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MARCH 4, 1910.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

THE LOCATION OF SUSQUEHANNOCK FORT.

MINUTES OF MARCH MEETING.

R. K. Buckle

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THE LOCATION OF SUSQUE- HANNOCK FORT.

It is no exaggeration to state that there was no point within the present bounds of Pennsylvania before Penn's arrival of equal importance to that of Susquehannock Fort, and yet for almost two centuries its location has been a mooted question. Among the other confusions concerning it have been that it was confused with what were more recently known as the frontier forts, forts which had been built along the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania by Europeans, the first of which were built about (1) 1723.

Susquehannock Fort was a fortified Indian village of the tribe of Indians which were in possession of a large portion of the eastern section of Pennsylvania. They were known by the English as Susquehannocks, by the Dutch and Swedes as Minquas, by (2) the French Canadians as Andastas or Gandastogues. That tribe was in possession of this territory when Captain John Smith explored the Chesapeake Bay in 1606, and they remained in possession of it until 1675, when they were conquered by the Senecas, a tribe of the Iroquois or Five Nations of New York, who, after that period, claimed this territory, taking the greater portion of what remained of the Susquehannocks captive, and, as was the Iroquois custom,

1—Col. Records, Vol. 3, p. 271.

2—Md. Hist. Soc. Fund Pub. No. 15, p. 117; note 46.

divided them among several of their towns in what is now New York State, giving them Iroquois wives and virtually making them Iroquois. Some Susquehannocks and Senecas remained here, consisting of about forty able-bodied men and some women and children. These were compelled to pay tribute to the Iroquois, and, although after Penn's arrival they were still known as Susquehannocks, they were afterwards known by Penn's subjects as Conestogas.

Captain Smith states that in 1606 the Susquehannocks had about 600 warriors, and they had fully that number up to about 1650. Smith states they have (not their town), but their towns fortified against the Mohawks, another tribe of the Iroquois, with whom they were then at war. This shows that they had a number of forts or fortified towns along the Susquehanna Valley during that period, just as the Mohawks also had along the Mohawk valley, but soon after 1650, through the evils of rum and the ravages of war and smallpox, they became greatly reduced in numbers, and finally, as stated, were made captive in 1675 by the Iroquois. In the subject of this paper it is not so important where the locations of all these fortified towns or Susquehannock forts were, but more especially where the Susquehannock Fort was located which they occupied after the period about 1660.

Why This Fort Was Conspicuous.

Susquehannock Fort marked the eastern boundary of the territory claimed by the French, but it played its most important role when, in June, 1680, Wm. Penn petitioned to Charles II. for a grant of territory to be located "North of Maryland." On ac-

count of the very liberal character of the Maryland charter, copies of Penn's petition were submitted to Lord Baltimore, who had started his colony in Maryland almost fifty years before. Lord Baltimore's reply was: "It is desired (3) that Mr. Penn's grant of land may be expressed to be land that shall be north of Susquehannock Fort, for said fort is the boundary of Maryland northward." Penn then agreed, as an express condition of obtaining his charter, that Susquehannock Fort should mark the southern boundary of his province. However, in drafting Penn's charter, April 2, 1681, his southern boundary was expressed, "the beginning of the fortieth degree of northern latitude," which actually expresses that the end of the thirty-ninth degree is intended, which is sixty-nine miles further south than the line marked forty on the map, which is usually considered the fortieth parallel by the public. This was no doubt an error of the person who drafted Penn's charter, as that line, according to Smith's map, which was then the recognized map in England, would have located Penn's southern boundary about fifty miles south of our present Baltimore, which would have almost wiped Maryland off the map. This was certainly not King Charles' intention, as shown by the following clause, which he placed in Lord Baltimore's charter, "and if per adventure here after it may happen that any doubts or questions should arise concerning the true sense and meaning of any word, clause, or sentence contained in this, our present charter, we will charge and command that interpretation to be applied always, and in all things,

3—Md. Hist. Soc. Fund. Pub. No. 30, pp. 34-35; Lanc. Co. Hist. Soc., Vol. 2, No. 8, p. 225.

and in all our Courts and jurisdiction whatsoever to obtain that which shall be judged to be more beneficial, profitable and favorable to the aforesaid, now Baron of Baltimore, his heirs and assigns."

Lord Baltimore at this time knew, as I will show later, that Susquehannock Fort was very close to the fortieth degree of latitude, which his charter clearly designated as his northern boundary. On account of the incorrect maps of this section then in England, Penn was not in a position to know the correct location of the fortieth parallel, but was led to believe that it was farther south than it actually was. On receiving his charter, Penn despatched his cousin, William Markham, to his province as Deputy Governor, to adjust the boundaries of the province, but when it was found that the boundary between his province and Maryland was so far south as (4) not to permit of a harbor on Chesapeake Bay, and scarcely enough of one on the Delaware, the manipulation and contest began.

This notable quarrel continued for more than eighty years, was the cause of endless troubles between individuals, occupied the attention not only of the proprietors of the respective provinces, but of the Lords of Trade and Plantations of the High Court of Chancery and the Privy Councils of at least three monarchs, and was finally adjusted by establishing the Mason and Dixon line, which is about twenty miles farther south than the line indicating the fortieth degree, which is a line passing just north of Philadelphia, and through Strasburg, Millersville and Washing-

4—Penna. Magazine, Vol. 9, No. 3; Old Va. and Her Neighbors (Fisk), Vol. 2, p. 130.

ton Borough, and we may add here that had this line remained Maryland's northern boundary as King Charles had designed it in Lord Baltimore's charter, all of Pennsylvania south of the line would to-day be Maryland.

It is not pertinent to the subject of this paper to go into the details of this boundary dispute, but as this controversy was largely responsible for the prominence of Susquehannock Fort, and also for obscuring its location, it is the location of Susquehannock Fort, more especially immediately before and during the period of this controversy, that we wish to establish.

Early References Which Aid Us in Locating the Fort.

While investigating this subject, I found no difficulty in finding material pertaining to the subject, as might be supposed of a place of such prominence in the past. Hundreds of references are made to Susquehannock Fort in Colonial books and official records of Dutch, Jesuit, Swedish and English origin, in narratives and letters of Indian traders and early settlers, the evidence given by old maps, the testimony given at the final trial of the boundary dispute in London, and also the confusing assertions made concerning it by historians during the last century. My greatest difficulty was to condense the material necessary for this paper sufficiently to confine it to the space to which it is limited. In the briefest manner possible I will give the most important of these references in chronological order, with such comments as may lead to correct some misconceptions concerning Susquehannock Fort and its location.

