have been an old Lieutenant General. Had I been less a friend to the liberties of the people, my income would have exceeded the pension conferred on me. If, after such sacrifices, I do not merit this provision, let it be curtailed or annihilated.’

“I confess that, though I felt no predilection towards Barré—whose manners, like his figure, had in them something approaching to ferocious—yet these circumstances produced on my mind a sentiment of conviction or approbation. * * * Fox, rising, admitted that Rockingham had concurred in recommending the pensions conferred on Barré and Ashburton. I find it difficult to convey to posterity any adequate idea of this extraordinary debate, or rather discussion, which, during the greater part of the time it lasted, exhibited not the slightest reference nor made the smallest allusion to the ostensible subject before the House—Barré’s pension. In defiance of order it was maintained for three or four hours in the shape of a conversation, or dialogue, carried on between Fox and General Conway exclusively—the Speaker and the Members present acquiescing in a total departure from the question under examination, from motives of curiosity. Never, perhaps, were political disclosures, more delicate and interesting, made within those walls.”

March 31, 1783, the Shelburne Cabinet resigned, being succeeded by the Ministry under the Premiership of the Duke of Portland. On the downfall of this Ministry in the following December William Pitt, second son of the late Earl of Chatham, and then in the twenty-fifth

* The Marquis of Rockingham having died July 1, 1782, the King appointed as Prime Minister Lord Shelburne, who immediately formed a new Cabinet—Colonel Barré becoming Paymaster General of the Forces.

year of his life, became Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Early in 1784 Pitt gained considerable applause by appointing Colonel Barré Clerk of the Pells. This office was one of the principal ones within the gift of the Minister, being a complete sinecure, worth £3,000 a year. The office was connected with the Exchequer, and it was the duty of the incumbent to make entries on the "*pells*", or parchment rolls. The office was abolished in 1834. Upon his appointment to the clerkship of the Pells—which office he held continuously until his death—Colonel Barré relinquished the pension of £3,200 which had been previously granted to him. In 1785 a heavy misfortune fell upon him, for which no pension or well-paid sinecure could compensate. He became totally blind. For several sessions he disappeared from Parliament. When he returned, all was changed; his place in politics was gone; a new generation of statesmen had sprung up. He continued, however, to represent Calne in the House of Commons until 1790, when he retired permanently.

Colonel Barré died at his home in Stanhope Street, Mayfair, London, July 20, 1802, in his seventy-sixth year. His health had been declining for a considerable time previously, and a few hours before his death he suffered a stroke of paralysis. He left an estate valued at about £24,000, a moiety of which he bequeathed to the Marchioness of Townshend, the wife of his old companion-in-arms George, Marquis of Townshend—mentioned on page 578. October 18, 1802, in *The Luzerne Federalist*, published in Wilkes-Barré, the following reference to Colonel Barré's death was printed—which was the first and *only* mention made of the occurrence, or even of Barré himself.

"Died—in England—the Hon. ISAAC BARRÉ, Member of the British Parliament; celebrated for the part he took in favor of the American Colonies in 1774, '75, &c. He was blind for several years before his death."

"The pre-eminence of Barré as a speaker," says Elliot in "Colonel Barré and His Times," previously mentioned, "was due principally to his extraordinary power of invective; but it would be a great injustice to suppose that there was nothing but invective in his speeches. On the contrary, some of them abound with wise maxims and good, sound common sense. He was generally on what we should call the Constitutional side, and as the great Constitutional questions of that day have all been settled in his favor, it is naturally difficult for us to help being struck by his arguments. But Barré does not deserve our unqualified approbation. He was essentially a party man. He spoke *for* his party, and he voted *with* his party. Walpole called him a bravo, and nothing can so well illustrate the dependence of his position as the fact that, clever and eloquent as he was, the first trace we find of his making an original motion was in 1778, seventeen years after he entered Parliament. He was one of those mercenaries of the great political leaders of the last century who, after a tumultuous life of Parliamentary conflict, were content to retire into oblivion upon a pension; men of vast abilities and too often of low morality, who flamed across the political heavens like meteors, and whose brilliant track—already beginning to fade in the lapse of time—alone remains to mark their former splendor.

