

UNIVERSITY
OF PITTSBURGH
LIBRARY



THIS BOOK PRESENTED BY
Mrs. Howard Favenson

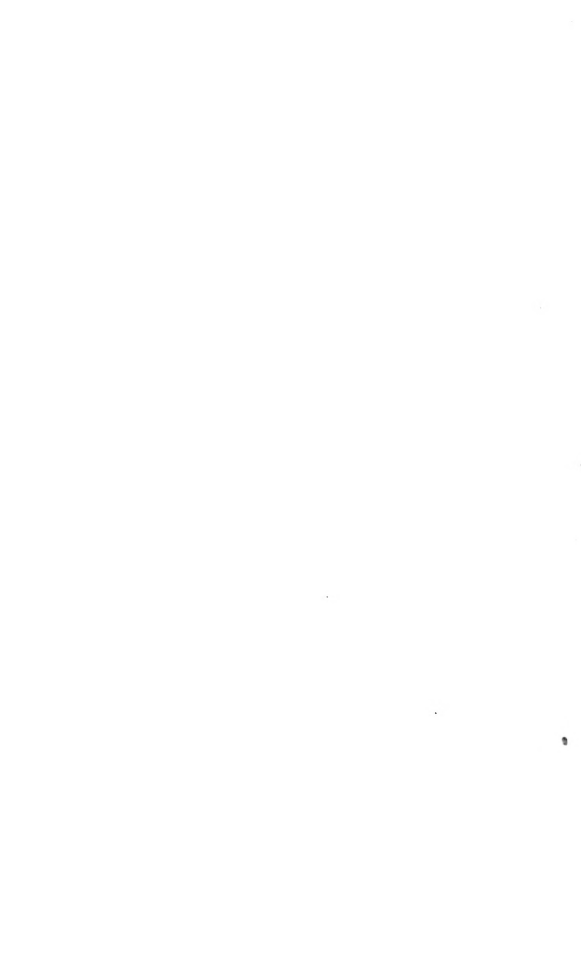
Ada C. Bangs, Lutz, Cameron

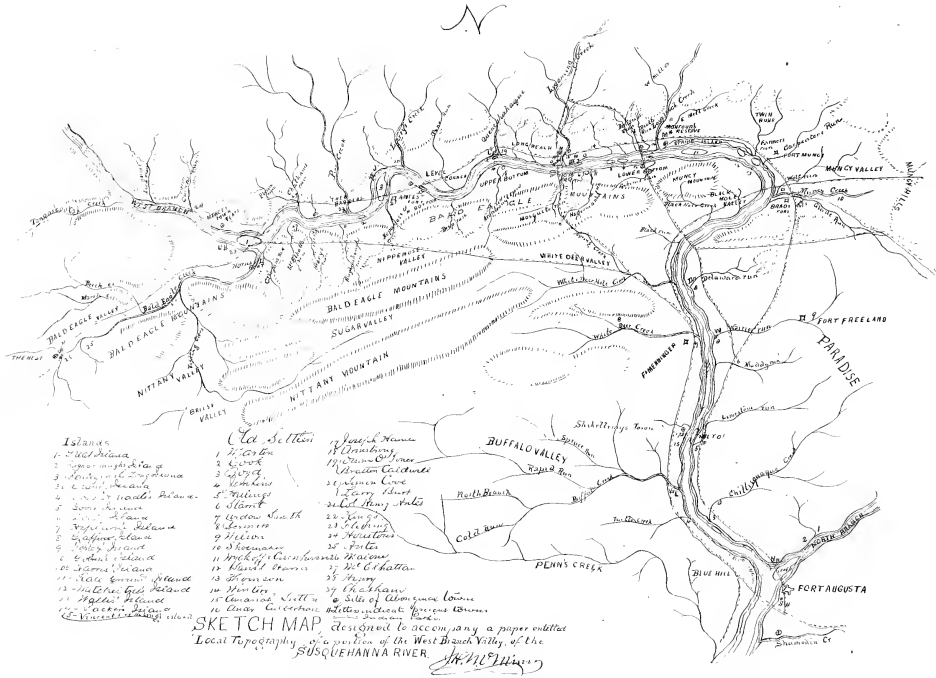
Ada D. Herbert

from her

Uncle Tom

Christmas 1889





Islands

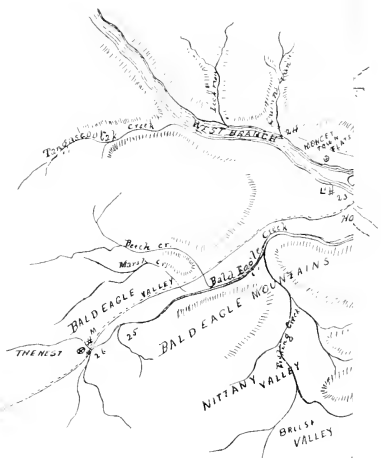
1. Wolf Island
2. Sugar Island
3. Rock in C. Longfellow
- 3a. Wolf Island
4. ...
5. ...
6. ...
7. ...
8. ...
9. ...
10. ...
11. ...
12. ...
13. ...
14. ...
15. ...
16. ...

Old Settlers

17. Joseph Howe
18. ...
19. ...
20. ...
21. ...
22. ...
23. ...
24. ...
25. ...
26. ...
27. ...
28. ...
29. ...
30. ...
31. ...
32. ...
33. ...
34. ...
35. ...
36. ...

SKETCH MAP designed to accompany a paper entitled
 Local Topography of a portion of the West Branch Valley of the
 SUSQUEHANNA RIVER.

J. M. McHenry



Islands

1 - Great Island	1 M.
2 - Hughanbaugh's Island	2 C.
3 - Bailey's or the Long Island	3 C.
4 - Grant's Island	4 J.
5 - Jones & Middle's Island	5 M.
6 - Boone Island	6 S.
7 - Snow's Island	7 W.
8 - Ferguson's Island	8 B.
9 - Corley's Island	9 M.
10 - G. Smith's Island	10 S.
11 - Harris' Island	11 W.
12 - Race Ground Island	13 S.
13 - Mitchell's Island	14 M.
14 - Hall's Island	15 C.
15 - Vacker's Island	16 C.
16 - Vincent's or Smith's island	

SKE
Local T.

OTZINACHSON:

A HISTORY

OF THE

OF
THE SUSQUEHANNA:

ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT, PRIVATIONS ENDURED BY THE EARLY
PIONEERS, INDIAN WARS, PREDATORY INCURSIONS,
ABDUCTIONS AND MASSACRES,

TOGETHER WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EARLY IRON BUSINESS

AND THE

Trying Scenes of the Big Runaway;

COPIES OF CURIOUS OLD DOCUMENTS, BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE LEADING
SETTLERS, TOGETHER WITH ANECDOTES, STATISTICS, AND MUCH
VALUABLE MATTER ENTIRELY NEW.

REVISED EDITION.

BY J. F. MEGINNESS,
(JOHN OF LANCASTER.)

VOLUME I.

WILLIAMSPORT, PA.:
GAZETTE AND BULLETIN PRINTING HOUSE.
1889.

Dev.
F157
SOMA
1888

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1888, by
JOHN F. MEGINNESS,
In the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

TO THE READER.

The first edition of this work was published in 1856, but as it had gone out of print many years ago, the author was frequently requested by those desiring copies to publish a revised edition. Reluctantly yielding to these requests, a new edition, entirely rewritten, is now published. It is fully two hundred pages larger than the old work, and in the arrangement of the matter care has been taken to give the historical events as closely as possible in chronological order.

Since the publication of the first edition a large amount of important matter has been developed, which is now printed for the first time. Much that is entirely new regarding the visits of the Moravian missionaries to this valley during the Indian occupation has been introduced, and a very full history of Shikellimy, the famous Indian Vice-King, is given.

Many illustrations of Indian antiquities, diagrams of manors and surveys, forts, ancient dwellings, fac-similes of signatures and inscriptions, are introduced, which it is believed will enhance the value of the present work. Nothing of this kind was given in the first edition.

It is truly said that "history is an account of facts," and it might be added that it is the duty of the historian to so collect and arrange them as to link the past with the present. Writing local history, however, is largely a labor of love. But while the work may not yield a pecuniary reward, there is some consolation in the reflection that possibly those who engage in it are doing something that may benefit posterity, by rescuing from oblivion much that otherwise would be lost. Comparatively few of the present generation are aware that this beautiful valley has such a deeply interesting and thrilling history; that the early settlers were subjected to great privations; that the barbarities practiced by the savages were of the bloodiest and most harrowing description; and that the knife and tomahawk, in the hands of a fierce and merciless foe, were long wielded as potent factors to retard the advancing tide of civilization.

There is also some encouragement to writers of local history in the fact that there is a rapidly increasing desire in the minds of the present generation to know more of their ancestors, and the dangers they were subjected to when a savage lurked in every bush. Coupled with this is also a growing taste for genealogy and biography, all of which augurs well for the future.

In the revision of this edition the author has been fortunate in having the cooperation and assistance of men eminent in history and literature, who have generously aided him in unraveling many knotty points, which he would have been unable to clear up alone, and others have assisted him by furnishing data and papers, which proved of great historical value. To the following gentlemen, therefore, he desires to return his acknowledgments: Dr. W. H. Egle, State Librarian, Major R. H. Forster and Captain John A. Campbell, Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg; Rev. John Bodine Thompson, Inverness, California, who contributed chapter twenty-two; Mr. John W. Jordan, editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Philadelphia; Rev. A. P. Brush, Bath, N. Y.; Rev. Horace E. Hayden, D. D., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Hon. John Blair Linn, Bellefonte, Pa.; John T. Campbell, Esq., Rockville, Indiana; Isaac Craig, Esq., Allegheny, Pa.; Dr. R. H. Awl, Hon. John B. Packer and Hon. S. P. Wolverton, Sunbury, Pa.; W. Field Shay, Esq., Watsonstown, Pa.; Mr. J. M. M. Gerner, editor of *The Now and Then*, Mr. Howard R. Wallis, great-grandson of Samuel Wallis, and Dr. George G. Wood, Muncy, Pa.; A. Brady Sharpe, Esq., Carlisle, Pa.; Edward Brady, Esq., Philadelphia; Mr. D. A. Martin, antiquarian, DuBoistown, Pa.; Hon. R. P. Allen, George L. Sanderson, Esq., and Mr. J. H. McMinn, Williamsport, Pa. Mr. McMinn, in addition to rendering valuable assistance in the work of research and preparation of historical matter, contributed an instructive free hand map of the valley.

In conclusion the author desires to especially return his thanks to the editors and publishers of newspapers in the West Branch Valley, (over twenty-five in number,) every one of whom took a deep interest in the work and aided in its preparation, by publishing notices from time to time regarding its progress, which were of great service in bringing it to the attention of the public. And after twenty years of continuous service on the daily GAZETTE AND BULLETIN, it is particularly gratifying to be able to make this acknowledgment of such invaluable editorial sympathy and assistance. The work was mostly written during the past year at odd hours, and often after midnight, when editorial labor ceased. Industry and pluck were required to carry it through, but the end was finally reached.

The historical labors of the author, so far as this volume is concerned, are now concluded, and his book, with all its imperfections, goes forth to the world. It is hoped that it may to some extent interest the reader. If the history of the valley from 1800 to the present time is ever written, it must be comprised in another volume, and in some respects it would be more interesting than the first.

JOHN F. MEGINNESS.

WILLIAMSPORT, PA., July, 1889.



BLUE HILL, NORTHUMBERLAND, AT THE JUNCTION OF THE NORTH AND WEST BRANCHES OF THE SUSQUEHANNA RIVER.

When this engraving was made for Felt's History of Pennsylvania, in 1877, the railroad which runs along the top of the hill on which the main river is made to flow, and a magnificent iron bridge, had not yet been built.

HISTORY

OF THE

WEST BRANCH VALLEY.

CHAPTER I.

THE WEST BRANCH VALLEY OF THE SUSQUEHANNA—WHERE IT IS LOCATED—INDIAN NAME OF THE RIVER AND THE CURIOUS THEORY AS TO ITS ORIGIN—THE CLIMATE.

ON taking up this volume the reader will probably ask, "Where is the West Branch Valley?" In anticipation of such a question, it is deemed best to describe its geographical position in the outset.

The Susquehanna River flows southward through the central part of Pennsylvania, east of the Allegheny Mountains, and falls into the Chesapeake Bay at Havre de Grace, Maryland. Its length from Northumberland to the mouth is about 115 miles. This great, but unnavigable, river is formed by two large streams called the North and West Branches, which unite at Northumberland. The North Branch has its source in Otsego Lake, Otsego County, New York. In its descent it flows through the beautiful vale of Wyoming. The West Branch rises from springs on a mountain plateau, about eight miles north of the picturesque borough of Ebensburg, Cambria County. Flowing northwesterly it touches Indiana County at Cherry Tree, formerly called Canoe Place, because it was the head of canoe navigation. In pursuing its winding course it passes through Clearfield, Clinton and Lycoming, and in running south forms the boundary line between Northumberland and Union counties, before it unites with the North Branch at Northumberland. The distance traversed is about 200 miles,

much of which is through a wild and mountainous part of the State. Its main tributaries are the Moshannon, Sinnemahoning, Kettle Creek, Youngwoman's Creek, Bald Eagle, Pine Creek, Lycoming, Loyalsock, Muncy, White Deer, Buffalo and Chillisquaque creeks. The Sinnemahoning, Pine Creek, Lycoming and Loyalsock rise to the dignity of mountain rivers. Emerging from the hills, a short distance west of the city of Lock Haven, the river enters what is properly called the West Branch Valley, through which it flows, on the north side of Bald Eagle Mountain, in a line due east for about forty miles, when it gracefully curves to the south at Muncy, and then flows in a straight line to the junction. Its passage around the Muncy Hills and the point of Bald Eagle Mountain is grand, and the channel was probably formed by erosion during the glacial period.

According to a vague tradition this beautiful river was called Otzinachson by some of the early Indian tribes—perhaps the Susquehannocks or Andastes—but its meaning has never been clearly defined. Professor Guss, who gave a great deal of time and research to an elucidation of this problem, says that the Otzinachson were people of the Demons' Dens, but this seems to be a curious application of the title, when the natural beauty of the valley is considered. At best the origin of the name is mythical, and must forever remain so, because reliable information cannot be obtained at this late date. Conrad Weiser, the famous Indian interpreter, was among the first white men to visit the eastern part of the valley, and he occasionally refers in his journal to the "Otsinackson," the "Zinahton," the "Zinachtion" and the "Rinacson" river, having reference each time to what is now known as the West Branch. The early explorers scarcely ever spelled the Indian name of a place twice the same way, and its pronunciation often became very much corrupted on account of confounding sounds with French names. The latter people were here before the English, having extended their explorations from Canada and their lake forts when they were seeking to possess this portion of Pennsylvania. There is something very beautiful as well as poetical in the sound of *Ot-zin-ach-son*, and it is much regretted that the true definition of the word, beyond all doubt, has been lost, and that we have no authentic account of the tribe that applied the name

to the river. Its sweet sound seems to forbid the thought that it was associated with anything partaking of the nature of demons,* although in later years many Indians were made demons through the treachery and dishonesty of white men.

At Northumberland, where the two branches unite to form the Susquehanna, is a bold, rocky promontory, with an almost perpendicular escarpment on the side bounding the West Branch, known as Blue Hill. It rises to an altitude of 301 feet, taking the railroad track as the base, and the view from its summit is one of unsurpassed beauty and loveliness. In the foreground lies the ancient borough of Northumberland on a sloping *mesa*, with Montour Ridge in the rear. From the east roll the waters of the North Branch like a silver ribbon to unite with the West Branch and form the Susquehanna, which at this point majestically starts on its voyage to the sea amid green islands and rugged hills. Looking across the broad waters, the level plain upon which Sunbury is built is plainly seen, whilst rolling hills form the background. This plain is indeed a historic spot. Here, 150 years ago, stood an Indian village—the original Shamokin—and here an Indian vice-king once lived and ruled. If the testimony of the first Englishmen who visited him is to be believed—and it never has been questioned—he was in every sense a “good Indian;” a noble, trusty representative of everything that is grand and beautiful in the Indian character; who never proved recreant to his word, betrayed a white man nor condoned a crime. Such was the typical Shikellimy, who, on account of his ability, nobleness of character and fitness to govern, was selected by the head of the Six Nations to oversee the Indians at this important point on

*The theory is advanced that this name may have grown out of the fact that one or two extensive caves once existed in the shelving rocks of Blue Hill. The Indians were superstitious about things they did not understand, and it is possible they considered these subterranean passages the haunts of demons. Hence the name they applied to the West Branch, which empties into the main river at this point. Scarcely a trace of these caves now exists, as they have been filled up by falling rock and earth. Two hundred years ago they may have been quite extensive. The theory is at least plausible, although it is not supported by any conclusive testimony.

As late as 1854 or 1855 John Hess discovered a cave at or near Winfield, in Dry Valley, at the upper end of the Blue Hill range. He was operating a stone-quarry, and had paid \$300 for the piece of land on which it was located. The first Sunday after the discovery his son charged ten cents admission for visitors, and the receipts

their highway to the South. He was an Oneida* by birth, and here he lived and reigned, and here he died and was buried. He was the father of Logan, whose illustrious character shines with such resplendent lustre on the pages of imperishable history. Standing on the crest of Blue Hill, with the great river rolling at its base, and looking across its translucent waters, you can almost pick out the spot where the barbaric king was buried in 1749, and the site upon which Fort Augusta afterwards rose and stood as a barrier against the encroachments of the Indians and French.

This rugged hill is grim and grand in winter time; but when clothed in the green garb of summer, or wearing its garments of russet and brown in autumn, it is superlatively beautiful. It was so named because of the blue appearance it presents with the western sky as a background. There is no more conspicuous point on the river from the sea to its sources, or one that calls forth more rapturous expressions of delight from strangers and travelers.

The Valley of the West Branch is not more than two miles wide at any one point, but is generally much narrower. Several valleys of great beauty and fertility adjoin it, the most prominent of which are Buffalo, Paradise, Black Hole, White Deer, Muncy, Nippenose and Bald Eagle. The foot-hills of the Alleghenies appear on both sides and lend an additional charm of beauty to the landscape. From one end of the valley to the other the scenery is exceedingly beautiful and attractive; in fact no one can form a correct idea of its beauty without passing through it. The valley is in a high state of cultivation and is filled with thrifty cities, boroughs and

amounted to over \$60. People came from Lewisburg, New Berlin, Milton and Northumberland to view the subterranean curiosity. There were several rooms in the cave, and the limestone water dripping from the roof had formed beautiful pillars the size of hitching posts all through the place. Hess, it is said, finally sold his purchase to Noah Walter for \$3,000. The excitement concerning the cave soon subsided and now its existence is almost forgotten.

*Some writers assert that Shikellimy was a Cayuga, but when he signed the famous deed of October 11, 1736, with many other chiefs, conveying the Susquehanna lands to William Penn, he put himself down as an Oneida. His signature was a character representing a heart.—See illustrated Indian autographs, page 100, Vol. I., Pennsylvania Archives.

villages. Agriculture is the leading occupation of the people, followed by manufacturing on a large scale.

What a contrast does this magnificent valley present to the time when it was solely occupied by the aborigines! Let us look back in imagination to the period when the red man dwelt on the banks of the river, roamed in the mighty forest, or hunted the deer and the elk on the declivities of the surrounding mountains; when he built his humble wigwam in some shady dell beneath the protecting branches of the mighty oak. The scene was indeed a happy one; his papooses gambled in innocent simplicity on the banks of the silently flowing river, or by the side of the dancing rivulet; the warriors hunted and fished, and the squaws cultivated their little patches of corn and melons and sang sweet songs of the spirit land. Happy scene! This valley was then a fairy land—an Indian paradise—the beloved home of the untutored yet noble children of the forest. But mighty changes were destined to occur, and bloody tragedies, calculated to cause a thrill of horror to run through the frame, must be enacted before their cup of destiny is filled and the last aborigine is laid beneath the green sward, or driven towards the setting sun.

More than a hundred years have rolled away since those primal days. The valley has entirely changed, and the last red man has long since been gathered to his fathers. The little mound that marked the spot where he was laid has been leveled by the plowshare, and in summer time luxuriant grain waves over the graves that contain the ashes of his ancestors, and the *rude* hand of civilization has obliterated the humble monuments reared to perpetuate their memories. All have perished and a new race occupies the land; flourishing cities have been built upon the sites of their villages, and the hum of industry is heard where the yell of the savage once awoke the echoes of the dell or disturbed the wild beast in its lair. It is almost impossible for the present generation to realize what great changes have been wrought in such a comparatively short period of time; and it is only after a careful reading of the history of the valley that they can understand it.

The following apostrophe to Otzinachson, written by Hon. A. J. Quigley, of Williamsport, who was born and raised upon the

banks of the lovely river, draws a vivid picture of the scene as already referred to:

THE OTZINACHSON.

Otzinachson, beauteous river, flowing onward to the main,
 Drinking from ten thousand fountains to replenish thee again;
 Gorgeous river, on thy bosom God Almighty's sun hath shone,
 Since the world was spoke from nothing into being, thou hast flown;
 Thou hast flown to bless the nations, and upon thy bosom bear
 Wealth of forests, where the red men and the wild deer had their lair.

Thou hast coursed through rocky gorges from proud Appalachian height,
 Ere the Indian maiden's footsteps sought thee at the dead of night,
 Found'st the ery of the eagle poising high 'bove cliff and rock,
 His dazzling sunlit splendor would terra firma seem to mock;
 Laved the temples of the woodsman with thy cooling, crystal draft,
 As he plied his faithful oar to guide, from point and rock, his raft.

'Round thy history hang traditions of the red man and the white,
 In the contest for dominion, and their fearful, bloody strife.
 On the farm lands by the river, and the field and forest shades,
 Where the white man's home and school-house rises from the everglades;
 From the fountains, springs and ravines, even to the mighty main,
 Relics of the Indian warrior by the observant eye are seen.

Would that 'round thy history clustered no event of sadness, when
 Vengeance of a savage warfare dimmed the peace of William Penn;
 Or that from their ancient glory, downward through the course of time,
 Ages have not swept from memory, how the prophet in his line
 Had pronounced to scattered Israel, under Jeroboam, king,
 Sad discomfiture would follow, and that sin would sorrow bring.

Then thy peaceful murmurings, only, would tell of scenes of yore—
 Of the wild beasts of the forest, not the red man's knife and gore.
 But these scenes are gone forever, and the white man's deadly foe,
 In the visions of the future, can of "promise" see the "bow"
 That will one in union ever pledge, by oath as firm as God,
 Never to repeat the quarrel acted on this hallowed sod.

Then thy peaceful waters flowing, tales of better things will tell;
 Songs of peace and sweeter music, join in higher notes to swell.
 Now the wigwam of the savage never more thy banks shall greet,
 Nor the plaintive wail of mourning from a mother's heart shall leap;
 But upon thy shores in gladness, from the cottage in the dell,
 Other sounds shall wake thy slumbers, children other things shall tell.

They will tell of household pleasures, of the school-house in the place
 Of the wilderness and wildwood, of the home of savage race;
 They will tell of towns and cities, railroads, telegraphs and fame—
 Where the Indian hunter loitered, in his watch for fish and game;

They will tell of mighty doings, of the white man and the red
 Laboring side by side each other, and the music of their tread
 Will not startle fear and anguish from the helpless, as it did
 When brave Brady stood between them with uplifted sabre red.

Now they'll tell of noble chieftains, in a contest more sublime
 On the banks of Otzinachson, in the distant shores of time;
 That the red man and the white man built a cottage side by side,
 On the hill and in the valley, by the streamlet and the tide;
 Both in peaceful habitations, in the marts of busy life,
 Laying plans of social progress, not of taking human life.

Another writer portrays the climate of the valley, in rhyme, as follows:

“Beneath the temperate zone this vale doth lie,
 Where heat and cold a grateful change supply.
 To fifteen hours extends the longest day,
 When Sol, in cancer, points his fervid ray.
 Yet, here the winter season is severe,
 And summer's heat is difficult to bear;
 But western winds oft cool the scorching ray,
 And southern breezes warm the winter's day.
 Yet, oft tho' warm and fair the day begun,
 Cold storms arise before the setting sun;
 Nay, oft so quick the change, so great its pow'r,
 As summer's heat and winter in an hour.”

This climatic picture will be accepted as fairly correct by residents of the valley. Weather changes are noted for their suddenness, as well as violence, particularly in winter time.

CHAPTER II.

THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF THE VALLEY—THEIR NAMES, CHARACTER AND TRAITS—STORY OF THE ANDASTES AND THE THRILLING ADVENTURES OF ETIENNE BRULE.

THAT Indian tribes of whom we have no authentic account once inhabited this valley, there seems to be little doubt. Fifty years ago traces of their fortifications existed at different points, which showed them to have been superior to the race that came after them. By the French they were called Andastes,* but they are believed, by some writers, to have been the Susquehannocks, alluded to by Captain John Smith, in his writings on the settlement at Jamestown. They were finally overcome by Northern Indians, absorbed, and dwindled down to the remnant known as the Conestogas. They lived in palisaded towns, built circular or square fortifications, and were somewhat advanced in civilization. Dr. George G. Wood, of Muncy, who has given the subject of Indian occupation much attention, writes:

“At the time the Province of Pennsylvania was granted to Penn, for his colony, he found it occupied by the great Lenni-Lenape

* In a work entitled “Some Account of the Conduct of the Religious Society of Friends Towards the Indian Tribes,” published in London, in 1844, is a frontispiece map entitled “Aboriginal America,” which purports to give the location of the different tribes at the time of the first settlement of the country by the English colonists. The Andastes are located on the head-waters of the Allegheny River, in Pennsylvania and New York, west of the Iroquois or Six Nations. But the work does not mention the tribe in its pages. If such is the fact, they must have been expelled from this locality by the Iroquois previous to the coming of the French into Canada in the sixteenth century, for the Jesuits who lived among the Iroquois do not mention their name, if they called them Andastes, as Mr. Craig states. Confirmatory of this map, we refer to the history of the attack made on the Iroquois by Hurons, led by the redoubtable Champlain, with a few Frenchmen as allies, in the summer of 1615. Parkman, in his *Pioneers of the French in the New World*, quotes Champlain as saying: “There was cheering news, for an allied nation (i. e. with the Huron nation) called Carontonans or Andastes had promised to join the Hurons in the enemy’s country with 500 men. * * * * At the outlet of

tribe and its sub-tribes. Concluding that they owned the land, he made treaties with them for its purchase. Subsequently he discovered that they were merely tenants, as it were, and not the rightful or lawful owners. It seems that, at a period in the last century, the Iroquois (the so-called Five Nations), having their homes in what is now the State of New York, made war upon the Lenni-Lenapes, living southward of them, and succeeded, after a desperate struggle, in making a complete conquest. Peace being established, the Iroquois permitted the Lenni-Lenape Indians to occupy their old country as before, as long as they continued to act properly, but they claimed their territory by right of conquest. One provision existed, however, in the position of the Lenni Lenapes toward their conquerors, afterwards, that whilst it must have been irksome to the conquered, reflects credit on the wisdom of the Iroquois. It was the submission of the Lenni-Lenape tribes to resident deputy governors, appointed by the grand council of the Iroquois. Shikellimy, the chief residing at Shamokin, was one of such deputies, and the most distinguished.

“The Lenni-Lenapes continued in such abject, spiritless submission to the Iroquois thereafter, that the latter learned to despise them. They even called them “women,” a term of the greatest

Lake Simcoe they all stopped to fish. (Allies did.) Here the intrepid Etienne Brule, at his own request, was sent with twelve Indians to hasten forward the 500 allied warriors. A dangerous venture, since his course must lie through the borders of the Iroquois.”

We leave Champlain to his adventures and pass on to trace the experiences of Etienne and his party on their way to the Andastes.

Meanwhile Etienne Brule had found cause to rue the hour when he undertook his hazardous mission to the Carontonan allies. Three years passed before Champlain saw him. It was in the summer of 1618 that, reaching the Saint Louis, he there found the interpreter, his hands and his face marked with the traces of the ordeal he had passed. Brule then told him his story. He had gone, as already mentioned, with twelve Indians to hasten the march of the allies, who were to join the Hurons before the hostile town (of the Onondagas). Crossing Lake Ontario, the party pushed onward with all speed, avoiding trails, threading the thickets, forests and darkest swamps, for it was the land of the fierce and watchful Iroquois. They were well advanced on their way when they saw a small party of them crossing a meadow, set upon them, surprised them, killed four and took two prisoners, whom they led to Carontonan (the town of the Andastes), a palisaded town with a population of 800 warriors, or about 4,000 souls. The dwellings and defenses were like those of the Hurons, and the town seems to have stood at or near the upper waters of the Sus-

reproach, on several occasions when speaking of them to the whites.

" Happily for the Penn treaties, the Iroquois were strong friends of the English, and for this reason they allowed the treaties to stand and the whites to occupy the purchased lands. Had they repudiated the purchases, as they had the right to do, Penn would have been compelled to purchase them over again from the rightful owners, especially if he desired to continue his policy of peace.

" Tradition tells us that sometime during the century previous to the English settling in North America, a great tribe of Indians, called the Andastes, occupied the country on the Susquehanna and Allegheny rivers. The Andastes tribe belonged to the Algonquin family, as also did the Lenni-Lenape or Delaware tribe. While the Andastes inhabited the region of country now called Western Pennsylvania, and also its central portion along the Susquehanna River, the Delawares inhabited New Jersey and also that part of Eastern Pennsylvania along the banks of the Delaware River.

" The Andastes, at the period spoken of (previous to the 16th century), were the bitter enemies of the Iroquois. They were spirited, active and brave, the opposite in this respect of their quehanna. They were welcomed with feasts, dancing and an uproar of rejoicing. The 500 warriors prepared to depart so slowly that though the hostile town was but three days distant, they found, on reaching it, that the besiegers (Champlain and his Hurons) were gone. Brule now returned with them to Carontonan, and, with enterprise worthy his commander (Champlain), spent the winter in a tour of exploration. Descending a river, evidently the Susquehanna, he followed it to its junction with the sea, through territories of populous tribes, at war, the one with the other. When, in the spring, he returned to Carontonan, five or six of the Indians offered to guide him towards his countrymen (the French at Montreal). Less fortunate than before, he encountered on the way a band of Iroquois, who, rushing upon the party, scattered them through the woods. Brule ran like the rest. The cries of pursuers and pursued died away in the distance; the forest was silent around him. He was lost in the shady labyrinth. For three or four days he wandered, helpless and famished, till at length he found an Indian footpath, and, choosing between starvation and the Iroquois, desperately followed it, to throw himself upon their mercy. He soon saw three Indians in the distance, laden with fish newly caught, and called to them in the Huron tongue, which was radically similar to that of the Iroquois. They stood amazed, then turned to fly; but Brule, gaunt with famine, flung down his weapons in token of friendship. They now drew near, listened to the story of his distress, lighted their pipes and smoked with him, then guided him to their village and gave him food. A crowd gathered about him. Whence do you come? Are you

lowland neighbors, the Lenni-Lenapes. The hatred existing between them and the Iroquois was such that their continual war was one of extermination, and as such it was carried on till only a little remnant remained of the Andastes, which fled from their homes and settled near the mouth of the Susquehanna River. They were known by the name of Susquehannocks afterwards, and subsequently Conestoga Indians. The few left in the 17th century were Christianized by the Moravians and Quakers, and on the night of December 14, 1763, were cruelly murdered in cold blood by the "Paxton Boys," while taking refuge in the old jail at Lancaster from their fury. Thus perished the last of the Andastes. The manner of their taking off was one of the most atrocious events in the history of those bloody times, and equals, if not excels, any deed ever committed by the Indians.

"Such, briefly, is the history of the Andastes. We are certain that they resided on the waters of the Susquehanna at the time spoken of, for Champlain sent a Frenchman with a small party of Indians to incite the Andastes to join him and his Huron allies, when he marched to the attack of the Iroquois towns. His name was Etienne Brule. After many trials and tribulations he reached the Andastes living on the head-waters of the Susquehanna, as he

not one of the Frenchmen, the men of iron, who make war on us? Brule answered that he was of a nation better than the French and fast friends of the Iroquois. His incredulous captors tied him to a tree, tore out his beard by handfuls and burned him with firebrands, while their chief vainly interposed in his behalf. He was a good Catholic and wore an *Agnus Dei* at his breast. One of his torturers asked what it was, and thrust out his hand to take it. "If you touch it," exclaimed Brule, "you and all your race will die!" The Indian persisted. The day was hot, and one of those thunder-gusts which often succeed the fierce heat of an American summer was rising against the sky. Brule pointed to the inky clouds as tokens of the anger of his God. The storm broke, and, as the celestial artillery boomed over their darkening forests, the Iroquois were stricken with a superstitious terror. They all fled from the spot, leaving their victim still bound fast, until the chief, who had endeavored to protect him, returned, cut the cords, led him to his lodge and dressed his wounds; and when he wished to return to his countrymen, a party of Iroquois guided him four days on his way. He reached the friendly Hurons in safety and joined them on their yearly descent to meet the French traders at Montreal.

This story of Etienne is taken from Champlain's narrative of his voyage of 1618. It is exceedingly interesting, because it is located in this section of the country. It is the earliest narrative we have that concerns the West Branch Valley of the Susquehanna, and the town alluded to may have stood at or near the mouth of Mancy Creek, where the ruins of a fortification were plainly visible to the first white explorers.

said. Succeeding in his design, he marched to join Champlain, with a strong party of Andastes, before the Iroquois town, but Champlain had been compelled to retreat a few days previous with his Hurons. Thus their plans miscarried. Etienne Brule had to return along with his Andastes to their towns. He spent the balance of the year with them. In the meantime, as he relates, he journeyed in a canoe down the Susquehanna to its mouth, and returned again to the Andastes, who sent him with guides around the Iroquois toward Quebec, but, unfortunately, he was captured by the Iroquois, taken to their towns, tortured and maltreated, but afterwards escaped and rejoined Champlain. This account is to be found in Parkman's History of Champlain. The direction taken by this Frenchman to reach the Andastes, and also the account of his return, proves conclusively that the Andastes lived on the West Branch of the Susquehanna. Undoubtedly the Muncy Valley was their garden spot.

"After the Iroquois had succeeded finally in exterminating and exiling the Andastes tribe, they next made war on the Lenni-Lenape tribe. They soon succeeded in this enterprise. The Delawares, having little spirit, soon succumbed, sued for peace and gave up their lands and themselves as slaves to their fierce antagonists.

"The Delawares were allowed, after their capitulation, to stay in their old homes; and eventually they were allowed to occupy also the country of the Andastes gradually. It was shared with the Shawnees and Tuscaroras, however, which tribes moved from the Carolinas northward to join the Five Nations in a league to be afterwards called the "Six Nations," in consequence.

"The country of the West Branch of the Susquehanna was, then, in the 16th century, occupied by the Andastes, and on their extermination was occupied by the Lenni-Lenapes, Shawnees and Tuscaroras, by the permission of the Iroquois, the latter owning the land by right of conquest.

"Such, briefly, is the history of the Indian occupation of the Muncy Valley. The Indian confederate tribes, commonly called the "Six Nations," with their conquered subjects, the Delawares and Shawnees, used the country in common, mainly as their hunting and fishing grounds. The different tribes had towns

distributed along the banks of the Susquehanna here and there, but they did not possess much importance. They so remained until the encroachments of the whites compelled the Indians, about the year 1750, to vacate the West Branch and seek safety west of the Ohio River."

By the term Lenni-Lenape was meant the "original people." The title was general in its application and embraced a number of tribes, quite distinct in their character, yet speaking the same language and meeting around the same council fire. Their dialect was the Algonquin, and their council house extended from the eastern bank of the Hudson River to the Potomac, in Virginia. They were divided into three principal tribes, embracing, in their subdivisions, the Unamis, or Turtle tribes; the Unalachtos, or Turkeys, and the Monseys, or Wolf tribes. The former occupied the country along the coast between the sea and the Kittatinny or Blue Mountains. They were generally known among the whites as the Delaware Indians. The Monsey, or Wolf tribe, the most active and warlike of the whole, occupied the mountainous country between the Kittatinny Mountains and the sources of the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers, kindling their great council fires at the Minisink Flats. These tribes were again sub-divided into a variety of subordinate clans, assuming names suited to their character or station.

The Five Nations, called Iroquois by the French, deserve particular notice, as they afterwards became rulers of the tribes inhabiting the Susquehanna region. They were a confederation consisting of the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca tribes. In 1712 the Tuscarora tribe was forcibly expelled from that section of country now embraced in North Carolina, and flying northward was taken in and adopted as the Sixth tribe, making what was afterwards known as the Six Nations. Their domain extended from the borders of Vermont to Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, embracing the head-waters of the Allegheny, Susquehanna and Delaware rivers. This territory they styled their "Long House," and their council fire was held at Onondaga, now Syracuse. The Senecas guarded the western door of the house, the Mohawks the eastern, the Cayugas the southern, or that portion which took in the Susquehanna. The Mohawk tribe

was first in rank, and to it appertained the office of principal war chief; to the dwellers at Onondaga, who guarded the council fire, belonged the office of principal civil chief, or sachem. The Senecas, in numbers and military energy, were the most powerful.

The Seneca tribe frequently inhabited the West Branch Valley, which they used as a hunting ground. The Cayugas often came here and remained for some time hunting and fishing. This district having been set apart for game was why the Indians were so incensed when they found the whites gradually absorbing it, and their passions were so aroused that they frequently made incursions for the purpose of expelling the settlers. It was during their visitations that so many bloody deeds were enacted and men, women and children seized and carried into captivity.

The Monseys, noted for their fierce and warlike character, also frequented the West Branch Valley, and their name is now perpetuated in the beautiful borough of Muncy. They also had a village a short distance above Lock Haven, on the north side of the river, which was given the title of "Monseytown" by the whites. Here they cultivated corn and melons, and years after the last Indian had disappeared from the valley the remains of corn patches could be traced.

But the aborigines of the valley have long since disappeared, and scarcely a trace remains to indicate their former existence. Years after the country was occupied by the new settlers straggling Indians often came to visit various points. They came to take a last look at the scenes they loved so well when they were happy in their primitive condition, and drop a tear upon the little mounds that enclosed the bones of their ancestors.

Notwithstanding the Indians were called savages and possessed of much ferocity, they were withal a noble race, and by some of the old writers they have been named the Romans* of the New World. An examination of their character discloses fine traits. They considered themselves created by an almighty, wise and benevolent spirit, to whom they looked for guidance and protec-

*A curious work, by the Jesuit, Pere Lafitau, published in Paris, 1724, is entitled "Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains, Comparees aux Mœurs des Premier Temps." The Iroquois furnish the good father a large share of the parallels he establishes between our aborigines and the ancient Greeks and Romans.

tion. They often were in the habit of seeking some high elevation, where they could commune with the Great Spirit and contemplate with awe and veneration the beauties of the surrounding landscape. While they paid their humble adorations at the shrine of their Deity, they were not unmindful of their duties to one another. They looked upon the good things of the earth as a common stock, bestowed by the Great Spirit for the benefit of all. They held that the game of the forest, the fish of the rivers and the grass and other articles of spontaneous growth were free to all who chose to take them. They ridiculed the idea of enclosing a field or meadow. This idea had a tendency to repress selfishness and foster generosity. Their hospitality was unbounded. They considered it their duty to share their last morsel with a stranger.

When the first whites arrived the Indians received them with open arms, supplied them with food and shared with them the rude comforts of their humble wigwams. They were actuated by the noblest impulses of the human heart, and considered it their duty to take the white strangers in and minister to their wants. But how was this kindness repaid? By treachery, deceit and robbery. They came to cheat the Indian, and from the start acted upon the idea that he had no rights they were bound to respect. When the Indians became satisfied of the true character of the invaders, that instead of friends they were insidious foes, their vindictive passions were aroused and terribly did they exhibit the ferocity of their nature when smarting under grievous wrongs.