The earliest mention we have of Susquehannock Fort is by Captain John Smith, who, with ten gentlemen and two mariners (5), sailed up the mouth of the Susquehanna River about two miles, in the Elb, a barge of about two tons burden, in 1606, where he met a number of Susquehannock Indians, from whom he received the material for his map beyond that point, and also much information concerning the Indians. He states: "They live two days' journey higher up the river." His map locates their fort about seven leagues (twenty-one miles) from the head of the bay, or about the southern boundary of our present Martic township. He locates it on the eastern shore of the river, just above a large tributary on the western side of the river, which is probably the Conestoga located on the wrong side of the river. The fortieth parallel, or the line marked forty on all maps, which separates the fortieth and forty-first parallels, he locates eight miles from the head of the bay, instead of about thirty-two miles from the head of the bay, where it should be. As this was the recognized map of our Susquehanna River section, in England seventy-four years afterwards, when Penn was granted his charter, these inaccuracies caused considerable trouble.

Robert Evelyn (a brother of George Evelyn, the first commander of Kent Island) had lived with Clayborne on Kent Island for several years, where they traded extensively with the Susquehannock Indians. Evelyn seems to have been the first European, of whom we have any record, who actually had been at Susquehannock Fort. He was Clayborne's interpre-

5—Capt. Smith's General Hist. of Va. (Richmond reprint), Vol. 1, pp. 118-121.

ter for this tribe, and, after Lord Baltimore's arrival, became one of the first settlers at Pascatoway, Md. In a letter written by Evelyn, in which he describes New Albion, he states: "The Susquehannocks' new town is also a rare, healthy and rich place, with a crystal, broad river, but some falls below hinder navigation." This describes our Susquehanna river section here perfectly. He also states: "The Susquehannocks are extreme fearful of a gun, naked and unarmed against our shot, swords and pikes. Sometimes sixteen Dutchmen in a boat trade without fear of them. Since my return eighteen Swedes are settled there." In this latter statement he refers to when he was one of the colony who attempted to settle along the Delaware after Lord Palatine had been given his grant for New Albion. As the Swedes first settled there (6) in 1627 Evelyn must have been along the Delaware about 1626. From 1621 to 1632 Clayborne acquired(7) a great fortune through his trade with the Susquehannocks.

In 1633 the Dutch of New Amsterdam built a fort or trading post at Beavers' Rede on the Schuylkill (8), near what is now Philadelphia. They state: "Thousands of beavers can be bought thereabout from the Minquas or southern Indians." This shows that the Susquehannocks or Minquas were located from that point southward, not north of it, although at that period they must have had several towns and forts, as they then had 1,300 warriors. Soon after this period the Dutch and Swedes traded firearms to the Susquehannocks, and

6—Campanius' New Sweden, p. 65, stanza 57; Prond, Vol. 1, pp. 112-115.

7—Old Va. and Her Neighbors, Vol. 1, p. 263.

8—Sec. Penna. Arch., Vol. 5, p. 235.

the Susquehannocks employed several Swedish soldiers who were at Susquehannock Fort to teach them how to use them.

John Companius, a minister from Stockholm, Sweden, who lived with the Swedish colony along the Delaware from 1642 to 1648, preserved considerable information concerning the Susquehannock Indians during that period. In 1702 his grandson, Thomas Companius, also a resident of Stockholm, gathered the notes left by his grandfather, and also statements which his grandfather had verbally made to his father, and compiled his book called, "A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden." This book contains a sketch of a Susquehannock Fort, also gives the following concerning its location: "The Minquas lived at a distance of twelve miles from New Sweden, where they daily came to trade with us. The way to their land was very bad, being full of sharp gray stones, with hills and morasses, so that when the Swedes went to them, which happened generally about twice a year, they had to walk in water up to their arm pits. They live on a high mountain, very steep and difficult to climb; there they have a fort or square building, surrounded with palisades, as shown in the accompanying cut. There they have guns and small iron cannon, with which they shoot and defend themselves and take with them when they go to war."

These twelve miles have led to considerable confusion, as twelve Swedish miles or 12x6 2-3 statute miles from Fort Christina (now Wilmington) would reach Harrisburg, but as the map of New Sweden accompanying this book was made by Linstrom, a German engineer, who uses Ger-

man miles, I take twelve German miles, or 12x4 2-3 statute miles from New Sweden, which just reaches Manor township. Another part of this description, which also has caused confusion, is that describing the fort, which does not correspond with his accompanying cut, instead of the cut having a "fort or square building," surrounded with palisades; there are twelve Indian cabins surrounded by palisades, neither are there any cannon in view, nor does the picture show that it is located on a high mountain, but rather on a level plain, and, strange to say, with all that some of our more recent historians have tried hard to place the location of this fort on a high hill in keeping with Companius, nowhere in the locality where the fort must have been is there evidence of an Indian fort site on a high hill. The fact that Thomas Companius, who never was in America, compiled this book fully fifty years after his grandfather's residence here, causing much of its material to be second or third-handed, also that this book was translated several times, may account for some errors, although this rare little volume contains much very valuable information.

In 1652 the Marylanders and the Susquehannocks made a peace treaty, and the Susquehannocks, being at this period engaged in a long and deadly struggle with the Iroquois, the Marylanders decided to send Captain John Obder, with fifty soldiers, to Susquehannock Fort to assist them, when Lord Baltimore in giving Obder his instructions while directing him (9) how to proceed with his expedition uses these words: "Until the return of the soldiers into this provence

9—Md. Arch., Vol. 1, p. 417.

again." This statement clearly shows that Lord Baltimore understood that Susquehannock Fort was north of the fortieth degree, which he considered Maryland's northern boundary, and again a few years later Col. Beall received similar instructions stating he shall go up the "left bank of the Susquehanna River, to Susquehannock Fort:" surely when he was going northward the left bank was the west bank or York county side of the river.

August Herrman and His Map.

What may be considered as the most reliable and positive evidence of the exact location of Susquehannock Fort is that given by a map which is one of the rarest maps in existence, the only one original copy of which is in the British Museum. The Congressional Library, at Washington, has a photographic copy of it, from which it was my pleasure to have a photographic copy made several years ago. This map was made by August Herman; it was completed in 1670. Susquehannock Fort is located on it in keeping with my last reference—just north of the fortieth parallel on the west side of the Susquehanna river. Of special interest is the note which Herrman makes on the map; "The present Susquehannock Indian Fort." This location, as given by his map, is on the west side of the river, opposite our present Washington Borough. Herrman's map is by far the most accurate map of our Susquehanna river section made up to that period, and the only accurate one for many years afterward. As it was a private map, it was concealed, and could not be copied as others were. The streams flowing into the Susquehanna were so correctly placed on

this map that one must conclude that its maker was not only there in person, but must have made it from careful surveys. It is also of special value, as the original Indian names of the streams are given. It shows that Conestoga is older than Pennsylvania, and most likely the Indians were named after the stream along which they located, as was usually the case, and not as is generally conceded that the stream was named after them. I will as briefly as possible give a sketch of Herrman and the conditions surrounding the making of this map, which will add additional interest to it.