"Thus Barré found himself fighting the battles of the people, and his eloquence was of a sort peculiarly adapted to such warfare. It was of an aggressive character. It is doubtful whether as a Ministerial speaker he would ever have risen to any eminence. His mind was fired by

all the lofty principles which a popular opposition, whether rightly or wrongly, seems always to inspire. He was the champion of resistance in every form; of mobs against soldiers; of the people against the Parliament; of the Parliament against the Crown. The Corporation of London denied the privileges of the House of Commons; he recommended concession. The American Colonies rose in rebellion against England; he counseled compliance. His speeches abound with appeals to the moral sympathies. Virtue is eulogized; tyranny, corruption and fraud meet with proper reprobation. Such themes can never be exhausted, and are always popular. It is doubtful whether his eloquence, stripped of such spangles as these, would ever have shone so brilliantly before the world. But Barré was not always so fortunate as to charm the House with his language or to terrify it with his invective. He was an Irishman, and his French extraction was unable to save him from the penalties of an Irish birth. On one fatal occasion, when he was speaking on the subject of America, he declared in stentorian tones: 'I think Boston ought to be punished; *she is your eldest son!*' The House which he had oftener driven to tears than to mirth, naturally exploded into a roar of laughter."

The writer of the foregoing is a descendant of Sir Gilbert Elliot, a Scot, who was a contemporary of Colonel Barré, and, at the beginning of the latter's public career, was the confidential friend of the Earl of Bute (mentioned on page 530). Later he became the special confidant of George III, and, if not his adviser and mentor in his political policy, was the chief advocate of that policy.* Sir Gilbert was not, therefore, a friend to the American patriots, as was Barré, and he saw little to commend in the latter's attacks on the British Ministry and its supporters during the early days of the American War. Governed, no doubt, by the recorded judgments and comments of his ancestor, the author of "Colonel Barré and His Times" has little to say in general commendation of Barré, and is almost silent with respect to the firm stand taken, and the brave, forceful and eloquent speeches delivered, by the latter during the most important period of his Parliamentary career—from 1775 to 1782. The writer in question is not an unbiased judge in respect to his estimates and opinions of Barré. It would be difficult to convince Americans of to-day—familiar with the speeches delivered, and the principles and policies upheld, by Colonel Barré during the American War—that he was "a bravo," or "one of those mercenaries of the great political leaders" of the eighteenth century, or a man of "low morality."

The fact is that Barré was pre-eminently an Opposition speaker, and, as we have previously stated, possessed the power of making himself feared, and was feared, by such Tories as Sir Gilbert Elliot—forcible and brilliant though the latter was as a Parliamentary speaker. Elliot felt, more than once, the sting of Barré's vitriolic discharges of undiluted sarcasm, just as Charles Townshend felt the force of his strong will and immediately paid him that respect which nothing but resolution and

* SIR GILBERT ELLIOT, the third Baronet of Minto, was born in 1722 and died in 1777. On the occasion of the London riots in 1771 (see page 597) he appeared in the House of Commons as the King's special ambassador, and, by an inflammatory speech in regard to the threatened liberties of the House, virtually overruled Lord North and carried a decision to which the latter was opposed. He supported the King in his policy towards America, and when, in 1775, a conciliatory motion was introduced in the House to allow the Colonies to tax themselves, Elliot, by bringing the Royal influence to bear, secured a large majority against the motion. His son, Sir Gilbert Elliot, later the first Earl of Minto (born in 1751; died 1814), became a Member of Parliament in 1776. He was in favor of the prosecution of the American War, and gave a general support to the Government. In 1782, however, he went over to the Opposition.

firmness could wring from the talents of that brilliant but volatile politician. The rank and influence of the disreputable Earl of Sandwich* could not protect him from Barré's attacks. As he sat in the gallery of the House of Commons he heard himself compared to Nero, and retired to fresh intrigues with new-born feelings of astonishment. And Lord North learned at first to dread the voice which in later years became the scourge of his own Government.