CHAPTER III.

PURCHASE OF THE SUSQUEHANNA LANDS BY THE PENNS AND
WHAT THEY PAID FOR THEM—COPIES OF CURIOUS INDIAN
DEEDS OF TRANSFER.

THE lands embracing the Susquehanna region were leased to William Penn by Thomas Dongan, late Governor of New York, for 1,000 years, at the annual rental of a "pepper corn." Dongan had acquired them from the Indians, either by purchase or gift, and could afford to rent them for a nominal consideration. The lease, which is a curious instrument, is dated January 12, 1696, and may be found on pages 121 and 122 of Vol. I., Pennsylvania Archives. It is as follows:

DEED THOS. DONGAN TO WM. PENN, 1696.

THIS INDENTURE, made the twelfth day of January, Anno., Dni, 1696, and in the Eighth Year of the reign of our Sovereign, Lord William, the Third, King of Eng'd, between Thomas Dongan, late Govern'r of New York, and now of London, Esq'r, of the one part, and William Penn, Govern'r of the Province of Pensilvania in America, of the other part Witnesseth that the said Thomas Dongan, for and in consideration, of the sune of one hundred Pounds of lawful mency of England to him in hand paid, by the said William Penn, the right whereof is hereby acknowledged, HATH demised and granted, and by these presents doth demise and grant unto the said William Penn, ALL that Tract of Land lyeng upon, on both sides the River commonly called or known by the name of the Susquehanah River and the Lakes adjacent, in or neare the Province of Pensilvania, in America, beginning at the Mountains or head of the said river, and running as farr as and into the Bay of Chessapeake, with all Isles, Islands, Mines, Mineralls, Woods, Fisbings, hawkings, huntings, Fowlings, and other Royalties, profits, comodityes and hereditaments unto the same belonging, which the said Thomas Dongan, lately purchased of or had given him by the Sinneca Susquehanah Indians and also all the lands, bereditaments, Isles, Islands, rivers, Royalties, mines, minerals, lakes, waters, profitts, priveledges, and appurtenances, whatsoever lyeing on both sides the Susquehanah river, and near adjoining thereto, which he, the said Thomas Dongan did, at, any time purchase, or which were at any time given unto by the said Indians, or any of them TO HAVE AND TO HOLD, unto the said William Penn, his Execr's, Admin's and Assignes, from the day of the date hereof, for and unto the end and term of One Thousand years, PAYING unto the said Thomas Dongan, his Exer's and Admin'r's, yearly, and every year on the Feast

day of St. Michael, the Arch Angell, the rent of a pepper Corn, if the same shall or lawfully demanded to the intent and purpose that by force and virtue of these presents and of the Statute for transferring of uses into possession, the said William Penn may be in the actual possession of the premisses, and may be thereby the better enabled to attempt and take a grant, release or other Conveyance, of the reversion and inheritance thereof, to the use of Himself, his heirs and Assignes forever. IN WITNESSE whereof the said parties have to these present Indentures as Duplicates to the other Indentures of the same contents and date herewith Interchangeably sett their hands. Seales. Dated the day and year first above written.

THOMAS DONGAN. [L. s.]

Sealed and Delivered, being first Stampd according to Act of Parliant, in ye presence of

SAM. VAUS.
FR. HARDING.
WM. SPRINGETT.

"Dongan, to, Penn, Lease for 1000 years for Lands on Susquehanah. Recorded page 68, &c.

N. B. BOILEAU, Ser'y."

William Penn at once purchased the lands for the amount named in the article, the deed for which bears date January 13, 1696. The wording of the deed is almost identical with the article of agreement. The receipt appended is as follows:

Received the day and Year within written, of the within named, William Penn, the sum of One hundred pounds. It being the Consideration money within-mentioned, to be paid unto me, the Within named

THO. DONGAN.

Witnesse.

SAMUEL VAUS.
WM. SPRINGETT.
FR. HARDING.

The Indian chiefs occupying these lands then confirmed the purchase thereof, by William Penn, in the following instrument, found on page 133 of Vol. I., Pennsylvania Archives:

WE Widaagh, alias Orytyagh, and Andaggy-junkquagh, Kings or Sachemas of the Susquehannagh Indians, and of the River under that name, and Lands lying on both sides thereof, doe declare That for and in Consideration of a Parcel of English Goods, unto us given, by our Friend and Brother, William Penn, Proprietary and Governour of Pensilvania, and also in Consideration of the former much greater costs and Charges, the Said William Penn, hath been at in treating about and purchasing the Same. We doe hereby Give, Grant, and Confirm unto the Said William Penn, all the Said River Susquehannagh, and all the Islands therein, and all the Lands Situate lying, and being upon both sides of the said River, and next adjoining to ye same,

extending to the utmost confines of the Lands, which are or formerly were the Right of the People or Nation called the Susquehannagh Indians, or by what name soever they were called or known thereof, and also all Lakes, Rivers, Rivulets, Fountains, Streams, Trees, Woods, Underwoods, Mines, Royalties, and other Mines, Minerals, Quarries, Hawkings, Huntings, fishings, fowlings and other Royalties, Privileges, and Powers, whatsoever to them or any of them belonging, or by them enjoyed, as fully, and amply in all respects, as we or any of our Ancestors have, could, might, or ought to have, had, held, or enjoyed. And also, all the Right, Title, Interest, Possession, Claim and Demand, which we or any of us or the said Nation or any, in Right of the same have, or hereafter can or may claim, to have in the same. And we do hereby ratifie and confirm unto the said William Penn ye bargain and Sale of the said Lands, made unto Coll. Thomas Dongan, now Earl of Limerick, and formerly Govern'r of New York, whose Deed of sale to the s'd Govern'r Penn we have seen. To have, and to hold, the s'd Rivers, Lands, and pr'misses, hereby granted, and confirmed with their and every of their Rights, Members & Appurtenances, unto ye s'd Will. Penn, his heirs and assigns, to the only proper Use, and behoof of the said Will. Penn, his Heirs and Assignes forever. In witness w'cof we have, for our Selves & Nation, hereunto set our Hands & Seals, the thirteenth day of September, 1700.

^{his}
WIDAAGH X al's ORYTYAGH. [L. S.]
Mark.

^{his}
ANDAGGY X JUNKQUAH.
Mark.

Scaled and Delivered In presence of

EDW. ANTITT.
HEN. TREGENTY, Esq.
EDWARD SINGLETON.
DAVID POWELL.
JAMES LOGAN.

Recorded page 73, &c.

N. B. BOILEAU, Sec'y.

The second Day of August, in ye Year of our Lord, One Thousand Seven hundred & thirty-five, James Logan, of the Northern Liberties, of the City of Philadelphia, Esq. Upon his solemn affirmation, according to Law, doth declare & depose, That he was present and did see the within mentioned Kings, or Sachemas, named Widaagh, its Orytyagh, al's Andaggy-junkquah Seal & as their Deed deliver the Writing or Conveyance, within contained, And that the name of this Affirm't thereon indorsed, as a Witness of the same, is of his own hand Writing.

JAMES LOGAN.

Affirmed

At Philadelphia, the Day and Year, above s'd, before me, Thomas Griffiths, One of the Justices of Peace &c., WITNESS my hand & Seal. [L. S.]

THOMAS GRIFFITHS.

Entered in the Office for recording of Deeds, for the City & County of Philadelphia. In Book F. Vol. viii. page 242 &c., the 26th day of August, A'o D'i, 1735. Witness my Hand and Seals of my Office, the day and year above.

C. BROCKDEN, Rec'd.

"Susquehannah River & Islands, therein, and Lands on both Sides, granted by Widaagh, and Andaggy junkquagh. Confirming Gov'r Dongan's old Deed to Gov'r Penn."

On the 1st of April, 1701, an article of agreement between William Penn and the representatives of the Susquehanna Indians, confirming the deed of Governor Dongan, was drawn up and signed. It appears on pages 144, 145, 146 and 147 of Vol. I., Pennsylvania Archives, and is quoted herewith in full:

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN WM. PENN & SUSQUEHAN-
NAH IND'DNS 1701.

INDENTED, Made Concluded, & Agreed upon at Philadelphia the Twenty third day of the Second Month, called April, in the year One thousand Seven hundred and one, between WILLIAM PENN, Proprietary and Governour of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Territories thereunto belonging, on ye one part and CONNOODAGITOH, King of the Indians inhabiting upon and about the River Susquehannah, in the said Province, AND Widaagh, (alias Orettyagh,) Koqueesh and Andaggy Junkquagh, Chiefs of the said Nations of Indians and Nopaththa, King Lemoytungh & Pemoyajoogh, Chiefs of the Nations of the Shawonnah Indians, AND AHOOKASSOONGH, Brother to the Emperor, for and in Behalf of the Emperor WEEWHINIJOUGH, Cheequittaagh, Takyewsan, Woapathoa, chiefs of ye nations of Indians inhabiting in and about the Northern part of the River Potomack, in the said Province, for and in Behalf of themselves and Successr's, and their several Nations and people on other part. As followeth.

THAT as hitherto there hath always been a Good understanding & neighbourhood between the said WILLIAM PENN, and his Lieutenants since his first Arrivall in the said Province, and the Several Nations of Indians inhabiting in & about ye same, so there shall be forever hereafter a firm & lasting peace, continued between the said Wm. Penn, his heirs, & Successors, and all other the English and Christian Inhabitants of the said Province, & the s'd Kings & Chiefs & their Successors, & all the several people of ye Nations of Indians aforesaid, and that they shall forever hereafter be as one head & one heart, & live in true Friendship & Amity as one People, ITEM, that the s'd Kings & Chiefs (each for himself, his people engaging,) shall at no time hurt, Injure, or defraud, or suffer to be hurt, Injured, or defrauded by any of their Indians any Inhabitant or Inhabitants of ye said Province, either in their persons or estate. AND that the s'd William Penn, his heirs, Successors, shall not suffer to be done or Committed, by any of ye Subjects of England, within the said Province any Act of Hostility or Violence, Wrong, or Injury, to or ag'st any of the s'd Indians, but shall on both sides at all times readily do justice, perform all acts & offices of friendship & goodwill to oblige Each other, to a lasting peace as aforesaid. ITEM, that all & every the s'd Kings, & Chiefs, & all & every particular of the Nations under them shall at all times behave themselves Regularly & soberly, according to ye Laws of This Govern't while they live near or amongst ye Christian Inhabitants thereof, AND that the said Indians shall have the full & free priviledges & Immunities of all ye Said Lands, as or any other Inhabit't they duely

Owning & Acknowledg'g ye Authority of the Crown of England and Government of this Province. ITEM that none of the said Indians shall at any time be Aiding or Assisting or Abetting to any other Nation, whether of Indians or Others, that shall not at such time be in Amity with the said Crown of England & with this Government. ITEM, that if at any time any of the said Indians by means of Evill minded persons & sources of sedition, should hear any unkind or disadvantageous Reports of ye English, as if they had, evil designs w'th any of ye s'd Indians, in such case such Indians, shall send notice thereof to ye s'd William Penn, his heirs or successors, or their Lieutenants, and shall not give credence to the said Reports till by that means they shall be fully Satisfied concerning ye Truth thereof and that the said William Penn, his heirs, & successors, or their Lieutenants, shall at all times in such cases do the like by them. ITEM, that the said Kings & Chiefs & their Successors, & people shall not Suffer any Strange Nation of Indians to Settle or plant on the further side of Susquehannah, or about Potomock River, but such as are there already seated nor bring any other Indians into any part of this Province without the Special Approbation & Permission of the said William Penn, his heirs & Successors. ITEM, That for the Prevention of Abuses that are too frequently putt upon the said Indians, in trade, that the said William Penn, his heirs & Successors, shall not suffer or permit any person to trade or commerce, w'th any of ye said Indians but such as shall be first allowed or approved of by an Instrument under ye hand & seal of him, the said William Penn, or his heirs, & Successors, or their Lieut's and that ye said Indians shall suffer no person whatsoever to buy or sell, or have commerce w'th any of them, the said Indians, but such as shall first be approved as aforesaid. ITEM, that the said Indians shall not Sell or Dispose of any of their Skins, Poltry or furre, or any other effects of their Hunting to any person or persons whatsoever, out of the said Province, nor to any other person, but such as shall be authorized to trade with them as aforesaid, and that for their encouragement the said William Penn, his heirs & Successors, shall take care to have them, the said Indians, duely furnished with all sorts of necessary goods for their use, at reasonable Rates. ITEM, that the Potomack Indians aforesaid, with their Colony, shall have free leave of the said William Penn, to settle upon any part of Potomock River, within the bounds of this Province, they strictly observing and practising all & singular, the articles aforesaid to them relating. ITEM, the Indians of Conostogoe, and upon and about the River Susquehannah, and more especially the said Connoodaghiah their King doth fully agree to. AND by these Presents absolutely Ratifie the Bargain and Sale of Lands lying near and about the said River formerly made to the said William Penn, his heirs & Successors, and since by Orettyagh & Andaggyjunaugh, parties to these presents confirmed to the s'd William Penn, his heirs & Successors by a Deed, bearing Date the Thirteenth day of September last, under their hands & Seals duly executed, and the said Connoodaghtah doth for himself and his nation, covenant and Agree, that he will at times be ready further to confirm and make good the said Sale, according to the Tenure of the same, and that the said Indians of Susquehannah, shall answer to the said William Penn, his heirs and Successors, for the good Behaviour and Conduct of the said Potomock Indians, and for their performance of the severall articles herein Expressed. ITEM, the said William Penn doth hereby promise for himself, his heirs and Successors, that he and they will at all times shew themselves true friends and Brothers to all and every of the said Indians, by Assisting them with the

best of their Advice, Directions, Councils, and will in all things Just and Reasonable, Befriend them, they behaving themselves as aforesaid, and submitting to the Laws of this Province in all things as the English and other Christians therein doe to which they, the said Indians, hereby agree and Oblidge themselves and their Posterity forever. IN WITNESS whereof the said Parties have as a Confirmacon made mutuall Presents to Each other the Indians, in five parcells of skins and the said William Penn in severall English Goods and Merchandise, as a hinding pledge of the premises never to be Broken, or Violated, and as a further Testimony thereof, have also to these presents Interchangeably sett their hands and seals the Day and year above written.

CONNODAGTOH, [L. S.]

KOQUEERASH, [L. S.]

WOPATHTHA, [L. S.]

PEMOYAJOOAGH, [L. S.]

WEEWHINJOUGH, [L. S.]

TAKYEWSAN, [L. S.]

WIDAAGH ALS ORETTYAGH, [L. S.]

ANDAGGYJUNQUAGH, [L. S.]

LEMOYTUNGH, [L. S.]

AHOOKASSOONGH, [L. S.]

CHEEQUITTOGH, [L. S.]

WOAPATKOA, [L. S.]

Signed, Sealed & Delivered In the presence of

EDWARD SHIPPEN.

NATHAN STANBURY.

ALEXANDER PAXTON.

CALEB PUSEY.

JAMES STREATER.

J. LE TORT, J. L. S.

JNO. HANS STELLMAN.

JAMES LOGAN.

JOHN SANDERS.

INDIAN SHEWYDOOHUNGH,

HARRY, III INTERPRETER.

his mark.

PEMOQUENICHCHAN,

his X mark.

PASSAQUESSAY.

his X mark.

THE second Day of August, in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and thirty-five, James Logan of the Northern Liberties, of the City of Philadelphia, Esq'r upon his solemn affirmation, according to Law, doth declare & depose, that he was present, & did see the within mentioned Kings & Chiefs, namely Connoodaghtoh, Widaagh, (a'ls. Orettyagh,) Koquask, Andaggyjunkquagh, Wopaththa, Lemoytungh, Pemoyajoogh, Ahookassoongh, (Brother to ye Emperor,) Weewhinjough, Cheequittagh, Takyewsan & Woapatkoa, within named, sign, seal, and as their Deed, deliver this Writing, indented, And that the Name of this Affirmant thereon indorsed as a Witness of the Same, is of his own Hand Writing.

JAMES LOGAN.

Affirmed

At Philadelphia, the Day & Year, above s'd, before me Thomas Griffiths, Esq'r
One of the Justices of Peace &c. Witness my hand & Seal. [L. s.]

THOMAS GRIFFITTS.

Entered in the Office for recording of Deeds for the City & County of Philada,
[L. s.] in Book F, Vol. 8 page, 243, &c., the 26th day of August, A'o D'i 1735.
Witness my hands & Seal of my Office aforesaid.

C. BROCKDEN, Rec'd.

Indorsed.

Articles of Agreem't between Wm. Penn, Esq'r & ye Susquehannah, Shawonah &
Potomock Indians. Confirming Gov'r Dongan's Deed, to Gov'r Penn, ever.
Very material.

Recorded Page 104.

N. B. BOILEAU, Sec'p.

Nothing further was done regarding this great purchase until thirty-five years later, when, owing to the dissatisfaction which had arisen among the Indians, a council was called at Philadelphia to consider the matter and restore good feeling if possible. A large number of chiefs, representing the different tribes, assembled, and after much parleying they signed the following pre-emption deed, releasing all claims to the Susquehanna lands for a small consideration. And as it is one of the most curious instruments on record, it is quoted herewith in full:

INDIAN DEED.—LANDS ON SUSQUEHANNAH.

To all People to whom these presents may come. Kakiskerowane, Tagunhunty, Caxhaayn, Kuchdachary, Sawceyatecos, Sachems or Chiefs of the Nations of ye Onondagoes; Kanickhungo, Tagachskaholoo, Sagoyatondackquas, Asheoalax, Hetquantayechta, Sachems or Chiefs of the Senekaes; Sayuehsanyunt, Sunaratchy, Kanawatoe, Tecochtseegherochgoo, Sachems or Chiefs of the Cayoogoes; Saliscaquoh, Shecalamy, Tahashwangeroras, Sachems or Chiefs of the Oneydoes, and Sawantga and Tyeros, Sachems or Chiefs of the Tuskaroros, Send Greeting: Whereas the late Proprietary of the Province of Pennsylvania, Wm. Penn, Esq'r, Soon after his first arrival in his said Province, took measures to have the River Susquehannah, with all the lands lying on both sides of the same, purchased for him and his heirs of those Indians of the five Nations, Inhabiting in the Province of New York, who claimed the p'p'ty thereof, and accordingly did purchase them of Coll. Thomas Dongan formerly Gov'r of New York, and pay for the same, Notwithstanding which the Indians of the five Nations aforesaid, have continued to claim a Right in and to the said River and Lands; nor have those claims been hitherto adjusted; whereupon, the said Sachems or Chiefs having with all the others of the said Nations Met the last Summer at their great Council, held in ye Countrey of the said Onondagoes, did Resolve & Conclude that a final Period and Conclusion Should

be put to all Disputes that might possibly arise on that Occasion; and having appointed the aforementioned Sachems or Chiefs as Plenepotentiaries of all those Nations, to repair to Philadelphia in ord'r to Confirm the several Treaties of Peace which have hitherto been concluded between them and the said Province; and also, to Settle and adjust all Demands & Claims that have been heretofore made, or hereafter may be made, touching or concerning the aforesaid River Susquehannah, and the Lands lying on both sides thereof; and the said Sachems or Chiefs of ye 5 Nations aforesaid, having for themselves and on behalf of the said Nations, renewed and ratified the Treaties of Friendship and Peace subsisting between them and the said Province, Did afterward proceed to treat and agree with the hon'ble, the Proprietaries thereof, about the said River and Lands. Now know ye, that in consideration of, the premises afs'd, and of the several Quantities of Goods herein mentioned, viz: 500 pounds of powder, 600 pounds of Lead, 45 Guns, 60 Strowd water match Coats, 100 Blankets, 100 duffle match coats, 200 yards of half-thick, 100 shirts, 40 hatts, 40 pair of Shoes and Buckles, 40 pair of Stockings, 100 hatchets, 500 Knives, 100 houghs, 60 Kettles, 100 Tobacco tongs, 100 Scissors, 500 awl blades, 120 Combs, 2000 needles, 1000 Flints, 24 Looking Glasses, 2 pounds of vermilion, and 100 Tin pots, besides 25 Gallons of Rum, 200 pounds of Tobacco, 1000 Pipes, and 24 dozen of Gartering, by the said Proprietaries, John Penn, Thomas Penn and Rich'd Penn, well and truly paid and delivered unto the said Kakiskerowane, Tayunhuny, Caxhaayn, Kuchdachary, Sawceyatecos, Sachems or Chiefs of the Nations of ye Onondagoe; Kanickhungo, Tagachskaholoo, Sagoayatondackquas, Ashcoalaax, Hetquantayechta, Sachems or Chiefs of the Senekaes; Sayuehsanyunt, Sunaratchy, Kanawatoe, Tecochtseeagherochgoo, Sachems or Chiefs of the Coyoogoes; Saliscaquoh, Shecalamy, Tahashwangeroras, Sachems or Chiefs of the Oneydoes, and Sawantga and Tyeros, Sachems or Chiefs of the Tuskaroros, before the sealing and delivery of these presents, the receipt whereof they, the said Sachems or Chiefs do hereby acknowledge themselves to be fully satisfied contented and paid, and thereof do acquit, and forever discharge the said proprietaries, their heirs, successors and assigns by these presents. They, the said Kakiskerowand, Tayunhuny, Caxhaayn, Kuchdachary, Sawcegatecos, Sachems or Chiefs of the Nations of ye Onondagoe; Kanickhungo, Tagachskaholoo, Sagoayatondackquas, Ashcoalaax, Hetquantagechta, Sachems or Chiefs of the Senekaes; Sayuehsanyunt, Sunaratchy, Kanawatoe, Tecochtseeagherochgoo, Sachems or Chiefs of the Coyoogoes; Saliscaquoh, Shecalamy, Tahashwangeroras, Sachems or Chiefs of the Oneydoes, and Sawantga and Tyeros, Sachems or Chiefs of the Tuskaroros, for themselves and on behalf of all the five nations aforesaid, and every of them, have given granted, bargained sold Released and Confirmed, and by these presents Do, and every of them doth give, grant, Bargain, sell, release and Confirm unto the said proprietaries, John Penn, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, their Heirs, Successors and Assigns, all the said River Susquehannah, with the Lands lying on both sides thereof, to Extend Eastward as far as the heads of the Branches or Springs which run into the said Susquehannah, And all the lands lying on the West side of the said River to the setting of the Sun, and to extend from the mouth of the said River Northward, up the same to the Hills or mountains called in the language of the said Nations, the Tyannuntasacta, or Endless hills, and by the Delaware Indians, the Kekkachtanin Hills, together, also, with all the Island in the said River, Ways, Waters, Watercourses, Woods, Underwoods, Timber and Trees,

Mountains, Hills, Mines, Valleys, Minerals, Quarries, Rights, Liberties, Privileges, Advantages, Hereditaments and Appurtenances thereunto belonging, or in any wise appertaining, And all the Right, Title, Interest property claim, and demand whatsoever, of the said Kikiskerowane, Tayunhuny, Caxhaayn, Kuchdachary, Sawceyatecos, Sachems or Chiefs of the Nations of ye Onondagoe; Kanickhungo, Tagachskaholoo, Sagoayatondackquas, Ashcoalaax, Hetquantagechta, Sachems or Chiefs of the Senekaes; Sayuehsanyunt, Sunaratchy, Kanawatoe, Tecochtseeagherochgoo, Sachems or Chiefs of the Cayoogoes; Saliscaquoh, Shecalmy, Tahashwangeroras, Sachems or Chiefs of the Oneydoes, and Sawantga and Tyeros, Sachems or Chiefs of the Tuskaroras, or any of them, or of any person or persons of, or belonging to the five nations of Indians aforesaid, TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said River Susquehannah, and the Lands lying on both sides thereof, and the Islands therein contained, hereditaments and premises hereby granted and Released or mentioned, or intended to be hereby granted and Released, and every part and parcel thereof, with their and every of their Appurtenances unto the said Proprietaries, John Penn, Tho's Penn and Rich'd Penn, their Heirs Successors and Assigns, To the only proper use and Behoof of the said Proprietaries, John Penn, Thomas and Richard Penn, their Heirs, Successors and Assigns forever, so that neither the said Kakiskerowane, Tayunhuny, Caxhaayn, Kuchdachary, Sawceyatecos, Sachems or Chiefs of the Nations of ye Onondagoe; Kanickhungo, Tagachskaholoo, Sagoayatondackquas, Ashcoalaax, Hetquantagechta, Sachems or Chiefs of the Senekaes; Saguehsanyunt, Sunaratchy, Kanawatoe, Tecochtseeagherochgoo, Sachems or Chiefs of the Cayoogoes; Saliscaquoh, Shecalamy, Tahashwangeroras, Sachems or Chiefs of the Oneydoes, and Sawantga and Tyeros, Sachems and Chiefs of the Tuskaroros, nor any others of the said five Nations of Indians, nor their or any of their heirs, successors or assigns, shall, or may at any time or times hereafter, have claim, challenge, or demand any right Title, Interest or property, of, in, or to the said River Sasquehannah, lands on both sides of the same, Islands contained therein, hereditaments and premises hereby granted and Released, or mentioned or intended to be hereby granted and Released, nor any part or parcel thereof, But of and from the same shall be Barred, and forever Excluded by these presents; and that the said Proprietaries, John P., Thomas P., and Rich'd P., their Heirs, Successors and Assigns, shall, and Rightfully may, from time to time, and at all times and seasons, forever hereafter, quietly and peaceably, have, hold, occupy, possess, and enjoy, all and singular, the Said River Sasquehannah, and the Lands lying on both sides of the same, and all the Islands therein, with the hereditaments and premises hereby granted and Released, with their and every of their Appurtenances, without the Let, Trouble, Hindrance or Molestation of the said Kakiskerowane, Tayunhuny, Caxhaayn, Kuchdachary, Sawceyatecos, Sachems or Chiefs of the Nations of ye Onondagoe; Kanickhungo, Tagachskaholoo, Sagoayatondackquas, Ashcoalaax, Hetquantagechta, Sachems or Chiefs of the Senekaes; Sayuehsanyunt, Sunaratchy, Kanawatoe, Tecochtseeagherochgoo, Sachems or Chiefs of the Cayoogoes; Saliscaquoh, Shecalamy, Tahashwangeroras, Sachems or Chiefs of the Oneydoes, and Sawantga and Tyeros, Sachems or Chiefs of the Tuskaroros, or any of them, or any others of the Indians of the five Nations aforesaid, or any other person or persons claiming or to claim the same, or any part thereof, by, from or under them, or any of them, according to the true intent and meaning of these Presents.

In Witness whereof the before named Sachems or Chiefs, for themselves and on

Behalf of all the People of the five Nations aforesaid, have hereunto set their Hands and Seals, the Eleventh Day of October, in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Six, and in the Tenth Year of the Reign of King George the Second, over Great Britain, &c.

Signed Sealed and Delivered In the Presence of

JAMES STEEL,
 JAMES LOGAN,
 CLEM. PLUMSTED,
 A. HAMILTON,
 THOMAS FREAME, Jun.,
 WM. PLUMSTED,
 CHAS. E. WILLING,
 EDWD. SHIPPEN,
 JOSEPH SHIPPEN,
 WM. LOGAN,
 JAMES STEEL, Jun.,
 JAMES READ,
 RD. ASSHETON,
 JOHN GEORGES,
 THOS. FREAME,
 CONRAD WEISER, Interpreter,
 TOBIAS SHEWELL.

Onondagoes.

KAKISKEROWANA, his X mark,
 TAGUNHUNTY, his X mark,
 CAXHAAYN, his X mark,
 KUCHDACHARY, his X mark,
 SAWEGATEKOE, his X mark,
 by his fr'd Taygunhunty,
 SANEYUSKOE, his X mark,
 CANAUNGOE, his X mark,
 CAIROOYEEOH, his X mark.

Senekaes.

KANICKHUNGO, his X mark,
 AYACKSAGEE, his X mark,
 alias Tagachskaholoo,
 HANNYHARUNGUAS, his X mark,
 SAGAYATONDACUAS, his X mark,
 by his fr'd Kaneckhungo,
 ASHCOALAN, his X mark,
 HETQUANTAGECHTA, his X mark.

Oneydas.

TECOCHTSFEGHEROCHGOO, his X mark,
 SALISKAGUOH, his X mark,
 SHEKALAMY, his X mark,
 TAHASHWANGARORAS, his X mark.

Tuskaroras.

SAWUNTGA, his X mark,
 TYEROS, his X mark.

Cayoogoes.

SAGUCHSANYUNT, his X mark,
 SUNERETCHY, his X mark,
 KANAWATOE, his X mark.

City of Philadelphia, ss:

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the twenty Seventh Day of June, in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred thirty seven, Before me, Clement Plumsted, Esq'r, Mayor of the City of Philadelphia, and one of the Justices of the Peace of the County of Philadelphia, personally appeared James Steel and William Plumsted, two of the Witnesses to the within written Deed, who on their several Affirmations did Solemnly declare and say, That they were present and saw all the Indians within named Sign, Seal, and as their voluntary Act, deliver the within written Deed, for the Uses, Intents and Purposes therein contained, And also that the several other Persons whose Names are within written as Witnesses to the said Deed, did likewise in the Presence

of these Affirmants Sign the same. Witness my Hand & Seal of the s'd City, Day and Year above s'd.

[L. S.] CLEM. PLUMSTED, Mayor.

JAMES STEEL,
WILLM. PLUMSTED.

Entered in the Office for recording of Deeds, for ye City & County of Philad'a, in Book G, Vol. 5, pa. 277, &c., The Seventh Day of May, A'o D'i, 1741. Witness my Hand & Seal of my Office aforesaid.

[L. S.] C. BROCKDEN, Rec'dr.

Indorsed.

Pre-emption deed or contract of October 11th, A. D., 1736. D'o of (Ratification) 1754. Recorded Page 74, &c.

N. B. BOILEAU, Sec'y.

A manuscript copy of the above deed was found among the papers of Samuel Wallis, and is now in the possession of his grandson, Howard R. Wallis, of Muncy. It is written in a bold, plain, round hand, and with the exception of being time-stained and creased by folding, it is in an excellent state of preservation. It is nearly 116 years old and will take rank among the very oldest instruments of writing in existence in the West Branch Valley. The following certificate is appended:

I William Parr Esquire Master of the Rolls in and for the province of Pennsylvania do hereby Certify the foregoing writing (containing six pages and about one fourth of a page of paper) to be an exemplification or true copy of a Record of my office in Book G Vol 1st page 277 &c

In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of Office to be hereunto put and affixed the 28th day of September 1772.

WILL PARR Master of the Rolls.

The following endorsement appears on the back of this old paper:

Exemplification of a Release from ye Five Nations of Indians to Jno. Thos. and Rich'd Penn, Esqrs. of the River Susquehannah and the Lands on both Sides thereof.

The Six Nations then signed a release of the foregoing lands as follows, making the line of transfer complete. The two deeds are printed in full in Vol. I., Pennsylvania Archives, beginning on page 494 and ending on page 499:

RELEASE FROM THE SIX NATIONS FOR SUSQUEHANNAH, 1736.

WE, THE CHIEFS of the Six Nations of Indians, the Onandagoes, Isanundowans or Sinnekas, Cayoogoes, Oneydas, Tuscaroras, (in behalf also of ye Canyingoes or Mohacks,) who have lately at Philadelphia, by our Deed in writing dated the eleventh

Day of this instant, October, released to John Penn, Thomas Penn, and Richard Penn, Proprietors of Pennsylvania, and to their Heirs and successors, ALL our Right, Claim and Pretensions whatsoever, to all and every the Lands on both sides of the River Sasquehannah, from ye mouth thereof as far Northward or up the said River as y't Ridge of Hills called the Tyoninbackta or Endless Mountains, Westward to the Setting of the Sun, and Eastward to the furthest springs of the Waters running into the said River, Do hereby further declare, That our true intent and meaning by the said writing was and is to Release and we do hereby more Expressly Release, to the said Proprietaries, their Heirs and Successors forever, All our Right, Claim and Pretensions whatsoever, to all and every the lands lying within the Bounds and Limits of the Government of Pennsylvania, Beginning Eastward on the River Delaware, as far Northward as the s'd Ridge or Chain of Endless Mountains as they cross ye Country of Pensilvania, from Eastward and to the West.

And further, as we have made the firmest League of Friendship with our Brethren of Pennsylvania and are become as one people with them, We do hereby promise and Engage for ourselves and our Children and their Children, That neither we nor they nor any in Authority in our Nations, will at any time bargain, sell, grant, or by any means make over, to any person or persons whatsoever, whether White men or Indians, other than the said Proprietors, the Children of William Penn, or to persons by them Authorised and Appointed to agree for and receive the same, any Lands within the Limits of the Governm't of Pennsylvania, as 'tis bounded Northward with the Governm't of New York and Albany, But when we are willing to dispose of any Further Rights to Land within the s'd limits of Pensilvania, We will dispose of them to the said Wm. Penn's Children, and to no other persons whatsoever.

In Witness whereof we have in Behalf of all our Nation, signed this further writing, being distinctly Read and Interpreted to us by our Friend Conrad Wyser, the Twenty fifth Day of October, 1736.

Witness, (an interlineation of seventeen words being first made between the 8th and 9th lines.)

ANYNSSQUASUH, his X mark,
 ANYHARUNGUAS,
 CANDACH,
 HAWYIENTA,
 JOSUNSUDAN,
 JOSUNLANSENET,
 HANUKHUNGO,
 HATQUANTAGUHTY,
 GAHISKEROWANO,
 GECHTACKHERY,
 TAHASHWANGAI,

TACANNUNTY,
 CAXHAAYN,
 TOCANORUNGO,
 OSCOTAX,
 SAWUNTGA,
 CANAWATO,
 SAGUSKSONYUNT,
 TYHCHRYGERECHGO,
 SARISTORQUOH,
 SHYKELIMY.

CONRAD WEISER, Interpreter.

City of Philada.

Be it Remembered, That on the Nineteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord 1736, Personally appeared before me Clement Plumsted, Esq'r, Mayor of the City of Philadelphia, and one of the Justices of the Peace of the County of Philadelphia, Conrad Weiser, who, on his solemn affirmation, did declare that he saw the

several Indians within named, sign, seal, and as their voluntary act, deliver the within written Deed, for the use and purpose therein mentioned; and that he saw John Peter Feck and Leonard Feck sign their names as Witnesses thereunto. And this affirmant further saith, that being appointed Interpreter by and between the Government of Pennsylvania and the Indians of the Six Nations, He faithfully and distinctly Interpreted and Explained to the Indians who signed and sealed the same, all the several parts of the said within written Deed, to their full satisfaction and contentment; and that upon the delivery of the said Deed, the same Indians presented a Belt of Wampum in Confirmation thereof.

CONRAD WEISER.

Affirmed before me.

Witness my Hand and seal of the City.

CLEM. PLUMSTED, Mayor.

Recorded ye 22 May, 1741.

The next great Indian council, for the purpose of settling certain questions relating to the lands of the Southern Indians, was held at Lancaster in 1744. It was an important meeting, according to the journal of William Marshe, secretary of the Maryland Commissioners, who attended and made a record of the daily proceedings. That journal had almost been forgotten, when it was disinterred by Dr. W. H. Egle—now State Librarian—and published in pamphlet form in 1884. In his introductory the Doctor gives the following explanation of the object of the conference:

“When the English first explored the lower Susquehanna, they found it inhabited by a race which they called the Susquehannocks. The Dutch, as early as 1615, and the Swedes, when they settled in 1638, came in contact with these Susquehannocks and called them Minquas. The line between the Delawares and Minquas seems to have been along the dividing waters between the two rivers, though in wars the Minquas drove the Delawares entirely over into New Jersey. The Minquas were a ruling tribe on the Delaware, as the Mohawks were on the Hudson. From 1640 the Five Nations of New York began to be liberally supplied with fire arms, and they soon devastated the tribes similar to the Minquas on the upper branches of the Susquehanna. Having disposed of these and opened the way, in 1662 they commenced upon the lower Minquas or Susquehannocks. Before this, in 1652, the Susquehannocks had sold to Maryland their possession and conquest rights on both sides of the Chesapeake Bay, from the Choptank and

Pautuxant rivers up to the head of the bay. In 1663 the Marylanders assisted the Minquas with cannon and men in their fort, and defeated an army of 800 Senecas and Cayugas. The war was, however, kept up, and finally, after various reverses and successes, in 1675, forsaken by the English, who had superceded the Dutch on the Delaware, and by the Marylanders, and reduced by disease, the Minquas were conquered, many of them carried off to New York, and the balance fled to the Potomac at Piscataway. From this place they were afterwards allowed to return to their old country and establish themselves as a tributary outpost of the Five Nations on the 'Onestego' Creek, and there subsequently they were known as Conestogas. It was in this way that the New York tribes obtained their conquest rights to the lands on the Susquehanna and southward to the Potomac, which were recognized by the several purchase treaties made with them by William Penn and his heirs. Governor Dongan, of New York, first purchased these Pennsylvania-Susquehanna conquest rights from the Five Nations, with a view of holding those parts, at least above the Conawago Falls, as part of New York and preventing Penn from obtaining the full limits of his charter. When this failed, he sold and transferred these deeded rights to Penn in 1696. In 1699 Penn again purchased from the remaining Conestogas all their rights and the rights of their ancestors, and, as he aptly expresses it, the rights that their 'ancestors have, could, might or ought to have had, held or enjoyed' in these lands. In 1701 this purchase was again confirmed in the presence of an Onondaga deputy, and a promise made them that they should have a reservation, which was in fact afterwards surveyed to them in 1718. Here the dwindling remnant remained until the massacre in 1763.

"Prior to this their young men gravitated to the New York cantons, mostly among the Oneidas, as this course afforded the only opening for martial renown—for an Indian is nothing if not a warrior. Among these descendants of the ancient Susquehannocks who attended the Lancaster treaty, to sell the former heritage of his ancestors, was Shikellimy,—more properly Shickenany,—who hesitated about signing the deed to Maryland, which Marshe blamed on the Pennsylvanians. When the Conestoga Manor was

surveyed in 1718, they 'run a line round them that none might come near them,' and though at that time the Indians 'had expressed a willingness to retire from Conestoga, yet the Government here persuaded them to continue near us,' and 'they appeared very well pleased' with 'the inclosing by surveys the lands where they are seated.'