August Herrman was born in Prague, Germany, about 1605; his parents were wealthy. The map contains a portrait(10) of Herrman, which shows him as a fine-looking, middle-aged man of the Cavalier type of that time. He was well educated, could speak five languages, was a skillful artist, and a fine mathematician and surveyor. When a young man he made several voyages with the Dutch West India Company, and first came to Virginia, November, 1629. He again came over in 1633, on the ship on which Arent Corssen sailed, and was with him when the land was purchased from the Indians on which the fort and trading post was built at Beever's Rede, on the Schuylkill, as we find his name appears on this Indian deed. We find him next in the employ of Peter Gabry & Co., an Amsterdam firm of merchants, and served as their buyer in the West Indies and South America. In 1643 he conducted a store or trading post for them in New Amsterdam (now New York), but soon after engaged in

10—Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin (Ratterman), Vol. 1, p. 202 and p. 524.

business on his own account, dealing in drygoods, wines, ropes, ship utensils, hides, cotton, tobacco and anything which he could turn into an honest florin. He was a born merchant, and was the first to establish the tobacco trade between Virginia and Holland. He also conducted a lucrative fur trade with the Susquehannock Indians. In 1647 he became one of Director Stuyvesant's Council, who were elected by the colonists, and was one of the most popular and influential men in New Netherland. He was far-sighted, was an excellent diplomat, and his advice was much sought after. Herrman purchased large tracts of land in New Jersey for his Government, from the Indians, with whom he was well known and very popular. He was sent as mediator on several important boundary disputes, which were satisfactorily adjusted.

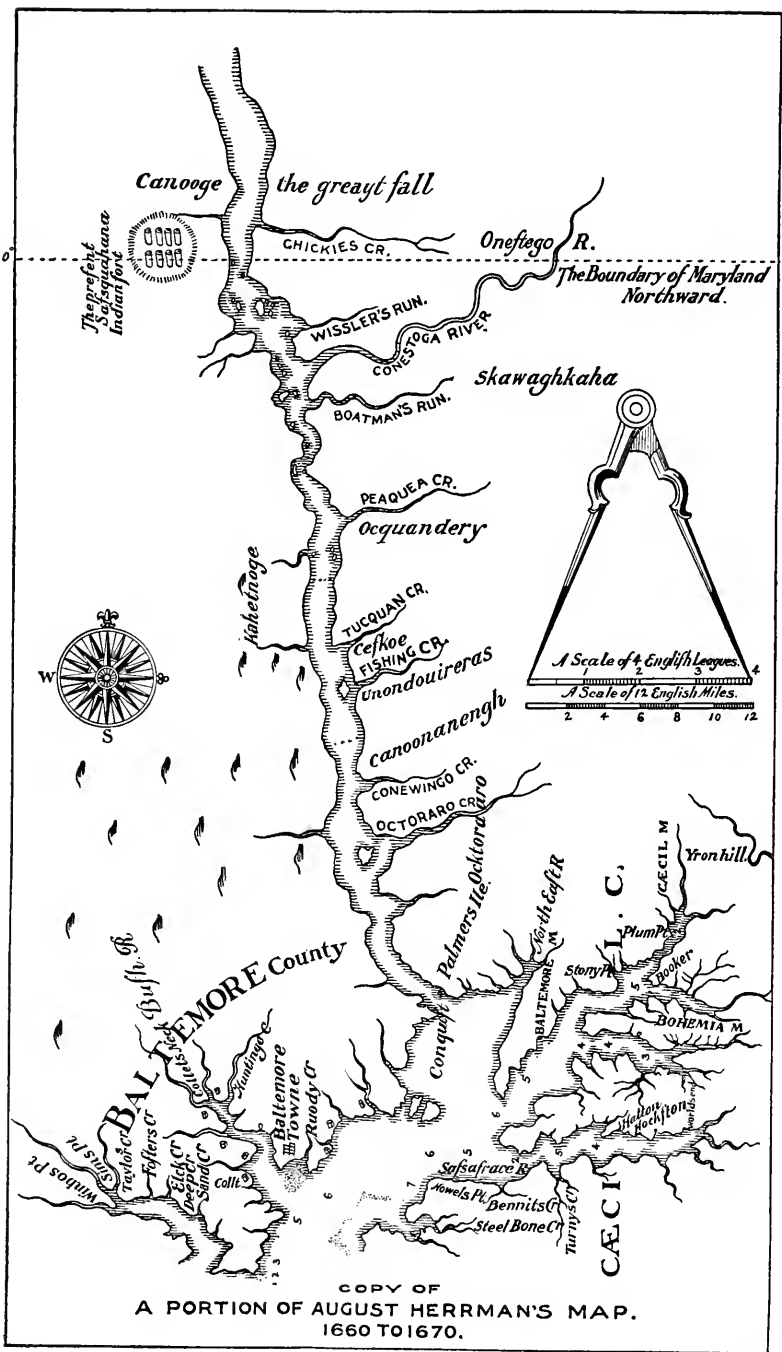
In 1659 Lord Baltimore seized the Swedish-Dutch colony on the Delaware and sent Col. Nathaniel Utie there with 500 soldiers to compel the colonists living on the Delaware who were south of the fortieth parallel to acknowledge their allegiance to Lord Baltimore. At this time Herrman had been on a trip to the West Indies and South America, where he had purchased a valuable cargo of salt, horses, etc. On his return Director General Stuyvesant and the Supreme Council of New Netherland selected Herrman, with Resolved Waldron as Secretary, to confer with the Governor General and Council of Maryland concerning their respective claims to the colony on the Delaware. The diplomacy which he displayed on this mission was such that, although the matter was delayed from time to time, the Maryland authori-

ties were about to yield to the New Nederland claims, when King Charles II. seized the entire territory of New Nederland and granted it to his brother, the Duke of York, afterward King James II. in 1674.

After Herrman and his secretary completed their mission with the Maryland authorities, Herrman went to Virginia, where he spent a few months, when he sent a letter with Secretary Waldron to Stuyvesant. The following is a portion of this letter: "St. Mary's, Oct. 21, 1659. We have done all that could be done at present. Before any more can be accomplished I must make a correct map of the South (Delaware) River, Virginia, and the surroundings, and the sooner this is done the better, as the several maps which England has are unfinished and are a hindrance."

Herrman was very skillful in sketching, surveying and map making. It is known that he made the rare view of New Amsterdam (now New York) printed by Nicholas Van Vischer in 1650. On Herrman's return journey from Virginia he passed through what he afterwards named Cecil county, and so much was he charmed with the beauty of the country, that, after finding that the New Nederland authorities were unwilling to bear the expense of having his map made, he wrote to Lord Baltimore, offering to make a map of Maryland for the consideration of the grant of a manor. The proposition was promptly accepted. Beginning in 1660, Herrman continued about ten years, expending over £200 pounds sterling, which was then equivalent to \$10,000 at present, and a great amount of labor, in getting the surveys and completing this map.

For this important service he re-



COPY OF
 A PORTION OF AUGUST HERRMAN'S MAP.
 1660 TO 1670.

HERRMAN'S MAP OF THE LOWER SUSQUEHANNA RIVER SECTION
 1670, TO WHICH THE PRESENT NAMES OF THE STREAMS
 ARE ADDED.

ceived an estate on the Elk River, Maryland, of more than 20,000 acres (11), which still bears the name he gave it, "Bohemia Manor," where he lived the latter part of his life, and where his tomb can be seen. He became immensely rich, and died at a good old age in 1686. Margaret Shippen, wife of Benedict Arnold, counted among her ancestors the sturdy August Herrman.