In a communication to *The Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1817, a writer stated that he had known Colonel Barré for more than thirty years prior to his death, and that "no man, in his private character, could be more amiable, more gentle or more friendly; his integrity no man will doubt." The writer of the sketch of Colonel Barré contained in the "Dictionary of National Biography" (III: 275) states: "As an Opposition orator Barré was almost without a rival. The terror of his invective paralyzed Charles Townshend and dismayed Wedderburn. Among the opponents of Lord North's Ministry none took a more prominent place than Barré. In defense he was less happy, and in society he was vulgar. It is perhaps worthy of notice that John Britton wrote in 1848 a volume to prove that Barré was the author of the 'Letters of Junius.'" Britton supposed that Lord Shelburne and John Dunning (later Lord Ashburton)—previously mentioned—assisted Barré in writing these "Letters."

A story is told which describes Lord Beaconsfield as offering, in his last days, to a youthful friend this bit of counsel: "My young friend, I will give you a piece of advice—never ask who wrote the 'Letters of Junius,' or else people will think you a bore. It is one offense that society will not forgive." The identity of "Junius" and that of "The Man with the Iron Mask" were conclusively established a good many years ago; but for years to come, without doubt, arguments will be written to show that "Junius" was *not* Sir Philip Francis,† and that "The Man with the Iron Mask" was *not* Count Matthioli. The authorship of the "Letters" is a problem which at one time literary students pursued with the same eagerness that bold explorers seek the North Pole. Over fifty persons have been named‡ at different times as those to whom the authorship of the "Letters" has been attributed by different writers. Among those thus named have been: John Wilkes (see page 553), Edmund Burke, the Earl of Temple (see pages 529 and 534), Edward Gibbon, Alexander Wedderburn (previously mentioned) and, of course, Isaac Barré and Sir Philip Francis.

The series of letters signed "Junius" numbered sixty-nine, and was originally published in the London *Public Advertiser* between January 1, 1769, and January 31, 1772.§ The impulse of these "Letters" was not love of liberty, but detestation of the Ministry; and as their tremendous personal assaults were delivered when the Ministry was most powerful and most venal, the author ran the utmost personal risk. Not only because of his vigor and his invective, but of his wild daring, "Junius" was astonishing, and for personal reasons it was necessary to conceal himself so long that he has become the literary "Man with the

* Previously mentioned on pages 528 and 538, and well known, about 1765, by the *sobriquet* of "Jeremy Twitcher." He was, it may be stated, the inventor, or, rather, the introducer, of the modern *sandwich*. He passed whole days in gambling, "bidding the waiter bring him for refreshment a piece of meat between two pieces of bread, which he ate without stopping from play."

† See note "I", page 489.

‡ See Larned's "History for Ready Reference," II: 933.

§ See page 553, *ante*.

Iron Mask." Discovery would have cost him at once his means of living and his future prospects, if he were the person (Sir Philip Francis) now practically conceded to have been the writer, and he must have run the gantlet of a series of military duels. In fact, "Junius" must have paid for the discovery of his identity both with his liberty and his life. If the notorious Duke of Grafton* could have discovered him he would have silenced him quickly and permanently. But silencing is not answering, and by revealing his name "Junius" would merely have enabled the Duke to deal another deadly blow at liberty. The following paragraphs are from a speech delivered in the House of Commons in 1770 by Edmund Burke (see page 593), giving his "opinion" of "Junius."

"How comes this 'Junius' to have broke through the cobwebs of the law, and to range uncontrolled, unpunished, through the land? The myrmidons of the Court have been long, and are still, pursuing him in vain. They will not spend their time upon me or you. No! they disdain such vermin when the mighty boar of the forest, that has broke through all their toils, is before them. But what will all their efforts avail? No sooner has he wounded one, than he lays down another dead at his feet. For my part, when I saw his attack upon the King [December 19, 1769], I own my blood ran cold. I thought he had ventured too far and there was an end of his triumphs. Not that he had not asserted many truths. Yes, sir, there are in that composition many bold truths, by which a wise prince might profit. It was the *rancor* and *venom* with which I was struck. In these respects *The North Briton* is as much inferior to him as in strength, wit and judgment.