"The Dutch, Swedes and English made purchases from the Delawares on the west bank of their river. The western limits were not given, or were vaguely defined. There are some representations of such purchases extending to the Susquehanna; but the Delawares had no rights to lands on that river, and probably never made such sales. Penn thought he had extinguished the Indian title to the Susquehanna lands through his purchase from Dongan, and in satisfying the resident Conestogas; and there can be no doubt that the New York Indians were satisfied and for many years made no claims. But the older ones died and the younger ones at length set up a claim that they had not been paid for their conquest lands on the Susquehanna. In the meantime many settlers had moved upon these lands. The Cayugas were the most persistent and annoying in pressing their claims. At length, on October 11, 1736, these lands, as far west as the Blue Mountain range, and eastward to the head springs flowing into the Susquehanna, were again purchased at a treaty in Philadelphia. After this treaty adjourned, and some of the delegates had gone home, an after-thought came to the proprietary party: As the Six Nations seemed to be setting up unexpected claims of conquest rights, it was thought it would be a good plan to get a release from them to all the lands eastward as far as the Delaware. Accordingly an explanatory deed was got up, stating that the true intent and meaning of the other deed was that it should embrace all the lands eastward as far as the Delaware. This was a most transparent falsehood. Not until white means black can eastward limits on the head of streams running into the Susquehanna be defined as intended to extend to the Delaware. There is not a particle of evidence that the Six Nations, prior to this, claimed the right to sell the lands of the Delawares. It is true, the Delawares were a conquered tributary people, but this in Indian politics did not mean always a right to alienate the soil. Land selling was

indeed a European innovation, the full meaning of which the Indians were slow to realize. As long as they sold and still occupied nearly all of it, the sale meant little; when it meant dispossession then trouble ensued. Occupancy was the only soil right that the Indian knew before the presents at treaties gave them the land-selling itch. This supplementary, explanatory deed, dated October 25, 1736, fourteen days after the other, was not for sale of land that they claimed, but was given at the request of the white men to cover, or prevent, any claims the Six Nations might set up to the lands already purchased of the Delawares. It was also used, and perhaps designed to be used, in 1742, to induce the Six Nations to interfere and force the Delawares to leave some of these lands, as comprised in the 'Walking Purchase.' Canassatego's speech, in ordering the Delawares to leave these lands, is famous in history, and aroused the dormant resentment of the Delawares. He called them *women*, denied their right to sell land, ordered them to leave, said they ought to be taken by the hair of the head and shaken severely till they recovered good sense, and forbid them, their children, grandchildren to the latest posterity, forever hereafter to presume to meddle in land affairs. It was during the pending of these troubles that the treaty was held at Lancaster in 1744, about lands in Maryland and Virginia, when not a Delaware was allowed to be present.

"It is a remarkable fact, which has hitherto been unnoticed, that in the great wars of the western cantons of the Five Nations against the Susquehannocks, which were waged chiefly about 1666 and 1675, the Mohawks took no part, nor did there a single Mohawk appear at the treaty in Philadelphia in 1786, when the last sale of these conquest rights was made to the Penns. Nor did there appear a single Mohawk at Lancaster, when the claims of similar rights were to be disposed of to Maryland, and other claims to lands in Virginia. They had nothing to do in conquering the Minquas, and they would have nothing to say in selling their lands. The explanation of this is no doubt to be found in the special examination of Governor Andras, who, in 1675, 'did endeavor to be rightly informed of things relating to that war, and found that the Susquehannocks were reputed by the Maquies (Mohawks) as their offspring.' There can be no doubt that the

Susquehanna Minquas were an old diverging branch of the Mohawks, and there was an old friendship, which forbid them to war against their kindred, and yet the laws of the Five Nation confederacy forbid also any assistance. The absent nation, for whom Conrad Weiser was authorized by the allies to sign his name, at the Lancaster treaty, as mentioned by Marshe, was the Mohawks, into which Weiser had been adopted.

“As early as 1736, at the treaty, the Governor of Pennsylvania was earnestly pressed that he would write to the Governors of Maryland and Virginia to make them (the Western New York Indians) satisfaction for their lands in those States. They say ‘all the lands on the Susquehanna and at Chanandowa (Shenandoah) were theirs and they must be satisfied for them.’ In reply it was remarked to them that ‘the lands on Susquehanna, we believe, belong to the Six Nations by the conquest of the Indians on that river, but how their pretensions are to be made good to the lands to the southward we know not.’ At the treaty on July 7, 1742, Canassatego again introduced their claims to lands in Maryland, desiring to know what had been done in the matter, saying ‘you will inform the person whose people are seated on our lands that 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; we expect such consideration as the land is worth; press him to send us a positive answer; let him say yes or no; if he says yes, we will treat with him; if no, we are able to do ourselves justice, and we will do it by going to take payment on ourselves.’

“These alarming words caused a special messenger to be sent to Maryland, and measures were taken for the treaty which came off at Lancaster in 1744. Though nothing was said in 1742 about Virginia, yet the demand in 1736, and the prospects of a war with France, induced the King and his Virginia colony to treat with these Indians at the same time and place. Conrad Weiser was sent to Onondaga to make the arrangements. There was a shrewd purpose in the background to use the occasion to prevent them from espousing the cause of France, and the Pennsylvania Colonial Records show how nicely it was managed. Pennsylvania, having in 1737 met the demands of these Indians as to their claim on the lands in that Province below the moun-

tains, was in a position to act as a go-between and secure their friendship to Maryland and Virginia, and all three were alike interested in view of the coming troubles with France and her Canadian Provinces. At the treaty the Marylanders denied their rights to land in that Province, and pointed to their deed of purchase from the Susquehannocks in 1652 as covering all or nearly all their lands. The reply was very well put: 'We acknowledge the deed to be good and valid, and that the Conestoga or Susquehanna Indians had a right to sell those lands unto you, for they were then theirs; but since that time we have conquered them, and their country now belongs to us, and the lands we demanded satisfaction for are no part of the lands comprised in those deeds—they are the Cohogonontas (Potomac) lands.' This is one of the proofs that the territory of the ancient Susquehannocks extended to the Potomac, probably from the falls up to Harper's Ferry. The old Maryland purchase was not defined in its western limits, and certainly did not include a part of Maryland north of the head of the bay. Just prior to their subjugation by the New York Indians the Susquehannocks had somehow got into a war with their old friends in Maryland, and suffered greatly. Evans, in his *Analysis*, written soon after this treaty, gives this explanation: Bell, of Maryland, 'by the defeat of many hundreds, gave them a blow from which they never recovered, and for that reason the confederates (Six Nations) never claimed but to Conewago Falls; and that, as the Susquehannocks had abandoned the western shore of Maryland before their conquest, the confederates confined their claims northward of a line drawn from the Conewago Falls to the North Mountain, where it crosses the Potomac, and thence to the head branches of St. James River.' The point, doubtless, is Harper's Ferry, though the Blue Mountain and the Blue Ridge are not the same range, though often confounded. At the treaty the eastern bounds were not defined. They wanted pay, and having got it they cared nothing further about the grounds of their claim, nor how it was divided between Maryland and Pennsylvania. The claim for pay for Virginia was not founded on the conquest of the Susquehannas, but upon other tribes.

"The Virginians claimed that they had long held peaceable possession, and that they found those lands uninhabited and free to be

entered upon by the King. They said: 'Tell us what nations you conquered any lands from in Virginia, how long it is since, and what possession you have had.' The answer was: 'We have the right of conquest—a right too dearly purchased, and which cost us too much blood to be given up without any reason at all. * * * * * All the world knows we conquered the several nations living on Susquehanna, Cohongoronto and on the back of the great mountains in Virginia. The Conoy-uch-such-roonan, the Coch-nan-was-roonan, the Tokoa-irough-roonan and the Connut-skirr-ough-roonan feel the effects of our conquests, being now a part of our nations and their lands at our disposal.' They said it was not true that the King of England had conquered the Indians that lived there. 'We will allow that they have conquered the Sachdagugh-roonan (Powhatans) and drove back the Tuscarraws, and that they have on that account a right to some part of Virginia; but as to what lies beyond the mountain, we conquered the nations residing there, and that land, if ever the Virginians get a good right to it, it must be by us.'

"We cannot properly identify and locate the four tribes said to have been conquered. The first were probably the Conoys or Ganawese. The second probably gave the name to the Kanawha. The lands sold were the Shenandoah Valley and the country westward. The Six Nations did not understand the sale to include the lands on the Ohio, now West Virginia. These were included in the sale of November 5, 1768, made by Sir William Johnson. Some writers erroneously say the lands sold at Lancaster were those on the Ohio. This is not the case, for they were lands just then settled by the white people, and there were then no settlers on the Ohio. The western limits of Virginia were then not defined. Pennsylvania never called in question these conquest rights. Had they done so at the several treaties for Susquehanna lands, the Indians would then, doubtless, have given us some interesting facts as to those conquests, which are now forever lost."

CHAPTER IV.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTIVITY AND THRILLING ADVENTURES OF MARY JEMISON, WHO IS KNOWN IN HISTORY AS THE "WHITE WOMAN"—THE LAST INDIAN COUNCIL HELD AT CANEADEA.

IN this connection it may not be out of place to relate one of the strangest, most romantic and thrilling incidents in all Indian history, since the subject frequently visited this valley with her captors when they descended by the Sinnemahoning, Pine, Lycopcoming and other streams. We refer to the strange story of the captive "White Woman," and to begin we must take the reader to the extreme southern part of the State.

About the year 1742 Thomas Jemison and his wife settled near the head-waters of Marsh Creek, Adams County. When they left the "Green Isle" they had three children, two sons and a daughter. During the voyage another daughter was born to them, whom they named Mary, whose birth on the stormy sea foreshadowed the rough and sorrowful experiences she was subsequently called to endure.

Having been bred to agricultural pursuits, Thomas Jemison settled upon an extensive tract of land in the Marsh Creek region and commenced his labors. For a period of ten years, during which time two more sons were added to the family, this pioneer had a busy and contented life in his mountain home. He prospered and was happy. The settlement grew. Among his neighbors was James Bleakney, who survived until the spring of 1821, when he died in the 98th year of his age. It was from this venerable ancestor that the location of the Jemison farm was learned. For about ten years the settlers in this secluded valley of the South Mountain lived in peace; then trouble arose.

Both the French and English governments, equally intent on territorial aggrandizement in the northern section of the Western Continent, sought to secure possession of that vast territory lying

between the Allegheny Mountains and the Mississippi River. The former laid claim to it by right of discovery; the latter by right of purchase from the Indians. Both parties prepared to maintain, if necessary, their real or assumed rights by force of arms. To that issue the controversy came at last. On the 3d of July, 1754, a battle was fought at the Great Meadows, about fifty miles west of the present town of Cumberland, Maryland, between the English and French forces, each assisted by Indian allies. The English, commanded by Colonel George Washington, were defeated. This victory so elated and emboldened the French that they threatened and prepared to lay waste with fire and tomahawk the frontier settlements of Virginia and Pennsylvania, whence the white troops under Washington had been drawn.

Not long after the capitulation of Fort Necessity the situation became alarming to the peaceful settlers within and east of the South Mountain. Reports reached them of terrible atrocities committed by the French and Indians west of the mountain. Fearing that they too would soon be visited by the cruel and bloodthirsty foe, they erected for self-protection a block-house near the present village of Arendtsville.* Their apprehensions were well founded.

On the evening of a pleasant day in the spring of 1755, Thomas Jemison sent his daughter Mary, then 12 or 13 years old, to a neighbor's house to procure a horse and return with it the next morning. Returning at the appointed time she found, at her father's house, a neighbor, William or Robert Buck by name, and his sister-in-law with her three children. The woman, whose husband was in Washington's army fighting the French, had become alarmed at the aspect of affairs, and sought companions and safety in the house of Thomas Jemison. Buck, wishing to get a bag of grain he had left at his own house, took the horse that Mary Jemison had brought, armed himself with a gun, and hurried away. What followed is thus related by Mary Jemison: "Our family, as usual, was busily employed about their common business. Father was shaving an axe-helve at the side of the house; mother was making preparations for breakfast; my two eldest brothers were at work near the barn; the little ones, with myself,

*A post hamlet, $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles northeast of Gettysburg.

and the woman with her three children, were in the house. Breakfast was not yet ready when we were alarmed by the discharge of a number of guns that seemed to be near. Mother and the woman before mentioned almost fainted at the report, and every one trembled with fear. On opening the door, the man and horse lay dead near the house, having just been shot by the Indians. They first secured my father, then rushed into the house and made prisoners of my mother, my two younger brothers, my sister, the woman and her three children, and myself, and then commenced plundering the house. The party that took us consisted of four Frenchmen and six Shawanee Indians. They took what they considered most valuable, consisting principally of bread, meal and meat. Having taken as much provision as they could carry, they set out with their prisoners in great haste, for fear of detection, and soon entered the woods." The two older brothers, Thomas and John, fortunately escaped. They were at the barn when the assault took place, crept into a hollow log, and so were not discovered by the keen-sighted Indians. Subsequently they went to Virginia, and found a home with their maternal grandfather. Buck, the murdered man, was buried by the neighbors not far from the spot where they found the body. The burial was hurried, for there was other pressing work on hand.

A few years ago, whilst on a visit to Buchanan Valley, the grave of this victim of Indian atrocity was pointed out to us.* It is situated on a farm recently sold by Joseph I. Livers to Francis Cole. Two maple trees, standing at the edge of a narrow ravine, mark the spot. A large pile of stones, gathered from an adjoining field and bordering the grave, may serve as a rude and unfinished monument. The house and barn owned and occupied by the unfortunate Jemison family have both succumbed to the ravages of time, and no vestige remains to tell where they once stood. A few gnarled and decaying apple trees, so old that no one now living there can tell when they were planted, testify that once near by there stood a habitation. But that solitary grave beside the maple trees, with its cairn-like monument, and its tragic history, is not

*H. J. Stahle, Esq., editor and publisher of the *Gettysburg Compiler*. Mr. Stahle devoted much time to a study of this remarkable case, and prepared a condensed history of the captive, the material portions of which are quoted above.

forgotten. With some hesitation we venture to relate what was told us, viz: That those who plow among the old apple trees are wont to uncover a spot where the soil has the color of blood, indicating the place where the kindly earth received the crimson drops trickling from the wounds of the murdered Buck.

Anticipating pursuit, the savage captors, with their ten helpless captives, fled rapidly in a westward direction across the mountain. On the first day's journey the children were frequently lashed with a whip to make them keep up with the rest. All that day they hurried on without a mouthful of food or a drop of water, although they had not eaten since the previous evening. Whenever the little children cried for water, the Indians would make them drink urine or go thirsty. At night they encamped in the woods without fire, and without shelter, and were watched with the greatest vigilance. At the dawn of the following day the weary, sorrowful march was resumed, and not until the sun had risen were the prisoners halted and fed. Towards noon they passed within sight of a small fort, known as "Fort Conococheague," situated somewhere near the present town of Chambersburg. Towards evening of the second day's flight they arrived at the border of a "dark and dismal swamp," covered with small hemlocks and other bushes, into which they were conducted; and having gone a short distance, they encamped for the night.

In some way the savages ascertained that they were pursued. A determined band of Jemison's neighbors, headed by a Mr. Fields, had started in pursuit and were gaining on the fugitives. Fearing to be overtaken if they continued to encumber themselves with so many prisoners, the savages (white and red) massacred and scalped eight of them, viz: Thomas Jemison, his wife, their daughter, Betsy; their two sons, Robert and Matthew; Mrs. Buck, and two of her children. Mary Jemison and the little son of Mrs. Buck were spared. The naked and mangled bodies of the slaughtered victims were found in that dismal swamp by the parties that had gone in pursuit.

After the massacre the Indians continued their flight much more cautiously than they did at first. At the end of seven or eight days they reached Fort Duquesne, or Fort Pitt, which was then a rallying point for the French and their Indian allies.

On the day that Mary Jemison was brought, a weary and dejected captive, to Fort Duquesne, two pleasant looking Indian squaws of the Seneca tribe had arrived there also. They had lost a brother in a battle with the English, and had come to the fort to obtain a captive whom they might adopt as a member of their family. On the following day they inspected the prisoners lately brought in, and selected Mary Jemison as the one whom they desired to take the place of their lost brother.

The time had come when Mary Jemison should be separated from all with whom she had been acquainted. The little boy of Mrs. Buck, her fellow captive and companion in the long and trying flight from Buchanan Valley to Fort Duquesne, was taken away by the French. Whither he was taken and what became of him is unknown. Mary was taken by the two Indian squaws in a small canoe down the Ohio River to a small Seneca Indian town called "She-nan-jee." There she was arrayed in a suit of Indian clothing, was formally adopted as a member of the family, and received the name of "Dick-e-wa-mis," which, being interpreted, means "a pretty girl."

An adopted member of the Seneca tribe, and provided with a home, Dickewamis was employed in nursing children and doing light work about the wigwams. Occasionally she accompanied the hunters, when they went but a short distance, to help them carry home the game. Her situation was easy, for she had no special hardships to endure. Nevertheless, the recollection of her parents, brothers, sister and home, and the sad fact of her hopeless captivity, destroyed her happiness for many following years.

Encouraged and aided by her adopted sisters, who would not allow her to speak English in their hearing, she soon learned to understand the Indian language and to speak it fluently. During the second year of her captivity (1757), when but 14 or 15 years old, she was married, by command of her sisters, "according to Indian custom," to a Delaware Indian, She-nin-jee by name. He was large of stature, elegant in appearance, and by his good nature and tenderness gained the affection of his wife. The year following her marriage, "at the time that the kernels of corn first appeared on the ear," she bore her first-born child, a girl that lived two days only. In the fourth winter of her captivity (1759) a son was born

of her, whom, in remembrance of her lamented father, she called Thomas Jemison. Not long after this her husband died, and his death was to her a sore bereavement.

The different Indian tribes, as a rule, occupied separate and well defined districts of country, which they held as their exclusive domain. Members of a tribe would often wander far away, and live mingled with similar parties from other tribes on some common hunting ground, and then after many years absence return to their tribal home. The Seneca tribe, of which Mary Jemison had become a member, dwelt along the Genesee River, in a large town named Genishaw, lying southwest of the present town of Genesee, Livingston County, New York. Thither her two adopted sisters, those "pleasant looking squaws" to whom she was very strongly attached, had gone after her marriage. And thither three of her Indian brothers concluded to go, and proposed to take her with them. At the close of summer, "when the time for harvesting corn had come," this young woman, of delicate constitution but of stout heart, started with her three brothers on the long and toilsome journey to the home of their tribe. Leaving the Ohio River, they went northward to Upper Sandusky, Wyandot County, Ohio, and then turned to the northeast, skirting for awhile the shore of Lake Erie, and arrived at last on the banks of the Genesee. The journey was made on foot, through an almost pathless wilderness. Mary Jemison was but thinly clothed; was often drenched by heavy rains; had to sleep on the naked ground at night, without a shelter and nothing but a blanket to cover her; and had to carry her child, about nine months old, on her back or in her arms every step of the journey. Her Indian mother and the other members of the family received her kindly. The continued favors she received at the hands of those with whom she lived won her gratitude and affection, so that she was contented with her lot.

At the close of the war with the French, the English authorities made the humane effort to restore to their relatives all white captives in the hands of the Indians. Mary Jemison was offered the opportunity, but she preferred to remain with those who had adopted her, and had treated her with so much kindness.

In the year 1763 she was married to an old Seneca warrior,

Hiakatoo* by name. The difference in their ages was considerable. She was 20 and he was 55. With him she lived in happy wedlock for forty-eight years, and bore to him six children, four daughters and two sons. He died in 1811, when he was 103 years old. Her sons were Thomas (by her first husband), John and Jesse; her daughters were Jane, Nancy, Betsy and Polly. Jane died in 1779, aged 15 years. The other daughters married Indian husbands and begat children. All of her sons met with violent deaths. Thomas was killed in 1811, Jesse in 1812; both by their brother John, who was intemperate and a thoroughly bad Indian. In 1817 he was killed by two Indians with whom he had a drunken quarrel.

The western portion of the State of New York was occupied by a powerful Indian confederacy, to which the Seneca tribe belonged. This confederacy was known by the name of the "Six Nations." At a council held in the year 1797, which Mary Jemison attended at the request of a leading chief, she was authorized to choose and describe the bounds of such lands as she thought would suit her. She chose what is known as the Gardow Tract, containing upwards of 19,000 acres. In the year 1817 the Legislature of New York passed an act of naturalization, making her a citizen, and confirming her title to the reservation she had received from the Six Nations. Portions of her land she sold; other portions she leased to white people to farm on shares; and thus, as regards temporal support, she seemed comfortably provided for during the remainder of her life.

In the year 1825 the Seneca Indians disposed of their lands on the Genesee River and removed to other reservations. Mary Jemison, with her daughters and sons-in-law, did not follow their example, deeming it best to remain on her Gardow flats, where she had spent so many peaceful years. It was not long, however,

* In Judge McMaster's History of Steuben County, N. Y., Benjamin Patterson is represented as saying that Hiakatoo, the second husband of Mary Jemison, was present at the capture of Fort Freeland, July 28, 1779, and commanded the Indians on that memorable occasion. Patterson and his brother Robert were in the party commanded by Captain Hawkins Boone, which was waylaid and defeated by the Indians that day, and they narrowly escaped with their lives. Hiakatoo and his band gained the rear of Captain Boone, while McDonald, the British officer, assailed him in front. Between the two forces Boone and his company were cut to pieces.

before she realized that she had made a mistake in allowing herself to be separated from her adopted people. Though surrounded by whites, she could not readily affiliate with them. Accustomed to the companionship and mode of life of the Indians, her discontent increased until she finally determined to rejoin her tribe. Accordingly she disposed of all her lands and removed, in the year 1831, to the vicinity of Buffalo, New York, where the Senecas had a reservation. There she purchased a cabin and a small piece of ground, and there she remained until her death. Her daughter Polly, and son-in-law, George Shongo, with their five children, occupied the same house and took care of her in her old age. The proceeds of the sale of her Genesee lands she entrusted, soon after her removal to Buffalo, to a white man, who, by an unfortunate speculation, lost the whole of it. So many had been the trials and hardships of her life; suffering and sorrow had so long attended her, that this new misfortune did not fall upon her as upon one unaccustomed to endure. Her wants were few and simple, and these her daughter and son-in-law, with filial affection took pains to supply.

In the summer of 1833 she was visited by the wife of a missionary who had shortly before taken charge of the Indian mission established at Buffalo. This good woman gives the following affecting account of her visit to the aged and feeble Mary Jemison:

"I found her in a poor hut, where she lived with her daughter. There was a low bunk in one corner of the room, on which she lay. It was made by laying a few boards on some logs. A little straw was on the boards, over which a blanket was spread. She was curled up on her bed, her head drawn forward, sound asleep, and as she lay did not look much larger than a child ten years old. After she was with some difficulty roused from her sleep, I went forward and shook hands with her, and told her who I was and why I had come. As soon as she understood the object of my visit she said, with much emotion: 'I am glad to see you.' Then, with sobs and tears, she spoke of the counsel her mother gave her the last hour they were together, on the second evening after their abduction (1755), while they were encamped in a dark and dismal swamp. And now in her old age, when memories of her childhood so predominated as to obscure recollections of her later

life, she was filled with great sorrow because she had forgotten the promises she had made to her mother, had forgotten the prayer her mother had taught her and knew not how to pray."

The kind missionary sought to comfort the sorrowing woman, and repeated the Lord's Prayer in the English tongue. Mary Jemison listened, with an expression both solemn and tender, till near the close, when suddenly it was evident a chord had been touched which vibrated into the far distant past, and awakened memories both sweet and painful. She immediately became almost convulsed with weeping, and it was sometime before she could speak. At length she said: "That is the prayer my mother taught me, and which I have forgotten so many years."

After a brief illness she suddenly departed this life and the scene of her many afflictions, on the 19th day of September, 1833, and was buried with the usual Christian ceremonies in the grave-yard belonging to the Seneca Mission Church, a large concourse of people witnessing by their presence their interest in the one who had departed from them. A marble slab was planted at the head of her grave. It contained the following inscription:

In
Memory of
THE WHITE WOMAN,
MARY JEMISON,
Daughter of
THOMAS JEMISON & JANE IRWIN,
Born on the ocean between Ireland
and Phila., in 1742 or 3. Taken
captive at Marsh Creek, Pa., in
1755, carried down the Ohio, adopted
into an Indian family. In 1759
removed to Genesee River. Was
naturalized in 1817. Removed to
this place in 1831. And having sur-
vived two husbands and five chil-
dren, leaving three still alive, she
died Sept. 19th, 1833, aged about
ninety one years. Having a few
weeks before expressed a hope of
pardon through
JESUS CHRIST.
"The counsel of the Lord, that shall
stand."

The descendants of Mary Jemison were so numerous that they might have formed a distinct clan by themselves. The name, "Jemison," became one of the most common and most honorable among the Senecas. Many of her descendants were not unworthy of their white ancestress. They were highly respected by their own people and by the whites. They adopted the dress and modes of life of civilized people, and spoke the English language with fluency. One of her grandsons, Jacob Jemison, spent two years at Dartmouth College, was a good scholar, studied medicine and received the appointment of assistant surgeon in the United States Navy. Competent authority declared that there was no better surgeon in the navy.

For more than forty years the mortal remains of Mary Jemison rested undisturbed in the Mission Cemetery near Buffalo. Her tragic and romantic history, as related by herself, published in book form and largely read, lead to a species of vandalism not uncommon in the land. The stone that marked her grave was nearly destroyed by relic hunters. As the years rolled on the burial ground was neglected, and was endangered by the demand for new streets and building lots for the expanding city. It was, therefore, deemed advisable to remove Mary Jemison's remains to some other spot where they might remain undisturbed for all future time. The removal took place in the spring of 1874, under the direction of Dr. James Shongo, a favorite grandson of the deceased, son of her daughter Polly. The spot selected for her final resting place was on an eminence on the left bank of the Genesee River, a few miles from her former residence on the Gardow Flats. The re-interment of her remains took place with appropriate services, in the presence of a large concourse of people, some of whom were old citizens from the reservation she once owned, who had known her during her life and held her memory in esteem.

The removal and re-interment of the remains of Mary Jemison were considered facts of sufficient importance to receive conspicuous notice in the Buffalo papers. Among other things the papers stated that "a goodly sized monument of suitable proportions is now being prepared to place over the spot where her remains now repose. One of its four sides will bear the same inscription that

was on the old head-stone. The monument is in the shape of a base or square pedestal, upon which it is contemplated to place a bronze statue representing Mary Jemison, in her Indian costume, carrying her infant son upon her back, as she first appeared when she entered the Genesee country after her long and toilsome journey through an unbroken wilderness from the State of Ohio."

As a fitting sequel to the foregoing sad story it may be proper to refer to the *last* Indian council held at Caneadea, in October, 1872. The meeting and the Indian ceremonies are graphically described by Hon. David Gray.* Here, almost in sight of the lovely falls of the Genesee, in the old council house of Caneadea, the council fire was kindled for the last time. The old building, whose history dates back into the misty past, has been well preserved. At this council fire nineteen descendants of the Senecas and the Mohawks met to participate in the ceremonies. Among those present were Colonel Simcoe Kerr, a grandson of the famous Joseph Brant. The illustrious Seneca chief, Red Jacket, was represented by a grandson bearing the alliterative cognomen of John Jacket. A grandson of the great Cornplanter was also present. Scarcely less conspicuous in the assemblage was Thomas Jemison, an old man of almost gigantic stature, and of venerable physiognomy, in whom it was difficult to realize a son of the babe carried by the "White Woman" in her weary tramp of 600 miles from Ohio to the Genesee. Nicholas H. Parker, a brother of General Ely S. Parker, who was on General Grant's staff during the Rebellion, was also present. Among the number was James Shongo, whose father is reputed to have been the leader of the Senecas in their memorable expedition to Wyoming. When the smoke of the emblematic fire, lit by one of the Indians, curled up from the earthen floor of the council house and rose, a blue pillar, in the motionless October air, the red men sat around it silent, looking at the consuming embers, while through the open door sounded, from time to time, the light rustle of the falling leaf. At the

* Hon. David Gray was long one of the leading editors of the *Buffalo Courier*. He was fatally injured by an accident on the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad, near Binghamton, March 16, 1888, and died a few days afterwards from the effect of his injuries. He was an invalid, and, in company with his brother, had started for the island of Cuba when the sad affair occurred.

proper time speeches followed in the native language of the tribes represented, which were eloquent and impressive. After the Seneca orators had closed and smoked a silent pipe of peace, another meeting, after the style of the pale faces, was organized and officers chosen. Addresses in English, by eminent scholars and appropriate to the occasion, followed, when W. H. C. Hosmer, read the following exquisite poem:

AFTER THE COUNCIL.*

The fire sinks low, the drifting smoke
 Dies softly in the autumn haze,
 And silent are the tongues that spoke
 The speech of other days.
 Gone, too, the dusky ghosts whose feet
 But now yon listening thicket stirred;
 Unscared within its covert meet
 The squirrel and the bird.

The story of the past is told,
 But thou, O Valley, sweet and lone!
 Glen of the Rainbow! thou shalt hold
 Its romance as thine own.
 Thoughts of thine ancient forest prime
 Shall sometimes haunt thy summer dreams,
 And shape to low poetic rhyme,
 The music of thy streams.

When Indian Summer flings her cloak
 Of brooding azure on the woods,
 The pathos of a vanished folk
 Shall tinge thy solitudes.
 The blue smoke of their fires once more
 Far o'er the hills shall seem to rise,
 And sunset's golden clouds restore
 The red man's paradise.

Strange sounds of a forgotten tongue
 Shall cling to many a crag and cave,
 In wash of falling waters sung,
 Or murmur of the wave.
 And oft in midmost hush of night,
 Shri!ll o'er the deep-mouthed cataract's roar,
 Shall ring the war-cry from the height
 That woke the wilds of yore.

Sweet Vale, more peaceful bend thy skies,
 Thy airs are fraught with rarer balm:

* See Scribner's Magazine for July, 1877, page 349.

A people's busy tumult lies
Hushed in thy sylvan calm.
O sweet thy peace! while fancy frames
Soft idyls of thy dwellers fled,—
They loved thee, called thee gentle names,
In the long summers dead.
Quenched is the fire; the drifting smoke
Has vanished in the autumn haze;
Gone, too, O Vale, the simple folk
Who loved thee in old days.
But, for their sakes—their lives serene—
Their loves, perchance as sweet as ours—
O, be thy woods for aye more green,
And fairer bloom thy flowers!

And so closed the solemn festival in the council house of Canaëda. To the descendants of those who two generations before had gone out, it seemed but a phantom of the old nation that came back to revisit its ancient haunts and bid them a last farewell. But around the ancient council house the memory of the exiles will be kept green. The tomb of Mary Jemison, reared but a few paces from where they met, will form an enduring monument of the early history of the Genesee country. Some trees, also, brought from her former grave and set around the old building, will cast upon the place a memorial shade. One planted by the granddaughter of Brant, the Mohawk, stands guard at the eastern door; another, planted by the descendant of Red Jacket, keeps watch at the door of the west. In the branches of a third, set in the soil by the hands of her grandson, the wind, perhaps, will sometimes seem to whisper the name of the white captive of the Senecas.

CHAPTER V.

INDIAN TOWNS, GRAVE-YARDS AND THE REMAINS OF OLD FORTIFICATIONS—CURIOUS AND INTERESTING ANTIQUITIES—TOMAHAWKS, BEADS, PIPES, GORGETS AND SPEAR HEADS—WAR PATHS.

IN considering the subject of Indian towns and antiquities one must of necessity divest his mind entirely of all ideas arising from an acquaintance with the collected domiciles of civilized people; for the existence of any sort of intelligent plan or arrangement in their savage habitations was not at all probable. Where their rude wigwams occurred in a sufficient number to be termed a village, they were grouped according to the nature of the ground and surroundings, with a view to safety from sudden high water, and at the same time keeping in close proximity to the customary resorts of game or other sources of food. An Indian town might be comprised of a large number of clusters of wigwams, extending, in a disjointed way, for several miles, or it might be a comparatively large population within a short radius.

The aboriginal highways or trails were usually located along the brow of alluvial plateaus, so as to avoid the swamps which everywhere prevailed. Their settlements were within easy reach of these trails, and almost invariably along the banks of a stream, the seat of authority or most populous point usually being near the confluence of the main river and one of its tributaries.

It was upon these high, warm, sandy plains that they cleared up their little patches of ground upon which the squaws cultivated a few squashes, beans, maize and a little tobacco, while the braves hunted game in the forest, fished in the streams or engaged in war with neighboring tribes. Comparatively few of these villages can be located at the present day by name with any degree of accuracy, but much more reliable monuments have been preserved, which testify in unmistakable signs of the former existence of Indian dwellings of no short duration. When we come upon the char-

acter of ground indicated above, and find both upon the surface, as the soil is turned over by the plow, and along the banks where the annual freshets scour the earth away, a large variety of stone implements suited to the habits of this ancient people, we may safely conclude that here indeed was their abiding place.

Some years ago the late Spencer F. Baird, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, at Washington, requested Mr. J. H. McMinn, of Williamsport, to send him a brief description, accompanied by profile drawings, of some of the typical specimens in his collection of pre-historic relics found in the West Branch Valley. In acknowledging receipt of the same, Professor Baird said he had no idea that such a variety of implements had been found in this part of the country.

In referring to the antiquities of this region Mr. McMinn says: "The same sentiment has been expressed by every one taking any interest in the subject, who has not become familiar with the wonderful variety and abundance of these tokens of a large population which once dwelt along the banks of the West Branch and its tributaries. The numerous local collections really form but an insignificant representation of the total amount discovered, for great numbers have been carried to all parts of the land as keepsakes or *curios*, or contributed to various institutions at home and abroad. Nothing short of a large financial outlay in the engraver's art, upon a volume of many hundred pages, would fitly convey an idea of the character and extent of these specimens of pre-historic art, so that we must be content with a very imperfect description of a few of the leading varieties, leaving the wide range of oddities which challenge our attempts to account for their intended use, without so much as a brief mention.

"The most familiar article of aboriginal workmanship is the so-called 'flint arrow head.' Perfect specimens are not now very plenty, but fragments and spawls can be picked up throughout the length and breadth of this valley, after the expiration of a century and a half of occupation by the white race. To the student of this branch of archaeology these implements have resolved themselves into a regular classification, consisting of spear or javelin heads, knife bits, scrapers, borers, etc., and arrow heads comprising the stemmed, barbed, leaf-shaped, lozenge-shaped, triangular,

straights, bunts, etc., depending upon form, size or probable use in determining the variety.

"These implements were flaked out of a material known as *chert*, an impure flint that occurs along with most of the limestone formations, but from the amount of yellow, red and white flakes, with an occasional perfect specimen found where these articles were made, it is clear that the material for the finer varieties must have been brought from a great distance, as it does not occur in this vicinity.

"Enthusiastic disciples of the ceramic art can here find abundant opportunity for extending their researches into the most remote antiquity, for scattered over every sandy bottom can be found small fragments of earthenware that have withstood the buffeting of the elements, and the implements of agriculture, from the dawn of our local history. It is not surprising that an entire vessel is rarely found, but yet some twenty varieties of style have been identified, showing a conical bottom, and a rim as skilfully formed as we expect to find upon the lathe of the modern potter. The body of the vessel was rarely plain, being usually marked profusely with bark, an ear of maize, some sharp instrument, or, perhaps, the basket in which the ware may have been fashioned. The material employed consisted of clay mixed with quartz gravel, or clay and comminuted muscle shells, or clay and soapstone, and was baked thoroughly.

"A variety of hollow ware is occasionally met with that deserves an extended investigation. It has been produced from blocks of soapstone, carved into the desired shape. The material is not known to exist nearer than Lehigh County, or the State of Maryland, as it does not occur in the geological formations of any nearer locality; so that this ware, or the crude material, must have been transported hundreds of miles. Entire vessels have not been met with, but fragments, indicating large capacity, are picked up from time to time along the river shores. Some of these have immense ears or hand-holds upon them, others have short legs upon which they rested, while others are very crude indeed.

"Long cylindrical implements, known as 'pestles,' are occasionally found without being broken. One of the most perfect specimens, carved out of a piece of black slate, was taken from a well

that was being dug near Pine Creek many years ago. Another of very large size was found in the lower end of the valley, in turning over a furrow with a plow; it is stained black at each end.

"The class of implements denominated celts, or 'edge tools,' finds numerous illustrations in our valley. They are tapering and not perforated, as in many European specimens. They are often beautifully polished and bear a sharp edge.

"Hatchets and axes of various sizes and designs are found now and then; some are perfectly formed and finely finished; they are all grooved and not perforated, and are usually made of a hard, tough stone, not found in this vicinity.

"Discoidal stones, commonly called 'hammer stones,' are comparatively plenty; they are sometimes made of very hard material not found about here. This variety of implements has occasioned much discussion as to their original use, which is not understood at all.

"Pipes, beads, amulets, gorgets, banner stones, gouges, ceremonial, etc., are the most rare of all stone implements. They are seldom found and are highly prized. Upon them has been expended the most definite design and most elaborate skill in finish; they seem to represent the highest degree of art attained by the people of their day. Many beautiful and perfect specimens have been found in this valley, and they are held as precious treasures by collectors of relics of the pre-historic races.

"Copper implements have not been found in this valley, so far as known, and implements of bone are rare, as they, like wood and leather, have mouldered on account of their perishable nature.

"One of the singular indications of the former location of the aboriginal wigwam or village, is the frequent occurrence of stone-heaps.* These mounds are composed of fragments of quartzite boulders about the size of a man's fist, or larger, and bear indica-

*The singular structure near the wigwam was a vapor bath house, whither the Indians repaired three or four times a week, when fatigued or unwell, in order to perspire. It consisted of a wooden oven covered with earth, and having, at one end, a small orifice, through which the natives crept in, squatted between stones that had been previously heated red hot in a fire built at the opening. After a time they came out and cooled themselves; then re-entered and perspired anew. This was repeated three or four times. The bath houses of the women were apart from those of the men.—*Life of Zeisberger*, page 89.

tions of having been exposed to intense heat. They may be found in nests of half a bushel, or in heaps of many cart loads; while they are commonly upon the surface of the ground, they are as often in a pit beneath, or even with the surface. In a field near Hills Grove, in Sullivan County; on the upper end of Bailey's Island, near Jersey Shore, and on Nippenose Bottom, opposite the mouth of Larry's Creek, are heaps that are of notably large dimensions. Small heaps fringe the river banks, and are to be found along the tributaries. Implements are not found in them, but at a convenient distance away may be confidently expected. That these were fire-places, seems to be beyond a doubt. The stone selected was often brought from a great distance, and was chosen, apparently, because it would not 'fly' when heated; but why they were heated is an open question. Some assert that the boulders were heated, then cast into some vessel containing water, and by this means food was boiled. Others have thought that these stones were used as a kind of hearth; the fire would heat them, and after it died out the radiation from the stone would warm the wigwam. But like most of the uses ascribed to the many implements left from past ages, they are apt to be suggested by the customs practiced by the enlightened people of to-day, and are often very far from the actual facts."

Returning to the starting point of our history, we find that the largest Indian town, of which we have any account, was located on the alluvial plain where Sunbury now stands, and was known as Shamokin. The island in the North Branch, at the junction with the West Branch, was also inhabited, and according to accounts of the early explorers, Indians of distinction resided there. It was composed of a rich alluvial soil and was densely wooded. The great Indian ferry, from where Northumberland stands, touched at the island and made the trip across the river much easier.

Shamokin,* on account of its location, and being the converging

* Written *Schahamoki* or *Schahamokink* by the Delawares. In early times the place was called *Schachameki*, the place of eels, and the Creek *Schachamekan*, i. e., eel stream. It was next called *Schachhenamendi*, signifying the place where gun barrels are straightened, because it had become the residence of an ingenious Delaware, Natamees by name, who undertook to repair the bent fire arms of the Indians. According to Shikellimy *Ot-ze-nach-se* was the name of the place in the Maqua, or

point of the great trails south and north, was the most populous. It was also the most important settlement south of Tioga Point, on account of being the residence of the vice-king or governor of the Indians in this wide extent of territory. When first visited by the whites, in 1728, it contained fifty or more wigwams, and they were scattered over considerable territory. At the upper part of the village was an extensive burying-ground, which had evidently been used for a long time, judging from the number of graves it contained. After the abandonment of the place by the Indians many of these graves were opened by relic hunters. During floods in the river many of them were exposed in the banks. The soil was a loam, mixed with sand, which made it easy for digging. The grave-yard was located on the river bank at a point about midway between the southern end of the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad bridge and the Hunter* mansion, and 200 yards above Fort Augusta. Nearly forty years ago two hickory trees were standing on the bank of the river, about fifty feet apart. From the surroundings at that time these trees appeared to mark the northern and southern boundaries of the burying-ground. There is no trace of these trees now. They have gone down with the ravages of time and the action of the water on the bank of the river at that point. A large buttonwood tree, now standing there, is the only thing left to mark the location of the cemetery on its southern boundary. The graves ranged in depth from one to three feet.

language of the Six Nations.—*Heckewelder*. Nutamees was at this time King of Nescopeck, and his name, according to Heckewelder, signifies a spearer of fish. Reichel is of the opinion that the smithy, built at Shamokin by Joseph Powell and John Hagen, of Bethlehem, in July, 1747, and the blacksmiths, Schmid, Wesa and Kieffer, who wrought in iron at that place until in October, 1755, was suggestive of the name *Schach-he-na men-di*.