The accompanying map is a copy of that portion of August Herrman's map of Maryland which shows our Susquehanna River section and Susquehannock fort, to which we have added the present names of the streams.

Susquehannock Fort After 1670.

There can be no doubt that Herrman's map gives the correct location of what was then recognized as Susquehannock Fort, additional proof of which will be given below. The Susquehannocks at this period numbered over 300, and it is not unlikely, however, that some of them were located on the east side of the river also. As Herrman's map was completed in 1670, which was over ten years before the Maryland and Pennsylvania boundary dispute began, we will trace the movements of the Susquehannocks covering this period mainly through references from the Maryland Archives and Jesuit Relations. As I did not have access to these, I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the valuable work on Lancaster County Indian History recently published by H. Frank Eshleman for these references.

For a period of about fifteen years the Iroquois tried to capture this fort,

11—Old Va. and Her Neighbors (Fisk), Vol. 1, pp. 124-128; Md. Hist. Fund Pub., No. 30, Part 2.

and, after several humiliating defeats, the Senecas, a tribe of the Iroquois, or Five Nations, succeeded in defeating the Susquehannocks in 1675, when about 300 Susquehannock (12) men, women and children made their escape to an abandoned Pascataway (13) Indian fort above the Falls of the Potomac, where they supposed they would be under the protection of the Marylanders, with whom they were at peace and whom they then considered their friends. During the short period when they remained at this fort it is frequently referred to as the Susquehannocks' Fort, which also adds confusion to the location of Susquehannock Fort.

As the Marylanders knew that by now defending these few hundred Susquehannocks they would antagonize a much more powerful foe, as the Iroquois at this time could muster from 5,000 (14) to 6,000 warriors, they ungratefully deserted their former friends, who had for years served as a bulwark on their northern frontier. Space does not permit us to relate the inhuman and cowardly attack made on them by the Marylanders and the Virginians, in which they cruelly murdered five Susquehannock chiefs, when the terrible revenge wrought by the infuriated Susquehannocks resulted in Bacon's rebellion during the winter of 1675-6. This is graphically related (15) by Streeter and others. This was very short-sighted policy for Maryland, as the Susquehannocks succeeded in giving them much trouble, and peace was

12—Jesuit Relations, Vol. 69, p. 173; Md. Hist. Soc. Fund Pub., No. 15, Note 46.

13—A Relation of Maryland, 1635 Map.

14—Making of Va. and the Middle Colonies (Drake), pp. 101-102.

15—Historical Magazine, March, 1857.

not fully restored between them for many years.

In the spring of 1676 we find "the several troops" of Susquehannocks who escaped Bacon's execution returned to(16) their old fort, which a statement made at that time locates about sixty miles north of Palmer's Island (this distance would about reach Columbia), where they surrendered to the Senecas. According to Iroquois custom, of the prisoners taken, such as were spared were adopted in their own towns in place of those who had fallen in battle. In general the prisoners so received would be turned over to some family who had lost one of its members (17) and given the dead one's name, as it was a point of honor not to let a great man's name die out. The women prisoners were also given Iroquois warriors in marriage, and an adopted enemy in time become a through-going Iroquois, although he was not fully trusted until time had proved his fidelity. A portion of the conquered was also held in the same manner on the new possessions as vassals from whom they exacted tribute. This was the case with the Susquehannocks, afterwards known as Conestogas, who remained here. In several statements made before the Maryland Council at that period, it is stated that twenty-six Susquehannocks remained here, where they lived with some Senecas(18), and that about 100 Susquehannocks were distributed among four Iroquois towns in New York State.

In 1674, the Duke of York re-

16—Md. Archives, Vol. 15, pp. 122, 134, 135; Vol. 5, p. 246.

17—Making of Va. and the Middle Colonies (Drake), pp. 97-99.

18—Md. Arch., Vol. 5, pp. 243, 246, 247; Vol. 17, p. 5; Vol. 15, pp. 175, 238, 240, 380, 383.

ceived his grant of the territory of New Amsterdam from his brother King Charles II., and Edmond Andros was made Governor General, who in 1675 purchased the territory between the Delaware and the Susquehanna from the Indians, and on hearing of the misfortune of the Susquehannocks made an effort to have them return to his province. In August, 1676, we find(19) them building a new fort, which, it is stated, is in the Duke of York's province, which was certainly near the fortieth parallel, and east of the Susquehanna, and it is reasonable to believe that this was at what is now the H. G. Witmer farm in Manor township.

In 1678-79 there were still some of the Susquehannocks and Senecas at the old Susquehannock Fort, as the Marylands commissioned Jacob Young(20) to go there in the effort to make peace with them, and no doubt they were then at the old and new forts on both sides of the river at this point. The exact period when they finally left the old fort on the west side of the river I have been unable to ascertain, although it is unlikely that any remained there after Penn's treaty in 1682.

As above stated, it was in June, 1680, when Penn consented to the request of Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, that Susquehannock Fort should mark their boundary, and it is ridiculous to believe that had there been any other Susquehannock forts, either north or south of this one, at this period which Lord Baltimore would at this time suppose could confuse its location; in so important a matter it would certainly have been mentioned,

19—Sec. Penna. Arch., Vol. 5, pp. 639, 673, 681.

20—Md. Arch., Vol. 15, p. 175.

yet how could he have designated it clearer than by the fortieth parallel, or designated the fortieth parallel better than by this fort.

The next reference which we find concerning Susquehannock fort is when Watson tells us that in 1690, Thomas Holmes (who was Penn's Surveyor General after Crispine's death in 1681), purchased a tract between the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers, for Wm. Penn, from the Indians. The western boundary of this was marked by "Fort Demolished" (21), which, he states, is on the Susquehanna River, about four miles above the Conestoga Creek. Penn states that a road had been surveyed and laid out very exactly between Philadelphia and this point in 1687, where he intended to locate his city on the Susquehanna. As Jacob Taylor's map is connected with it, there is no doubt this is the same point, as Taylor marks "Fort" on his plan of Conestoga Manor in 1717, which exactly locates the Indian village or Fort site, at this period on the H. G. Witmer farm, about one mile south of Washington Borough.

Hans Steelman, who was sent here by the Marylanders in 1697, states that the Susquehannocks and Senecas (22), who lived together at Conestoga, numbered forty lusty young men, besides women and children. In 1729, when Governor Gordon held a treaty with them, they were about the same number.

Old Mixon's Map of 1708 locates Susquehannock Fort just north of the fortieth parallel, on the west side of the river, at the same point where Herrman's map locates it.

21—Memoirs Penna. Hist. Soc., Part 2, p. 131; also, Lanc. Co. Hist. Soc., Vol. 2, No. 8, pp. 231 and 234.

22—Md. Archives, Vol. 19, p. 519.