"But, while I expected in this daring flight his final ruin and fall, behold him rising still higher and coming down souse upon both Houses of Parliament. Yes, he did make you his quarry, and you still bleed from the wounds of his talons. You crouched, and you still crouch, beneath his rage. Nor has he dreaded the terrors of your brow, sir. He has attacked even you—he has—and I believe you have no reason to triumph in the encounter. In short, after carrying away our royal eagle in his pounces, and dashing him against a rock, he has laid you prostrate. King, Lords, Commons, are but the sport of his fury! Were he a member of this House what might not be expected from his knowledge, his firmness and integrity? He would be easily known by his contempt of all danger, by his penetration, by his vigor. Nothing would escape his vigilance and activity. Bad Ministers could conceal nothing from his sagacity; nor could promises or threats induce him to conceal anything from the public."

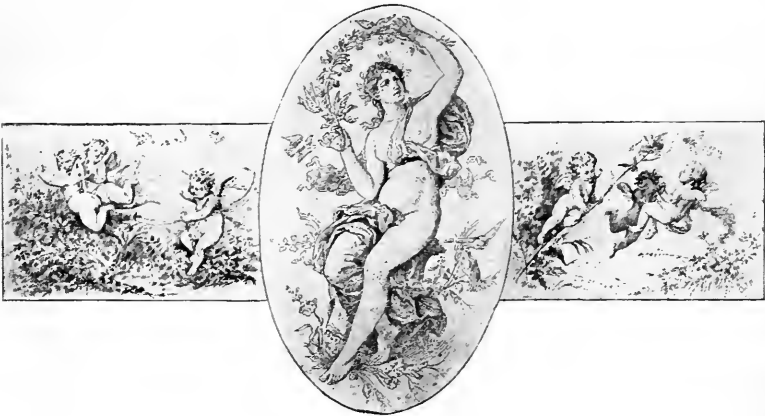
The following anecdote concerning Colonel Barré and Josiah Quincy, of Boston, was printed in Claypoole's *Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, June 20, 1794.