*Three farms, known as the "Grant," "Hunter" and the "Scott," border on the Susquehanna at Sunbury, and extend east to the Catawissa road. This road starts at Market Street, in Purdytown, and runs northeast along the western base of what is known as "Bakeoven Hill." The river front of the "Grant" extends from a point about three-fourths of a mile on the North Branch to a short distance below the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad bridge. From this point to the upper corner of an orchard, a short distance below the Hunter mansion, is the river front of the "Hunter," and from the orchard corner to Clement's saw mill, or the Sunbury borough line, is the river front of the "Scott." The "Grant" is now owned by Senator S. P. Wolverton. The buildings are located at the end of the Northumberland wagon

Benjamin Hendricks purchased the Hunter farm in 1858 and sold it in 1863. It was during this ownership that his son, M. L. Hendricks, now of Sunbury, made his collection of Indian antiquities, which is very large and interesting. In his collection are between 5,000 and 6,000 beads, taken from these Indian graves. They are of amber and glass. When the exhumation was made, only a portion of the bones of the dead remained, but the beads laid just as they had rested on the breasts of the dead warriors when they were buried on their backs, with the string suspended from the neck. The "dangle beads," used for ornamenting the sides of their leggings, were of brass, invariably, and were fastened to the leggings with bits of buckskin, which remains in many of them to this day. Numerous bunches of coarse black hair were also found, but it crumbled to ashes on being exposed to the air. Mr. Hendricks exhumed the remains of at least twenty-five bodies in all. One was in a standing position. Before burial the body, evidently, had been stripped of everything. According to tradition, when an Indian committed a grave crime and was executed, he was buried in a standing position, after the removal of all his paraphernalia, and given nothing to take along with him to the happy hunting grounds. This standing skeleton had been violently struck on the left side of the head with a tomahawk, as the skull was fractured.

One of the graves opened evidently contained the remains of a person of distinction, as the body had been buried with the head to the east and the feet to the west. About 400 beads, glass, bone and amber, were found in this grave. Some are of the shape and color of blackberries. The amber beads are as large as small hickory nuts, and of different colors. They are regarded as rare and valuable relics. The grave also contained the following additional articles: Three copper finger rings, with clasped hands

bridge over the river. The "Hunter" and "Scott" belong to the estate of Joseph W. Cake, deceased. The round-house and extensive shops of the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad Company, and the yard of the same, are located on the "Hunter." The famous "Bloody Spring," east of and opposite the shops, is also on the "Hunter." The site of Fort Augusta and the magazine (the latter still there) is on the "Hunter," and their location is precisely opposite the lower point of Packer's Island, in the North Branch. Along the river fronts of these three farms is where the Indians anchored their canoes, and here many conflicts and stirring scenes of early days occurred.

on the upper side of one; a number of small bells and dangles for breech pants; six copper or brass bracelets; one iron tobacco box, with a small quantity of tobacco still in it; one fishing line; one needle, two and one-half inches long, with eye one-fourth of an inch. The needle is one-sixteenth of an inch thick. One English copper cent and half cent; a copper medal, with portrait of George III. on one side, and an Indian with bow and arrow on the other, standing under a tree in the act of shooting a deer,

Scalping
Knife.

with the sun brightly shining on the scene; one scalping knife, of English manufacture, ten inches long when open. Although much corroded, it will still open and shut. One green glass bottle, with a long neck, which will hold about half a pint. It laid near the head of the skeleton. The remains of a musket barrel, about eighteen inches long, with the lock attached. The wood-work had rotted away. One ceremonial iron tomahawk, in an excellent state of preservation, and a number of flint arrow heads; one stone paint cup, partly filled with vermilion, as bright as it was 140 years ago; one iron pipe of peace with the tomahawk broken off the side; one old English white clay pipe. A few crumbling pieces of a wooden coffin, with corroded nails adhering to them, were also found in this grave.

Mr. Hendricks is strongly of the opinion that this was the grave of Shikellimy, the good vice-king, who died April, 1749,* and was given a Christian burial by the Moravian missionaries. The trinkets found in this grave indicate that deceased had been a person of more than ordinary standing in life. All these valuable antiquities are kept in a neat case, with a glass top, which was manufactured out of pine timber found among the crumbling ruins of Fort Augusta. It is the most valuable part of his large and interesting collection. Another curious article in his museum is an Indian whistle. It is made of stone, with a rude face carved on one side. By blowing in the lower end, the air causes a loud, shrill sound. It is less than three inches long and about one and a half wide. Mr.



Tomahawk.

* The Moravian records do not agree as to the date of his death. Zeisberger, who was present, says that he died December 6, 1748.

Hendricks found it in the grave-yard while making his explorations. The Indians used such whistles for calling each other, and for the purpose of imitating the cries of animals and birds.



Indian Whistle.

Specimens are rare in this part of the State, and we know of no other one in any collection in the West Branch Valley. There are other collections of antiquities in Sunbury besides the one belonging to Mr. Hendricks, although on a smaller scale. A. N. Brice, Esq., editor and publisher of the *Weekly News*, is the possessor of a choice assortment of Indian beads, spear and arrow heads. Many valuable relics have been carried away from time to time and distributed throughout the country. Had a start been made a hundred years ago by some person to collect the implements used by the Indians, and had it been kept up, an immense museum would now be one of the attractions of Sunbury.

Years ago the hills around Shamokin, in many places, bore marks of having been excavated, but for what purpose is now unknown. It was said that the Indians had knowledge of the existence of some kind of mineral which they used in considerable quantities. P. B. Masser, Esq., of Sunbury, describes the remains of what appeared to have been a small furnace, covered by a mound, which was discovered near the Bloody Spring many years ago. It was carefully examined by him in 1854. The bed appeared to have been about six feet square and it was constructed of stone. It bore every sign of having been subjected to the action of intense heat, as the sand was much baked and blackened. On making a careful examination, several small particles of gold were discovered, which Mr. Masser still retains. There is a tradition that three Englishmen came there at an early period and erected the furnace for experimenting with ores.

There is no record of any settlement worth speaking of on the site of Northumberland, although it is probable that Indians dwelt there. At the mouth of Chillisquaque* Creek there was a small

*Corrupted from *Chililitsuagi*, signifying the place of snow birds.—*Heckewelder*. Scull's map locates an Indian village of the same name at the mouth of the creek. Conrad Weiser says in his journal that when the old Indian ferried him in his canoe across the creek, he gave him some needles and a pair of shoe strings.

Indian village. Conrad Weiser, as early as 1737, made a journey up the river while en route for Onondaga. On the 7th of March he writes in his journal:

An old Shawano by name Jenoniawano, took us in his canoe across the creek at Zilly Squache (Chillisquaque). On the 8th we reached the village where Shikelimo lives, who was appointed to be my companion and guide in the journey. He was, however, far from home on a hunt. Weather became bad and the waters high, and no Indian could be induced to seek Shikelimo until the 12th, when two young Indians agreed to go out in search of him. On the 16th they returned with word that Shikelimo would be back next day, which so happened. The Indians were out of provisions at this place. I saw a new blanket given for about one-third of a bushel of Indian corn.

Hon. John Blair Linn, in his *Annals of Buffalo Valley*, thinks there is no doubt but Shikellimy's village was located on the farm of Hon. George F. Miller, at the mouth of Sinking Run, or Shikellimy's Run, as it was formerly called, at the old ferry, one-half mile below Milton, on the Union County side. The Reading Railroad now runs through where it probably stood.* It is a beautiful spot for a village, as it was protected on the north by a range of hills, with the river much narrowed in front, giving easy access to the Northumberland side.

On the other side of the river from Shikellimy's town, and nearly opposite the mouth of Buffalo Creek, on the Nesbit farm, the early settlers discovered an Indian mound which had been used for burial purposes. It was twenty-five or thirty feet in diameter. When it was opened it was found to have a floor laid with flat stones, on which the bodies of the dead appeared to have been placed in a sitting posture. This was evident from the fact that the skulls all rested on top of the other bones. When the bones were exposed to the air they soon crumbled to dust. The tomb contained no implements of war, but a few rude stone pipes were found. On the summit of this mound an ash tree was grow-

*When the land office was opened for "the new purchase," on the 3d of April, 1769, there were many applications made for this location. In all of them it is called either old Muncy town, Shikellimy's town or Shikellimy's old town. It is referred to as a locality in hundreds of applications for land in the valley. Shikellimy's town was on the "Joseph Hutchinson" and "Michael Weyland" warrantee tracts, from which the title can be readily traced to the present owner. Thousands of Indian darts were plowed up there, and once when blasting at the stone quarry a grave was uncovered in the solid rock, in which was found the skeleton of an Indian.—*Linn's Annals of Buffalo Valley*, page 3.



SITE OF SHIKELLIMY'S TOWN, ON THE WEST BRANCH, IN 1737, A SHORT DISTANCE BELOW MILTON, ON THE UNION COUNTY SIDE.

ing, when it was opened,—more than fifty years ago,—which was hollow. The concentric circles in the solid part of the trunk showed it to be 70 years of age. The tree was probably much older and had grown on the mound after it was thrown up. When or by what tribe it was built is unknown. But that the builders belonged to a pre-historic race there is no doubt.

There were some Indian habitations where New Columbia stands, but they were small in number. Many relics, however, have been picked up in this locality, showing that straggling parties were there frequently. But the most important point, before reaching Muncy, was what is known as Warrior Run. Here was a hunting cabin occupied at one time by a son of Shikellimy. It was a tarrying place for parties working their way up or down the river. Bishop Spangenberg, accompanied by Zeisberger, Conrad Weiser, Shikellimy, Andrew Montour and others, when he made his great journey to Onondaga, tarried here on the night of June 7, 1745. They called it the "Warrior's Camp," because "it was the custom," says the biographer of Zeisberger, "of the Moravian missionaries, in those days, when passing through the wilderness, to give their camping grounds names, the initials of which were carved on trees, and remained as landmarks for other evangelists. In the course of time the valleys of the Susquehanna, and the forests of New York, were full of mementos of pious zeal; and as the localities were described in the journals of the itinerants, and the appellations used by subsequent visitors, a geographical nomenclature grew into existence which was peculiarly Moravian. The arrival of two Iroquois warriors, who noiselessly glided to the fire, suggested the name for this particular camp. They belonged to a band that had been defeated by the Catawbias, escaping with nothing but their lives. One of them, at the request of Weiser, hurried on to Onondaga, the next morning, in order to announce the coming of the party."

This circumstance seems to have given rise to the origin of the name of the stream which falls into the river at Watstown. It afterwards became historic, on account of the capture of Fort Freeland by the British and Indians, long after the good missionaries had tarried over night on its banks.

Many years ago there were traces of some kind of a fortification

near New Columbia, and it was called the "Indian Fort" by the early explorers. The Indians also frequented White Deer* Valley, but we have no evidence that they had a village of any size in it.

That the valley of Muncy was a favorite place of resort for the Indians, from time immemorial, does not admit of a doubt. Indeed it could not be otherwise, when its beauty and picturesque surroundings are considered, for there is not a lovelier or more attractive district in all the Susquehanna region. It is surrounded on all sides by hills which afford natural barriers to the ingress of intruders. The valley is broad and undulating, and the soil is rich and productive. Westward looms up the Bald Eagle range, with its sides and top covered with dark green foliage in summer time, or rich with crimson and gold in autumn. At the base sparkle the blue waters of the river. Much has been said and written about the romantic beauty of Wyoming; poets have sweetly sung of its charms in verse, and painters have transferred its glories to canvass, but in natural grandeur it does not excel that of Muncy Valley, if indeed it compares favorably with it. When and by what tribe the valley was first occupied we know not; but that it was thickly populated in the dim ages of the past there is scarcely a doubt, if we accept the numerous relics which strewed the plain as evidence of early occupation. It is, indeed, a mountain-locked vale, and by its rippling brooks and crystal springs these forgotten people loved to dwell. When the first occupants came and when they departed is only known to Him who knoweth all things from the beginning. The aboriginal tribes, as we are pleased to call them, were comparatively modern, if we consider the ruins that were found by the first white explorers as proof of the existence of a pre-historic race. The Monsey and other bands of Indians loved to drink from the Warrior Spring, fish under the shade of the frowning mountain, whose base is laved by the river, and hunt in the plain under the shadow

*White Deer Creek is marked on Scull's map of 1759 with the Indian name of *Opaghtanoten*, or White Flint Creek. The run entering the river on the late Samuel Henderson's place, in White Deer Township, was called by William Blythe, the first settler there, Red Bank Run; and the bottom above, between it and White Deer Creek, had, before 1769, the name of Turkey Bottom, from the immense number of wild turkeys haunting it.—*Linn's Annals of Buffalo Valley*, page 7.

of Bald Eagle. Their wigwams dotted both sides of the river. It was an elysian retreat, a sylvan home, in which nature, with a lavish hand, had adorned the vale with all the glory she could command.

The source from whence Muncy derived its name is involved in some doubt. A tribe of Indians called Monseys frequented the valley. The Moravian missionaries claim that the word is a corruption of *Mins-ink*, signifying where there are Minsies. *Canusorago*, or *Loueserango*, was the earliest name given to Muncy Creek.* It was an Iroquois word, and the sound readily accounts for the two ways of spelling it. It was also called *Occohpocheny*,† which was the Shawanee name for hickory flats; and there is but little doubt that the name referred more particularly to the level ground east of the mouth of the creek, as hickory is known to have been one of the principal growths of the original forest. In 1768, when the first surveys were made in the valley, the name of Muncy was applied to the settlement. Conrad Weiser, who visited the place first in 1737, named the creek *Canusorago*, and as he understood the Indian language well, it is believed that that was the original title, and it so passed into the Colonial Records. "Hickory Flats," it is believed, was the name of the level country lying around about.

"The several ancient monuments in the West Branch Valley, of which the one near the mouth of Muncy Creek seems to be the only one mentioned by early travelers, belong to the vast system of such works spread over a great extent of territory. They are found sparingly scattered along the banks of the head-water streams of the Allegheny River, mostly in the western part of New York, and also extending westerly along the southern shore

* Schoolcraft accepted the name given to the Creek by Weiser as the correct one. See his great work, page 324. Also see Colonial Records, Vol VI., page 442.

† Dr. M. Steck, who spent many years among the Western Indians as an agent of the Government, gave it as his opinion that the term *Occoh-poch-eny* was from the Shawanese language, and signified hickory ground, or flats, from the word *Oche-ab*—a hickory tree—and *pof-au-in*, or among; called by traders hickory ground. The term *Canusorago* is from the Iroquois and signifies town on a rock or high place, from the word *Canada*, town-*ar*, rock, and *ago*, a place. The height on which the ancient fortification stood near the mouth of the creek may have been the site of the original town, and gave its name to the stream.

of Lake Erie, through the States of Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa and Nebraska. But the Mississippi Valley, extending to the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, is more thickly dotted with these remains than the northern lake region, showing that for some reason this great valley was more the chosen home of this curious people than the country east of the Allegheny Mountains. Except some few traces of these works in the valley of Wyoming, there are no ancient fortifications known on the North Branch of the Susquehanna; nor are we aware of any that are located further east than the one at the mouth of Muncy Creek. It is true that some writers speak of the numerous ancient mounds that had been discovered by the first settlers east of the mountains. If this is so, and we do not doubt it, their locations have long since been forgotten. But the reader must not confound these conical-shaped earth mounds with what Squier classifies as fortifications—earth works, designed by their builders as places of defense and safety. He classifies the former as either sepulchral or sacrificial mounds.* It is the latter kind of earth works that some writers say were so plentifully distributed over Eastern Pennsylvania.

“The fortification mound near the mouth of Muncy Creek is situated on a high plateau, near the edge of a steep cliff. Its

*George P. Thruston, in a learned and exhaustive article on the Mound Builders of Tennessee, published in the *Magazine of American History* for May, 1888, says that the stone grave race and the builders of mounds were Indians, probably living under conditions of life somewhat different from that of the more nomadic hunting tribes of Indians, but not differing from them in the essential characteristics of the Indian race. The dead were placed in rude tombs or cists made of flat stones carefully laid. Sometimes they were laid in three or four tiers, forming burial mounds that contained more than a hundred graves. The remains and the memorials placed within them were then sealed up and preserved.

Referring to their military defenses, he says that the Iroquois, nearly three centuries ago, had acquired a knowledge of military defense. La Salle tells us they built a rude fort of earth and timbers every night they encamped near the enemy. Cartier found the site of Montreal occupied by a strongly fortified Indian town in 1535. On approaching it nothing could be seen but high palisades. They were made of the trunks of trees set in triple rows. Lewis and Clarke describe the forts built by the Mandans and other Indians of the Northwest in 1805, with raised stockades, ditches and fortified gateways. Captain John Smith, the founder and historian of the first Virginia colony, writes that the Indians of Virginia had “palizadood towns.” It is not strange, therefore, that similar fortifications were found in the West Branch Valley.

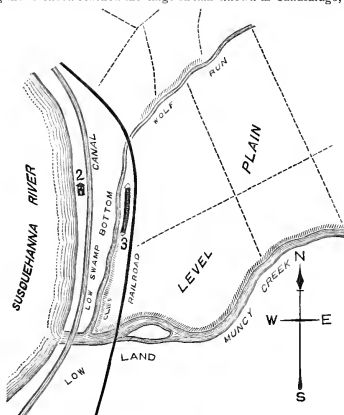
exact location is east of and nearly opposite to the Fribley House. The canal and also Wolf Run separate the Fribley House from the steep bank or cliff. The railroad passes east of the fortification and very close to its outward ditch. Wolf Run, quite a large brook, flows close to the base of the cliff, and keeps parallel with it for a few hundred feet and then empties into Muncy Creek, a very short distance above where the creek pours its waters into the river. The cliff is about thirty feet above the level of the river and is far above the influence of floods. The site of the fortification is admirably located for all purposes. There is no ground higher for a mile around it. It easily commands the river and the view of the country is very extensive. When the writer inspected the location it was a wood, but the trees were mainly of a small growth; the original trees were cut many years ago.

“The shape of the fortification was semi-circular and was built parallel with the direction of the cliff, which extends almost due north and south. The fortification faced, on the east, a level plain of more than a hundred acres. The flanks of the embankment extended originally to the very edge of the cliff. There are no indications of any works along the cliff side, unless that of an inclined way down the bank, to the edge of the water in Wolf Run. There was probably more than an acre in the inclosure. The character of the work was entirely earth and clay. The embankment was quite wide, probably six or eight feet, and its height must have been as much also, although when we saw it, time and the elements had conspired to render its height not much more than a couple of feet. On its convex or outer side was a ditch, now almost filled up, but having the appearance of having been quite deep. In forming an idea of the proximate size of the inclosure, at the time when it was built, we must not forget that the cliff has undoubtedly crumbled and been much worn away by the influence of the elements during the several centuries that have elapsed since its occupation; and that, consequently, the area, its embankments included, must have been much greater than at the present time.

“This fortification is doubly interesting to us, from the fact that it is the only one in the West Branch Valley that we have a historical notice of. More than a century and a half ago that sterling

interpreter, Conrad Weiser, whilst on a journey up the West Branch, as an authorized Indian agent of the government, inspected and described it in the diary that he made it his duty to keep. The account handed down to us by the Moravians is as follows:

March 21, 1737, Conrad Weiser, an educated German, passed up the West Branch, and during the forenoon reached the large stream known as Canusarago, now called



SITE OF THE ANCIENT FORTIFICATION.*

*Sketch map showing the form and location of the ancient mound, supposed to have been built by the "Mound Builders," near the mouth of Muncy Creek. It is now entirely obliterated. This sketch is taken from the accounts given by old men, who saw it at an early day.

2. House of Mr. Fribley.

3. The ancient fortification, curved at the extremities so as to extend to the cliff. The cliff is very steep, and probably twenty feet high, at the bottom of which flows Wolf Run. The fortification extends nearly due north and south. On the east the ground is exceedingly level for a long distance. The embankment was made of earth and probably four feet high. It was, undoubtedly, much higher at one time. On the east side of it, and running parallel at its base, was the ditch from which the ground was thrown up.

Muncy Creek. The stream was much swollen, and was crossed with much difficulty and great danger, in canoes. The same day Mr. Weiser passed a place where, in former times, a large fortification had stood. It was built on a height, surrounded by a deep ditch. The earth was thrown up nine or ten feet high, and as many wide. In Weiser's own words: "It is now in decay, as, from appearances, it has been deserted beyond the memory of man."

"It is believed by most antiquarians, and with great reason, we think, that these embankments were surrounded with palisades, and also that they possessed gates made of timbers for ingress and egress. If so, the timbers have decayed centuries ago, leaving no traces of their once being an important part of the fortifications. We believe, however, that such gates existed, because the embankments would not render them sufficiently defensive, unless such was the case. Squier is our authority for believing the Mound Builders to be an agricultural people, and that every such community possessed its little fort, to which people flocked in case of alarm. We also believe that this fortification, which we have been at pains to describe, was an outlying colony, belonging to the main body of Mound Builders that had their main centre of population in the Ohio Valley. We might say much more concerning this curious people, but, as all is dark and mainly conjectural, we must refer the reader to special works on the subject, the best of which is, we believe, Squier and Davis' *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*.

"At the time the first settlers came to Muncy Valley, there existed a large sepulchral mound near the bank of the Susquehanna, at a point nearly opposite to where Hall Station* now is. It excited great interest in their minds and was the subject of numberless theories. It was conical in shape and, notwithstanding its great antiquity, it remained a prominent landmark from its dimensions. We are not able, unfortunately, to give its exact measurement, but when we examined it a few years ago, making an excavation through its base, we were led to think that it had originally been about fifteen feet high and thirty feet in diameter. Of course the thousand or more years that have elapsed since it was put there, with their change of seasons, have done much to destroy it. Mr. Samuel Wallis, who was the first settler to take

* At the junction of the Williamsport and North Branch Railroad with the Philadelphia and Reading, and now known as Hartley Hall.

up the land in that region, always called the field, in which this burial mound was, his 'Indian grave field.' The settlers, unable to account for it in any other way, invented the legend known as the grasshopper war, which has even found its way into print. Many persons visited the mound early in the present century and made excavations to find treasure, but it is not surprising to us to know that they did not obtain any. Some scientists also made examinations about the same time, but their object was to obtain a knowledge of the curious people who were thought to have built it. The latter succeeded in obtaining many broken specimens of rude crockery and pipes, that had been buried with their dead owners. These they carried away with them, and also pieces of human bones. Fowler, the American phrenologist, visited the mound in 1836, to procure a skull. It is said that he obtained a couple in fair preservation; but, if true, we are ignorant of what subsequently became of them. Probably they are in some museum.

"The site of this mound, whilst almost leveled with the surrounding plain, at present, is marked by a clump of medium sized locust trees, and is well worth a visit by the lovers of antiquities. Throwing aside, as utterly worthless, the various theories that have been written on the subject of this conical mound, we are compelled to adopt as the most plausible the one advanced by Squier in his classical work on the subject, concerning the same works in the Ohio Valley. Briefly, this mound is classified as sepulchral; that is, it belongs to the same system of works that we have already described as the fortification mound near the mouth of Muncy Creek, situated within a mile of the latter work. The builders were the same. One was a place of refuge in time of danger; the other the burial place of one or more persons, whose prominence made it necessary to erect a monument to their memory.

"As we have already intimated, a thousand or more years have elapsed since the West Branch Valley was occupied by the Mound Builders, and in that lapse of time many of their works must have been obliterated. Yet sufficient remains, fortunately, to indicate their handiwork, and this proof is what the historian particularly desires. Undoubtedly sacrificial mounds existed along with the others, but we know of no traces remaining. We have been par-

ticular, in describing these mounds, to prove to posterity that our country had at one time been thought worthy of occupation by this most interesting people."

From the time of the advent of the white man, Muncy Valley has afforded a rich field for the researches of the antiquarian, and a very large number of choice relics have been gathered from year

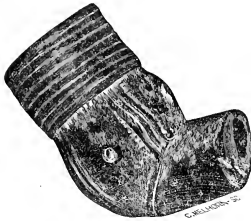


Fig. 1.

to year by those who take an interest in such curiosities. Although the Indians were unlettered and unlearned, they seem to have possessed a degree of mechanical art that has elicited the admiration of the white man, and it has always been a question how they manufactured the stone implements they have left behind them. Many theories have been advanced by the learned, but they are theories after all, as no positive evidence can be obtained to support them. That there were workmen whose special business it was to produce the articles of stone we now find embedded in the soil, and scattered over the fields, seems certain, but what class of men, and under what conditions they wrought, we know not. The largest assortment, consisting of about 7,000 specimens, is found in the magnificent collection of J. M. M. Gerner, of the borough of Muncy. His museum is methodically arranged and carefully classified, so that those who have any taste for examining and studying the rude and peculiar handiwork of a race now extinct in this part of the country, can go there and spend an hour or two in it with profit. The proprietor, who is a gentleman of intelligence and culture, always takes pleasure in explaining

to year by those who take an interest in such curiosities. Although the Indians were unlettered and unlearned, they seem to have possessed a degree of mechanical art that has elicited the admiration of the white man, and it has always been a question how they manufactured the stone implements they have left behind them. Many theories



Fig. 2.

the curiosities. Many friends have assisted him in making the collection, by contributing articles found by them at various times, because they knew that he not only appreciated but greatly prized such contributions, and would label and place them where they



Fig. 3.

could be seen and studied. His collection of spear and arrow heads is very full. These implements were fashioned in many styles by the manufacturers, which show that they possessed some definite idea as to what they were doing in their rude workshops. The study of these relics alone affords a pleasant and profitable pastime. His collection of gorgets, pestles, sinkers, gouges, stone axes, tomahawks, pipes and ceremonial weapons, is also very large, and many of the specimens are exceedingly rare and valuable. In the manufacture of pipes the Indians seem to have taken great pains, as the pipe figured conspicuously in their numerous ceremonies. Before the appearance of the whites they knew nothing of the use of iron, conse-



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

sequently their rude axes were cut and fashioned from stone, and were clumsy and not of much service for cutting purposes, but terribly effective in war when wielded by a strong arm. When the iron hatchet or tomahawk was introduced the Indians were quick to seize upon it as an improvement, and they at once discarded their stone weapons. These tomahawks assumed many fanciful shapes and the part they played in Indian warfare and barbarous practices is frightful to contemplate. A few choice

quently their rude axes were cut and fashioned from stone, and were clumsy and not of much service for cutting purposes, but terribly effective in war when wielded by a strong arm. When the iron hatchet or tomahawk was introduced the Indians were quick to seize upon it as an improvement, and they at once discarded their stone weapons. These tomahawks assumed many fanciful shapes and the part they played in Indian warfare and barbarous practices is frightful to contemplate. A few choice



Fig. 6.

and typical specimens have been illustrated on these pages to show the reader more clearly how they appear.

It is truly said by Professor W. C. Reichel, in his introduction to Rev. John G. E. Heckewelder's Indian Glossary, that the foot-prints of extinct races of men always become objects of interest in proportion to the fewness of their number and the obscurity of their character. Those of the Indian tribes, who once dwelt along the rivers that drain the loveliest portions of the eastern slope of the Appalachians, are growing less and fainter with the lapse of succeeding years. With no records to perpetuate the story of their origin, the course of migratory waves, the wars of contending nations, the rise and decadence of clans and the prowess of national heroes and heroines, save an oral tradition distorted by the adornments of a rude poesy—the archaeology of this strange people is likely to remain a sealed book. Even the tokens they have left us in en-



Fig. 7.

during stone—memorial pillars, implements of war, of the chase and the household—whether inscribed in hieroglyphics of hidden meaning, or cunningly wrought from material as hard as adamant in an age which was



Fig. 8.

ignorant of the use of the metals—instead of aiding in the solution of the problem, presents it in a more perplexing form. Equally obscure and unintelligible, but for the interpreter through whom they now speak, would have forever remained another class of relics come down to us—we mean the straggling foot-prints of its language, impressed upon the beautiful objects of nature among which this mysterious people lived and passed away. Our mountain streams still bear the poetical, yet strange, names they gave them. All had a meaning, and had it not been for the thoughtfulness of Heckewelder, that meaning would have been forever lost. But the mystery as to how their implements were manufactured is still unsolved. We can but admire, study and contemplate them. They speak eloquently, but in a language we do not understand.



Fig. 9.

Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz, in his biography of David Zeisberger, one of the earliest Moravian missionaries among the Indians, informs us that neither the origin of the Indians, nor their appearance upon the continent of America, has ever been satisfactorily explained. Even that part of their history which immediately precedes the coming of the white man is shrouded in obscurity. Among many of the Moravians the well known theory prevailed that they are the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel, but Zeisberger evidently did not entertain this opinion, as no trace of it is found in any of his writings. That they lived in a stone age there is but little doubt, but from whence they came we know not and probably never will. They have passed behind the impenetrable veil of oblivion—their dust has mingled with the soil, and their imperishable implements only remain to tell us that their makers once were, but are no more.

Fig. 1. Carved stone pipe. Found on the north side of Muncy Creek, near the site of the ancient fortification, on what is now known as the Charles W. Robb farm.

Fig. 2. Pipe of dark blue soap-stone. Found near Jersey Shore. Curious combination of human face and head of reptile, as may be seen by viewing the cut when held both vertically and horizontally.

Fig. 3. A finely wrought baked clay pipe, taken from the great mound on Hall's farm, which stood a short distance east of Fort Muncy.

Fig. 4. A very diminutive soap-stone pipe, apparently cut in imitation of a moccasin. Found near the site of the ancient fortification on Muncy Creek.

Fig. 5. Baked clay pipe. Found in Clinton Township, Lycoming County.

Fig. 6. Baked clay pipe, double-faced, and unique in design. Found near the site of the ancient fortification.

Fig. 7. Iron hunting hatchet. Found many years ago on the site of Fort Brady, now within the limits of Muncy, and prized as having probably belonged to one of the pioneers who helped to "hold the fort," if not to the hold Captain Brady himself.

Fig. 8. Drilled ceremonial weapon of state. Found in Clinton Township, Lycoming County.

Fig. 9. Iron tomahawk with the eye broken. Found many years ago on the Muncy Hills.

After leaving the valley of Muncy, the next Indian village of note was found at the mouth of Loyalsock* Creek. It was called Otstenwaken, and sometimes Otstuagy. From the best information relating to it, now extant, it appears to have been scattered

* Corrupted from *Lowi-saquick*, signifying the middle creek, i. e., a creek flowing between two others.—*Heckerwelder*. Loyalsock enters the river, from the north, almost midway between Muncy and Lycoming Creeks—hence the name.

over the level plain on the east side of the stream, with a few wigwams on the west side. It was a place of some importance, as will appear later on, and a number of French half-breeds were living there when it was first visited by white men. Chief among them was the celebrated Madame Montour and her son Andrew. That the Indians used a portion of the level ground surrounding their village for agricultural purposes does not admit of a doubt. General John Burrows informs us, in his autobiography, that when he purchased the land in 1812 there were large patches of ground that had been cleared and worked by the Indians in the midst of the forest. The place was attractive, too, on account of the excellent fishing the creek and river afforded at this point.

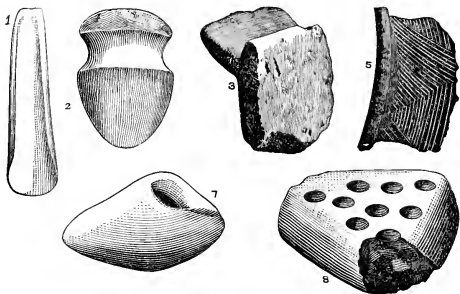
West of Loyalsock, as the ground rises near the mouth of Bull Run, at the head of Canfield's Island, implements have been found scattered in profusion along the bank all the way up to the mouths of Miller's Run, McClure's Run and Grafius Run, a distance of nearly two miles. This must have been an important point, for the Sheshequin path, which left the main trail in White Deer Valley and crossed the mountain by the Loyalsock Gap, passed up Miller's Run to Lycoming Creek, forming a short cut from below; and it was also used for the main path along the river in the route northward.

There was another important settlement near the river, between William Street, Williamsport, and Lycoming Creek. All along the sandy soil, between these points, were scattered the various implements of the aborigine; but on what is known as the Sutton Farm appeared the most remarkable evidences of ancient occupation—for beside the chert implements, pottery, etc., there existed a genuine burying-ground. Years ago skeletons were exhumed that had been deposited in a sitting posture, and fragments of their ware were found with them, as though it had been used in the performance of some superstitious rite.

An Indian village stood within the present limits of the borough of DuBoistown. It was located opposite the mouth of Lycoming Creek, on the river flat, between the mouth of Mosquito Run and the old mansion house built by Andrew Culbertson. Traces of their fire-places can be distinctly seen at the present day.

Many relics have been found at this place, consisting of axes, tomahawks, celts and arrow heads.

A fine collection of antiquities has been made by Mr. Joseph H. McMinn, of Williamsport, which is fully as large as that of Mr. Gerner. He has spent all his leisure time for years in its acquisition, and in the study of the nature and habits of the Indians. The result is that his museum is one of the finest in the valley, and as it is systematically arranged, the visitor can see the specimens to good advantage. To his archæological and ethnological studies Mr. McMinn has brought a degree of industry and intelligence that have been productive of wonderful results, and shows what can be accomplished when there is a will and a determination to succeed. A few of his specimens are illustrated herewith :



1. Gouge, made of slate, highly polished. From Bald Eagle Valley, Centre County.

2. Tomahawk, made of limestone. Found at "Bald Eagle's Nest," Milesburg, Centre County. A fine specimen.

3. Fragment of a vessel carved from soap-stone. Found at the mouth of Nipenose Creek.

5. Fragment of a vessel made of clay and gravel, baked black. Williamsport, Pennsylvania.

7. Indian mill (?) stone, very rare. From Clearfield County.

8. Symbol stone. Made of sandstone. Found in Half Moon Valley, Centre County, where nine Indian chiefs met in council.

The Moravian missionaries inform us that French Margaret's town was located near the mouth of Lycoming* Creek, in what is now the Seventh Ward of the city of Williamsport. Implements were found scattered along the high ground all the way from the mouth of Dry Run and Dougherty's Run, almost a distance of two miles. French Margaret told the missionaries about the drunkenness of the Indians at their town near Linden of to-day. *Quenishachshackki*,† or the "Long Reach," was a favorite resort for them.

Next came Level Corner and the mouth of Larry's Creek. These places seem to have been favorite Indian resorts. The banks of Pine Creek were lined with implements and graves, which have given rise to extravagant traditions about battles and large numbers killed.

Returning to the south side of the river, near where the She-shequin path debouched from the mountain, flows Turkey Run, a locality long known as being rich in stone implements, indicating an extensive settlement. Then came a section near the main trail that extended from Mosquito Run down to Hagerman's Run, which was very prolific in relics. An ancient rectangular inclosure of about half an acre existed where Valentine Luppert's saw mill now stands. William Hinkal remembers it when the banks were about a foot high. At Susquehanna, on the upper bottom, and in Nippenose bottom, especially opposite the mouth of Larry's Creek, and about the mouth of Antes Creek, and at the mouth of Augh-anbaugh's Run, were found a profusion of relics that were truly wonderful, and indicated the former existence of large settlements for many years.

* Corrupted from *Legani-hanne*, signifying sandy stream. The Delawares called it invariably by this name.—*Heckewelder*. On Scull's map it is written *Lycaumick*. Finally it settled to Lycoming. It runs through the city of Williamsport.

† This name was given by the Delawares to the "Long Reach" in the West Branch, where, for several miles, the current is so sluggish that it can scarcely be seen to move. Hence, according to Heckewelder, they called the West Branch *Quenisch-achach-gek-hanne*, which word has been corrupted into Susquehanna. Zeisberger says: "*Quin*, long; *Que-nek*, length; *Schaschack-ki*, straight." The Delawares had a town of this name on the "Long Reach," said to have stood on the site of Linden, six miles west of Williamsport. It was repeatedly visited by missionaries from Bethlehem, prior to 1754. Scull's map notes it.

Fifty years ago traces of an extensive Indian grave-yard existed on the farms of Harvey Bailey and Samuel Simmons, two miles west of Jersey Shore. Pine Creek runs between these two farms and enters the river a short distance below. On the Simmons farm the early settlers found the remains of an ancient circular fortification, fashioned after the work of the Mound Builders. It had, evidently, been constructed by this class of people, who were undoubtedly occupants of the valley hundreds of years ago. No trace of the work now remains, it having long since been leveled by the plow of the industrious farmer.

Many years ago a remarkable curiosity was plowed up in Wayne Township, Clinton County. It represented a female figure sitting on a pedestal, cut out of a hard piece of stone, about six inches in length and highly polished. The figure was beautifully formed and the work neatly executed. The tissues of a veil thrown over the face could be distinctly seen traced in the stone. This curious relic is said to have passed into the hands of a gentleman who resided in the borough of Jersey Shore at that time, who in time placed it in a museum at Lancaster. What became of it is unknown.

A sword was plowed up on the farm of Mr. Callahan, on Pine Creek, thirty-five years ago. It was an English blade, and was embedded in the ground in a perpendicular position. It was probably carried there and left by Indians. When found it was very much corroded and had evidently been in the ground a long time. It passed into the hands of the late Dr. J. W. Lyman, who fell at Fort Fisher, but where it is now is unknown.

On the side of the high mountain, just beyond Safe Harbor, on Pine Creek, are the remains of what appear to have been seven mounds of stone. They are about two hundred yards apart and run in a straight line up the face of the mountain. A careful examination, made many years ago, showed that they had been torn open, but by whom was unknown. That they were erected by human hands did not admit of a doubt, and it was the opinion of those who examined them that they had been placed there as sepulchral mounds.

In Wayne Township, Clinton County, there were two Indian villages of some note. One was located on what is known as the

"Montgomery farm," about half a mile east of Wayne Station, on the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad, and was called Patterson, over which a chief of that name, of the Shawanee tribe, ruled. In this town lived the famous Chinklacamoose prior to his going to "Chinklacamoose's Old Town," which stood on the site of the borough of Clearfield. The other was called Tucquamingy,* and was built on the farm of Major Sour, near Pine Station, on the same railroad.

The Great Island, situated in the West Branch, a short distance east of Lock Haven, and opposite the mouth of Bald Eagle † Creek, was a favorite camping place and council ground for the Indians. History records a meeting of representatives of several tribes on the island in October, 1755. The choice camping places with the Indians appeared to have been on the eastern and western points of the island. The eastern point was opposite the mouth of Bald Eagle Creek, and must have been an inviting place, as it was near a fine fishing ground, known at this day as the "Salmon Hole," ‡ and also on account of its nearness to the celebrated flowing spring, on Bald Eagle Creek. A few years ago, when the high water had cut into the banks at this place, and at "Old Town Point," on the opposite side of the river, the remains of camp fires could be distinctly seen on the solid bed of clay, upon which the surrounding soil rests. They were many feet below the present surface, and but slightly elevated above the level of the river at low water mark, showing conclusively that the island had been inhabited. The western point, or head of the

* *Maynard's History of Clinton County*, page 219.