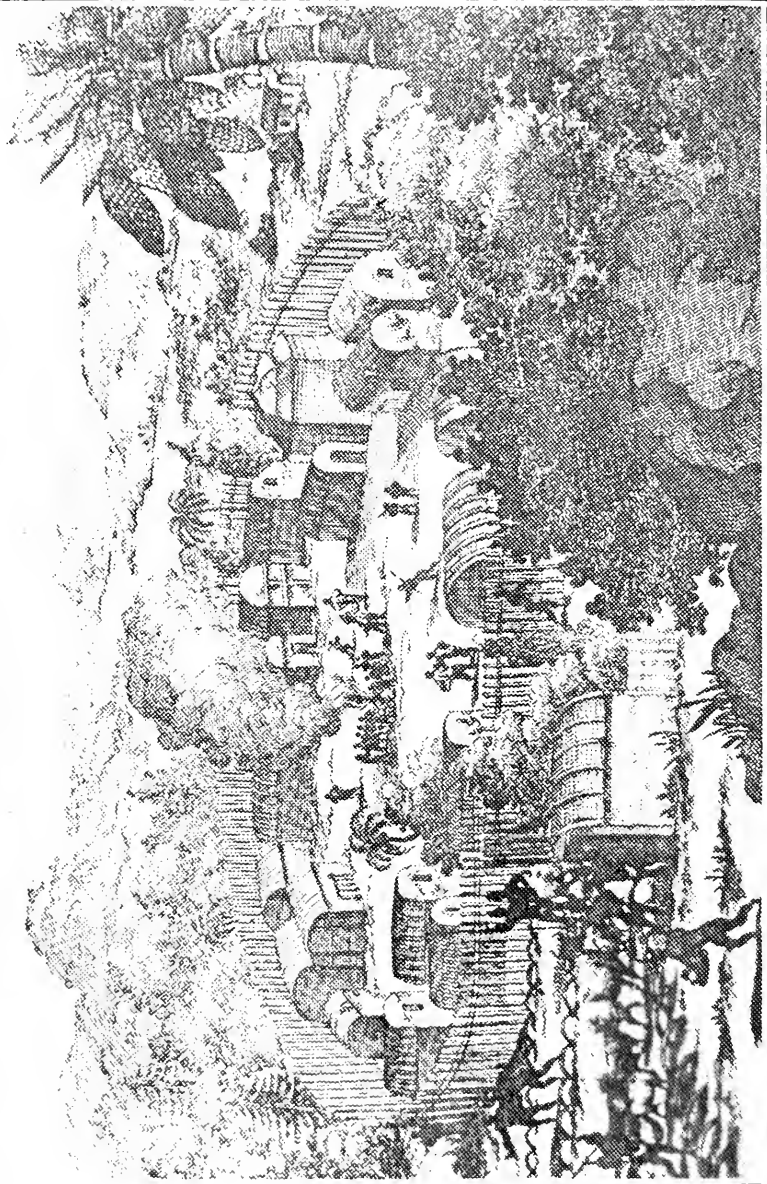
Mull's Map of North America of 1720 also locates Susquehannock Fort at the same place, and in a note states that it is eighty miles west of Philadelphia, also designating it as marking the boundary of the territory claimed by the French, as copied from a French map published in Paris in 1718. While it seems by these two maps that the old fort site on the west side of the river was still recognized as Susquehannock Fort, we know that the remnant of Susquehannocks and Senecas now called Conestogas had long since been living on the Eastern shore. In addition to the map Mull also gives a view of Susquehannock Fort, which was no doubt taken from a sketch made a number of years previous, or from a description given by some one who had been at Susquehannock Fort some years before, as in 1820 this fort was in ruins, and the Indians were located across the river at Conestoga, probably thirty years before. It gives a splendid view of the river and the topography of the country, just as it is seen looking southeast from this point in York county to-day. The tree on the right resembles a tropical tree, but it is evidently intended for the large-leaved pawpaw so common there. This is another evidence that the artist was not on the spot, but sketched from a description given by some one who was.

The accompanying cut of Susquehannock Fort is similar to the one on Mull's map, and was taken from "Arnoldus Montanus' Discription of New Nederland, 1671," for which we are indebted to Mr. C. E. Steigerwalt, who is in possession of this rare volume.

In Taylor's first map of Conestoga

23—Third Penna. Arch., Vol. 4; Map No. 11-1. Col. Records, Vol. 3, p. 48.

SASQUEHANOK



SUSQUEHANNOCK FORT, 1671.

Manor, made in 1717, he marks what was then already an old fort site(23), on what is now H. G. Witmer's farm, which may have been one of several forts which the Susquehannocks occupied many years before. Watson calls it Fort Demolished. The exact date when they left it and moved to the Indian town of Conestoga I have been unable to ascertain, but it must have been before this period, as Taylor also prominently marks "The Indian Town of Conestoga," and very likely they changed their location some years before. As early as 1697 Hans Steelman refers to the Susquehannocks and Senecas living at "Caristauga" (Conestoga), but whether they then lived at what is now the Witmer farm, or at the Indian town of Conestoga is uncertain.

We need not discuss the period from 1720 to 1730, as we know from the minutes of councils held by Governors Keith and Gordon that the Conestogas were located at the Indian town of Conestoga.

We now reach the period 1732-1736, when the location of Susquehannock Fort becomes a very important factor in the final litigation in the Court of Chancery in London, in which many thousand square miles of territory were involved. As already stated, in June, 1869, when Wm. Penn petitioned for his charter, he consented to Lord Baltimore's request that Maryland's northern boundary should be marked(24) by Susquehannock Fort, which was located at the fortieth parallel, and a few years later, when Penn found that Smith's map was incorrect, this trouble began. But after fifty years of changes of administration, dis-

24—Md. Hist. Soc. Fund Pub., No. 30, pp. 34-35.

putes and delays, during which the disputed territory was scarcely more than explored, and during which period numerous other troubles constantly confronted the proprietors of both provinces, the location of this fort became a disputed question. But now that the value of the territory was becoming recognized, and a favorable opportunity is afforded, the Pennsylvanians spare no effort in concealing the true relation of Susquehannock Fort, at the fortieth parallel, and succeed in proving that it is located twenty miles further south, at the mouth of the Octoraro. In this struggle to end the controversy two of the greatest assistants the Pennsylvanians had were the favoritism of the royalty or either the indifference or the inefficiency of the Maryland officials. As it was largely the success of the Pennsylvanians in this effort that has made the location of Susquehannock Fort a mooted question for almost two centuries, it will be of interest to briefly give the principal statements of the testimony given by the most important (25) witnesses concerning this feature of the case.

Hans Steelman, an Indian trader, aged eighty-five, stated that he was well acquainted along the Susquehanna River, and that he knows the difference between an Indian town and an Indian fort, that an Indian town consists of a number of Indian houses or cabins set near together, and an Indian fort is such a town surrounded with a breastwork of poles or stakes of wood set up and a bank of earth thrown against them. He remembered seeing an Indian town and also an abandoned Indian fort about forty or fifty years ago (1685) at the

25—Sec. Penna. Arch., Vol. 7, pp. 336-337; Vol. 16, pp. 522 to 525, 729 to 772.

mouth of the Octoraro Creek, on the point of land on the upper side of the creek, the fort being about one-half mile from the creek and the town three-fourths of a mile further away. Jacob Young, an old Indian trader, had told him a battle had been fought by the Indians at that fort, and some bones could be seen strewn around; he knew of no fort further up the river.