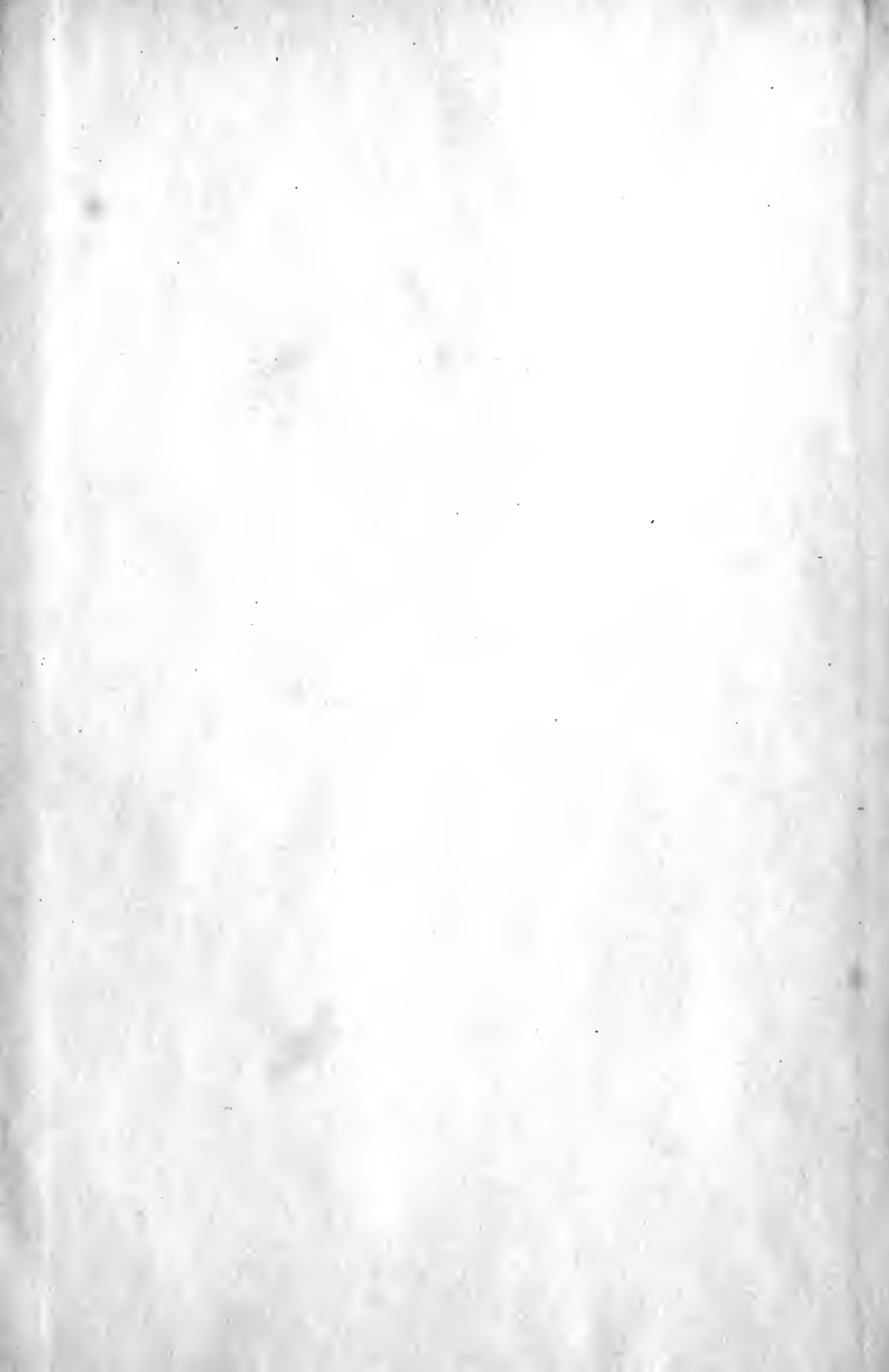
"A few months before the commencement of the American War Mr. Quincy, being then at Bath, in England, was viewing the magnificent new rooms in that city in company with Colonel Barré. The Colonel, pointing to the pictures taken from the ruins found at Herculaneum, and addressing himself to Mr. Quincy, said: 'I hope you have not the books containing the drafts of those ruins with you.' Mr. Quincy observed that he believed there was one set in the Public Library at the College in Cambridge, Massachusetts. 'Keep them there,' replied the Colonel, 'and they may be of some service, as a matter of curiosity for the speculative; but, let them get abroad, and you are ruined! They will infuse a taste for buildings and sculpture, and when people get a taste for the fine arts they are ruined! 'Tis *taste* that ruins whole kingdoms; 'tis *taste* that depopulates whole nations. I could not help weeping when I surveyed the ruins at Rome. All the ruins of the Roman grandeur are of works which were finished when Rome and the spirit of the Romans were no more—unless I except the Æmilian Baths. Mr. Quincy, let your countrymen beware of taste in their buildings, equipage and dress as a *deadly poison!*'"

In addition to Wilkes-Barré the following places and localities in the United States were named for Col. Isaac Barré. (1) The town, or township, of Barré, in Worcester County, Massachusetts, twenty-two miles north-west of the city of Worcester. This township was originally known as Rutland, West District; but prior to 1770 its name was changed to "Hutchinson", in honor of the Hon. Thomas Hutchinson who was Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts in 1765 (see page 587), became acting Governor in 1769, and Governor in 1770. When, in 1774, on account of his Tory proclivities, Governor Hutchinson resigned his

* See page 542.