† Called by the Delawares *Wapalanewach-schiec-hanne*, which means the stream of the bald eagle's nest.—*Heckewelder*. Zeisberger says: *Woop-su* and *woa-peek*, white; *woap-a-lanne*, the bald eagle; *wach-schie-hey*, a nest; *han-ne*, a stream. An Indian village was situated below the confluence of Spring Creek and Bald Eagle Creek, in Centre County, and it was the residence of "Bald Eagle," a noted chief. Scull's map calls it simply "The Nest." It stood on the flats near Milesburg, on the Indian path from the Great Island to Ohio.

‡ Loskiel, in his *History of Moravian Missions Among the Indians*, thus describes their method of catching shad: "As soon as the shad (*scha-wa nam-meeek*, the South fish, compounded of *scha-wa-ne-u*, south, and *na-mees*, fish) come from the South to deposit their spawn, running up the river from the sea, the Indians assemble for the annual fishery. And first they build a stone dam across the stream, the two

island, has of late years been much worn away by the action of high water. At an early period it undoubtedly extended much further up the river than at present, and covered what is now a barren bank of sand. The Indian village was situated at this point, as the numerous specimens of their workmanship found there go to prove, and it must have been a much frequented place on account of its favorable location and the extended view it afforded of the river and surrounding country.

In its primitive state the island was evidently covered with a heavy growth of timber, as, on the main land, many trees of first growth still fringe its shore.

An Indian village also appears to have been situated at the mouth of Bald Eagle Creek, on the small flat at the foot of the mountain, and opposite the eastern point of the island. The river at this point is of great depth. Several oak trees of large growth stood here until within a few years, underneath whose shade the arrow-maker evidently pursued his vocation, judging from the flint chips scattered around, which showed the site of his rude workshop. Many fine specimens of Indian workmanship have been found here.

An Indian town was located on the main land, on the north side of the Great Island, and a short distance east of what is now the guard lock of the Pennsylvania Canal. One of those immense fire-places, peculiar to the Indians, was situated here, traces of which can be seen at the present day. During the great flood of 1865 this place was overflowed, and on the subsidence of the water many specimens of their workmanship were found, notably among them a rare and beautiful talisman or charm, found by Mr. James Newberry. It was in the form of a human face cut in

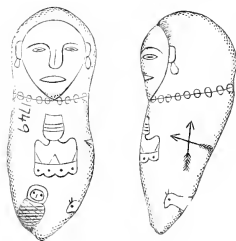
wings or walls of which converge into a pond or wooden box, perforated with holes. This is the trap. A wild grape-vine, of sufficient length to reach from shore to shore, is then cut and loaded down with brush, secured at intervals of from ten to fifteen feet. This barrier is stretched across the river, perhaps a mile above the pound, and being held in position by Indians in canoes, is slowly towed down stream. The frightened fish are driven before it back into the dam and thence, by the Indians posted on its walls, into the pound, where they are caught by hand. As many as a thousand are known to have been taken in this way in a morning. The Delawares called March the shad month." From this it will be seen that the whites got the idea of building stone fish dams, which are used to this day, from the Indians.

relief on a stone of a red color, and about as large as an ordinary finger nail. It was perforated so as to be suspended from the neck by a cord.

"Old Town Point," opposite the Great Island, is the eastern portion of the gently undulating plain on which Lock Haven now stands, and ends at an angular point at the confluence of Bald Eagle Creek with the West Branch, and a part of the grant to Dr. Francis Allison by Governor Richard Penn, under date of April 10, 1772. It is said to derive its name from an old Indian town that was once located there. Evidences of its existence could be seen some years ago, when the high water had cut away the bank and exposed the remains of camp fires. There were well preserved specimens of charcoal and broken pieces of pottery found in the fire-places. The settlement on the site of Lock Haven was also called Old Town prior to 1833.

In 1875 Mr. J. T. McCloskey found, on the site of the Indian town on the island, near the mouth of Bald Eagle Creek, a rare

and unique specimen of carving on stone, supposed to be of Indian origin. It consisted of a miniature bust figure four inches in length, bearing a rude resemblance to the human form, and covered over its surface are hieroglyphical figures, known as Indian picture writing. It has a broad and distinct face, with large hoop rings suspended from the ears. The neck is encircled with a string of beads and an



Indian Carving.

Indian pipe of rare pattern is cut on the breast. On the left side are two arrows crossed like a letter X. Underneath are the head and shoulders of an animal with ears erect, probably intended to represent a fox. On the obverse side of the stone is a figure having the appearance of an Indian papoose in a wicker basket or case. The date, 1749, inscribed on one side, is of interest. The antiquity of the relic is probably much greater than the date would indicate. It must have been highly prized by the Indians,

and handed down from father to son. It is evident that the figures and arrows were the work of a white person,* who had penetrated there at that early day and cut the date to commemorate his visit. The cut is a correct representation of this curious specimen of Indian carving, which may now be found in the collection of Dr. J. H. Hayes, of Lock Haven.

The rude mill by which the aborigines converted their corn into meal can still be seen lying on the north shore of the island. It consists of a cup-like depression in a large detached rock, which makes a very fine mortar, into which the corn was placed and reduced to meal by the slow process of crushing with a stone pestle.

In the days when the red man roamed fearless and free over the hills and through this lovely valley, the spot where Dunnstown now stands must have been a place of picturesque beauty. Situated as it is on the bold bluff facing Bald Eagle Mountain and overlooking the Great Island, the scene presented to the eye is one of enchanting loveliness. Nature has done much for the place; numerous springs of cool water, wide-spreading trees and prolific soil made it a fairy land and paradise to the Indian.

That it was an important and much frequented place by the aborigines does not admit of a doubt. The site of their village could be easily located, until within a few years, by the numerous specimens of their workmanship found there. It was located on the lands of the late Major David McCloskey and Mr. Bethuel Hall. That of the former was situated around the fine spring which still continues to furnish the place with water. The land at this point recedes with a gradual slope to the river's edge opposite the island. That of the latter was situated on the high ground between the residence of Mr. Hall and the mill pond at Clinton Harbor. At this point the surface of the land is considerably elevated above the river. In the early days, before the canal was built, its rock-bound shore extended out nearly, if not altogether, to the water's edge.

The Indian burying-ground was situated a short distance west

* July 11, 1748, Bishop Zeisberger and John Martin Mack, Moravian missionaries from Shamokin, visited the Great Island, but they only found a few old squaws living there. The men had been driven away by the famine which was then prevailing on the West Branch. After that time white men frequently visited the island.

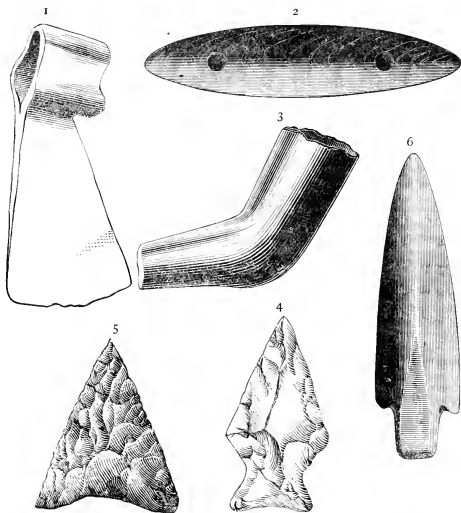
of the village, and on the east side of the mill pond of Clinton Harbor, in a grove of wild plum trees. There were a number of graves also located on what is known at the present day as Reed's Hill, or the picnic grounds. About the year 1820 one of these graves or tombs was opened. It was accidentally discovered by a hunter, whose dog gave chase to a rabbit, and it ran into a ledge of rocks near the brow of the hill. An examination showed it to be a shelving rock, walled up with rough stones around its outer edge, so as to form a small chamber or tomb. Removing part of the wall, and peering beneath the rock, the hunter found himself confronted by an Indian corpse. Being much frightened, he hastily left the place. On further examination it proved to be the body of an Indian woman in a mummified state, placed under the shelf in a sitting position. Her clothing was richly decorated with beads and trinkets, and she was supposed to have been a queen or the daughter of a chief. With the remains was a kettle of European make, several bottles and gilt buttons, the latter of which bore the stamp of London. It was evident that her people had had communication with the white traders before her death.

Several other graves were located not far from this one, but they were so carefully covered up and concealed by Mr. Reed, an early settler, that they have not been discovered to this day.

Many Indian relics have been found at Dunnstown, consisting principally of arrow heads, tomahawks, pipes, beads, celts, etc. A bronze medal or breast plate was found by Mr. D. A. Martin on the site of this village while engaged in antiquarian research. The shape was circular and in size it was about as large as a silver dollar. It was of the same make and style as the one found in the grave at Sunbury, in which Shikellimy is supposed to have been buried in 1748.

The last red man of the old stock who visited Dunnstown and the Great Island, in 1878, was named William Dowdy. He was an aged Indian of the Seneca tribe, and lingered for some time around the place as if pleasant memories of other days had cast a charm about it. This had been the favorite hunting ground of his tribe, and the cherished spot that contained the bones of his ancestors. He was a remnant of a once powerful tribe now almost extinct, and was gathered to his fathers several years ago.

Mr. D. A. Martin, who has thoroughly explored every foot of ground on the Great Island and surrounding country, in search of Indian antiquities, has a very large collection at his home in Du-Boistown. It will compare favorably with the collections of Messrs. Gernerd and McMinn. A few typical specimens in his collection are herewith illustrated:



1. Hatchet, or iron tomahawk, found on the Great Island.
2. Gorget, or ornamental stone. Made of slate, highly polished and symmetrically shaped. Found at the mouth of Youngwoman's Creek, Clinton County.
3. Stone pipe. Found on the Great Island by J. C. McCloskey.
4. Hunting arrow head. Found at Dunnstown.
5. War arrow head. Found on the Great Island.
6. Spear head for war purposes. Found near Linden.

Many other persons throughout the valley have small collections which embrace rare and beautiful specimens. Mr. J. C. McCloskey, of Lock Haven, who has explored the island and the surrounding country, has a fine collection which he prizes highly.

The early settlers found several small mounds on what is now the site of Lock Haven. They contained bones of Indians and the various trinkets and implements usually buried with the remains of dead warriors. One of these mounds, which was located near the bank of the river, just below where the Court House* now stands, was removed when the canal was being built, and found to contain a large number of skeletons, arranged in layers, one above the other, with earth between. Other similar burial places were found in the neighborhood.

The Monseys had a village on the level bottom a short distance above Lock Port, traces of which were visible long after settlements were made at Lock Haven and in the Bald Eagle Valley. They cleared a patch of ground and cultivated corn, and the hillocks were plainly discernible long after they had taken their departure. Many Indians were buried in a mound near where their village stood. The place is known at this day as the "Monsey Town Flats."

In 1854 James Wilson and A. H. McHenry, both residents of Jersey Shore, discovered what was evidently an Indian pottery about five miles up Quinn's Run. Under a detached rock there was a cave sufficiently large to shelter thirty men. It contained a great quantity of muscle shells, and from appearances around the rock, some kind of mineral had been taken out of the earth. These gentlemen examined the ground carefully and found a great quantity of broken pottery buried in a heap, and near by were unmistakable traces of a hearth where it had been baked. A double curbing of stone was nicely set in the ground in the form of an ellipse, about ten feet in diameter, where the kiln was erected. Charcoal and other evidences of fire were distinctly visible. The muscle shells had been carried there, burned, pulverized and then mixed with the clay which was used for forming the vessels. On examining the fragments, pulverized shells could easily be detected in the form of minute and glistening particles.

* *Maynard's History of Clinton County*, page 32.

Many pieces of this broken pottery were collected by Mr. McHenry and retained by him. Doubtless this was one of the places selected by the Indians, on account of the fire-clay known to exist in that locality, for the manufacture of their ware for culinary purposes. At another place, on Tangascootack Creek, Mr. Wilson discovered a number of rude crucibles that evidently had been used for smelting purposes.

The next place of note, in ascending the river, was the mouth of Youngwoman's Creek, now known as North Point, a short distance east of Renovo. An Indian village stood at the mouth of this mountain stream (which flows from the north), judging from the many relics found there. The origin of the peculiar name this creek bears has never been clearly explained.* According to a tradition, it received its name from the dead body of a young woman found in it, near the point where it enters the river. Others say the Indians scalped a young woman there and threw her body into the creek, hoping it would float off into the river and their act would thus be concealed. A legendary tale is that the Indians there killed a young woman prisoner, who could walk no further—that it was a famous and most desirable camping ground—but that ever after this murder, if Indians encamped there at night, her ghost would appear gliding over the surface of the stream and about the camp, and that they were sure to be fired upon by unseen foes if they remained a second night. There are also several other legends, but all begin with the statement that the dead body of a young woman was found in the creek. The Indian village was called Youngwoman's Town, but whether it derived its name from the creek, or the creek from the town, is doubtful, and both sides have champions. The creek is not laid down on Reading Howell's map, and the Historical Map of Pennsylvania simply notes its location.

From the best information we have there were no villages of note until the valley of the Sinnemahoning was reached. It is

*Hon. A. J. Quigley, who was raised at this place, states that the following legend regarding the origin of the name was handed down: A young squaw of rare beauty was sought in marriage by a young chief of another tribe. Her father objected, and failing to get his consent, she deliberately cast herself into the stream near the mouth and was never more heard of.

probable that Indians dwelt at the mouth of Kettle Creek,* where Westport now stands, and frequented that stream for fishing and hunting purposes. It ran through an almost impenetrable wilderness in the midst of the Alleghenies. At Keating, where the Sinnemahoning† unites with the West Branch, was an Indian camping place, but to what extent it was frequented we know not. At this point the river flows from the southwest and the Sinnemahoning enters it from the west. The valley of the latter is narrow, and frowning mountains overshadow it on both sides. Its extreme wildness in its primitive condition can easily be imagined from its appearance to-day, although it is thickly settled and contains several villages and boroughs. There is no point in the Alleghenies, perhaps, where the scenery is grander or more picturesque than in the valley of the Sinnemahoning; and as the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad runs through it, tourists have no trouble to see and enjoy it in all its beauty. The Sinnemahoning, from the borough of Driftwood to its junction with the West Branch, is properly a river, and as it is fed by many tributaries which emerge from dark mountain canons, it becomes a turbulent stream when the spring freshets set in.

That Indians frequented this stream in considerable numbers there is no doubt, as they left abundant traces of their occupation behind them, both in ruined huts and graves. As late as 1873, at the village of Sterling Run, while Mr. Earl was excavating for a cellar, seventeen Indian skeletons‡ were disclosed. All except

* Said to derive its name from a kettle having been found near the mouth by some of the early explorers.

In 1763 Colonel John Armstrong collected a force of 300 volunteers from the valleys of Bedford and Cumberland, and marched from Fort Shirley, on the 30th of September, against the Indian towns on the West Branch. The savages escaped, but the town of *Myanaguie*, at the mouth of Kettle Creek, and one at Great Island, were destroyed. Both contained large quantities of provisions.—*Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Vol. I., page 186.

† Corrupted from Achsinnimahoni, signifying stony lick.—*Heckewelder*.

There were many licks in this section of the country, which doubtless gave rise to the Indian name of the stream. On Portage Creek, a tributary of the Sinnemahoning, ten miles north of Emporium, the largest elk lick in the world existed.—*Maclay's Journal*, page 30.

‡ The remains were exhumed and described by Hon. John Brooks, civil engineer and ethnologist.—*Egle's History of Pennsylvania*, page 483.

two were of ordinary grown stature, while one measured over seven and one-half feet from the cranium to the heel bones. The bones had all remained undisturbed. They lay with their feet toward each other in a three-quarter circle, that is, some with their heads to the east, and then northeasterly to the north, and then northwesterly to the west. There had been a fire at the centre, between their feet, as ashes and coals were found there. The skeletons, except one smaller than the rest, were all as regularly arranged as they would be naturally in a sleeping camp of similar dimensions; many of the bones were in a good state of preservation, particularly the teeth and jaw bones, and some of the leg bones and skulls. The stalwart skeleton held a stoneware or clay pipe between his teeth as naturally as if in the act of smoking; by his side was found a vase or urn of earthenware or stoneware, which would hold about a half gallon. This vessel was about one-third filled with a granular substance like chopped tobacco stems. The vase had no base to stand upon, but was of a gourd shape and rounded; its exterior had corrugated lines crossing each other diagonally from the rim. The rim of the vase had a serrated or notched form, and the whole gave evidence that it had been constructed with some skill and care, yet there was a lack of beauty of form or symmetry, which the race were at that period evidently ignorant of.

The skeletons were covered about thirty inches deep, twenty-four inches of which was red shale clay, or good brick clay. The top six inches was composed of soil and clay, which, doubtless, had been formed from the decayed leaves of the forest for centuries. This ground had been heavily timbered. When the first clearing was made upon it, in 1818, there had not grown immediately over or upon this spot any very large trees, as no roots had disturbed the remains; yet the timber in the immediate vicinity had been very large white pine and oak. This spot had been plowed and cultivated since 1818, and had been used as a garden for the last preceding ten years. One of the smallest skeletons had been in an erect or crouched position in the northwest corner of the domicile. The most reasonable theory is that this was their habitation; that their hut had been constructed of this clay, as the surrounding ground was gravelly, as was also the bottom of the

spot. It appeared as if the gravel had been scooped away, or had been excavated to the depth of two feet, and that there had been a hut constructed of clay over the excavation, and that while reclining in their rude domicile a tremendous electric storm or bolt of lightning had in an instant extinguished their lives, and at the same time precipitated their clay hut upon them, thus securing their bodies from the ravages of the beasts of the forest.

At the village of Sinnemahoning many skeletons were exhumed when the railroad was built, and as late as 1887 C. F. Barclay, while having a ditch dug, found the remains of an Indian. In the grave was a neat iron tomahawk, a beautifully shaped stone gorget, the remains of a pocket compass, with the needle as perfect as when it was made, and several other trinkets. A number of teeth, in an excellent state of preservation, were also found. Near by, as the same trench was extended, Hon. Joe M. Shafer found an iron tomahawk somewhat larger than the one now in the possession of Mr. Barclay. Sinnemahoning is a historic spot, on account of the slaughter of a band of marauding Indians by Peter Grove and party, as they slept in fancied security under the branches of a majestic oak. A full account of this thrilling tragedy will be given in its proper place in this history.

Returning to Shamokin, the place of beginning, we will close this chapter by outlining the Indian war-paths which ran through the valley. The first or main path, after crossing the river at Shamokin, left it a short distance below the end of the Northumberland bridge across the West Branch, and ascending the ravine, followed the present road for a few miles; then turning towards the river, it passed over the hill upon the Merrill place; thence followed the river bank through Winfield and Lewisburg; thence to Buffalo Creek, where the iron bridge now spans it. It then curved to the river and passed through Shikellimy's town (see page 62) and along the river road, around the rocks, into White Deer Valley; thence along the south branch of the creek, near where Elimspport is now located, and over the mountain into Nippenose Valley; then out of the head of the valley, through the mountains and on *via* Great Island and Bald Eagle Creek, by the "Nest," over the mountains to Chinklecamoose (Clearfield), and westward to Kittanning.

From the confluence of Spring Creek and White Deer Hole Creek, another trail bore away to the northwest, following up Spring Creek to its source, then over the mountains into Mosquito Valley; thence down through the narrows to the river, which was crossed just west of the mouth of Mosquito Run, to the western shore of Lycoming Creek, up which stream the path led to its source, and branched upon the head-waters of the streams taking their rise near the present borough of Canton, the main path continuing northward, while a branch led down Towanda Creek to the North Branch.

Another great trail passed up the river from Northumberland, by the mouth of Warrior Run and through the gap in the Muncy Hills—now followed by the public road—to the present town of Muncy. The Wyoming path started from Muncy and ran up Glade Run, then crossed Fishing Creek where Millville now stands, passed on to Nescopeck Gap and up the river to Wyoming.

The Wyalusing path ran up Muncy Creek to the head, then crossed the hills to Loyalsock, half a mile from where the Berwick turnpike now crosses, then by the site of Dushore and on to Wyalusing Creek, near the northeast corner of Sullivan County, and thence to the flats.

The great trail from Muncy up the river crossed Loyalsock at Montour's Island, near where the canal was built. In passing over the ground on which Williamsport stands, the path was doubtless located where East Third Street and West Fourth Street are laid down. The course from Third and Penn streets is said to have been a little north of the present Third Street, following an elevated piece of ground near the line of Willow Street and as far north as Edwin Street, until a point was reached near Park Avenue, when the present Fourth Street was followed to Lycoming Creek and French Margaret's Town, near the mouth. It then continued up the river to Great Island, where it joined the Kittanning trail.

The Sheshequin path left the main trail at the mouth of Black Hole Creek, followed up that stream and crossed the mountain through the Loyalsock Gap, striking the lower end of the bottom, and thence northwesterly, across the river at the head of Canfield's Island, and up Bonsul's Run, which is now known as Miller's Run.

It then passed through what is now called Blooming Grove, and joined the trail up Lycoming Creek near Cogan Station, on the Northern Central Railroad. According to Colonel Hartley, whose military expedition traveled this route, it was called the Sheshcummink Path.

These northern trails led through a dense and gloomy wilderness. Lycoming Creek had to be frequently crossed, just as it has to be to-day; and one can readily imagine what a gloomy wilderness must have existed in the Muncy Creek and Loyalsock regions at that day, when their present condition is considered. Doubtless there were smaller paths running in various directions to shorten distances to main points, by "cut offs," but all traces of them have long since been lost. The foregoing main paths were so important and so clearly defined that there is no doubt of their location. They were great thoroughfares, and over them many war parties passed and repassed when the Indians held undisputed sway in this valley. Over a portion of the great path from the west the French traveled in force when they descended upon this valley and penetrated to the junction of the two rivers, with the full intention of occupying the country.

CHAPTER VI.

APPEARANCE OF THE MORAVIAN MISSIONARIES IN THE VALLEY—
THEIR TRIALS AND TRIBULATIONS—FIRST HOUSE BUILT AT SHAMOKIN—DEATH AND BURIAL OF SHIKELLIMY, THE VICE-KING.

THE first record we have of white men visiting Shamokin was in September, 1728. Governor Gordon* lays down instructions to Smith and Petty, who were about to make a journey to that place, and requests them to call upon his Indian friends, Allummopies, Opekassel, Shachalawlin and Shikellimy, and give them his personal regards. Adventurers and Indian traders followed at intervals. The government also sent special messengers on different occasions to confer with the heads of the various tribes, but as they kept no records we are without information regarding their visits and how they were received.

In the same month Wright and Blunstone reported to Governor Gordon that they had learned from an Indian that a man named Timothy Higgins had been hanged at Shamokin, but for what cause was not stated. He was a servant of an Indian trader named Henry Smith. An investigation, however, of the report by Smith and Petty showed it to be unfounded.

In 1729 Governor Gordon wrote a letter of condolence to Shikellimy and the other chiefs at Shamokin on the death of Carandawana. He also spoke feelingly of the death of a son of Shikellimy, and sent a shroud to bury him in.

In 1730 a letter was received by the Governor from a number of Delaware Indians, describing the manner in which a white man received serious injury. The report stated that John Fisher and John Hartt, two of the Shamokin traders, accompanied a number

* Patrick Gordon was born in England, in 1664. He was brought up a soldier and served to the close of Queen Anne's reign with a high reputation. He was Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, under the Proprietaries, from 1726 to 1736. He died at Philadelphia, August 5, 1736, in the 72d year of his age.

of their tribe down the river on a hunting excursion. After having proceeded over one hundred miles, the Indians proposed to fire-hunt, by making a ring. The white men would go along with them, although they tried to dissuade them from it, alleging that they did not understand it, and might receive some injury. But they persisted in going. In the excitement of the hunt, John Hartt was shot in the mouth, the bullet lodging in his neck, which killed him.

Conrad Weiser* first visited Shamokin March 4, 1737, on his way to Onondaga. When he arrived at Shamokin he informs us that he did not find a single Indian at home who could assist him in crossing the river, and he had to lay still. On the 6th he observed a smoke on the other side of the river, and an Indian trader came over and took him and his party across. On the way up the West Branch he was ferried across the Chillisquaque Creek by an old Indian, which shows that he was traveling on the Northumberland side. On the 8th he reached Shikellimy's town, but does not inform us where he crossed the river to reach it. After some delay he met the chief, whom he engaged to conduct him to Onondaga. On this journey he was accompanied by a Dutchman and three Indians. On the way up he inspected the ruins of the ancient fortification at the mouth of Muncy Creek, which he

*As Conrad Weiser figured conspicuously in the early history of Pennsylvania, and was a frequent visitor to the West Branch Valley, a brief synopsis of his history is given herewith. He was born at Afstaedt, Wurtemberg, November 2, 1696, and came to America, with his parents and a company of Palatines, in 1710, under the auspices of Queen Anne, of England. They settled in a body on Livingston Manor, Columbia County, New York, where they remained some time. While living there young Weiser became acquainted with an Indian chief named *Quagnant*, who, taking a fancy to the lad, induced his father to permit him to live with him. He went on his father's request and lived with the chief about eight months. During this time he learned the Indian language thoroughly, and it proved to be of great service to him in after life. He was seventeen when he left the wigwam of his dusky tutor and friend. In 1723, with many other German families, he emigrated to the Tulpehocken settlement, on the Swatara. Here he took up a tract of land—having married in the meantime—in Heidelberg Township, Lancaster County (now Berks), and began farming. His fluency in Mohawk recommended him to the notice of the Proprietary Governors, and at the special request of the deputies of the Six Nations, who met in conference with Governor Gordon in 1732, he was appointed by the latter interpreter for the confederation. From this time he was largely identified with the history of the Province of Pennsylvania in all matters relating to the Indians; was sent to them

spoke of in his journal.* It is supposed that Weiser and party traveled by the Sheshequin path after crossing Loyalsock, which ran up Lycoming Creek. He says:

"We came to a narrow valley about half a mile broad and thirty long, both sides of which were encompassed with high mountains, on which the snow laid about three feet deep. In it ran a stream of water, also about three feet deep, which was so crooked † that it kept a continued winding from one side of the valley to the other. In order to avoid wading so often through the water, we endeavored to pass along the slope of the mountain,—the snow being three feet deep and so hard frozen on the top that we walked upon it,—but we were obliged to make holes in the snow with our hatchets, that our feet might not slip down the mountain, and thus we crept on. It happened that the old Indian's foot slipped, and the root of a tree by which he held breaking, he slid down the mountain as from the roof of a house, but happily he was stopped

on many important missions, and was present at the making of all treaties as long as he was able to attend. He was named by the Indians *Tarachawagon*, and was held in high esteem by them. He served as a justice of the peace for several years, and during the French and Indian wars was commissioned colonel of all forces raised west of the Susquehanna. His life and public services were published in a volume of 450 pages in 1876, by C. Z. Weiser, D. D., of Reading. A few years before his death he removed to Reading, and while on a visit to his farm in Heidelberg, in July, 1760, he died and was buried in the family grave-yard, near Womelsdorf. His age was 63 years, 8 months and 13 days. He left several sons and daughters, and his posterity is numerous.

*He also stopped at *Otstonwakin*, or "French Town." "It is so called," he wrote in his journal, "from a high rock which lies opposite. We quartered ourselves with Madame Montour, a French woman by birth, of good family, but now in mode of life a complete Indian." The village lay on both sides of the mouth of the Loyalsock, which, coming down from the north, empties into the river. The rock Mr. Weiser speaks of was on the other side of the river, and was destroyed when the railroad was built. His last visit to the place was in June, 1755. The village was at that time almost deserted. On his first visit he also stopped at French Margaret's Town, which stood at the mouth of Lycoming Creek, on a part of the ground afterwards occupied by Jaysburg, now in the Seventh Ward of Williamsport. Montoursville now partly occupies the site of Otstonwakin and perpetuates the name of Madame Montour and her famous son Andrew, who was afterwards granted a reserve of 880 acres of land, by the Proprietary government, at that place.

†Lycoming Creek, the *Legauí-hanne* of the Delawares, is noted for its crookedness. In a distance of twenty-three miles, after leaving Williamsport, the Northern Central Railroad crosses it eighteen times on bridges.

in his fall by the string which fastened his pack hitching on the stump of a small tree. The two Indians could not go to his aid, but our Dutch fellow-traveler did; yet not without visible danger of his own life. I also could not put a foot forward until I was helped. After this we took the first opportunity to descend into the valley, which was not until after we had labored hard for half an hour with hands and feet. Having observed a tree lying directly off from where the Indian fell, when we got into the valley again, we went back about one hundred paces, where we saw that if the Indian had slipped four or five paces further he would have fallen over a rock one hundred feet perpendicular upon craggy pieces of rocks below.* The Indian was astonished and turned quite pale; then, with outstretched arms and great earnestness, he spoke these words: *'I thank the great Lord and Governor of this world, in that he has had mercy upon me and has been willing that I should live longer.'* Which words I, at that time, put down in my journal. This happened on the 25th of March, 1737."

The journey was continued through the gloomy wilderness until they reached their destination, but their sufferings were great. At one time Mr. Weiser was so overcome by exhaustion and hunger that he seated himself by the roots of a tree, expecting to die. Shikellimy, who was in advance, came back in search of him. Finding him as described, he stood silently for a moment and then said: "My dear companion, thou hast hitherto encouraged us; wilt thou now quite give up? Remember that evil days are better than good days. For when we suffer much we do not sin. Sin will be driven out of us by suffering, and God cannot extend his mercy to them; but contrary-wise, when it goeth evil with us. God hath compassion on us." These sublime words, coming from the lips of the old Indian, had the desired effect. Mr. Weiser says they made him "ashamed," and he rose up and traveled on as best he could until the journey was finished.

Count Zinzendorf† was the first Moravian to visit Shamokin.

*This accident is supposed to have occurred near the present village of Ralston.

†Count Nicholas Louis Zinzendorf, founder of the sect of the Moravians, was born at Dresden, in May, 1700. About the year 1721 he purchased the lordship of Bertholdsdorf, in Lusatia. Some poor Christians, the followers of John Huss, obtained leave, in 1722, to settle on his estate. They soon made converts. Such was

He informs us, in his journal, that he started from the residence of Conrad Weiser, at Tulpehocken, on the 24th of September, 1742, to make his famous journey to the Susquehanna. He was accompanied by Weiser, as interpreter, his daughter Benigna,* Anna Nitchman, two Indians, named Joshua and David, and J. Martin Mack. The weather was very unpleasant. They traveled through an exceedingly rough and mountainous country, which was almost impassable on account of rocks and sharp stones. We will let him describe his arrival at Shamokin in his own language, as follows :

"SEPT. 26. We passed a memorial stone that had been set up by an Iroquois brave. On it was a delineation of his person so accurately executed as even to represent the lines cut in upon his face. Besides, he had affixed strokes of red, black and white paint, respectively indicating the different fights in which he had been engaged; the red strokes by their number denoting his victories, the black his defeats, and the white the drawn battles in which he had contended. At Conrad Weiser's Creek we had passed a stone with a similar painting, from the character of which we discerned that the hero who had erected it belonged to the Wolf tribe or division of Indians, for they are divided into three, called the Wolf, the Bear, and the Turtle. Not far from the same place we saw also the tomb of a hero. On this day we met with

the origin of Herrnhut. From this period the Count devoted himself to the business of instructing his fellow men by his writings and by his preaching. He traveled extensively in Europe. He married the Countess Erdmuth Dorothea von Reuss in 1736, by whom he had twelve children—six sons and six daughters—but only three daughters survived him. In 1741 he came to America and preached at Germantown and Bethlehem. February 11, 1742, he ordained two missionaries, and they soon afterwards baptized three Indians. He soon, with his daughter, Benigna, and several others, commenced visiting the Indians, and he established the first Indian Moravian congregation in North America. He died at Herrnhut in 1760, aged about 60 years, and his coffin was carried to the grave by thirty-two preachers and missionaries, whom he had reared, and some of whom had labored with him in different parts of the world. What monarch was ever honored by a funeral like this?

* Benigna Henrietta Justina von Zinzendorf, oldest daughter of the Count, accompanied her father on many of his journeyings during his stay in Pennsylvania. She was born at Bertholdsdorf, December 28, 1725, and was about 17 years of age at this time. She returned with her father to Europe in January, 1743. In 1746 she married John M. de Watteville; deceased, at Herrnhut, May 11, 1789, in her 65th year. — *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, page 49.

fewer difficulties on the road, but had to encamp for the night in a savage wilderness, and David grew fretful.

"SEPT. 28. The word of Scripture which had been allotted us as a subject for meditation contained a promise of encouragement. I remarked that we would see this promise fulfilled before night, as the Lord designed to encourage us by permitting us to meet Shikellimy. 'That is impossible,' said Conrad; 'Shikellimy can, under no circumstances, return to Shamokin within six weeks.' This he said, as the Sachem had undertaken a journey to Onondaga in the interest of Maryland, and not a week had elapsed since he had parted with us at Tulpehocken.

"We traveled on, and soon struck the lovely Susquehanna. Riding along its banks, we came to the boundary of Shamokin, a precipitous hill, such as I scarce ever saw. I was reminded by it of Wenzel Neisser's experience in Italy. Anna,* who is the most courageous of our number, and a heroine, led in the descent. I took the train of her riding habit in my hand to steady me in the saddle, Conrad held to the skirt of my overcoat, and Bohler to Conrad's. In this way we mutually supported each other, and the Saviour assisted us in descending the hill in safety. Toward evening we reached Shamokin, where Conrad, to his surprise, met Shikellimy, by whom he was welcomed to the town.

"While the tent was being pitched, I took a stroll. An Indian whom I chanced to meet presented me with a melon, in return for which I gave him my fur cap. I also met Shikellimy. The vice-roy took my hand in his, pressed it repeatedly, and then turned to

*Anna Nitschman, born 1715 in Moravia, was a fugitive from Catholic persecution. Fled to Herrnhut with her parents in 1725. In 1736 she accompanied Zinzendorf into banishment to the Castle of Ronneburg. The next year she spent in England. In 1740 she sailed for Pennsylvania with her parents. Here she labored, through the rural districts, as a missionary. She was the daughter of a peasant. On Zinzendorf's arrival she repaired to Philadelphia, and thence to Germantown, where, in company with his daughter Benigna, she was employed in the Brethrens' School for Children. "In 1742," she writes in her autobiography, "we were three times among the Indians. The last journey was into the heart of their country, where we sojourned forty-nine days, encamping under the open heavens, in a savage wilderness, amid wild beasts and venomous snakes." Returned to England with Zinzendorf. Soon after the death of his wife she married the Count. She died May 21, 1760, aged about 45. Her sacred lyrics are incomparably beautiful.—*Memorials of the Moravian Church*, page 84.

Weiser, 'to steal my mission,' as the Indians say; in other words, to sound him as to what proposals I intended to make. The latter reiterated what he had already told him, saying that I was a servant of the living God; that as such I wrought in a different way from others of that class who had called upon him, and that I taught mercy and grace, and not works or moral duties, as a ground of pardon or justification. Shikellimy hereupon expressed his pleasure at the arrival of such a messenger among his people, and then took Conrad into his lodge.

"On returning to the tent from my stroll, I found Jeannette engaged in conversation with a Mohican woman.

"They conversed in Indian. I was surprised at meeting a Mohican at Shamokin, and more so on learning that the woman was the sister of Nannachdausch, who had built my hut at Shecomeco, and who had been my provider while there. This was a trifling coincident; but Shikellimy's presence I interpreted as a special divine token. I need not say that it was opportune, for Joshua was indisposed, and David was disheartened on account of the fatigues of the journey, and we needed encouragement.

"The train of circumstances which had resulted in Shikellimy's unexpected and early return to Shamokin was this: While on the way to Onondaga he had met Caxhayton, the Indian with whom I became acquainted at Philadelphia. Shikellimy deputed him to convey the dispatches with which he had been intrusted to the Iroquois, notifying the latter that the bearer had been duly authorized.

"Thus he was at liberty to return; and at the same time he brought word to Weiser from the Shawanese King at Skehandowana, that he wished to see him once more before he died.

"On the previous evening, while reprimanding David, I had almost stepped into a pitfall, when, although I had been severe in my remarks, he kindly pointed out the danger.

"SEPT. 29. Shikellimy came into my tent. Seating myself between him and Conrad, I requested an audience. It having been granted, I proceeded to explain the object of my visit, stating that already in early childhood I had been favored with an intimate acquaintance with God, with his being and with his attributes, and

that I had come hither in order to reveal this knowledge to the Indians.

"Where, or in what tribe I would begin to teach, I had not yet determined; it being my custom, I continued, to instruct only such as God himself had already addressed, and who felt the need of some one to interpret to them the meaning of the words he had spoken.

"In reply he said that he approved of my object, and expressed a willingness at the same time to aid me in its accomplishment.

"I next observed that his own case was an illustration in point, and went on to relate my experience. 'My early return home, your arrival here simultaneously,' responded the Sachem, 'are an extraordinary coincidence. I believe it was pre-ordained.' Thereupon, perceiving that he had no shirt, I handed him one, begging him to accept it as a token of my childlike intercourse with him, and not as a gift. 'I thank you,' he replied as he took it.

"I will now proceed to describe Shikellimy more fully. As the Iroquois Sachems were about setting out for home, after my interview with them in Tulpehocken, I took occasion to study their peculiarities. One of them in particular arrested my attention. I was irresistibly drawn toward him, and I longed to tell him of the Saviour. 'He is my choice,' I remarked to Conrad (presuming the man to be Canassatego, of whom he had just spoken to me in the highest terms). 'He is the Onondaga Sachem I presume?' 'No,' replied Conrad, 'he is Shikellimy, the Oneida.' These words, I confess, disconcerted me, as it was altogether improbable that we would visit the Oneida country. On learning, however, that Shikellimy resided at Shamokin (which town we intended to visit on the way to the Shawanese), I was reassured, and I also regarded our final determination not to journey to the Mohawks as significantly providential.

"On the road hither, I spoke much of Shikellimy, and of the hopes I entertained of enlisting him in my service. Weiser persisted in assuring me that, in consequence of his prior engagements, the Sachem would be absent, and hence it was presumption in me to reckon on his co-operation. He spoke so positively that I was almost inclined to believe that Satan was bent upon foiling me.

“‘As you appear to be fascinated by this Indian,’ said Conrad, ‘I will relate an incident which will serve to illustrate his character. While on a journey to Onondaga, whither I had been sent to negotiate a peace between the Iroquois and the Cherokees, and while passing through a savage wilderness, I was one day so completely exhausted that I left my companions and sat down by a tree, resolved to die. Starvation stared me in the face, and death by freezing was preferable to death by hunger. They hallooed and shot signal guns, but I remained quiet.

“‘Shikellimy was the first to discover me. Coming before me, he stood in deep thought and in silence, and after some time asked me why I was there. “I am here to die,” I replied. “Ah! brother,” said he, “only lately you entreated us not to despond, and will you now give way to despair?” Not in the least shaken in my resolution by this appeal, I replied by saying: “My good Shikellimy, as death is inevitable, I will die where I am, and nothing shall prevail upon me to leave this spot.” “Ah! brother,” resumed the Sachem, “you told me that we were prone to forget God in bright days, and to remember him in dark days. These are dark days. Let us then not forget God; and who knows but that he is even now near, and about to come to our succor? Rise, brother, and we will journey on.” I felt ashamed at this, administered by a poor heathen, rose and dragged myself away.

“‘Two days after this occurrence we reached Onondaga.’

“Such was Shikellimy, the Sachem who had arrested my attention in Tulpehocken, and with whom I had been brought into contact by the providence of the Lamb.