While there is no doubt that there had been an Indian fort at that point many years before, when the Susquehannocks had several forts, in view of the fact that in 1697—thirty-five years before—this same Hans Steelman made a statement before the Maryland Council, as given above, that he was at Conestoga, stating that "the Susquehannocks and Senecas living there number about forty," it appears somewhat strange that he knew of no fort further up the river than the mouth of the Octoraro, at this trial.

Mrs. Elizabeth Murphee and her sister, Mrs. Margaret Allen, both stated that about thirty or forty years ago (1700) they lived with their father, Jonas Areskine, an Indian trader, who had received permission from the Indians to have his trading post at the abandoned Indian fort at the mouth of the Octoraro Creek, and when he plowed the ground for corn he turned up great numbers of human bones, stone arrow points, and stone hatchets, and their father told them there was a great battle fought there. They both had frequently seen Indian forts and Indian towns, and stated that the difference between an Indian fort and an Indian town was that the fort is enclosed by wood, by some called palisades, and the towns are a number of cabins, around which they plant their corn. It should be noted

that no trader articles were plowed up, only implements of stone.

James Hendricks, who was seventy-three years old, stated that he traded with the Indians along the Susquehanna about forty years ago, that he lived along the Delaware and went westward in search of mines, and at the mouth of the Octoraro saw the remains of an Indian fort. He borrowed an Indian canoe and crossed the river, but did not believe there was a fort further up on the western side; he also stated he didn't believe there were any English as far up as Conestoga before 1682. More recently he had also seen the ruins of another such fortified town on the east side of the Susquehanna River, opposite the place where Thomas Cresap lately dwelt. He also states that the Indians who formerly occupied this last-named fort have moved from thence further down to Conestoga; that the land on both sides the river there did not belong to the Susquehannocks, but to another tribe, the Conejoculas.

Mr. Hendricks was the Pennsylvanians' strongest witness, and, while his testimony is truthful concerning the Conestogas having moved from the old fort, which was located on the H. G. Witmer farm, south of Washington Borough, to the Indian town of Conestoga, he was certainly misinformed concerning the ownership of the land, as we have abundant evidence that the land on both sides of the river at this point was in possession of the Susquehannock Indians and their conquerors, the Iroquois, for more than a century.

Maryland witnesses made an exceedingly weak defense. Several had heard that there was an Indian fort farther up the river, but all was hear-

say evidence, some third and fourth hand, and neither did they have any idea where the fort was. All of the defense's witnesses seemed certain, however, that the fort was farther up the river than the mouth of Octoraro Creek. One witness had heard that the Minques or Susquehannock fort, which was attacked by Col. Ninian Bell, was located on the west side of the river on the property then owned by William Cannon at Conejocula.

Samuel Preston, aged seventy-five, was their best witness, although his testimony was about third-hand hearsay evidence. He stated that, according to a description given by Garland, an Indian trader, Susquehannock Fort stood on the west side of the river, a little farther up than Cresap's Fort, in a field where an apple tree stood, about a mile from the river. This is the location also given by Herrman's map.

During October, 1731, the Conestoga Indians still claimed the fruit of some apple trees, near the site⁽²⁶⁾ where Susquehannock Fort had been, on the west side of the river. They claimed that Wm. Penn had promised them an unmolested right there, and they sent complaint to Governor Gordon that Cresap, who had recently located near there, molested their women while gathering their apples. That section was then known as Canejohela.

The Location of Susquehannock Fort as Shown by Our Indian Curios.

With the aid of the above material, it is not difficult to find the locality in which Susquehannock Fort, or the several Susquehannock forts, were located at the various periods referred to. But, to get the exact locations, I resort to a somewhat different line

26—First Penna. Arch., Vol. 1, p. 295.

of investigation, that of a study of the Indian curios which we find here, and the places where we find them.

The Susquehannocks knew nothing of accumulating property. William Penn thus describes them: "But for liberality(27) they excel. nothing is too good for their friends, give them a fine gun, coat or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks, the most merry creatures that live, feast and dance perpetually, they never have much nor want much, wealth circulates like blood." From many authorities which we could cite we know that the Indians buried their dead within(28) their stockaded villages or forts, and we also know that with their dead they also interred their possessions, such as ornaments, implements and weapons, and, with the most prominent ones, usually a bowl (29) of food; these they considered necessary to accompany the departed to their happy hunting grounds beyond. These habits account for the Indian curios which our collectors delight to find, and by them it is easy to locate the Indian village and fort sites of the past; not only that, but by them we can to some extent determine the period when these village sites were inhabited. First, we will briefly give early statements, which show what articles the Susquehannocks received, when, and from whom they received them.

Captain Smith states in 1606 the Susquehannocks(30) already had iron hatchets and knives, which, Drake

27—Proud's Hist. Penna., Vol. 1, p. 254.

28—Md. Hist. Soc. Fund. Pub., No. 15, pp. 74, 75, 79.

29—Hazard's Reg., Vol. 7, p. 235; Vol. 8, p. 48.

30—Capt. Smith's General Hist. of Va. (Richmond reprint), Vol. 1, pp. 82-182.

says, must have reached them through the French Canadian traders. Smith gave them brass bells, and states that after showing the Indians what truck he had; one taking the most liking to a pewter dish which he had, made a hole in it and hung it about his neck for a breast plate, for which the Indian gave him twenty deer skins worth twenty crowns, and for a copper kettle Smith received skins worth fifty crowns.

The Jesuit fathers state that (31) the Dutch traded firearms to the Susquehannocks as early as 1623.

About 1633 the Swedes, in their trade with the Susquehannocks, gave them flintlock guns, powder, lead, (32) copper kettles, iron tomahawks, and hoes, red beads, brass bells, Jews' harps, knives, thimbles, looking-glasses, blankets, etc.

Father White, who lived with Lord Baltimore's colony at St. Mary's in 1634, states that he and his party (33) gave the Susquehannocks little bells, fish hooks, needles, etc., to conciliate their affections.

In 1660, Alsop states, the English gave them truck, such as guns, powder, lead, beads, looking glasses, knives, (34) blankets, clay pipes, etc.

In 1685, at Penn's treaty at Philadelphia, they were given 200 fathoms of wampum, 100 strings of beads, also kettles (35), guns, powder, lead, iron axes and hoes, clay tobacco pipes, vermilion, Jews' harps, hawks-bells, knives, blankets, clothing, etc.

It will be noted that during this

31—Jesuit Relations, Vol. 45, pp. 203-205.

32—Campanius' Hist. of New Sweden (Duponceau Trans.), p. 157.

33—Md. Hist. Soc. Fund Pub., No. 7, p. 83.

34—Md. Hist. Soc. Fund Pub., No. 15, p. 80.