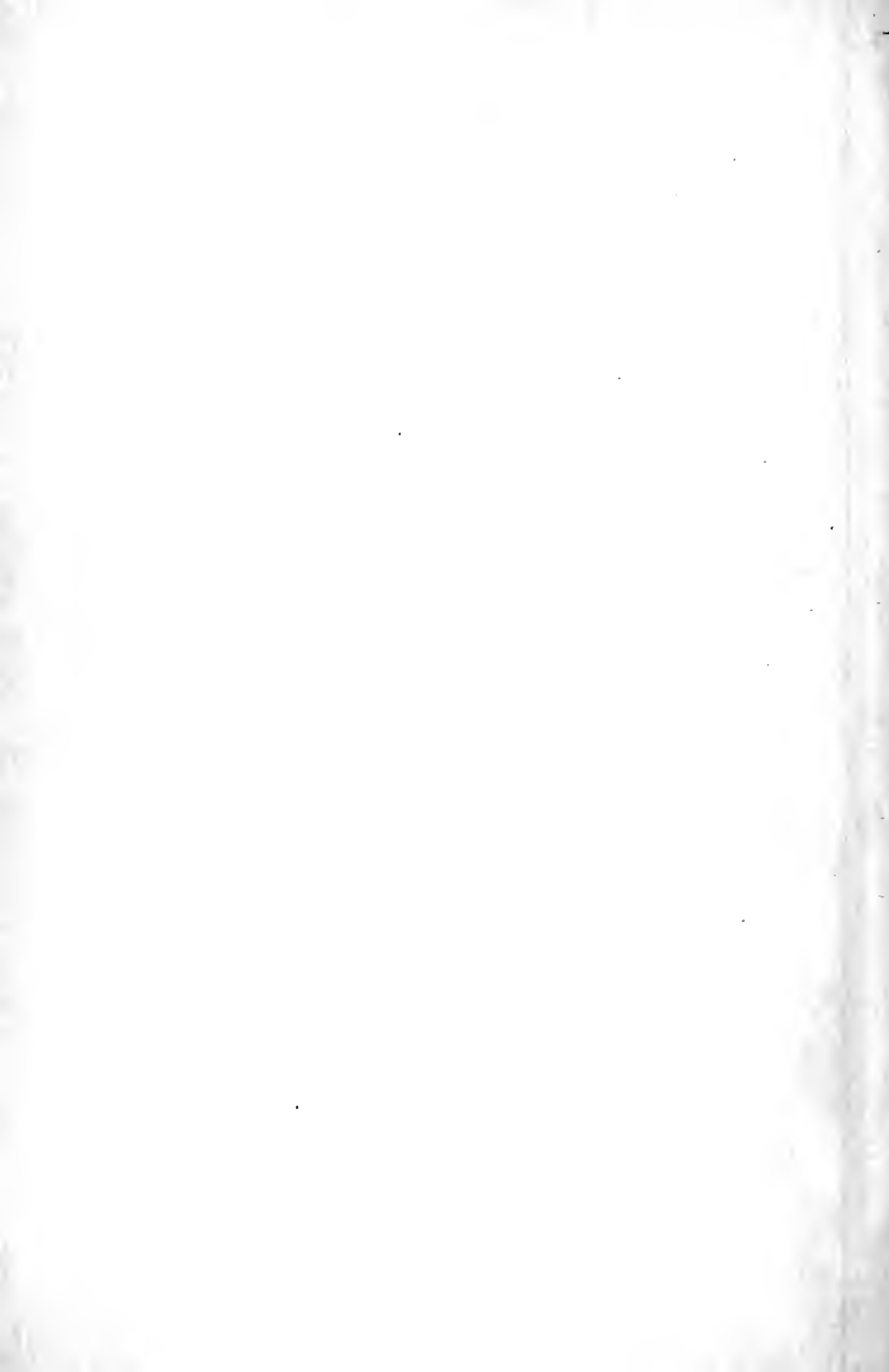
office and went to England (see page 599), his name and memory were so execrated by the patriots of the township of Hutchinson that, in 1776, the General Assembly of Massachusetts changed the name of the township to "Barré." (2) The city of Barré, Washington County, Vermont. In 1780 a tract of 19,900 acres of land in Vermont was chartered under the name of "Wildersburgh" to a number of proprietors. At a town-meeting of the inhabitants of this tract held in September, 1793, it was agreed that a house of worship should be erected, and it was voted that the man who would give the most towards building the same should have the right to name the township. Ezekiel Dodge Wheeler bid £62, and was permitted to name the township "Barré"—for Barré, Massachusetts (mentioned above), whence some of the settlers of the new township had emigrated. In 1886 the village of Barré, in the abovementioned township of Barré, was incorporated. In 1894 the village and a portion of the township of Barré were erected into the city of Barré, and out of the remaining portion of the old township was constituted the new township of Barré. (3) Barré Township, in Orleans County, New York, named for Barré, Massachusetts. (4) Barré Center—a post-hamlet in the last-mentioned township.











JUN 26 1901