“On Saturday, the 28th, we wished to pray the Litany, but the merry-making of the Indians disconcerted us. I accordingly dispatched Conrad to Sachem Shikellimy to inform him that we were about to speak to our God. This had the desired effect, and immediately on the former’s return, the beating of drums ceased, and the voices of the Indians were hushed. Obedience among this people is yielded only when it is positively demanded, as they are without laws to enforce it. The Indian’s national history is inscribed on his memory, and I am inclined to believe, nevertheless, that it is almost as reliable as our own.

“SEPT. 30. Set out on our journey. The Sachem pointed out

the ford over the Susquehanna. This river is here much broader than the Delaware, the water beautifully transparent, and were it not for the smooth rocks in its bed, it would be easily fordable.

"In crossing we had, therefore, to pull up our horses and keep a tight rein. The high banks of American rivers render their passage on horseback extremely difficult.

"To the left of the path, after crossing the river, a large cave* in a rocky hill in the wilderness was shown us. From it the surrounding country and the West Branch of the Susquehanna are called *Otzinachon*, i. e., the 'Demon's Den;' for here the evil spirits, say the Indians, have their seats and hold their revels.

"We had ridden past scarcely two miles, when the pack-horse which carried our provisions suddenly grew restive, made a spring, broke the rope by which it was attached to Henry Leimbach's animal, and galloped headlong in the direction of the cave. This did not disconcert us otherwise than to bring us to a halt. Conrad dismounted, went in search of the horse and found him a mile back, caught in the bushes by the rope.

"The country through which we were now riding, although a wilderness, showed indications of extreme fertility. As soon as we left the path we trod on swampy ground, over which traveling on horseback was altogether impracticable. We halted half an hour while Conrad rode along the river bank in search of a ford. The foliage of the forest at this season of the year, blending all conceivable shades of green, red and yellow, was truly gorgeous, and lent a richness to the landscape that would have charmed an artist. At times we wound through a continuous growth of diminutive oaks, reaching no higher than our horses' girths, in a perfect sea of scarlet, purple and gold, bounded along the horizon by the gigantic evergreens of the forest. During the journey thus far I have not seen any snakes, although the banks of the Susquehanna are said to be the resort of species which lie on the tops of the low bushes in wait to spring upon the passing traveler. The country generally abounds in reptiles, bears and other wild animals. We camped out twice on our journey. During the second night

*This confirms the theory advanced on page 6, regarding the meaning of the word *Otzinachon*. By some writers it is claimed that *Otzinach* was the Iroquois name for Shamokin.

there was a sudden and heavy fall of rain, and all of our horses, except one, strayed away. As we were not far from Otstonwakin, Conrad rode to the village. He soon returned in company with Andrew, Madame Montour's* oldest son. Just then our horses came in.

"Andrew's cast of countenance is decidedly European, and had his face not 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 lapel waistcoat, breeches, over which his shirt hung, a black Cordovan neckerchief, decked with silver bangles, 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.†

"When a short distance from the village, Andrew left us and rode ahead to notify the inhabitants of our approach. As soon as they saw us they discharged their fire-arms, by way of salute, and repeated this mode of welcome on our arrival at the huts. Here we dismounted and repaired to Madame Montour's quarters.

*Madame Montour, one of the characters in the history of English intercourse with the various tribes of Indians settled along the Susquehanna or moving over that great thoroughfare of Indian travel, was a French Canadian. In early life she married Roland Montour, a Seneca brave, and on his death, *Carandawana*, alias Robert Hunter, chief of the Oneidas, with whom she was living on the Chenasky, probably at Otstonwakin, as early as 1727. In that year she acted as interpreter to the Province at a conference held in Philadelphia, between Governor Gordon and sachems of the Five Nations. Again in October of 1728. "It was afterwards considered by the Board what present might be proper to be made to Mistress Montour and her husband, Carandawana; and it was agreed that Five Pounds in Bills of Credit should be given to Mistress Montour and her husband."—*Minutes of Provincial Council*, October 11, 1728.

In September of 1734, while attending a treaty in Philadelphia, the Proprietaries, John and Thomas Penn, condoled with her publicly at the loss of her husband, who had been killed, since their last meeting, in war with the Catawbas. "We had a great esteem," they said to the Indians present, "for our good friend, your chief, Carandawana, and were much grieved to hear of his death; but as you and we have long since covered his dead body, we shall say nothing more of that subject." At this time Madame Montour was already advanced in years; for a minute of the Council, October 15, 1734, after censuring her for duplicity at the late treaty, states that "her old age only protects her from being punished for such falsehoods."

†Andrew Montour, alias Satteliu, was for a number of years in the employ of the Proprietaries as assistant interpreter in their negotiations with the Indians of the

Her husband, who had been a chief, had been killed in battle with the Catawbias. When the old woman saw us she wept. In course of conversation, while giving her a general account of the Brethren and their circumstances, I told her that one of our towns was named Bethlehem.

"Hereupon she interrupted me and said: 'The place in France where Jesus and the holy family lived was also named Bethlehem.' I was surprised at the woman's ignorance, considering she had been born and brought up a Christian. At the same time I thought I had evidence of the truth of the charge brought against the French missionaries, who are said to make it a point to teach the Indians that Jesus had been a Frenchman, and that the English had been his crucifiers. Without attempting to rectify her misapprehension, I, in a few words, stated our views, replying to her inquiries with sincerity of purpose, without, however, entering into an explanation, as I had proposed remaining retired for a few days. She was very confidential to Anna, and told her, among other things, that she was weary of Indian life.

"A knowledge of my rank is unquestionably prejudicial to our successful labors among both heathens and Christians. As soon as people discover who I am they view me from a worldly standpoint. My enemies also delight in publishing to the world that I

interior. He usually accompanied Weiser on his missions to the country, and when negotiating with Delawares, interpreted for the former, who was ignorant of the Delaware. As both spoke Mohawk, they were prepared to confer with all the Indian tribes with which the English had dealings. At the time of the Count's visit, Andrew was residing on an island in the Susquehanna, above Shamokin. Hence he accompanied Spangenberg to Onondaga, in June of 1745. In 1748 he entered the service of the Province, and soon after requested permission to settle near the whites. "Andrew has pitched upon a place in the Proprietary's manor, at Canataquany, and expects government to build him a house there, and furnish his family with necessaries. He seems to be very hard to please."—(Weiser to Richard Peters.) In April of 1752, Governor Hamilton furnished him with a commission under the Lesser Seal, "to go and reside in Cumberland County, over the Blue Hill, on unpurchased lands, to prevent others from settling there or from trading with the Indians." In 1755 he was still residing on his grant, ten miles northwest of Carlisle, between the Conedogwinet and the mountain, and was captain of a company of Indians in the English service. Rose to be a major. Andrew acted as interpreter for the Governor of Virginia at several important treaties. The French, in 1753, set a price of £100 upon his head. In May of 1761 he was his Majesty's interpreter to the United Nations. He is said to have led the party of warriors who, in 1780, surprised and took captive the Gilbert family, near Lehighton.

am a nobleman, and hence I endeavor as much as possible to conceal, or at least not to allow the fact to excite remark.

"The Indians erect either a stone or a mound in honor of their deceased heroes. This custom is decidedly Israelitish. Early in the morning of the 3d of October we heard a woman wailing at the grave of her husband.

"Andrew asked the loan of my horse to bring in the bear and deer he had shot, as his had strayed into the woods. He certainly intends to feast us.

"There is a promiscuous Indian population in this village. Madame Montour brought two children to me and asked me to baptize them, alleging the custom of the Canadian Fathers as an excuse for her request. I refused, telling her that whenever a Brother settled here we would take the matter into consideration, as we were in the habit of baptizing only such persons as we thought we would have frequent opportunity of reminding of the significance of the rite. At the same time I spoke to her of that spiritual baptism which the heart, even of the unbaptized, may, without any effort or premeditation on his part, experience. She left me displeased.

"Now, my dear Brethren, I must dispatch Conrad to Shamokin, as the Brethren there and Shikellimy are expecting him. The latter has been assigned us as guide to the wild Shawanese. Andrew, who is proficient in various Indian languages, will probably also accompany us. Remember Johanan,* Anna, Martin, Jeannette, Joshua and David, who are followers of the Lamb, and your fellow-members of His congregation.

"P. S. We will probably resume our journey about the 9th inst. At times we have observed signs of grace in Andrew. Anna has experienced in the case of Madame Montour's granddaughter. Andrew has concluded to give his hunting companions the slip, and forego the great annual hunt which the Indians are accustomed to prolong into the month of February, and accompany us to Skehandowana." †

*The name given Count Zinzendorf by the Indians.

†One of the Indian names for Wyoming Valley. According to Heckewelder, Wyoming is a corruption of M'cheuwami, a Delaware word signifying *large plains*.

Conrad Weiser uses the name *Skehandowana* in a narrative of a journey to Onon-

The mission of the Disciple, as Zinzendorf was called, had a good effect on the Indians. In May, 1743, Conrad Weiser was at Shamokin and expressed himself in terms of unqualified astonishment at the change wrought in this ferocious people through the instrumentality of the Brethren. In a letter dated June, 1743, he said:

As I saw their old men, seated on rude benches and on the ground, listening with decorous gravity and rapt attention to the words of Post, I fancied I saw before me a congregation of primitive Christians. John (Shikellimy), who is truly a child of God, interpreted with demonstrations of the spirit and power.

David Bruce and his wife were sent to Otstonwakin in 1743 to preach to the Indians. His wife was conversant with the French language. They remained several weeks.

On the 24th of May, 1745, Bishop Spangenberg,* accompanied by Conrad Weiser, David Zeisberger and Schebosh,† started on his famous journey to Onondaga, *via* Shamokin. They arrived at the latter place in due time and spent several days there, preaching and making arrangements for the great journey. The following extracts from his journal‡ describe the trip up the West Branch and Lycoming Creek:

“JUNE 7, 1745. Began our journey to Onondaga. Our company is composed of Spangenberg, Conrad Weiser, John Joseph,

daga, undertaken in February of 1737. He found two traders there from New York, and three men from the Maqua country, who were hunting land.—*Memorials of the Moravian Church*, page 69.

* Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg was born July 15, 1704, at Klettenberg, Prussia. He received a good education and became a professor in the University of Halle. In 1733 he joined the Moravians, having been deprived of his office at Halle, by a royal mandate, on account of his connection with their church. He subsequently presided over their church in America for nearly eighteen years. In 1762 he entered the General Executive Board of the United Fratum, and died in that office at Bertholdsdorf, Saxony, September 18, 1792, in the 89th year of his age. He was known among the Moravians as “Brother Joseph,” and was one of their greatest men.—*Life of Zeisberger*, page 89.

† John Joseph Schebosh was born, of Quaker parents, May 27, 1721, at Skippack, Pa., and joined the Moravian Church in 1742. His real name was John Bull, but the Indians gave him the title of “Schebosh,” which meant running water. He married Christiana, a Sopus Indian, baptized by Martin Mack (July 24, 1746), and devoted his life to the service of the Indian Mission. He died, at the mission in Ohio, September 4, 1786, in the 68th year of his age.—*Life of Zeisberger*, pages 131 and 605.

‡ See *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Vol. II., page 431.

David Zeisberger, Shikellimy, his son, and Andrew Sattelihu—seven in all. Crossed the river and traveled up the West Branch. Passed Shawane Creek and the site of the town that formerly stood there. Next came to the place where Shikellimy formerly lived—it is now deserted. The land is excellent in this vicinity, the equal of which is seldom found. Our course has been several miles W., and then N. W., until we reached Warrior's Camp,* where we passed the night. Two Indian warriors overtook us; one belonged to Otstonwakin and the other to Onondaga. The latter had neither shoes, stockings, blanket, gun, hatchet, steel or knife, and was almost naked; yet was determined in this condition to undertake a journey of 300 miles through the wilderness. Conrad asked him how he expected to continue his journey in his present condition. He replied: 'God, who was in the heavens, had created the earth and all creatures; he kept so many creatures alive in the wilderness, that he was able and would provide for him.' Both warriors had returned from a maraud against the Flatheads, and had lost all save their lives.

"JUNE 8. Our course was N. W. We crossed a creek near the Susquehanna, called Canachriage.† On the way we found half a deer, which an Indian from Otstonwakin had shot, and being unable to carry all of it home, he had hung the rest of it up in a tree, so that whoever needed it might take it—which we did. At noon we reached Otstonwakin.‡ The Indians here treated us very well; boiled meat and placed it before us in a large kettle. In the afternoon we proceeded on our journey, and at dusk came to the 'Limping Messenger,'§ or Diadachton Creek, and encamped for the night. Observations:—On our route we passed the Shawanese town, and the place where two years ago, when Conrad was traveling to Onondaga, he was met by twenty Shawanese, each with a rifle, two pistols, and a sabre.

* Now called Warrior Run. It empties into the river at Watsontown.

† Now known as Muncy Creek. Called *Oochpoheny* on Scull's map.

‡ Now Montoursville. It was also written *Olstuago*, *Otsuchage* and *Otsuagy*. Madame Montour lived there.

§ Lycoming Creek, the *Legau-hanne* of the Delawares. Written *Lycaumick* on Scull's map. It afterwards turned out that the true *Diadachton*, or *Tiadachton*, was what is now known as Pine Creek.

"JUNE 9. Conrad Weiser sent the Onondaga warrior, who had been traveling with us thus far, ahead to inform the Council of our coming. We gave him flint, steel, knife and provisions for the journey. Last night our horses strayed back to Otstonwakin, hence we were compelled to lay by until noon. After dinner we resumed our journey and entered the wilderness. Our course was N. Our path lay through the valley between the Ant Hills*—one hill resembling another, side by side, and so high that we could scarcely see to the summit. They are all peaked and resemble ant hills. In the evening we lodged at the Coffee House, † on Diadachton Creek.

"JUNE 10. It rained hard all day. Our course was N. for ten miles, then we turned N. E. We are still between the Ant Hills, and follow the Diadachton. The forest is so dense that for a day the sun could not be seen, and so thick that you could not see twenty feet before. The path, too, is so bad that the horses often were stuck, and had to be extricated from the bogs; and, at other points, it lay full of trees that had been blown down by the wind and heaped so high that we were at a loss whether to turn to the right or to the left. ‡ In the evening we came to a salt lick, where elks frequent, and camped for the night. § At this place once three Indians lost their lives. Two of the Six Nations had two Flat-head prisoners, whom they were taking to Onondaga. As their prisoners had departed quietly, they were no longer bound. While the Maquas were preparing their meal, their prisoners seized their guns and killed one on the spot. The other was chased among the trees and killed, not, however, before he had mortally wounded one of his prisoners with his tomahawk. The other escaped. The marks of the tomahawk cuts are still to be seen on the trees.

"Our guides, Shikellimy and his son, and Andrew Sattelihu,

* Dismal vale. Marked on Lewis Evans' map of 1749. Called Burnet's Hills by the Indians.

† A hut or camp. Probably at the mouth of Trout Run.

‡ Weiser, in his journal of 1737, states: "The woods were altogether of the kind called by the English spruce, and so thick that we could not generally see the sun shine." What we call hemlock. At that time it must have been a frightful wilderness.

§ Probably in the neighborhood of Field's Station, or Ralston.

saw fit to give us Maqua names, as they said ours were too difficult for them to pronounce. Brother Spangenberg they named *T'gerlitouti*, a row of trees; John Joseph, *Hajingonis*, one who twists tobacco, and David Zeisberger, *Ganonsseracheri*, on the pumpkin. Observations:—At the salt lick we found the tracks of elks, who came there to lick the salt. The elk is a species of deer, like horses without a mane.

“JUNE 11. Set off from the salt lick and traveled N. E.; reached the end of the Diadachton* and left the Ant Hills behind us. The path was very bad, so that one of our horses almost broke his leg, by getting into a hole between the roots of a tree. In the afternoon we found a cold roast of bear, which Indians had left on the hunt. As the meat was good we prepared it for dinner. In the evening we came to the Bear's Claws and camped. The Indians took the claws from the bear and nailed them to a tree, hence the name. Here an Indian from Tioga lodged with us. From him we learned that our messenger was already one day's journey ahead of us.

“JUNE 12. Our course was N. E. During the afternoon we left the wilderness in which we were four days, and had scarce seen the sun. Even our horses were quite inspirited once again to leave the woods. We crossed a creek called *Osgochgo*, and then came to the North Branch of the Susquehanna. Here we found the trees curiously painted by the Indians, representing their wars, the number that had fallen in battle, and the number they had killed. From this point our course was N. W. We went up the Susquehanna to Tioga, by the narrow path on the mountain by the river. Crossed the branch that is called Tioga, and here empties into the Susquehanna. Here we found a Mohican town. We proposed to pitch our tents near by, but the Indians came and urged us to lodge with them, as they had prepared a house and beds for us. We accepted their invitation with many thanks. This spot is about 180 miles from Shamokin, and in a charming region of country.”

From here the journey was continued to Onondaga with safety. It was exceedingly laborious and the travelers were very much

* Supposed to be near the present village of Roaring Branch.

exhausted when they reached the end. After a stay of twelve days they started on the return. Conrad Weiser and Andrew Montour returned by a circuitous route. Spangenberg, Zeisberger,* Schebosh, Shikellimy and his son came back with them, and they traveled the same route they did on going out. Their experiences were even more trying than on the outward journey. Not only had they to contend with the same horrors of the swamps, but a succession of rain storms occurred which made traveling almost unendurable; and greatest calamity of all, their provisions failed. They braved these hardships for eight days, until they reached Otstonwakin, almost exhausted. A bitter disappointment awaited them. There was not a morsel of food to be had in the village, and not even a fire burned in a single lodge. Riding on, in garments wringing wet, and barely alleviating the worst pangs of hunger with a few fishes † which they had caught in the Susquehanna, they lay down on the bank of the river at noon of the 7th of July, utterly overcome. ‡ They could go no farther. It was an hour to try their souls. A handful of rice constituted the

*David Zeisberger was a native of Moravia, in Germany, whence his parents emigrated to Herrnhut, in Upper Lusatia, for the sake of religious liberty. He was born in 1721. In 1738 he came to Georgia, where some of his brethren had begun a settlement, that they might preach the gospel to the Creeks. Thence he removed to Pennsylvania and assisted in the commencement of the settlements of Bethlehem and Nazareth. From 1746 he was for 62 years a missionary among the Indians. Perhaps no man ever preached the gospel so long among them, and amidst so many trials and hardships. He was one of the oldest white settlers in the State of Ohio. In the last 40 years of his life he only paid two visits to his friends in the Atlantic States. His last journey to Bethlehem was in 1781. He died at Goshen, on the River Muskingum, in Ohio, November 17, 1808, aged 87. Amidst all his privations and dangers he was never known to complain, nor ever regretted that he had engaged in the cause of the Redeemer. He would never consent to receive a salary. He spoke two Indian languages. Free from selfishness, a spirit of universal love filled his bosom. A more perfect character has seldom been exhibited on the earth.

† Loskiel, in his history, and Heckewelder, in his biographical sketches, both relate a wonderful draught of fishes made by Zeisberger, at Spangenberg's request, in water where fishes are not commonly found, and say that this saved the lives of the party. This incident has been often quoted by other writers. "It may have occurred," says Rev. Edmund de Schweinitz, the biographer of Zeisberger, "but there is no authority for it, either in Spangenberg's journal or in his original notes; hence I omit it."—*Life of Zeisberger*, page 137.

‡ Supposed to have been at some point in the Muncy Valley, not far from Port Penn.

remnant of their provisions. Faint and silent, the Bishop and his young companions waited to see what God would do; while Shikellimy and his son, with the stoicism of their race, resigned themselves to their fate. Presently an aged Indian emerged from the forest and sat down among them, opened his pouch and gave them a smoked turkey. When they proceeded he joined their party, camped with them at night and produced several pieces of delicious venison. They could not but recognize in this meeting a direct interposition of their Heavenly Father. The next day they reached Shamokin, where a trader supplied their wants, and the terrible journey was over.

On their way down the river to Shamokin they came upon a rattlesnake* nest amid the hills of the river. Spangenberg says, in his journal, that at first but few of the reptiles were visible, basking in the sun. No sooner, however, did they kill these than the whole neighborhood seemed to be alive with them, and a rattling began which was frightful. Snakes crawled out of holes, from crevices in the rocks and between loose stones, or darted from thickets and lifted up their heads above patches of ferns, until there was a multitude in motion that completely surrounded the travelers, who hastened from the spot. It was a place where the reptiles had gathered in autumn and lain torpid, coiled together in heaps, during the winter.

Zeisberger relates that he once met with some Indians who had found such a nest and set fire to the dry leaves and trees around it. The result was marvelous. First a terrific concert ensued of roaring flames and hissing, rattling serpents; and then these came rolling down the mountain side, scorched to death, in such quantities that they would have filled several wagons, while the air was laden with an intolerable stench.†

In the spring of 1744 the first aggravated case of murder in this part of the State occurred on the Juniata, when John Armstrong, an Indian trader, and his two servants, James Smith and Woodworth Arnold, were inhumanly and barbarously killed by an Indian of the Delaware tribe, named Musemeelin. The crime

*As they were traveling by the great trail to Shamokin, it is supposed that this den of snakes was encountered somewhere in the Muncy Hills.

†See *Life of Zeisberger*, pages 137-8.

was of such an atrocious and aggravating nature that a Provincial Council was held to take it into consideration, and it was finally resolved that Conrad Weiser should be sent to Shamokin to demand an explanation from the chiefs in the name of the Governor.

Mr. Weiser arrived at Shamokin May 2, 1744, and delivered his message to Alumoppees, the Delaware chief, in the presence of Shikellimy and a number of prominent Indians.

Alumoppees replied that it was true the evil spirit had influenced some of his tribe to commit the murder; that he was very sorry it had occurred, and had ordered the murderer to be delivered to the friends of the murdered men for punishment.

At the conclusion of the address Shikellimy arose and gave a full account of the tragic affair, which is very long and interesting. When the conference ended a feast was prepared, to which Weiser and friends were invited. There were about 100 persons present, and after they had, in great silence, devoured a fat bear, the eldest of the chiefs made a friendly speech, which was directed to the government messenger.

We come now to a point which marks an important epoch in the history of Shamokin—the building of the *first* house by white men. It was erected by Conrad Weiser for Shikellimy, who employed him to build it, and the event was the beginning of a new civilization at the junction of the two rivers. In Mr. Weiser's letter to James Logan,* dated September 29, 1744, he says:

STR:—The day before yesterday I came back from Shohomokin, where I had been with eight young men of my country people, whom Shickalemy hired to make a locke house for him, and I went with them to direct them. We finished the house in 17 days; it is 49½ foot long, and 17½ wide, and covered with singels.

That this was the first building after the English style erected

* James Logan was born at Lurgan, Ireland, October 20, 1674, of Scottish parentage. He received a good education and spoke three or four languages. While engaged in trade between Dublin and Bristol, William Penn induced him to come to America as his secretary, and he landed at Philadelphia in December, 1699. Penn invested him with many important trusts, which he discharged with fidelity. Although he never received the appointment of Governor of the Province, on several occasions he assumed the executive functions. He filled the offices of provincial secretary, commissioner of property and chief justice. He was the warm friend of the Indians, possessed uncommon abilities, great wisdom and moderation. He died at his country seat, near Philadelphia, October 31, 1751, aged 77 years and 11 days.—*Egle's History of Pennsylvania*, page 76.

at this place does not admit of a doubt. Almost 144 years have rolled away since that day. The building was no doubt constructed of logs notched at the ends, and covered by what was known among the pioneers as clapboards. For what purpose such a building was intended we are not informed, further than it was a "locke house." It is sufficient to know that it was ordered by the king, and in it he probably incarcerated some of his refractory Indian subjects.

At the time Mr. Weiser was building the house he informs us that the fever was very bad among the Indians at Shamokin, and five or six died while he was there. Alumopees, the Delaware king, was prostrated for a long time, but finally recovered.

As early as 1744 a settlement was made on Penn's Creek, which falls into the river a few miles below Sunbury, on the west side of the stream. These settlers were the advanced pioneers of civilization. They were mostly Scotch-Irish, from the Kittatiny Valley, and they pitched their tents in the wilderness on the rich, inviting land about the mouth of the stream, and commenced to make improvements. They were hardy, industrious and determined, and well fitted to endure the sufferings and privations that must be met in a new country filled with painted savages and wild beasts. The names of a few of these settlers have been preserved. They are as follows: Jacob LeRoy, George Auchmudy, Abraham Sourkill, George Snabble, George Gliwell, John McCahan, Edmund Matthews, John Young, Mark Curry, William Daran, John Simmons, George Aberheart, Daniel Braugh, Gotfried Fryer, Dennis Mucklehenny and a number of others.

J. Martin Mack* and his wife were the first missionaries stationed at Shamokin. In his autobiography he thus speaks of their stay there:

In September, of 1745, my wife and I were sent to Shamokin, *the very seat of the Prince of Darkness*. During the four months we resided there, we were in constant danger, and there was scarcely a night but we were compelled to leave our hut, and hide in the woods, from fear of the drunken savages.

* John Martin Mack, born April 13, 1715, at Lysingen, in Wurtemberg, was a distinguished missionary among the Indians, and subsequently a missionary bishop among the negroes of the West Indies. He died June 9, 1784, while superintendent of the Mission in St. Croix.

David Brainerd visited Shamokin in the same year, reaching there the 13th of September, and in his journal writes:

The town lies partly on the east and the west shores of the river, and partly on the island. It contains upwards of fifty houses and 300 inhabitants. 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 degree. About one-half are Delawares, the others Senecas and Tutelars.

During this same visit he speaks of extending his journey to the Great Island and of the sufferings he endured. He had to lie out at night, and in order to get branches to make a shelter to protect him from the heavy dews he was compelled to climb a tree and cut them with his knife. He speaks of reaching a Delaware town (probably where Linden now stands), where he found many Indians drinking and drunk. He preached to them and a few listened with much earnestness. He then continued about eight miles further, to a small town of "Shauwanoes," where he spent an hour or two, and then returned to the Delaware town and lodged there. The next day he continued his journey down the river and finally reached Shamokin, almost worn out. It was his intention to have tarried longer on his mission, but illness prevented him, and he hurried home. He returned the following year, however, and had a much pleasanter time.

The Moravians labored with great zeal among the Indians, and succeeded in doing much good; and in order to obtain a better foot-hold at Shamokin they decided to establish a smith shop there. Ever since the introduction of fire-arms the smitheries of the white people had been in high repute among the Indians, and they were constantly visited by hunters and warriors to have their arms repaired. On account of the distance of these shops from the Indian country, Shikellimy applied to the Colonial government to authorize one to be set up at Shamokin. The Board, by the advice of Weiser, and the consent of the Governor, entered into negotiations with the Indians for that purpose, providing they promised to remain friendly. Accordingly in April, 1747, John Martin Mack was sent to Shamokin to confer with the Indians regarding the smithy. He was accompanied by Nathaniel, a Mohican convert. Mack was a fluent speaker in Mohican and Delaware, and James Shikellimy's wife translated from Mohican into Oneida. The following extracts from Mack's journal relating

to the result of the conference were transcribed from the original, on file in the Moravian archives at Bethlehem, by Mr. John W. Jordan, editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*:

APRIL 28, 1747. Shikellimy not at home.

APRIL 30. Visited a Shawanese, who and his wife, a Mohican, knew many of our brethren. In the afternoon all Shamokin was drunk, and Martin [Mack] and Nathaniel went into the woods.

MAY 1. They were visited in the woods by some Indians who were friendly. Towards evening Shikellimy and his son returned home. He invited and lodged us in his house.

MAY 2. Shikellimy went with his sons into the woods, kindled a fire and summoned us. They sat in a circle around the fire, and Shikellimy said: "Now propose."

"We are sent," said Mack, "by T'girhitonti (the Indian name of Bishop Spangenberg), and his brethren to speak words with Shikellimy and his council." (Gave a fathom of wampum.) "Brethren: T'girhitonti and his brethren remembered that they had promised to send you a smith at your request; we had selected one, and he and his things were all ready to come last year, but it was so sickly in all Pennsylvania; this and other things prevented. We now come to greet you, and to ask whether you still desire a smith? We love you; you are our brethren; we are desirous of aiding you. We also informed the Governor of your request and our wish to aid you. We think it would be well if the whole council would let us know its mind in this matter. Last of all we desire to let you know our conclusions, but, Shikellimy and brethren, we did not meet at home." (Gave a fathom of wampum.)

Shikellimy said: Good, he would convoke the council, but it was not necessary for the old Delaware King to be present; he was an inebriate and had nothing to say at Shamokin.

Hereupon Mack and Nathaniel withdrew, and Shikellimy convoked the councilors, and after a council of three hours they summoned the Moravians and had them join the circle. After awhile Shikellimy took Mack's wampum, held it aloft and explained its significance to the others. It was handled by all and they consulted over it. Then Shikellimy took it and said:

"My brother! T'girhitonti, we accept of your message as true." (Gave a string of wampum.) "I wish you would do what we want. We wish a smith; we need one; I have long wished for one. I will love him as my own flesh and blood. T'girhitonti! I wish him to come soon. He shall have a house and shop near mine, so that I can protect him against drunken Indians. T'girhitonti! the smith shall have a piece of land of mine, to support himself. T'girhitonti! we have also concluded that the Indians who have work done at the smithy shall pay." (Gave a second string of wampum.)

Then followed some general conversation, in which Shikellimy spoke of Zinzendorf and Anna Nitschman, who he had accompanied to Wyoming. The council then dissolved. It consisted of Shikellimy, his three sons and three other Five Nation Indians. No Delawares were allowed to be present. James Shikellimy's wife, a Mohican, was interpreter, and is well acquainted with Brother Mack's wife.

MAY 3. Martin Mack and Nathaniel set out for Bethlehem.

About this time Bishop Spangenberg wrote: "Shikellimy is now chief over *all* the Indians from Shokokin to Onondaga. The Delawares have no king any more and are likely not to have any. The Five Nations have given all over to Shikellimy."

In June Joseph Powell* and John Hagen, with David Bruce, set out for Shamokin to make final arrangements with Shikellimy. Their instructions were written in Mohawk and wampum was taken along to be used in confirming the contract. Powell and Hagen were to build the house, and in it was to be the smith shop. When all was settled the smith and his wife were to be sent up, and Hagen and his wife were to remain as missionaries in charge. They reached Shamokin June 11, 1747, and camped under a beech tree near Shikellimy's house. The old king welcomed them, as did his sons and other Indians. He then took them to his own house, where his sons arranged seats for them, by spreading out bear skins. Around the Moravians were seated Shikellimy and his councilors. Hagen told them of the object of their coming and read his instructions in Mohawk, which all said they understood. Finally he gave them the wampum, which gratified them very much. Shikellimy said that he would give the missionaries horses to drag the logs to the site of the house, and he at once went out with them, and some twelve paces from his house, he pointed to the place where they might build the house and smithy, and also several acres towards the Susquehanna which they might fence and till.

June 21st Bruce returned to Shamokin with Christian Henry Rauch. On the way up he purchased the iron, etc., for the smithy, at Lancaster,† which was transferred to Harris' Ferry. The

* Joseph Powell was an itinerant missionary, born in Shropshire, England, in 1710, and died September 23, 1774, at Wechquadnach, Connecticut, where, in 1859, the Moravian Historical Society erected a monument to his memory. He was great-grandfather of Joseph Powell, of Towanda, who ran for State Treasurer on the Democratic ticket, in 1883, against William Livsey, but was defeated.

† Justice Smout, of Lancaster, made a present to the smithy of a bench vise. The following stock was also purchased: Fourteen flat and half-round files, seven files, one large three-square file, one large four-square file, one pair smiths' pincers, iron wire, one grindstone, one hammer, one tew iron, one old vise, rosin, brimstone, glue, one gimlet, one bench hammer, three small round hatchets, 112 pounds of iron and 137 pounds of steel.

Indians went down in canoes, loaded the anvil, iron and tools, and paddled back to Shamokin. In passing over some ripples, seven and one-half miles above the ferry, the canoe in which was the anvil upset, and it was lost, but was subsequently recovered.

The house built by the Moravians was 30x18 feet, with an upper room. Some land was then broken and turnips planted.*

Anton Schmidt,† the blacksmith, arrived and was introduced to the Indians assembled in council as the blacksmith of the village. The Indians gave him the name of *Rachastoni*, but we are not informed as to its meaning.

Under date of July 20, 1747, Conrad Weiser wrote to Richard Peters, concerning some of the principal Indians: "Alumoppees‡ would have resigned his crown before now, but as he has had the keeping of the public treasure—that is to say the council bag—consisting of belts of wampum, for which he buys liquor, and has been drunk for these two or three years almost constantly, and it is thought he won't die as long as there is one single wampum left in the bag. Lapapitton is the most fitted person to be his successor. He is an honest, true hearted man, and has very good natural sense. He is a sober man, between 40 and 50 years of age. He is well esteemed among his country people and others, but whether or not he will trouble himself with public affairs is a great question. He has lived retired for these several years with his family."

*Shikellimy was very fond of turnips and was always grateful when a few were presented to him. The "patch" was often robbed by "bad" Indians.

†Brother C. H. Rauch, who escorted the smith, Brother Anton Schmidt and wife, and the wife of John Hagen, to Shamokin, where they arrived August 3d, states: "Was surprised to see the beautiful house built by Powell and Hagen in so short a time—much quicker and better than the one Conrad Weiser had built for Shikellimy, at the order of the Governor."

‡Alumoppees, or Sassoonan, was king of the Delawares as early as 1718. In 1728 he removed from the Delaware River and took up his residence at Shamokin. In June, 1747, Conrad Weiser reported that "Alumoppees has no successor of his relations, 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 Alumoppees' successor and set him up by their authority, that at this critical time there might be a man to apply to, since Alumoppees has lost his senses, and is incapable of doing anything." As Alumoppees robbed the Indian treasury, his is the first recorded case of official defalcation on the Susquehanna. He died in 1747, and was buried at Shamokin.

August 18th Rauch returned to Bethlehem and reported that the missionaries apparently were much beloved by the Indians, who treated them differently from other whites.

The building of the smith shop was an interesting event and greatly excited the curiosity of the Indians. An extract from the journal of John Hagen, now preserved in the archives at Bethlehem, is given herewith:

JUNE 1, 1747. Began to cut timber for the house.

JUNE 3. Staked off the house, 30 x 18.

JUNE 4. Laid the sills. Shikellimy helped us in person.

JUNE 5. Began to set up the frame.

JUNE 7. Some 17 Delawares came here to-day on their way to war against the Catawbas. When we had retired to rest they came to us in our house to acquaint their idol of the war. The idol is a pestle, on which a human head is carved. They made a great uproar with music and dancing. Whenever one of the party uttered a complaint against the Catawbas he slashed into the god with his hatchet, in order to express his opinion.

JUNE 8. Laid the beams.

JUNE 9. The warriors left. Shikellimy's sons went along. Food scarce. The Indians hunt *wurzel grass*, etc., for food—a plant which, if uncooked, is a deadly poison, but if cooked with ferns it is good eating.

JUNE 10. Busy. Visitors plenty, but no help.

JUNE 13. Done blocking up. Shikellimy went in a canoe to Harris' Ferry for provisions for himself. Began to sow our turnips.

JUNE 15. Cut a tree for shingles and made some. A trader passed through. He made the Indians drunk and cursed us.

JUNE 16. Made shingles. Drunken Indians wanted to quarrel with us. Shikellimy's wife, who was also drunk, interfered in our favor.

JUNE 18. Made shingles and cut a door into the house.

JUNE 22. Commenced shingling the house.

JUNE 23. Shikellimy returned and was astonished at the work we had done.

JUNE 24. Moved into our house, as enough of the roof was on to keep dry. A drunken Indian, on behaving ugly to us, was bound, as is the custom here.

JUNE 28—Sunday. Rested. On telling Shikellimy we did not work on this day, he left, put on his kingly robes and returned.

Under date of October 17th, he notes in his journal: "Shikellimy, at this date, is emperor over all the kings and governors of the Indian nations on the Susquehanna."

September 11th Christian Frederick Post* was sent to visit the missionaries and to assist in clearing more land for planting, and

* He was born at Conitz, in Polish Prussia, and was a distinguished missionary among the Indians, with whom he was connected by marriage. His first wife was Rachel, a Wampanoag, baptized February 13, 1743, and died in 1747, at Bethle-

to fence it. He also brought a hat along for Shikellimy, who had lost his while helping to transport the smithy tools from Harris' Ferry to Shamokin.

News had reached Bethlehem of the death of Hagen, which occurred on the 16th, of fever. On the way up Post took the fever at Tulpehocken. This induced George Loesch to accompany him. When they reached Shamokin they found the smith and his wife, and Hagen's wife, all sick and helpless in bed. They at once set about making preparations to bury Hagen* the next day. Anton Schmidt, Post, Loesch and an Indian dug the grave and buried him in the turnip patch near the fence. Many Indians were present at the funeral, and they were so affected that they shed tears. Shikellimy and other Indians were also sick and several died of the fever. Hagen was sick eight days. He was the first Moravian to die on the Susquehanna. J. Martin Mack succeeded him as resident missionary.

This same month David Brainerd visited Shamokin and found Alumoppees† still living, although he was supposed to be at the point of death when he was there in May. He died, however, in October, 1747, and Conrad Weiser wrote that Lapapitton was the best man to succeed him, but he declined, because he was afraid he might be envied, "and consequently bewitched by some of the Indians."

On the 6th of October, 1747, Conrad Weiser writes that he set out for Shamokin and arrived there on the 9th. He was surprised to find Shikellimy so ill that he could scarcely stretch out his hand to bid him welcome. His wife and three sons were also very sick. One of his daughters and two or three of his grandchildren were

hem. In 1749 he married Agnes, a Delaware, baptized by Cammerhoff, March 5, 1749. She died in 1751, at Bethlehem. His third wife was a white woman. Post eventually left the service of the Moravian Church. He died at Germantown.—*Life of Zeisberger*, page 121.

*John Hagen came from Brandenburg. In April, 1740, he was sent to Georgia to missionate among the Cherokees. He returned to Bethlehem in 1742. September 19th, of the same year, he married Margaret, daughter of David Dismann, of Providence Township, Montgomery County. He labored among the Delawares, the Susquehanna tribes, and the Mohicans of New York. His age is unknown.

†Some time in 1731 *Alumoppees* assassinated his nephew, *Sam Shakatawlin*, at Shamokin, by stabbing him to the heart with a knife, while in a drunken brawl. He was his presumptive successor, and he became very jealous of him.

also suffering from the fever. A few days before his arrival three out of the old chief's family had died—Cajadies, his son-in-law, who had been married to his daughter for fifteen years, and considered the best hunter among all the Indians of the place; also his oldest son's wife and his grandchild. Mr. Weiser continues: "Next morning I administered the medicines to Shikellimy and one of his sons, under the direction of Dr. Thomas Graeme, which had a very good effect upon both. Shikellimy was able to walk about with me, with a stick in his hand, before I left Shamokin, which was on the 12th, in the afternoon."

In November Post returned to Shamokin on a visit. He found Shikellimy very friendly, but he was much distressed on account of the death of his wife, which occurred on the 7th of November. He and his sons buried her, and as a mark of respect fired rifles over her grave.

In January, of 1748, Bishop J. C. F. Cammerhoff* and Joseph Powell set out from Bethlehem to visit Shamokin. Their journey at that time of the year was a perilous one, owing to the snow and high water, and both narrowly escaped drowning. An extract from their journal, by Mr. Jordan, reads as follows:

JANUARY 15, 1748. Concluded to consult with Shikellimy about the smithy, and appointed the afternoon for the interview. Asked him to dinner, which he deemed an honor. Later he summoned his councilors to our house. There were present Shikellimy, his two younger sons and Logan's wife, who was to act as interpreter through the Mohican tongue. His oldest son was sick—was unable to be present. Mack's wife translated my words into Mohican, and Logan's wife this into Shawanese and James Shikellimy into Oneida for his father.