35—First Penna. Arch., Vol. 1, p. 95.

period of three-quarters of a century the Susquehannocks received practically the same class of articles from the French, Dutch, Swedish and English, and I will show that many of these articles have been found in Indian graves at our Indian village sites here, some of the guns and clay pipes being types of the middle of the seventeenth century. And as these village sites, here given, are the only sites within the limits of our county where any considerable amount of this class of articles is found, it is reasonable to believe that the Susquehannocks' towns and forts were located here during that period.

Gov. Evans, during his visit in 1707, also gave them a quantity of beads, but at the Gookin, Keith and Gordon treaties they received only ammunition, food and clothing, such as stroud coats, duffels, shirts, shoes, stockings, blankets, hats, bonnets, bread, biscuits and rum; they had then already adopted European habits to some extent. We can see the evidence of this at their last location at the Indian town of Conestoga, where they lived from 1716 until they were murdered in 1763, yet all the relic hunters can find there are broken pieces of clay pipes, buttons, or such articles as one could find near European homes of that period.

We have quite a number of Indian village sites throughout our county, which, by the abundance of such indestructible articles as stone implements, weapons, ornaments, pipes, pottery, and beads of stone and bone, can easily be located. But after carefully studying my own collection, and also collections of our most successful Indian curio collectors, and the localities in which they were found, among which are the collections of

Zahm, Dr. Haldeman, Hiller, Dr. Stubbs, Matherson, Steigerwalt and Dr. Witmer and others, I find that the section along the Susquehanna River extending from Safe Harbor to Bainbridge, and one site on the York county side of the river just opposite Washington Borough, and also several of the larger islands thereabouts, are of peculiar interest in this respect, as the Indian graves of that section contain articles which the above early records tell us the Susquehannocks received at peace treaties and as truck from traders in exchange for their valuable peltry. These consist of small copper kettles, brass bells, bronze whistles, iron hatchets, knives, hoes and guns, clay pipes, thimbles, scissors, Jews' harps, buttons, lead bullets, castiron cannon balls, etc., and a great variety of glass beads, among these pottery and implements and ornaments of stone of Indian make are also found. If we had no other records, this alone would be ample proof that the locality was the location of Susquehannock towns during the early trader period.

In 1722 we find a statement made in the Colonial records that the Indian towns are located on the opposite (36) side of the river from Springettsbury Manor. This corresponds to the section which I have just referred to, as Springettsbury Manor was on the York county side of the river, extending from the mouth of the Conestoga creek northwards fifteen miles. In this section, designated above, between Safe Harbor and Bainbridge, we find four Indian village sites conspicuously marked by the large quantities of "trader truck" found there in the past, and no doubt much

more still remains underground.

One of these Indian town sites is located about two miles south of Bainbridge, known as Locust Grove. On both sides of the canal basin, where many graves have been found, containing copper kettles, glass beads, iron hatchets, wampum, thimbles (which were perforated and used as beads), earthen bowls, stone implements, etc. Dr. Haldeman states that this was where the Conoys lived.

A Fort Located One Mile South of Chartier's Trading Post.

Another interesting village site is on the property of John Stehman, at Washington Borough. Just east of his dwelling several Indian graves were found within the last several years, containing a flintlock gun, iron hatchets, some vermillion, glass beads, wampum, etc. About 300 yards southeast of Mt. Stehman's dwelling bush-eis of mussel shells were found; this was unquestionably an Indian mint, where an Indian family engaged in the manufacture of wampum. Two boulders along a former Indian trail have deeply-grooved (37) direction-marks, which point towards these sites; there is a fine spring there, which added to its attractions as a village site. Proud says: "Certain poor Indian families supported themselves by making wampum for the traders. The white was made from the inside of conque shells, but the black or purple wampum, which was double the value of white, was worked out of the inside of mussel shells; these were worked into beads, which were strung on strings of leather. Pastorious says six white or three black beads were worth one farthing,

37—Report Bureau of Ethnology, 1888-89, p. 109.

and that the Indians would accept no other money except their own wampum. Wampum was also made into belts, which were used at peace treaties as a pledge or seal to each treaty. As the Indians have no written language the keeper of this belt was trained to remember every stipulation of the treaty and transmit it to his successor. Without a belt, a treaty counted for naught. These wampum beads should not be confused with the glass beads which we find, as those were used principally as ornaments in strings about the necks or arms, or, as William Penn calls them, Indian jewels.

On Taylor's map of Conestoga Manor of 1717, the site, which is now the Stehman property, is the location of Martin Chartier's trading post. The Shawanees and Gawanese (38) Indians were also located there at this period. Martin Chartier and several other French traders arrived in this section about 1687. Chartier located his trading post at the Shawanese Indian town near the head of the Pequea (39) Creek, and married a Shawanese woman. Governor Evans remained with him from Saturday evening, June 28, to Monday morning, June 30, on his visit here in 1707. Although Chartier was a Frenchman, he was loyal to the English, as was shown by the assistance which he gave Governor Evans at this time in the capture of the French trader, Nicola. Soon after this period Chartier and the Shawanese located on this tract along the Susquehanna, where Chartier died in 1718. Martin Chartier must have been a man of considerable prominence, as James Logan

38—Col. Records, Vol. 3, p. 45.

39—Sec. Penna. Arch., Vol. 19, p. 625.

attended (40) his funeral. His son, Peter Chartier, came into possession of this property after his father's death.

Among the Indian graves which have been found on this property by Mr. Stehman one was a most unusual one, which was uncovered in 1873, while digging a cabbage trench about twenty feet east of Mr. Stehman's dwelling. Besides portions of a skeleton, it contained an iron helmet (41), a cutlass, an iron hatchet and hoe, several $2\frac{1}{4}$ -inch cannon balls, and a bowl. I doubt if another such grave could be found anywhere. As we know that Europeans do not bury their guns, nor did the Indians wear iron helmets, one can come to only one conclusion concerning this grave, and that is, that this was a European, buried with Indian rites. As Martin Chartier was an Indian by marriage, this was probably his grave. The finding of these cannon balls reminds one of the reference which is made by Companius and also by the Jesuit that "the Susquehannocks used a cannon with which to defend their fort, and which they took with them when in battle." Several very old cannon balls of $5\frac{1}{4}$, $4\frac{1}{2}$, $3\frac{3}{4}$, $2\frac{1}{4}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter have been plowed up on several farms a few miles west of this point, but whether they were used by the Indians as ammunition or as game balls is uncertain.

About one mile down the river from Chartier's trading post Taylor's map marks a fort on where now the H. G. Witmer property is located, which is especially noted for the quantity and variety of Indian trader articles found there, especially glass beads, also copper kettles, brass

40—Ellis and Evans' Hist. Lanc. Co., p 15.

41—Egles' Hist. Penna., pp. 818-819.

bells, buttons, clay pipes, Jews' harps, scissors, thimbles, rings, whistles, etc. Watson calls this site "Fort Demolished." We have no absolute proof showing how long this fort was occupied by the Indians, but we know that this was the home of the Susquehannocks and Senecas before they moved to the Indian town of Conestoga, and it is almost certain that it is the new fort which they were building in August, 1776, after their defeat by the Senecas and after Edmond Andros had purchased this territory east of the Susquehanna from them for the Duke of York, and courted their friendship.