Shikellimy said: "Don't take it amiss, my brethren, that I speak first. You said you wished to tell me and my brethren words, but first I must tell you something. My brethren, don't take it amiss that the smith at Shamokin, up to this time, has not had more meat to eat. I have been sick, and also my sons and their children, and many of them died. If we had been well and able to go on the hunt, then the smith and his wife would have had more to eat."

We replied: "Shikellimy, my brother! T'girhitonti, my brother and your brother,

*John Christoph Frederic Cammerhoff was born near Magdeburg, Prussia, July 28, 1721, and arrived in America in 1747. He was a remarkable man. A graduate of the University of Jena. He was a bishop at the age of 25 and a divine of rare scholarship. During his labors of only four years among the Indians he did much good and baptized eighty-nine. He died April 28, 1751, at Bethlehem, from the effects of hardships endured during a journey to Onondaga through the wilderness.—*Life of Zeisberger*, page 182.

heard of your great sickness; we sympathized with you, and we rejoice to see that you are convalescent. T'girhitonti, your brother, wishes you good health." (This pleased him exceedingly.) "Shikellimy, my brother! My brother, the smith, and his brethren at Shamokin are not displeased, for they had as much meat as was necessary; and T'girhitonti and his brethren are not displeased, and rejoice of your kindness towards the smith."

Shikellimy said: "So far the smith has taken deer skins in exchange for his work; cannot he take also raccoon, fox, wild cat and other skins, so the smith can be paid for his work?"

"Shikellimy, my brother! T'girhitonti and his brethren are no traders, they don't traffic in furs, for that is not their business; hence the smith cannot take all kinds of skins. The deer skins T'girhitonti and his brethren use for their people to make breeches, caps, gloves, etc.; the smith must take deer skins. But, as T'girhitonti loves you and your brethren, the smith shall sometimes take otter, raccoon and fox skins, as such skins are useful to us. He will not deliver the work until it is paid for, else he be cheated."

Shikellimy said: "I always said that the smith should trust no Indian, but as soon as he mended a gun he should keep it until it is paid. Why did he trust? I knew he would be deceived."

"Shikellimy, my brother! the smith loves the Indians, and hence he trusted them. For when Indians came to him with their broken guns, he did not want to send them away to get skins first, thus causing them to lose several days of the hunt—hence he trusted them. But he finds he is being cheated and he is unwilling to trust any more."

Shikellimy said: "Cannot the smith also take bear and elk skins for his work?"

"He can take as many bear skins," we replied, "as are brought; also the skins of the elk; but it is better if he is paid in deer skins, for T'girhitonti and his brethren are no traders."

"Shikellimy said: "Now, my brethren, I have said all I had to say, and I thank you for your answers; now you can speak."

"T'girhitonti," said I, "and all his brethren send greetings to you, brother Shikellimy. I send you this my younger brother [Cammerhoff] to greet you, to tell you of my joy that you are again well, for I love you tenderly, Shikellimy. Johanan (Zinzendorf's Indian name), who is over the great water, so sent my younger brother over the great water to greet you and your brethren, and to tell you he loves you."

"Shikellimy! I sent the smith here, who I love, to work for you, and I rejoice that you all love him. Continue to do so."

"Shikellimy, my brother! I need my brother Mack and his wife at Bethlehem, for she will soon be confined." (About this they spoke much to each other.) "I send my brother Powell to live with the smith and to help him. I love him, and do you also love him." (Here they smiled at Powell.)

"Shikellimy, my brother! you said you would give the smith and his brethren more land to plant corn, pumpkins and turnips. Do as you said, and give them wood, so they can split rails and fence it in before planting time."

"Shikellimy, my brother! we are delighted to hear that you will visit us again in Bethlehem, and if you bring along your son James and his Mohican wife, and your other sons, they will be heartily welcome. I have now said all I had to say, and thank you for your attention. You are at liberty to reply if you have anything to say."

He sent many greetings to T'girhitonti and his brethren, and said that as soon as it grew warmer, that he could sleep out in the woods, he would come to Bethlehem. His son Logan said the same thing. At the close of the conference I distributed some presents, after which Shikellimy pointed out to us a piece of land for the use of the smith.

I conferred with my brethren and we determined the following:

1. That the smith is not to trust.
2. That he is not to entertain Indians at his house, as it makes Shikellimy distrustful, for there are special houses for all strangers or visitors. To allow any one to sleep in your house is a mark of great confidence.
3. The smith is to trust no trader.
4. No Indian to be trusted on any trader's account.
5. Our brethren are not to interfere with or pass judgment in case of any dispute between Indians and traders, nor interfere with their bargains.
6. Must represent to the Indians at all times that we are not traders.
7. We must not lead Indians into temptation by leaving many things lie about the house or shop.
8. Entertain no traders. Send them all to Shikellimy, except Captain McKee.
9. Always be scrupulously truthful to the Indians; never say we have nothing when we have.

10. We cannot be as hospitable to the Indians in Shamokin as at Bethlehem, as we do not raise harvests here, but must transport all our flour from Harris' Ferry; but always be self-denying to the last crust to the needy and suffering, and the sick.

11. Our brethren are to visit the Indians frequently in their huts; no distinction to be made between Iroquois, Delawares and Tudelars, although the former despise the Delawares. No partiality!

12. The good will of Shikellimy and his family must be maintained. Invite him frequently to dinner and constantly seek his advice.

13. No more land is to be used than is absolutely necessary to farm after the Indian fashion, and only corn, potatoes, turnips and beans to be raised. It is true Shikellimy proposed to the smith to keep cows and hogs, but this best be not done.

JANUARY 19. Bishop Cammerhoff reached Bethlehem.

In the summer of 1748 David Zeisberger and John Martin Mack made a journey up the West Branch for the purpose of visiting the Indians, among whom a famine was prevailing. The following extract from the journal of Mack shows the wretched condition in which they found them:

"JULY 9, 1748. Set out from Shamokin, and by evening reached the spot where Bishop Spangenberg and party lodged on their way to Onondaga.*

"JULY 10. About noon reached Otstonwakin, and found it entirely deserted; so we journeyed on. At night tormented by

* At Warrior Run. See Spangenberg's Journal, page 106.

punks and mosquitoes, despite the five fires between which we lay down to sleep.

"JULY 11. Resumed our journey, and at noon came to some Indian huts, but found them empty. We passed many empty huts to-day. Crossed a branch of the Susquehanna, and also to an island, where we found a few deserted huts. Brother Mack climbed into a tree to look out for some human being—for the grass and weeds were so high as to intercept all view—and saw an Indian at a distance. He descended and made for the point, where he found a hut in which an old woman and some others were down with the small-pox. On asking where the Indians of this region were, he was told that many had died of small-pox and others had been driven by famine to the white settlements. We learned that this district was called Long Island,* and nearly all who dwell here (and the number is not small) are Delawares. One of the Indian men knew Brother Mack well, having met him at Shamokin. He was friendly, showed us the way to Great Island, and regretted he had nothing to give us to eat.

"Towards evening reached Great Island,† and found Indians at home, residing on this side of the island. They asked us from whence we came, and whether we had ought to sell. When told that we were not traders, but had only come to visit them, it was incomprehensible to them. But a few old squaws were living on the island; the men had been driven away by the famine. We consequently remained on this side of the island, and asked an Indian whether we could lodge in his hut. He took us in cordially, and spread a bear skin for us to sleep on; but he had nothing for us to eat. Ascertained that he was a Five Nation Indian, and his wife a Shawanese; whereupon Brother Zeisberger conversed with him. His father, who is upwards of 70 years, was dying of small-pox, and was a most pitiable object. His case, and that of the Indians here, enlisted our sympathies and silent prayers.

* Situated in the river opposite Jersey Shore. In later years it was known as Bailey's Island. It originally consisted of one farm, and contained 174 acres. A few years ago it was divided into two. County bridges connect it with the main land on both sides and a public highway crosses it.

† This famous island lies in the river a short distance east of Lock Haven. It is often called Dunn's Island. It contains 325 acres and is divided into several farms.

"In the evening we were visited by a number of Indians—Shawanese and Cayugas. Here dwell in three houses Shawanese, Maquas and Delawares; among the latter an Indian from Albany, who spoke Low Dutch. In all three houses were cases of small-pox. In one hut hung a kettle in which grass was being stewed, which they ate with avidity.

"JULY 12. Brother Zeisberger learned from our host that many Indians passed and repassed his hut. To-day he brought out some dried venison and gave us some, and we in turn gave his child some of our bread, for which they were very thankful.

"In the afternoon told our host we desired to visit the island to see the Indians there, and he, unasked, went with us, and led us to all the huts. We found some clever people here who had just returned from the woods, and who shared with us grapes, green and hard, which they ate with avidity. We prayed silently to the Lord to have mercy on this people.

"Returned to our lodgings, and our host again asked us why we had come so far, and had we not come in search of land? He said there was fine land in the neighborhood. We explained that was not our object.

"JULY 13. We found an opportunity to speak to our host of the Saviour. He had heard somewhat of God, and said he believed what we had told him was good and true. He then gave us some dried venison and we in turn some needles and thread to his wife.

"Set out on our return down the Susquehanna. At night camped on a large flat by a creek, ate some mouldy bread, the last of our stock, and built four fires to keep off the vermin.

"JULY 14. Arose early. Brother David [Zeisberger] caught some fish, which we cooked. At noon reached Otstonwakin,* where we speared a large fish with a pointed stick. This we took to our camp, which was on a high bank of the Susquehanna, where Bishop Spangenberg and company had dined on the way to Onondaga in 1745, and ate the fish for supper.

"JULY 15. Set out early and at noon came to a spot where

*Where Madame Montour resided on the Loyalsock. Now known as the borough of Montoursville.

Spangenberg had passed the night on his return from Onondaga, and at evening reached Shamokin."

Mack and his companion remained in Shamokin until July 22d, when they traveled up the North Branch, visiting the Indian towns along the river to Wapwallopen, crossed the mountain to Gnadenhuetten, and from thence to Bethlehem, arriving there July 30th.

Shikellimy made his last visit to Bethlehem early in December. On his return to Shamokin with Zeisberger, in the woods, between Tulpehocken and his home, he spoke of his love for Zinzendorf, Spangenberg and Cammerhoff, and that what they had told him of God was true. On the night of December 7th he was taken ill with fever, and in this condition Zeisberger carried him home. In his lodge he laid down and rapidly became worse, so that he lost his hearing and speech. Zeisberger visited him frequently and prayed for him in the hour of death. A short time before he breathed his last he turned to Zeisberger, who stood over his bed, and looked him beseechingly in the face, and signified as though he would speak to him, but he could not. He reached out his hand and made another effort, but without avail, and as a bright smile illumined his countenance his spirit quietly took its flight. He died December 17, 1748,* in the presence of his daughter and the good missionary, who had so faithfully watched by his bedside.

Several days after his decease his second son, Logan, returned home from a far off country, to weep over the lifeless body of the parent he so much esteemed. The Brethren, Zeisberger and Henry Fry, *made him a coffin*, and the Indians painted the corpse in gay colors and decked it with the choicest ornaments † that had belonged to him in life. Various implements were then placed in the coffin, according to the Indian custom, to be used by the dead warrior when he should reach his new home. The coffin was

*On page 59, of this work, an error inadvertently crept in regarding the true date of his death.

† The grave that was opened in 1858 by Mr. Hendricks, described on pages 58 and 59, is supposed to have been the one in which the remains of Shikellimy were laid. It is true that other Indians were buried in coffins by the Moravians, but no grave was ever opened by antiquarians at this place which contained a greater variety of beads and rich trinkets than this one. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that this was the grave of the vice-king.

then carried to the grave by three Moravians (Post, Loesch and Schmidt) and a young Indian, when the honored chieftain, after Christian funeral services, conducted by Bishop Zeisberger, was laid to rest in the burial place of his fathers on the banks of the "Winding River."



SHIKELLIMY.

Shikellimy, who figured so conspicuously in Indian history from the first appearance of the whites in this valley down to the close of his eventful life, was in some respects one of the most remarkable aborigines of whom we have any account, and it is much regretted that so little of his personal history has been handed down to us. He was an Oneida by birth, and Shikellimy was the name given him by the Shawanese. The Six Nations

called him Swatane. He belonged to the tribe of the Bear. When and where he was born is unknown, but it is likely that he first saw the light of day in some part of what is now the State of New York. At the time of his death he is supposed to have been 65 or 68 years of age, which was quite old for an Indian. He had four sons: 1, Tachnechtoris, a wide spreading oak, who was also called John, of the tribe of the Turtle; 2, Arahhot;* 3, Sajehtowa, alias James Logan; 4, John Petty, named after a trader. We know that he had one daughter, for the Moravians inform us that she was present when he died.

The first we hear of him was in 1728, when he was living on the West Branch. In 1737 he was living in his village, a short distance below Milton, on the west side of the river, the site of which is illustrated on page 62. At that time he appears to have been in the full flush and vigor of manhood.

As he possessed an executive mind, and was recognized by his people as a man of much more than ordinary ability, his counsel was eagerly sought by the government of the Six Nations; and as this section of their confederation was somewhat hard to govern, on account of the various tribes inhabiting it, and the conflicting interests which had to be regulated, he was designated at an early period as leading sachem or vicegerent, and invested with more than ordinary authority. As early as 1745 he established his seat at Shamokin, as that place was recognized as the central or converging point. On account of his high standing and excellent judgment, his influence was courted by the Provincial authorities. So great was his love for truth and justice that he never violated his word nor condoned a crime. There was scarcely a treaty held for the purchase of lands, from 1728 to 1748, that he did not attend, and his wise counsels aided in amicable solutions of what sometimes threatened to be troublesome questions.

The acquaintance which Zeisberger made with him was carefully followed up by the Brethren and ripened into a friendship which ceased only with the death of the noble old chief. His

*In 1744 Shikellimy lost a son in the war with the Catawbas. He was called "Unhappy Jake," and his father took his death "very hard," according to Weiser, and the Governor sent him some small presents to "wipe off the old man's tears and comfort his heart."

numerous trips as guide and interpreter with the Moravians show the great confidence that was reposed in him, and the high esteem in which he was held.

He was also the warm friend and confidant of Conrad Weiser, and they were always fast friends. Many anecdotes* are related concerning them. It was while on the return from a visit to Bethlehem, in 1747, to confer with the Brethren, that he was first taken sick at Tulpehocken, and never fully recovered.

In April, 1745, he made his first visit to Bethlehem and spent a week there. Rev. J. C. Pyrlæus,† who was studying Mohawk, improved the opportunity to collect a store of vocables in that language from the lips of the Oneida chief. In this MS. he gives *Otsinachcs* as Iroquois for Shamokin. The Moravians invariably wrote it Shamoko.

*It is related that Shikellimy once came to Conrad Weiser and said: "I had a glorious dream. I dreamed that *Tarachawagon* [Weiser] had presented me with a rifle." Conrad, of course, handed over to his dusky friend the coveted weapon, suspecting all the while that Shikellimy had a dream which was not all a dream. A few days later Conrad Weiser had a dream, and told Shikellimy so. The chief asked for the revelation "I dreamed," said Conrad, "that Shikellimy presented me with the large and beautiful island nestled in the Susquehanna River." The nonplused chief at once made over his favorite island—the Isle of Que—but added: "Conrad, let us never dream again!"

It is not believed that this story ever occurred. It is true, however, that the Isle of Que, on which a part of Selinsgrove now stands, had been owned by the old interpreter, and that it remained for one or two generations in the possession of his direct descendants; but there is no proof that his title rested on a mere dream. On the other hand, it is true that Shikellimy had been very poor, so poor that Conrad Weiser interceded for him as an object of charity before the council at Philadelphia.

The following, however, is said to have been true: "Conrad Weiser once sat resting on a log in his extensive forest land. An Indian came and sat down alongside him. Conrad moved to one side somewhat; the intruder pressed harder against him. Again Conrad made more room, but the Indian still moved after him. Then Conrad demanded an explanation of his strange and rude procedure. The Indian answered: 'Thus the whites did to the Indians. They lighted unbidden on our lands. We moved on; they followed. We still moved and they still followed. We are moving onward now, and they are following after. Conrad, I will not push you from the log entirely. But will your people cease their crowding, ere we roll into the waters?'"—*Life of Weiser*, pages 106-7.

†John Christian Pyrlæus was born at Pausa, in Swabia, in 1713, and studied at the University of Leipsic between 1733 and 1738. Here he became attached to the Brethren, visited Herrnhut and accepted an appointment as missionary. Arrived at Bethlehem October 19, 1740. Ordained to the ministry during the sessions of the

While on his last visit to Bethlehem, in 1747,* he experienced the power of divine grace and made a profession of personal faith. He had been baptized in Canada, by a Jesuit father, many years before. Laying aside a Manitou, the last relic of his idolatry, he took his way rejoicing to his home on the Susquehanna. It was on the occasion of this visit that the Brethren, before his departure, presented him with a new blue cloth waistcoat, and a red one for his grandson. These tokens of love pleased him very much and he felt grateful towards the donors.

In the death of Shikellimy the whites lost the best and truest friend they ever had among the Indians in this lovely valley. Loskiel, the historian, who knew him well, pays this glowing tribute to his character and worth:

“Being the first magistrate and head chief of all the Iroquois Indians living on the banks of the Susquehanna, as far as Onondaga, he thought it incumbent upon him to be very circumspect in his dealings with the white people. He mistrusted the Breth-

Synod convened in Oley. July 10, 1742, he married Susan, youngest daughter of John Stephen Benezet, of Philadelphia. He studied Mohawk, became a famous Indian scholar and opened a school. Returned to Europe in 1751. His wife died at Herrnhut, May 28, 1779, and he died at the same place, May 28, 1785.—*Life of Zeisberger*, page 139.

* In a letter from Tulpehocken, dated October, 1747, Conrad Weiser thus writes to Richard Peters, Secretary of the Province: “I must, at the conclusion of this, recommend Shikellimy as a proper object of charity. He is extremely poor, in his sickness the horses have eaten his corn; his clothes he gave to the Indian doctors, to cure him and his family—but all in vain. He has nobody to hunt for him, and I cannot see how the poor old man can live. He has been a true servant to the Government, and may, perhaps, still be, if he lives to do well again. As the winter is coming on, I think it would not be amiss to send a few blankets or match coats, and a little powder and lead. If the Government would be pleased to do it, and you could send it soon, I would send my sons with it to Shamokin before the cold weather comes.” This appeal had the desired effect and the following goods were sent in the early part of November of that year: “Five strowd match coats, at seven pounds; one-fourth cask of gunpowder, two pounds, fifteen shillings; one-half cut bar of lead, one pound; fifteen yards of blue half-thick, two pounds, seven shillings and sixpence; one dozen best buck hefted knives, nine shillings; four Duffel match coats, three pounds—amounting to sixteen pounds, eleven shillings and sixpence.” One of these knives, found in his (supposed) grave, is illustrated on page 59. The fever and ague was the prevailing disease at Shamokin at that time, and it is said by some writers that old Alumoppes, who robbed the Indian treasury and kept drunk for several years, actually shook himself to death. It is also surmised that Shikellimy died of the same disease.

ren at first, but upon discovering their sincerity, became their firm and real friend. Being much engaged in political affairs, he had learned the art of concealing his sentiments; and, therefore, never contradicted those who endeavored to prejudice his mind against the missionaries, though he always suspected their motives. In the last years of his life he became less reserved, and received those Brethren who came to Shamokin into his house. He assisted them in building, and defended them against the insults of the drunken Indians; being himself never addicted to drinking, because, as he expressed it, he never wished to become a fool. He had built his house upon pillars for safety, in which he always shut himself up when any drunken frolic was going on in the village. In this house Bishop Johannes Von Watteville* and his company visited and preached the gospel to him. It was then that the Lord opened his heart. He listened with great attention; and at last, with tears, respected the doctrine of a crucified Jesus, and received it in faith. During his visit in Bethlehem, a remarkable change took place in his heart which he could not conceal. He found comfort, peace and joy, by faith in his Redeemer, and the Brethren considered him as a candidate for baptism; but hearing that he had already been baptized, by a Roman Catholic priest in Canada, they only endeavored to impress his mind with a proper idea of his sacramental ordinance, upon which he destroyed a small idol, which he wore about his neck. After his return to Shamokin, the grace of God bestowed upon him was truly manifest, and his behavior was remarkably peaceable and contented. In this state of mind he was taken ill, was attended by Br. David Zeisberger, and in his presence fell happy asleep in the Lord, in full assurance of obtaining eternal life through the merits of Jesus Christ."

* John de Watteville, a bishop of the Church, the principal assistant of Zinzendorf, and his son-in-law, was one of those lovely characters that reflect the image of Christ. He was born at Walschleben, in Thuringia, October 18, 1718. His father was a clergyman. He was educated at the University of Jena, and subsequently joined the Moravian Church. Having been adopted by Baron Frederick de Watteville, he was created a Baron of the German Empire by Francis I., in 1745. In the following year he married the Countess Benigna, Zinzendorf's eldest daughter, and was consecrated a bishop in 1747. He died October 7, 1788, in Europe, aged almost 70 years. —*Life of Zeisberger*, page 147.

Soon after the death of Shikellimy, his son Logan had Zeisberger write a letter to Conrad Weiser, notifying him of the death of his father, that he might inform the Governor. He also had him write the following letter to Bethlehem:

MY BROTHER JOHANAN, GALLICWAS:

You are my brethren, therefore I let you know that my father, Swatane, soon after his return from a visit to you, died, on which account I am much grieved. Have sympathy for me and aid me to bear my affliction at the death of a father, and let your brethren know this, for you are my brethren. He who speaks these words, his name is

SAJECHTOWA,

And as sign I send this belt of wampum.

In closing this imperfect sketch of Shikellimy, we desire to call attention to a singular freak of nature, which may be seen in the rocks of Blue Hill, when viewed from a certain position. Traveling up the river on the Sunbury side, and when at a certain point, the outlines of the face of the old Indian chief can be plainly seen, in profile, on the rocky side of the hill, a short distance above the bridge crossing the West Branch. The position of certain rocks is such that they outline his face, and the features are so clearly defined that they cannot be mistaken. He appears to gaze serenely over a portion of the borough of Northumberland and the majestic hills beyond. That his rugged features should thus be preserved is indeed remarkable, and whilst it can only be regarded as the accidental production of a peculiar combination of rocks, it must be accepted as a coincident which is as strange as it is suggestive. Hon. T. H. Purdy, in his *Legends of the Susquehanna*, thus refers to it:

The calm of peace, of blessedness and grace,
Still lingered on his cold but kindly face.
Where he was wedded, there his grave was made,
And wild-wood flow'rs upon his tomb were laid.

Then every bee that hum'd, or dove that sigh'd,
Or wind that moan'd o'er Susquehanna's tide,
And every cloud that wept along the sky,
Seem'd full of sadness as it drifted by.
And all the pines, on every hill around,
Have never ceas'd to send their wailing sound,
To fill the forests and the valleys wide
With lamentations since this chieftain died.

And to this day a pensive shadow falls
 Down on the river from those tow'ring walls,
 Where Blue Hill, with its shale and rocks of red,
 Rise up to memorize the noble dead!

Half up those rocks, conspicuous in place,
 Time's hand has chisell'd Shikellimy's face,
 Which, looking eastward o'er the rippling wave,
 Beholds the place where chieftains made his grave.
 And yet along that beach, still whisp'ring there,
 One hears low murmurs floating on the air—
 "Loved Shikellimy!" say the waves that rise,
 "Fair Nenaoma!" back the wind replies.
 And so forever, and for evermore,
 Their names shall live on Susquehanna's shore.

Shikellimy was succeeded by his eldest son, *Tachmechtoris*, as vicegerent, but as he did not possess the executive ability of his father, nor command the same respect among the Indians, his reign was a failure. Evil times came upon the country, and war and pestilence followed.

Logan, the third son, possessed some of the remarkable qualities of his father, and had he been in the line of succession a better state of affairs might have prevailed. He is the Indian who became celebrated in the annals of border warfare by the famous speech attributed to him, but which is supposed to have been written by Thomas Jefferson. He was the fast friend of the whites until his entire family was cruelly murdered in Ohio, when his love turned to hatred, and he never ceased to wage war against the settlers until he had taken thirteen scalps, one for each member of his family. He then declared that he was satisfied and made war no more. It was then that he uttered the speech which is considered a masterpiece in the annals of oratory.

Logan's wife was a Mohican, and Powell relates a very pathetic story concerning the death of her daughter. He says: "Last fall she took her daughter, four years old, with her on the annual hunt. It took sick and died, bewitched, she said, by the Delaware sorcerers. She carried the body of her dead child home and had it buried in the ancestral burying-ground at Shamokin. The mother came to our house, asked for nails, as she wanted to make a coffin to put the child in. She told Sister Mack that before

death it said: 'Mother, I will soon die; greet the white people; tell them that I never stole turnips. I always asked when I wanted one.' She asked her whether the child would go to our God? Sister Mack said yes! and she spoke of the love of God to children. Our brethren attended the funeral of the child. The mother placed it in the coffin with its presents, viz: A blanket, several pairs of moccasins, buckskin for new ones, needle and thread, a kettle, two hatchets to cut kindling wood, flint and steel, so that on arriving in the new country she could go to house-keeping. Besides this she was beautifully painted and had a supply of bear's meat, corn and a calabash. After the funeral the mother came to our house and brought a quart tin and gave it to Sister Mack, saying: 'This had been her daughter's, and she should keep it in remembrance of her!'"

Another incident illustrative of Indian character is related by a Moravian writer, as follows: "Lately an Indian from Wyoming visited the mission house and seated himself by the fire and said to Sister Mack that he had been one and a half days in Shamokin, and no one yet had given him anything to eat, although he had been in all the houses. He asked her whether she would give him something, whereupon she gave him some bread, and he was very thankful."

In April, 1749, Conrad Weiser was ordered to visit Shamokin on government business relating to the death of Shikellimy. He did as directed and promptly informed Governor Hamilton* that he had met the eldest and youngest sons of the deceased chief at the trading house of Thomas McKee, some twenty miles below Shamokin, who informed him that all the Indians had left the place for a short time on account of the scarcity of provisions. Here he delivered the message from the Governor to the young men, and three others of the Six Nations, one of whom was

* James Hamilton, son of Andrew Hamilton, was a native of Philadelphia, born about 1711. At the death of his father, in 1741, he was left in possession of a large fortune, and received the appointment of prothonotary, then the most lucrative office in the Province. He was appointed Lieutenant Governor in 1748, serving to October, 1754. He filled the same office from 1759 to 1763. He filled other offices of distinction, but his loyalty to the crown caused him to be unfriendly to the Revolution. He died at New York, August 14, 1783, aged about 72.

Toganogon, a noted Cayuga. In reference to the interview he says:

All what I had to do was to let the children and grandchildren of our deceased friend, Shikellimy, know that the Governor of Pennsylvania and his Council condoled with them for the death of their father, which I did accordingly, and gave them a small present, in order to wipe off their tears, according to the custom of the Indians. The presents consisted of six strowd matchcoats and seven shirts, with a string of wampum. After this was over, I gave another string of wampum to *Tagheneghdoarus*, Shikellimy's eldest son, and desired him to take upon him the care of a chief in the stead of his deceased father, and to be our true correspondent, until there should be a meeting between the Governor of Pennsylvania and some of the Six Nation chiefs, and then he should be recommended by the Governor to the Six Nation chiefs and confirmed, if he would follow the footsteps of his deceased father. He accepted thereof, and I sent a string of wampum by *Toganogon* (who was then setting out for Cayuckquo, Onantago,) to let the Council of the Six Nations know of Shikellimy's death and my transaction by order of the Governor. There was a necessity for my doing so.

The gradual encroachment of the white settlers caused a feeling of unrest, and the times assumed a threatening outlook. French emissaries were busy poisoning the minds of the Indians for the purpose of inducing them to abandon their alliance with the English and take sides with them. And their efforts were not wholly in vain, for they succeeded in bringing about a state of affairs which resulted in drenching this fair land in blood.

One of the last journeys made up the river by the Moravians was by Martin Mack* in 1753. He left Bethlehem August 21, 1753, in company with Brother Kaske, and reached Shamokin on the evening of the 24th. They were affectionately welcomed by the three brethren stationed there. They were anxious to hear from Bethlehem, as it was five months since the last visit of any person there. Mack kept a journal of his travels, from which the following extract is taken:

"AUGUST 25, 1753. Marx Kiefer prepared for his return to Bethlehem, and left at 10 A. M. with letters. After dinner we visited the Indians who lived here, and found them very friendly. Many children are down with the small-pox.

"AUGUST 26. In the forenoon we again visited the Indians and then prepared for our journey to *Qucnischaschacki*,† a Delaware

* See Meginness' *Historical Journal*, page 92.

† Where the village of Linden, a few miles west of Williamsport, now stands.

town, sixty miles beyond Shamokin, on the West Branch. Early in the afternoon we set out in a canoe and, four miles above Shamokin, visited a couple of lodges where Captain Logan lives.* Unfortunately he was away from home—in the Seneca country. Here we found a Shawanese dying of small-pox; he died next day. A few weeks ago he returned from the war with the Catawbias; the Captain was an Oneida, and he with four of his tribe were killed. The others fled, one being the Shawanese, and two Tudelars. The latter died, on the day of their arrival, from small-pox. We paddled on and came to the place where last year we tried to pass a fall, and when half way up Brother Mack's pole broke, the canoe turned and Brother Grube † was thrown into the water.

"August 27. Paddled on and soon reached John Shikellimy's hunting lodge, ‡ who lives here with several Shawanese families. They were very glad to see us and gave us bear's meat. The children so pleased Brother Grube that he gave them cakes, to their great delight. After dinner we reached Muncy Creek, forty miles from Shamokin, where we put up our canoe with an Indian we knew, as the water began to grow rapid. Here we met several drunken Indians who teased us for tobacco, and began to get cross. Finally Brother Grube gave them several cuts and they were sat-

*At the mouth of Chillisquaque Creek. Logan was the second son of Shikellimy, and was named after Secretary James Logan. He was lame.

†Bernhard Adam Grube, born 1715, near Erfurth, and educated at Jena, came to Pennsylvania in June, 1746. At first he was employed at the schools in Bethlehem. He studied the Delaware language and held meetings among the Indians. He was fifteen months at Shamokin. "Here," he says, "we had hard times and lived amid dangers. Our smithy became the resort of the savages passing through this central town, and on one occasion thirty warriors took possession of the house, and for eight days made it the scene of their drunken revels." In 1753 he was sent to North Carolina, to plant a colony of eleven young men on the tract of 100,000 acres purchased by the Brethren of the Earl of Granville. The next year he returned to Bethlehem, and in 1755 married Elizabeth Busse, and was appointed to Gnadenhutzen, whence he barely escaped with his life in the memorable night of the 24th of November, when the place was destroyed by the Indians. After being stationed at various places and passing through many trials and vicissitudes, he took leave of his Indians in 1765. After this he was stationed at Lititz. The evening of his long life was spent at Bethlehem, where he died March 20, 1808, in the 93d year of his age.

‡The eldest son of Shikellimy, who succeeded him in the vicegerency in 1748. His lodge stood at the mouth of Warrior's Run.

ified and let us go. We slung our packs on our backs, and by evening reached Otstonwakin. Mack pointed out to Grube the spot where Zinzendorf and his party had pitched their tents. Proceeding several miles further we camped for the night by a creek.

"AUGUST 28. Towards 9 A. M. we came to a small town where Madame Montour's niece Margaret lives* with her family. She welcomed us cordially, led us into the hut and set before us milk and watermelons. Brother Grube told her that Mack had come from Bethlehem especially to visit her. 'Mother,' said Mack, 'do you know me?' 'Yes, my child,' she replied, 'but I have forgotten where I saw you.' 'I saw you,' he said, 'eight years ago on the island at Shamokin, when you were living with your brother, Andrew Sattelihu.' Hereupon she bethought herself, that at that time she had come from the Allegheny† and was on the way to Philadelphia. She was very friendly to us, and much pleased that we had visited her. She was yet sorrowing for

* French Margaret, the wife of Peter Quebec, resided at the mouth of Lycoming Creek, which is noted on Scull's map of 1759 as French Margaret's Town. The site of her village is now embraced in the limits of Newberry, or the Seventh ward of the city of Williamsport.

† French Margaret, a Canadian, and niece of Madame Montour, was living, prior to 1745, with her Mohawk husband, on the Allegheny. In that year Martin Mack met her at the lodge of her cousin, Andrew Sattelihu, on an island in the Susquehanna, near Shamokin. She had prohibited the use of liquor in her present village, and she said her husband, Peter Quebec, had not drank rum for six years. She had initiated other reformatory measures within her little realm, and she enjoyed the respect and confidence of her subjects.

This lesser Indian queen frequently attended treaties at Easton, Philadelphia and Albany. Sometimes she interpreted. Government, desirous of retaining the Montour influence for the English, always met her with marked deference; and yet she was an uncertain ally, as appears from Weiser's statement to Peters in a letter written to the Secretary in May, 1755. "French Margaret," he said, "with some of her family, is gone to the English camp in Virginia, and her son Nicklaus is gone to Ohio to the French Fort. I suppose they want to join the stronger party, and are gone to get information."

In July of 1754 French Margaret and her Mohawk husband and two grandchildren, 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. During her stay she attended divine worship, expressed much gratification at the music and singing, and was also pleased to find sisters who were conversant with French.—*Memorials of the Moravian Church*, pages 330-1-2.

the loss of her son and son-in-law, who were killed last winter in the war against the Creeks. We told her we would leave our packs here and proceed to the Delaware town at Quenischaschacki. 'Oh!' she said, 'the Indians up there have for some weeks been drinking, and we would undoubtedly find them all drunk.' On arriving at the town we found all quiet, and the people modest and friendly. We visited several huts and inquired diligently about Christian Renatus, and found that he had gone to peel bark for his brother, the Captain, who is building a new hut. We remained until evening, and then returned to Margaret's town, who again furnished us with food. We had a long conversation with her on many subjects, and she spoke particularly of Andrew Sattelihi, and of her husband, who for six years has drunk no whisky, and who had already prevailed upon two men from drinking.

"AUGUST 29. Early this morning we again went to the Delaware town to seek Christian Renatus, and at last found him. He accompanied us a short distance into the woods, where we had a lengthy conversation on religious matters; and finally he said: 'Yes, brethren, your eyes shall soon see me in your town.' We took an affectionate leave of him, and prayed to the Lord that he might have mercy on him. We then returned to Margaret's town to take leave of her. She desired us to visit her very soon again, which we hoped to do.

"As to Andrew Sattelihi, he is now interpreter for Virginia and receives a salary of £300, and has been twice this summer to Onondaga. He is now absent, to bring Margaret's relatives, who live in French Canada, to her.

"The French have set £100 on his head. The Governor of Virginia has also appointed him a Colonel, and presented to him a fine tract of land on the Potomac. He is a friend of the Moravians, and still remembers how, eleven years ago, he traveled with a great gentleman. The Six Nations have expressed 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.

"French Margaret is also held in high esteem by the Indians, and allows no drunkard in her town. Her husband is a Mohawk,

who understands French well, as also their children, but they do not speak it. She told Brother Grube that our missionaries might learn the Mohawk in her town.

"By noon we reached our canoe at Muncy Creek, and found that a blanket and some provisions wrapped in it had been taken. Having had nothing to eat, we obtained some corn from a woman. Below Muncy Creek we visited a small Shawanese town, which a few years ago was built by some families from Wyomick. We found old Shikase, of Wyomick, here, who has been here since spring. He saluted us as brothers. We also visited John Shikellimy, 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 found it very difficult to live there, owing to the large number of Indians constantly 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.

"We encamped for the night on a beautiful spot on the river, and before retiring to rest held a devotional service.

"AUGUST 30. Journeyed on by water, and towards evening reached our brethren at Shamokin, who were delighted to see us again.

"AUGUST 31. We visited among the Indians to-day, and Brother Grube informed them that in the morning we would set out for Bethlehem, and that the smith and one brother would remain.

"SEPTEMBER 1. We set out for Bethlehem."

Matters steadily grew worse. On the 1st of March, 1755, Conrad Weiser informed Governor Morris* that he had recently been visited by a number of Indians, some of whom were from the Ohio. The first company consisted of nineteen persons—all of the Six Nations—with a chief at their head. The second consisted chiefly of Shawanese, and there were twelve of them. They

*Robert Hunter Morris was the eldest son of Lewis Morris, Chief Justice of New York and New Jersey, born about 1699. On the appointment of his father to the governorship of New Jersey, in 1731, the son succeeded him as Chief Justice of that State, a position he held until 1757, when he resigned the office. He was Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania from 1754 to 1756. He died the 20th of February, 1764, in the 65th year of his age.

informed him that they left the Ohio country on account of the invasion of the French, and it was their intention to jointly settle on the West Branch at Otstuagy (Otstonwakin), and build a town. They asked for assistance from the whites, and sent a string of wampum with their request. About this time the Indians also informed him that a number of people from New England had formed themselves into a body to settle on the Susquehanna and in the Muncy Valley.

On the 12th of June, 1755, Conrad Weiser notified Governor Morris that he had just returned from Otstuagy, where he had been with ten men to fence in a corn-field* for the Indians, according to the order of the Governor. But when he arrived at the settlement he found that the Indians, who had petitioned the Governor for assistance, had mostly deserted the place for want of provisions, and chiefly for having lost all their corn by severe frosts between the 29th and 30th of May last, which was the second frost they had on the river since their corn was up, and it had been entirely killed. He only found two Indians, with their families, in the town, and they were very thankful for what had been done for them, but as they had no hopes of raising any corn from what they had planted, they thought it needless to have a field fenced. He left them one sack of flour, and on his return left one with the Indians at Canasoragy (Muncy) and two at Shamokin.

On this journey he was accompanied by John Shikellimy, the new king. At Canasoragy they had a talk with the Indians and informed them of the object of his mission. Among other things he told them:

I. That the King of Great Britain had sent a great number of men and ammunition, who are now on their march to drive away the French from Ohio by force.

II. That no war was yet proclaimed between the English and French, but that it was daily expected; that in the meantime the Government desires them to stop their ears to everything that the French could say to them and listen altogether to the English, and to depend upon that their brethren, the English, will strictly observe the treaties of friendship existing between them and their brethren, the Indians.

III. That as soon as the Governor would receive the news of war being proclaimed between the English and French, the Governor would let them know, and whatever else should pass worth their notice. (Gave a string of wampum.)

* See *Life of Conrad Weiser*, page 192.

He found about twenty Indian men in this town, five or six of whom were Chickasaws, the balance were Shawanese. They informed him that they would be glad to see the English fight the French in earnest, that they had observed that wherever the French came they did mischief, and that they were generally hated among the Southern Indians.

The signs of danger, however, increased. The crushing defeat of Braddock, July 9, 1755, was followed by the bloody massacre on Penn's Creek, only six miles from Shamokin, and caused so much alarm that the Moravian missionaries deemed it best to abandon their post. Max Kieffer,* the resolute blacksmith, kept to his anvil, hoping to save the property, until the sudden appearance of French Indians, painted for war, betokened the approach of the storm that was soon to sweep the defenceless borders of the Province.

Finally Bishop Spangenberg wrote a letter directing him to leave everything behind and hasten to Bethlehem for safety. An old friend of the Church, a Conestoga Indian, offered to convey the letter and escort him. When within six miles of Shamokin, on the North Branch, he met Kieffer and delivered the letter to him. It had been Kieffer's intention to remain at Shamokin until the last minute, with the hope of saving the mission house and the smith-shop.† But when directed to abandon all he continued his journey. John Shikellimy escorted him to Nescopeck, when he

* Dr. de Schweinitz, in his life of Zeisberger (page 225), says there were two missionaries at Shamokin, Roessler and Kieffer, besides Peter Wesa, the smith, when the startling news of the massacre reached the place, and the murderers came thither. Roessler and Wesa escaped to Bethlehem. Kieffer remained and was concealed for two weeks in the lodge of a friendly Indian, when he was escorted away by Tachnetoris (John Shikellimy) and his life was saved.