Location of the Susquehannock Fort.

The fourth site which I refer to as being conspicuous for the abundance of traders' articles found there is just opposite Washington Borough, in York county, at the point designated as Susquehannock Fort by Herman's map in 1670, also by Old Mixen and Mull's maps. This site is a few hundred yards north of where Cresap had his fort, where he defended Maryland's northern boundary from 1731 to 1735, when the Pennsylvanians imprisoned him in Philadelphia, which he declared was the fairest town in Maryland. It is on the line we are accustomed to seeing on all maps as the fortieth parallel, but which is really the dividing line between the fortieth and forty-first parallels of North Latitude. This site is at present on the properties of Mr. John Haines and Mr. Samuel R. Kocher. Copper kettles, a very old flintlock gun barrel, iron tomahawks, and a variety of glass beads have been plowed up there, accompanied by Indian pottery, stone arrow points, tomahawks and other Indian articles. When plowing the horses sometimes

step into deep holes, and there is no doubt that if carefully pursued many more graves containing these articles would be found. The flintlock gun which was found here is of exactly the same type as one which was found in an Indian grave on the opposite side of the river on the Stehman property.

That this site was the location of Susquehannock Fort as recognized by the Indians and Europeans of 1680, when Wm. Penn consented to Lord Baltimore's request that it should mark their boundary, there can be no room for doubt whatever.

Summary.

Briefly summing up the facts given above, we find that Susquehannock Fort was a fort or fortified village of the Susquehannock Indians. That from our first knowledge of this tribe in 1606 to about 1660, when they were a powerful tribe, they had several such fortified towns along the Susquehanna valley, the territory which was their possession, but after having become greatly reduced by their deadly war with the Iroquois, the evils of rum and the ravages of smallpox, they were greatly reduced in number, and after 1660, or about that period, they had only one fortified town, or fort, which was located on the west, or York county side, of the Susquehanna river, just opposite Washington Borough, on the Hains and Kocher properties, a few hundred yards north of where Cresap afterwards had his fort, being the place designated by Herman, which he states on his map was the location of "the present Susquehannock Indian Fort"—1660 to 1680. Surely had there been more than one recognized Susquehannock fort at the time when

Lord Baltimore designated it as marking his northern boundary, in a matter of such importance it would certainly have been referred to. Neither is there any evidence to-day, nor had there been two centuries ago, that the recognized Susquehannock Fort was located at the Octorara Creek, as it can be seen by the evidence given by Mrs. Murphee and Mrs. Allen that about 1700 their father plowed up only implements of stone, which shows that that fort site was not inhabited since the trader period, or glass beads and articles of iron and copper would also have been found there.

In 1675 the Senecas, a tribe of the Iroquois, defeated the Susquehannocks at their fort across the river from Washington Borough, when about 300 of them, men, women and children, escaped and took refuge in an abandoned Pascatoway Indian fort on the Potomac, and, after several months of trouble with the Marylanders and Virginians, which ended in Bacon's rebellion, the "several troops" which remained, numbering about 150, returned to the fort, where they had been defeated, and surrendered to their conquerors, the Senecas, a troop of which then occupied it. About 100 of them the Senecas took captive to their towns in New York State and a remnant of Senecas and Susquehannas remained here, when, at the solicitation of Edmond Andros, at least a number of them located in the Duke of York's province on the east side of the river, where they were building a fort in August, 1676, on what is now the H. G. Witmer property, yet in 1682 we find some of them still remained at the old site on the west side of the river. In 1697, Hans Steelman states, the Sus-

quehannocks and Senecas at Conestoga numbered about forty lusty young men, besides women and children, and about this same number were located at the Indian town of Conestoga thirty years afterward, where they lived until they were massacred in 1763.

By this we believe it can be seen clearly that the recognized Susquehannock Fort designated by Lord Baltimore in 1690 was located as designated by Herman's map, near the fortieth parallel, on what is now the Hains and Kocher properties in York county, just across the river from Washington Borough.

Minutes of the March Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., March 4, 1910.

The regular monthly meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this evening in the new quarters in the Smith Library building. President Steinman presided.

One new member was proposed, Frank S. Groff, Esq., and his election was deferred one month.

Librarian Steigerwalt presented his report, as follows:

Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institute for 1908, from United States; Constitution and Register of Membership of the Society of the War of 1812; German-American Annals, from German-American Historical Society, A Carpenter Family of Lancaster, from the author, A. Y. Casanova; Pennsylvania-German for March, 1910; late catalogues and pamphlets from S. M. Sener; library bulletins and pamphlets; Scott's Commentaries, from L. A. Gilgore; Centennial History of the Farmers' Trust Company, from the Trust Company.

The Committee on Permanent Home reported progress.

President Steinman announced the following as the members of the committee which will take up the question of the 200th anniversary of the first settlement in Lancaster county: F. R. Diffenderffer, chairman; Hon. W. U. Hensel, Hon. C. I. Landis, D. F. Magee, Esq., William Riddle, Mrs. Mary N. Robinson, A. K. Hostetter, John A. Coyle, Esq., H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., L. B. Herr, A. F. Hostetter, Esq., Miss Alice Nevin, H. L. Raub and Miss Martha B. Clark.

Secretary Hollinger, of the Executive Committee, submitted a report of the last meeting, which is herewith attached:

"At a meeting of the newly-elected Executive Committee, an organization was effected by the election of Mr. A. K. Hostetter as chairman and Mr. C. B. Hollinger as secretary. On motion, the paper prepared by D. H. Landis, on "Susquehanna Forts," was accepted and ordered to be read before the Society.

"A motion was passed that the paper read by Mr. W. U. Hensel before the Shippen School for Girls on the old Shippen house be published in the Society's pamphlets, and that arrangements be made to secure the cut used in *The New Era*.

"Action was then taken on the publication of the report of the committee on the first settlement in Lancaster county, and it was deemed advisable to have 400 copies of the pamphlet, with maps, printed.

"The committee decided that hereafter all the pamphlets shall have the price, twenty-five cents, printed on the cover."

The paper of the evening was prepared by D. H. Landis, of Windom, his subject being "Location of the Susquehannock Fort." This was one of the most important of the Indian forts along the Susquehanna river, and it has been a much-mooted question among historians as to its exact location. Mr. Landis has made an exhaustive study of the subject, and he clearly proved in his excellent essay that the fort was located on the west bank of the Susquehanna river, in York county, and opposite Washington Borough, on the Lancaster county side. The paper was illustrated with maps to substantiate his claim,

and Mr. Landis also had on display many interesting Indian curios found along the Susquehanna. The paper was made the more entertaining by the delightful style in which it was read by Mrs. Landis.

On motion, a vote of thanks was tendered Mr. Landis for his admirable article and to Mrs. Landis for the excellent style in which the paper was read.

Adjourned.

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