† According to tradition the blacksmith shop was located a little northeast of where Fort Augusta was afterwards built. Mr. M. L. Hendricks says that while he was engaged in digging for relics, he came upon a spot which had been partly embraced by one of the bastions of the fort, where there were large quantities of charcoal and ashes. Dr. R. H. Awl remembers hearing old people say, when he was a young man, that pieces of iron and tools used by the smith were found underneath this spot by the early settlers. If the shop was located at this place, and the debris found there indicates that it was, Shikellimy's house was near by, together with the huts of the Indian village. This was opposite the lower part of the island, which would be a natural location for the town, the mission and the shop.

took leave of him. Kieffer then continued on his journey *via* Wyoming and reached Bethlehem in safety. He was the *last* Moravian to leave Shamokin on the breaking out of hostilities, and with his departure the mission ended on the Susquehanna. All the buildings were soon afterwards burned, the Indian town was abandoned and ashes only marked the spot where it once stood.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BLOODY MASSACRE ON PENN'S CREEK AND THE THRILLING NARRATIVE OF MARIE LE ROY AND BARBARA LEININGER, WHILE IN CAPTIVITY—THE WHITES ORDERED TO TAKE SCALPS.

WHEN the first settlements were made in the vicinity of Shamokin, and on Penn's Creek, the territory was embraced in Cumberland and Berks Counties. Cumberland was formed January 27, 1750, out of a part of Lancaster, and took in all the lands on the west side of the Susquehanna. Berks was erected March 11, 1752, out of parts of Philadelphia, Bucks and Lancaster, and embraced all the territory on the east side of the river as far northward as the limits of the Province.

The feeling of amity that had existed between the Indians and whites for over fifty years was about to be broken. The Indians had become greatly dissatisfied on account of the recent treaties, as they had discovered that they had been deceived and cheated. Their evil passions were aroused and they prepared to take revenge in the most fiendish manner. They united their fortunes with the French and the most terrible massacres followed. Petitions praying for protection were sent to the Provincial Government by the settlers, but they availed but little. The Government made an effort to do something, but, owing to its weakness, accomplished very little. The disastrous defeat of Braddock, July 9, 1755, was soon followed by war throughout the country. Scarcely three months elapsed until a body of Indians, from the West Branch, fell upon the settlement at Penn's Creek. The attack was made on the 15th of October, 1755, and every person in the settlement, consisting of twenty-five, including men, women and children, with the exception of one man, who made his escape, though dangerously wounded, were either killed or carried into captivity. The scene of havoc and devastation, presented in this once happy settlement, is described to have been mournful in the extreme.

Their homes were burned and their fields laid waste. When the terrible news reached the settlements below, a number of men came up to bury the dead. They described the scene as follows:

We found but thirteen, who were men and elderly women. The children, we suppose to be carried away prisoners. The house where we supposed they finished their murder, we found burnt up; the man of it, named Jacob King, a Swisser, lying just by it. He lay on his back, barbarously burnt, and two tomahawks sticking in his forehead; one of these marked newly W. D. We have sent them to your Honor. The terror of which, has driven away almost all the back inhabitants, except the subscribers, with a few more, who are willing to stay and defend the land; but as we are not at all able to defend it for the want of guns and ammunition, and few in numbers, so that without assistance, we must flee and leave the country to the mercy of the enemy.

Jacob King, alias Jacob le Roy,* who was so inhumanly butchered, had only lately arrived from Europe. At the time of his murder, his daughter, Anne Marie le Roy, and Barbara Leininger were made prisoners and taken to Kittanning and other places, where they were kept captives for about three and a half years.

When these young women escaped from captivity, in 1759, they published a pamphlet in German, giving an account of their wanderings and sufferings. A few years ago a copy was found, when a translation was made by Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz, of

*At the Albany treaty, July 6, 1754, the Six Nations conveyed to Thomas and Richard Penn a purchase, the northern line of which was to start one mile above the mouth of Penn's Creek, where Selinsgrove now stands, and run "northwest and by west as far as the Province of Pennsylvania extends." This line, protracted on the map, bisects Limestone Township, Union County, and if run on the ground, would probably pass through the very tract of land taken up by Jean Jaques le Roy (father of Marie), now owned by the heirs of Hon. Isaac Slenker, in that township. The Indians alleged afterwards that they did not understand the points of the compass, and if the line was run so as to include the West Branch of the Susquehanna they would never agree to it. Settlers, nevertheless, pushed their way up Penn's Creek, and the Proprietaries, with their understanding of the line, issued warrants for surveys along Penn's Creek, in Buffalo Valley, and at least twenty-five families had settled there as early as 1754. The Indians, emboldened by Braddock's defeat, determined to clear out these settlers, and did it so effectually, by the massacre related in the narrative, that no settlers ventured upon the bloody ground until after the purchase of 1768. In 1770, when Jesse Lukens re-surveyed the line of the le Roy tract, he noted in his fieldbook that he passed le Roy's bake-oven near the spring, on what is now the Slenker farm.—Historical Note, Vol. VII. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, page 402.

Bethlehem, and it was published in Vol. VII. of the Pennsylvania Archives, second series. Their thrilling story is as follows:

"Marie le Roy was born at Brondrut, in Switzerland. About five* years ago she arrived, with her parents, in this country. They settled fifteen miles from Fort Schamockin.† Half a mile from their plantation lived Barbara Leininger, with her parents, who came to Pennsylvania from Reutlingen about ten years ago.

"Early in the morning of the 16th of October, 1755, while le Roy's hired man went out to fetch the cows, he heard the Indians shooting six times. Soon after, eight of them came to the house and killed Marie le Roy's father‡ with tomahawks. Her brother defended himself desperately for a time, but was at last overpowered. The Indians did not kill him, but took him prisoner, together with Marie le Roy and a little girl, who was staying with the family. Thereupon they plundered the homestead, and set it on fire. Into this fire they laid the body of the murdered father, feet foremost, until it was half consumed. The upper half was left lying on the ground, with the two tomahawks, with which they had killed him, sticking in his head. Then they kindled another fire not far from the house. While sitting around it, a neighbour of le Roy, named Bastian, happened to pass by on horseback. He was immediately shot down and scalped.

"Two of the Indians now went to the house of Barbara Leininger, where they found her father, her brother and her sister Regina. Her mother had gone to the mill. They demanded rum; but there was none in the house. Then they called for tobacco, which was given them. Having filled and smoked a pipe, they said: 'We are Alleghany Indians, and your enemies. You must all die!' Thereupon they shot her father, tomahawked her brother, who was twenty years of age, took Barbara and her sister Regina prisoners and conveyed them into the forest about a

* November 22, 1752.—*Rupp's Collection*, page 297.

† i. e., Fort Augusta, now Sunbury.

‡ Jacob King, alias John Jacob le Roy, was killed at the spring on the late Mr. Slenker's farm. He came over in the ship Phoenix from Rotterdam, arriving at Philadelphia November 22, 1752, in the same vessel which brought over John Thomas Beck, great-grandfather of Dr. S. L. Beck, of Lewisburg.—*Rupp's Collection*, page 225.

mile. There they were soon joined by the other Indians with Marie le Roy and the little girl.

"Not long after several of the Indians led the prisoners to the top of a high hill, near the two plantations. Toward evening the rest of the savages returned with six fresh and bloody scalps, which they threw at the feet of the poor captives, saying that they had a good hunt that day.

"The next morning we were taken about two miles further into the forest, while the most of the Indians again went out to kill and plunder. Toward evening they returned with nine scalps and five prisoners.

"On the third day the whole band came together and divided the spoils. In addition to large quantities of provisions, they had taken fourteen horses and ten prisoners, namely: One man, one woman, five girls and three boys. We two girls, as also two of the horses, fell to the share of an Indian named Galasko.

"We traveled with our new master for two days. He was tolerably kind, and allowed us to ride all the way, while he and the rest of the Indians walked. Of this circumstance Barbara Leininger took advantage and tried to escape. But she was almost immediately recaptured and condemned to be burned alive. The savages gave her a French Bible, which they had taken from le Roy's house, in order that she might prepare for death; and when she told them that she could not understand it, they gave her a German Bible. Thereupon they made a large pile of wood and set it on fire, intending to put her into the midst of it. But a young Indian begged so earnestly for her life that she was pardoned, after having promised not to attempt to escape again, and to stop her crying.

"The next day the whole troop was divided into two bands, the one marching in the direction of the Ohio, the other, in which we were with Galasko, to Jenkiklamuhs,* a Delaware town on the West Branch of the Susquehanna. There we staid ten days, and then proceeded to Puncksotonay,† or Eschentown. Marie le Roy's brother was forced to remain at Jenkiklamuhs.

"After having rested for five days at Puncksotonay, we took

*Chinklacamoose, on the site of the present town of Clearfield.

†Punxsutawny, in Jefferson County.

our way to Kittanny. As this was to be the place of our permanent abode, we here received our welcome, according to the Indian custom. It consisted of three blows each, on the back. They were, however, administered with great mercy. Indeed, we concluded that we were beaten merely in order to keep up an ancient usage, and not with the intention of injuring us. The month of December was the time of our arrival, and we remained at Kittanny until the month of September, 1756.

“The Indians gave us enough to do. We had to tan leather, to make shoes (moccasins), to clear land, to plant corn, to cut down trees and build huts, to wash and cook. The want of provisions, however, caused us the greatest sufferings. During all the time that we were at Kittanny we had neither lard nor salt; and, sometimes, we were forced to live on acorns, roots, grass and bark. There was nothing in the world to make this new sort of food palatable, except hunger itself.

“In the month of September Col. Armstrong arrived with his men, and attacked Kittanny Town. Both of us happened to be in that part of it which lies on the other (right) side of the river (Alleghany). We were immediately conveyed ten miles farther into the interior, in order that we might have no chance of trying, on this occasion, to escape. The savages threatened to kill us. If the English had advanced this might have happened. For, at that time, the Indians were greatly in dread of Col. Armstrong’s corps. After the English had withdrawn, we were again brought back to Kittanny, which town had been burned to the ground.

“There we had the mournful opportunity of witnessing the cruel end of an English woman, who had attempted to flee out of her captivity and to return to the settlements with Col. Armstrong. Having been recaptured by the savages, and brought back to Kittanny, she was put to death in an unheard of way. First, they scalped her; next, they laid burning splinters of wood, here and there, upon her body; and then they cut off her ears and fingers, forcing them into her mouth so that she had to swallow them. Amidst such torments, this woman lived from nine o’clock in the morning until toward sunset, when a French officer took compassion on her and put her out of her misery. An English soldier, on the contrary, named John . . . , who escaped from prison at

Lancaster and joined the French, had a piece of flesh cut from her body and ate it. When she was dead, the Indians chopped her in two, through the middle, and let her lie until the dogs came and devoured her.

“Three days later an Englishman was brought in, who had, likewise, attempted to escape with Col. Armstrong, and burned alive in the same village. His torments, however, continued only about three hours; but his screams were frightful to listen to. It rained that day very hard, so that the Indians could not keep up the fire. Hence they began to discharge gunpowder at his body. At last, amidst his worst pains, when the poor man called for a drink of water, they brought him melted lead, and poured it down his throat. This draught at once helped him out of the hands of the barbarians, for he died on the instant.

“It is easy to imagine what an impression such fearful instances of cruelty make upon the mind of a poor captive. Does he attempt to escape from the savages, he knows in advance that, if retaken, he will be roasted alive. Hence he must compare two evils, namely, either to remain among them a prisoner forever, or to die a cruel death. Is he fully resolved to endure the latter, then he may run away with a brave heart.

“Soon after these occurrences we were brought to Fort Duquesne, where we remained for about two months. We worked for the French, and our Indian master drew our wages. In this place, thank God, we could again eat bread. Half a pound was given us daily. We might have had bacon too, but we took none of it, for it was not good. In some respects we were better off than in the Indian towns; we could not, however, abide the French. They tried hard to induce us to forsake the Indians and stay with them, making us various favourable offers. But we believed that it would be better for us to remain among the Indians, in as much as they would be more likely to make peace with the English than the French, and in as much as there would be more ways open for flight in the forest than in a fort. Consequently we declined the offers of the French, and accompanied our Indian master to Sackum,* where we spent the winter, keeping house for

*Sakunk, outlet of the Big Beaver into the Ohio, a point well known to all Indians; their rendezvous in the French wars, etc. Post, in his journal, under the date

the savages, who were continually on the chase. In the spring we were taken to Kaschkaschkung,* an Indian town on the Beaver Creek. There we again had to clear the plantations of the Indian nobles, after the German fashion, to plant corn, and to do other hard work of every kind. We remained at this place for about a year and a half.

"After having, in the past three years, seen no one of our own flesh and blood, except those unhappy beings who, like ourselves, were bearing the yoke of the heaviest slavery, we had the unexpected pleasure of meeting with a German, who was not a captive, but free, and who, as we heard, had been sent into this neighbourhood to negotiate a peace between the English and the natives. His name was Frederick Post. We and all the other prisoners heartily wished him success and God's blessing upon his undertaking. We were, however, not allowed to speak with him. The Indians gave us plainly to understand that any attempt to do this would be taken amiss. He himself, by the reserve with which he treated us, let us see that it was not the time to talk over our afflictions. But we were greatly alarmed on his account. For the French told us that, if they caught him, they would roast him alive for five days, and many Indians declared that it was impossible for him to get safely through, that he was destined for death.

"Last summer the French and Indians were defeated by the English in a battle fought at Loyal-Hannon, or Fort Ligonier. This caused the utmost consternation among the natives. They brought their wives and children from Lockstown,† Sackum, Schomingo, Mamalty, Kaschkaschkung, and other places in that neighbourhood, to Moschkingo, about one hundred and fifty miles further west. Before leaving, however, they destroyed their crops and burned everything they could not carry with them. We had to go along, and staid at Moschkingo‡ the whole winter.

"In February, Barbara Leininger agreed with an Englishman,

of August 20, 1758, records his experience at Sakunk, (Reichel.) See Post's Journal, *Pennsylvania Archives*, Old Series, Vol. III., page 527.

*Kaskaskunk, near the junction of the Shenango and Mahoning, in Lawrence County.

† Loggstown, on the Ohio, eight miles above Beaver.—*Weiser's Journal*.

‡ Muskingum.

named David Breckenreach (Breckenridge), to escape, and gave her comrade, Marie le Roy, notice of their intentions. On account of the severe season of the year and the long journey which lay before them, Marie strongly advised her to relinquish the project, suggesting that it should be postponed until spring, when the weather would be milder, and promising to accompany her at that time.

“On the last day of February nearly all the Indians left Moschkingo, and proceeded to Pittsburg to sell pelts. Meanwhile, their women traveled ten miles up the country to gather roots, and we accompanied them. Two men went along as a guard. It was our earnest hope that the opportunity for flight, so long desired, had now come. Accordingly, Barbara Leininger pretended to be sick, so that she might be allowed to put up a hut for herself alone. On the fourteenth of March, Marie le Roy was sent back to the town, in order to fetch two young dogs which had been left there; and on the same day Barbara Leininger came out of her hut and visited a German woman, ten miles from Moschkingo. This woman's name is Mary . . . , and she is the wife of a miller from the South Branch.* She had made every preparation to accompany us on our flight; but Barbara found that she had meanwhile become lame, and could not think of going along. She, however, gave Barbara the provisions which she had stored, namely, two pounds of dried meat, a quart of corn and four pounds of sugar. Besides she presented her with pelts for moccasins. Moreover, she advised a young Englishman, Owen Gibson, to flee with us two girls.

“On the sixteenth of March, in the evening, Gibson reached Barbara Leininger's hut, and, at ten o'clock, our whole party, consisting of us two girls, Gibson and David Breckenreach, left Moschkingo. This town lies on a river, in the country of the Dellamottinoes. We had to pass many huts inhabited by the savages, and knew that there were at least sixteen dogs with them. In the merciful providence of God not a single one of those dogs barked. Their barking would have betrayed us and frustrated our designs.

“It is hard to describe the anxious fears of a poor woman under

*i. e., South Branch of the Potomac.

such circumstances. The extreme probability that the Indians would pursue, and recapture us, was as two to one compared with the dim hope that, perhaps, we would get through in safety. But, even if we escaped the Indians, how would we ever succeed in passing through the wilderness, unacquainted with a single path or trail, without a guide, and helpless, half naked, broken down by more than three years of hard slavery, hungry and scarcely any food, the season wet and cold, and many rivers and streams to cross? Under such circumstances, to depend upon one's own sagacity would be the worst of follies. If one could not believe that there is a God, who helps and saves from death, one had better let running away alone.

"We safely reached the river (Muskingum). Here the first thought in all our minds was: O! that we were safely across! Presently we found a raft, left by the Indians. Thanking God that He had himself prepared a way for us to cross the first waters, we got on board and pushed off. But we were carried almost a mile down the river before we could reach the other side. There our journey began in good earnest. Full of anxiety and fear, we fairly ran that whole night and all the next day, when we lay down to rest without venturing to kindle a fire. Early the next morning, Owen Gibson fired at a bear. The animal fell, but when he ran with his tomahawk to kill it, it jumped up and bit him in the feet, leaving three wounds. We all hastened to his assistance. The bear escaped into narrow holes among the rocks, where we could not follow. On the third day, however, Owen Gibson shot a deer. We cut off the hind quarters, and roasted them at night. The next morning he again shot a deer, which furnished us with food for that day. In the evening we got to the Ohio at last, having made a circuit of over one hundred miles in order to reach it.

"About midnight the two Englishmen rose and began to work at a raft, which was finished by morning. We got on board and safely crossed the river. From the signs which the Indians had there put up we saw that we were about one hundred and fifty miles from Fort Duquesne. After a brief consultation we resolved, heedless of path or trail, to travel straight toward the rising of the sun. This we did for seven days. On the seventh we found

that we had reached the Little Beaver Creek, and were about fifty miles from Pittsburg.

"And now, that we imagined ourselves so near the end of all our troubles and misery, a whole host of mishaps came upon us. Our provisions were at an end; Barbara Leininger fell into the water and was nearly drowned; and, worst misfortune of all! Owen Gibson lost his flint and steel. Hence we had to spend four nights without fire, amidst rain and snow.

"On the last day of March we came to a river, Alloquepy,* about three miles below Pittsburg. Here we made a raft, which, however, proved to be too light to carry us across. It threatened to sink, and Marie le Roy fell off, and narrowly escaped drowning. We had to put back and let one of our men convey one of us across at a time. In this way we reached the Monongabella River, on the other side of Pittsburg, the same evening.

"Upon our calling for help, Col. Mercer immediately sent out a boat to bring us to the Fort. At first, however, the crew created many difficulties about taking us on board. They thought we were Indians, and wanted us to spend the night where we were, saying they would fetch us in the morning. When we had succeeded in convincing them that we were English prisoners, who had escaped from the Indians, and that we were wet and cold and hungry, they brought us over. There was an Indian with the soldiers in the boat. He asked us whether we could speak good Indian? Marie le Roy said she could speak it. Thereupon he inquired, why she had run away? She replied, that her Indian mother had been so cross and had scolded her so constantly, that she could not stay with her any longer. This answer did not please him; nevertheless, doing as courtiers do, he said: He was very glad we had safely reached the Fort.

"It was in the night from the last of March to the first of April that we came to Pittsburg. Most heartily did we thank God in heaven for all the mercy which He showed us, for His gracious support in our weary captivity, for the courage which He gave us to undertake our flight, and to surmount all the many hardships it brought us, for letting us find the road which we did not know,

* Chartiers' Creek.

and of which He alone could know that on it we would meet neither danger nor enemy, and for finally bringing us to Pittsburg to our countrymen in safety.

"Colonel Mercer helped and aided us in every way which lay in his power. Whatever was on hand and calculated to refresh us was offered in the most friendly manner. The Colonel ordered for each of us a new chemise, a petticoat, a pair of stockings, garters, and a knife. After having spent a day at Pittsburg, we went, with a detachment under command of Lieutenant Mile,* to Fort Ligonier. There the Lieutenant presented each of us with a blanket. On the fifteenth we left Fort Ligonier, under protection of Captain Weiser and Lieutenant Atly,† for Fort Bedford, where we arrived in the evening of the sixteenth, and remained a week. Thence, provided with passports by Lieutenant Geiger, we traveled in wagons to Harris' Ferry, and from there, afoot, by way of Lancaster, to Philadelphia. Owen Gibson remained at Fort Bedford, and David Breckenreach at Lancaster. We two girls arrived at Philadelphia on Sunday, the sixth of May."‡

This massacre spread terror and consternation throughout the settlements; and on intelligence being received below, about the 20th of October, a party of forty-five, commanded by John Harris, set out from Harris' Ferry (now Harrisburg) and proceeded to the scene of the disaster, where they found and buried a number of the mangled bodies of the victims. From this place they pro-

*Lieutenant Samuel Miles.

†Lieutenant Samuel J. Atlee.

‡Anna M. le Roy was living in Lancaster in 1764, when she made affidavit again in regard to her capture and the visit of the Conestoga Indians to Kittanning. What became of Barbara Leininger is unknown. Hon. John B. Linn, in his *Annals of Buffalo Valley*, says that the only further trace of the le Roy family he could find is a recital in a deed, that on the 19th of October, 1772, John James le Roy, the son, of Prince George County, Maryland, sold the le Roy tract in Buffalo Valley to Andrew Pontius, of Tulpehocken. The latter was an uncle to the late Philip Pontius, of Buffalo. He said, years afterward, when clearing up John Hoy's place, adjoining, they found several gold eagles, dropped, no doubt, by the Indians or their captives at the time of the massacre. This gave rise to rumors that money had been buried on the place, and many expeditions were made by night to dig for the treasure; but, except a few sleeve buttons, nothing was ever found. A cloud of superstition still hangs about the fateful spring, although 133 years have passed since the tragedy. Switzer Run preserves the nationality of the first settler. It empties into Penn's Creek a short distance above New Berlin.

ceeded to Shamokin to see the Indians and prevail upon them, if possible, to remain neutral. This visit, it is alleged, they were persuaded to make by John Shikellimy and Old Belt. Their reception at the village was civil, but not cordial, and they perceived, as they thought, that their visit had disconcerted the savages. They remained there till the next morning. During the night they heard some Indians, about twelve in number, talking to this purpose: "What are the English come here for?" Says another: "To kill us, I suppose; can we then send off some of our nimble young men to give our friends notice, that can soon be here?" They soon after sang the war song, and four Indians went off in two canoes, well armed—one canoe went down the river, and the other across.

In the morning they made a few presents to the Indians, who *promised* to remain neutral, and assist them against a large scalping party of French and Indians, that they had learned were on their way across the Allegheny Mountains to attack the settlements. They were distrustful of the good faith of the Indians, after what they had heard the previous night, and were anxious to get away. Before leaving the village on their return, they were privately warned by Andrew Montour not to take the road on the western side of the river, but continue on down the eastern side, as he believed it to be dangerous. They, however, disregarded his warning, either relying on the good faith of the Indians at Shamokin, or suspecting that *he* intended to lead them into an ambuscade, and marched along the flats on the west side of the river. The fording place across Penn's Creek* was then at the place where the stream divides, one part passing south, the other, and main embouchure, turning nearly due east, towards the Susquehanna—this was the branch which Harris and his party were to pass. The northern shore of the creek, where they entered the water, was low; on the southern side—the head of the Isle of Que—was a high and steep bank near, and parallel to which was a deep natural hollow, where the savages, some thirty in number, lay concealed. Before the whites, partly on foot and partly mounted, had well time to ascend the bank, the savages rose and fired on them. Four were killed. Harris states that he and about

*This stream was named after John Penn.

fifteen of his men immediately took to trees and returned the fire, killing four Indians, with the loss of three more men. They retreated to the river and passed it with the loss of four or five men drowned. Harris was mounted, and in the flight was entreated by one of the footmen, a large fat man and a doctor, to suffer him to mount behind him. With some unwillingness he consented (fortunately for himself), and they entered the river. They had not got entirely out of rifle distance when a shot struck the doctor in the back, and he fell, wounded,* into the river, from whence he never rose. The horse was wounded by another shot, and falling, Harris was obliged to abandon him and swim part of the way. The remainder of the party, after several days of toilsome marching through the rugged country, reached home in safety.

To mark the spot where this fight occurred, a party that came up to bury the dead drove a wedge through the body of a Linden sapling, standing on the ground. This tree, fifty years ago, was some eighteen or twenty inches in diameter, and still retained the marks of the wedge, about five or six feet from the ground.

The next day a party of Indians from Shamokin went down to where the engagement had taken place. They informed David Zeisberger that *they* found three white men killed, lying near each

* This fight occurred October 25, 1755. John Harris married Elizabeth McClure, of Paxtong, of whom it was said, "She was the most lovely woman who ever entered Donegal Church." She was greatly attached to her husband, and his absence on this expedition caused her much uneasiness. Mr. Harris had many narrow escapes from the Indians, this being one of them. After the firing began it was deemed best to attempt to ford the river and travel down the east side. The Indians were so close on them that only those who had good horses had any chance to escape. Just as Harris was urging his horse into the river, a young physician of his acquaintance, who had gone out with his party, entreated him to stop and take him on behind, as his horse was shot. Harris did this at the risk of his life. They had not proceeded far from the shore when the doctor was shot by an Indian and fell into the stream. His name is unknown. Harris escaped, but as he was delayed in reaching home for several days, the report of the fight reached his wife first, and she was informed that her husband was killed, as he was seen to fall into the river from his horse. The man who fell in was the young physician, who was taken for Harris. This so frightened his wife that she became ill and soon afterwards died from the effects of the fright. Her only daughter, Mary, after reaching womanhood, became the wife of William Maclay, who was the first United States Senator from Pennsylvania. Mrs. Maclay was the grandmother of Dr. R. H. Awt, now one of the oldest physicians of Sunbury.

other; and on the river side they found another dead man, not shot, but supposed to have been drowned trying to escape. A short distance further they discovered a suit of woman's clothes, with a pair of new shoes, lying near the river, which they thought must have belonged to some one who endeavored to escape by crossing the river. They then followed the trail further into the woods, where they espied a sapling cut down, and near by a grub twisted. They were certain these marks indicated something, and on carefully searching around discovered a parcel of leaves carefully raked together, upon removing which they found a fresh grave that contained an Indian who had been shot. He was well dressed; all the hairs of his head were removed, with the exception of a small tuft on the crown, which indicated him to be a French Mohawk.

They also found a glove covered with blood, lying by a tree that was much shot, which they supposed to have belonged to Thomas McKee, an Indian trader. From here they went down to George Gabriel's* farm, where they saw Indian tracks in the plowed ground. His corn was burnt and destroyed, and no person about.

As the Indians were prowling around the settlements, watching an opportunity to murder and scalp, it is impossible to imagine the fear and consternation that seized the inhabitants. Their only safety was to flee and leave all to the enemy. They had in vain looked for relief from the Government. Houses that had been occupied, barns that had been filled with the fruits of a rich and

*George Gabriel settled upon the site of Selinsgrove in 1754. His location was surveyed to John Cox, by William Maclay, May 15, 1766, but Maclay, on his return to the Cox warrant, says: "Gabriel had made a settlement and improvement upon it at least ten years ago, that he now lives on the property and claimed it, and his pretensions must be satisfied by Mr. Cox before the return could be accepted." Gabriel built a house there as early as 1754, buying his land directly from the Indians. He was a guide for Colonel Clapham in 1756, when he marched his regiment from Fort Hunter to Shamokin to build Fort Augusta, and he also served as a guide for surveyors in making locations, many of which bear his name. The first survey made in the present township of Benner, Centre County, bears the name of "George Gabriel," and is the pointer to all the surveys of that township. He died on the present site of Selinsgrove in 1771. His obituary in *Linn's Annals*, page 37, is not flattering.

plenteous harvest, and newly sowed fields and standing corn, were all abandoned to the mercy of the savages.

A friendly Indian, named Luke Holland, of the Delaware tribe, who was much esteemed by the whites, was about the settlement at the time of the massacre. The surviving whites, in their rage, partly resolved to satiate their revenge by murdering him. This Indian, satisfied that his nation was incapable of committing such a foul murder in time of profound peace, told the enraged settlers that he was sure the Delawares were not in any manner concerned in it, and that it was the act of some wicked Mingoës or Iroquois, whose custom it was to involve other nations in wars with each other by clandestinely committing murders, so that they might be laid to the charge of others than themselves. But all his representations were vain; he could not convince exasperated men, whose minds were fully bent on revenge. At last he offered that if they would give him a party to accompany him, he would go with them in quest of the murderers, and was sure he could discover them by the prints of their feet and other marks well known to him, by which he would convince them that the real perpetrators of the crime belonged to the Six Nations. His proposal was accepted; he marched at the head of a party of whites, and led them into the tracks. They soon found themselves in the most rocky parts of the mountain, where not one of those who accompanied him was able to discover a single track, nor would they believe that ever a man had trodden on this ground, as they had to jump over a number of crevices between the rocks, and in some instances to crawl over them. Now they began to believe that the Indian had led them across these rugged mountains in order to give the enemy time to escape, and threatened him with instant death the moment they should be fully convinced of the fraud. The Indian, true to his promise, would take pains to make them perceive that an enemy had passed along the place through which he was leading them; here he would show them that the moss on the rock had been trodden down by the weight of a human foot, then that it had been torn and dragged forward from its place; further, he would point out to them that pebbles or small stones on the rocks had been removed from their beds by the foot hitting against them, that dry sticks by being trodden upon were broken,

and even that in a particular place an Indian's blanket had dragged over the rocks, and removed or loosened the leaves lying there, so that they lay no more flat as in other places; all of which the Indian could perceive as he walked along, without ever stopping. At last arriving at the foot of the mountain, on soft ground, where the tracks were deep, he found that the enemy were eight in number, and from the freshness of the foot-prints, he concluded that they must be encamped at no great distance. This proved to be the exact truth; for, after gaining the eminence on the other side of the valley, the Indians were seen encamped, some having already laid down to sleep, while others were drawing off their leggings for the same purpose, and the scalps they had taken were hanged up to dry. "See!" said Luke Holland to his astonished companions, "there is the enemy! not of my nation, but Mingoes, as I truly told you. They are in our power; in less than half an hour they will all be fast asleep. We need not fire a gun, but go up and tomahawk them. We are nearly two to one and need apprehend no danger. Come on, and you will now have your full revenge!" But the whites, overcome with fear, did not choose to follow the Indian's advice, and urged him to take them back by the nearest and best way, which he did, and when they arrived at home late at night, they reported the number of the Indians to have been so great that they dare not venture to attack them.

This story is said to be strictly true by Heckewelder, the Indian historian, and it illustrates the wonderful sagacity and cunning of the Indians.

The consternation and excitement caused by this bloody massacre—the *first* that had occurred within the limits of the Province—can be better imagined than described. The most exaggerated rumors were in circulation, and the stories of blood and carnage were calculated to appall the stoutest heart. Many of them were wholly devoid of truth, but the settlers had reason to be alarmed, as the danger was really great. The painted savage was on the war-path thirsting for blood, and in his fury he was determined to spare neither age, sex nor condition.

About the latter part of October, 1755, Andrew Montour and

an Indian named Monagatootha were sent for by the Delawares to visit them at the Great Island. They started up, accompanied by three other Indians. On arriving there they found six Delawares and four Shawanese, who informed them that overtures had been made them by the French. Large bodies of French and Indians had crossed the Allegheny mountains, for the purpose of murdering, scalping and burning. This Montour reported to the Provincial Government, and also recommended the erection of a fort at Shamokin. It was the intention of the French to overrun this portion of the country and erect fortifications at different points—making Shamokin their headquarters.

Near the close of this month, a few weeks after the big massacre, the Indians again appeared in considerable numbers around the Shamokin region; and during the following month committed several barbarous murders upon the remaining whites.

During the month of November, at a council held at Philadelphia, the old Indian chief, Scarroyady, was present and gave some interesting information. It was to the effect that two messengers had recently come from Ohio to the Indian town at Big Island, where they found a white man who accidentally happened to be there. These Indians were very much enraged on seeing him, and insisted upon having him killed. The other Indians would not permit him to be injured, stating that *they* would not kill him nor allow *them* to do it, as they had lived on good terms with the English, and did not wish to shed blood. These messengers were sent by the French to estrange these friendly Indians, if possible.

In April, 1756, the Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, on account of the hostility of the Indians, was obliged to issue the following proclamation:*

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, the Delaware tribe of Indians, and others in confederacy with them, have for some time past, without the least provocation, and contrary to their most solemn treaties, fallen upon this province, and in a most cruel, savage and perfidious manner, killed and butchered great numbers of the inhabitants, and carried others into barbarous captivity; burning and destroying their habitations, and laying waste the country. *And whereas*, notwithstanding the friendly remonstrances made to them by this Government, and the interposition and positive orders of our faithful friends

* See *Colonial Records*, Vol. VII., page 88.

and allies the Six Nations, to whom they owe obedience and subjection, requiring and commanding them to desist from any further acts of hostility against us, and to return to their allegiance, the said Indians do still continue their cruel murders and ravages, sparing neither age nor sex; I have, therefore, by and with the advice and consent of the Council, thought fit to issue this Proclamation; and do hereby declare the said Delaware Indians, and all others who, in conjunction with them, have committed hostilities against His Majesty's subjects within this Province, to be enemies, rebels, and traitors to His Most Sacred Majesty; and I do hereby require all His Majesty's subjects of this Province, and earnestly invite those of the neighboring Provinces to embrace all opportunities of pursuing, taking, killing and destroying the said Delaware Indians, and all others confederated with them in committing hostilities, incursions, murders, or ravages, upon this Province.

And whereas, many Delawares and other Indians abhorring the ungrateful, cruel and perfidious behavior of that part of the Delaware tribe and others that have been concerned in the late inhuman ravages, have removed into the settled and inhabited parts of the country, put themselves under the protection of this and the neighboring governments, and live in a peaceable manner with the King's subjects; *I do therefore declare*, that the said friendly Indians that have so separated themselves from our said enemies and all others who shall join or act with us in the prosecution of this just and necessary War, are expressly excepted out of this Declaration, and it is recommended to all officers and others to afford them protection and assistance. *And whereas*, the Commissioners appointed with me to dispose of the *sixty thousand pounds* lately granted by act of General Assembly for His Majesty's use, have, by their letters to me of the tenth inst., agreed to pay out of the same the several rewards for prisoners and scalps herein after specified; and, therefore, as a further inducement and encouragement to all His Majesty's Liege People, and to all the several tribes of Indians who continue in friendship and alliance with us, to exert and use their utmost endeavor to pursue, attack, take, and destroy our said enemy Indians, and to release, redeem, and recover such of his Majesty's subjects as have been taken and made prisoners by the same enemies; *I do hereby declare and promise*, that there shall be paid out of the said sixty thousand pounds to all and every person, as well Indians as Christians not in the pay of the province, the several and respective premiums and bounties following, that is to say: For every male Indian enemy above twelve years old who shall be taken prisoner and delivered at any forts garrisoned by the troops in the pay of this Province, or at any of the County towns, to the keepers of the common jails there, the sum of one hundred and fifty Spanish dollars or pieces of eight; *for the scalp* of every male Indian enemy above the age of twelve years, produced as evidence of their being killed, the sum of one hundred and thirty pieces of eight; for every female Indian taken prisoner and brought in as aforesaid, and for every male Indian prisoner under the age of twelve years taken and brought in as aforesaid, one hundred and thirty pieces of eight; *for the scalp of every Indian woman*, produced as evidence of their being killed, the sum of fifty pieces of eight; and for every English subject that has been taken and carried from this Province into captivity that shall be recovered and brought in and delivered at the city of Philadelphia to the Governor of this Province, the sum of one hundred and fifty pieces of eight, but nothing for their scalps; and there shall be paid to every officer or soldier as are or shall be in the pay of this Province who shall redeem and deliver any English subject carried into cap-

tivity as aforesaid, or shall take, bring in and produce any enemy prisoner, or scalp as aforesaid, one half of the said several and respective premiums and bounties.

Given under my hand and the Great Seal of the Province, at Philadelphia, the fourteenth day of April, in the twenty-ninth year of His Majesty's reign, and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six.

ROBERT H. MORRIS.

By His Honor's Command,

RICHARD PETERS, Secretary.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

From this document it will be perceived that the whites were encouraged to scalp the Indians, by a reward offered by the Governor. It is thought to have been very barbarous for the Indians to scalp the killed, but at the same time it is not generally known that the English were hired to do the same thing. Such being the fact, are the Indians to be blamed for their conduct? Certainly not. But it will be argued, probably, that they first commenced the barbarous practice. Granting such to be the fact, was that any reason why people claiming to be enlightened should adopt the custom of savages?

About this time the Indians abandoned the town of Shamokin, probably on account of fear of the English, who were expected there in considerable force to erect a fort and make preparations for the defense of the frontier. On the 3d of June, 1756, a scout, consisting of George Allen, Abraham Loverhill, James Crampton, John Gallaher, John Murrain and Robert Egar, were sent up the river to reconnoitre the enemy at Shamokin. They reported that they arrived there on Saturday night, and not observing any enemy, went to the place where the town had been, but found all the houses consumed and no trace of it left. They remained there till ten o'clock the next day, but observed no signs of Indians.

Thus had the ancient Indian town of Shamokin disappeared from the face of the earth—destroyed by its own inhabitants. From time immemorial it had been an important point with the aborigines. The seat of a king, the sub-capital of their confederacy south of Tioga, where all paths converged and where war and peace parties met. With its destruction went down the famous blacksmith shop and the Moravian mission house. Naught

remained to mark its site but ashes and the little hillocks where hundreds of Indian dead were buried in the cemetery. One white man slept near by—John Hagan—who was the first of the “pale faces” to die and be interred on the banks of the river at Shamokin. Thus closes an important chapter in our history. The curtain will rise upon new scenes, and new and thrilling incidents will crowd to the front, crimsoned with human blood.

CHAPTER VIII.

COL. CLAPHAM ORDERED TO BUILD FORT AUGUSTA—HIS INSTRUCTIONS—STORMY TIMES—HAMBRIGHT'S SECRET EXPEDITION—DESCRIPTION OF THE FORT—CLAPHAM RESIGNS—HIS SAD FATE.

THE French and Indian war having been fairly started by the defeat of Braddock and the atrocious massacre of the Penn's Creek settlers, it soon became evident to the Provincial Government that something must be done for the protection of the frontiers. In the meantime petitions poured in asking for assistance, and the greatest excitement prevailed in the exposed settlements. Towards the latter part of October, 1755, Governor Morris called the Assembly together, when they passed a militia law and granted £2,000 for the "King's use." It was also learned that a body of 1,500 French* and Indians had left the Ohio, of whom a division of forty was destined against Shamokin, for the purpose of seizing it and building a fort there. The friendly Indians repeatedly requested Governor Morris to build a fort at Shamokin; but as the necessary orders were delayed, the Indians became impatient. At a conference held February 22, 1756,† they said to Governor Morris:

We advised you when at Carlisle immediately to build a Fort at Shamokin; we repeat our advice & earnestly entreat you will not delay in doing it. Such Indians as continue true to you, want a place to come to, & to live in security against your & their Enemies, and to Shamokin, when made strong they will come and bring their wives and children with them; & it will strengthen your interest very much to have a strong house there. Indeed you lose ground every day till this be done. Pray hasten the work, the warriors say they will go along with you & assist you in building a Fort there.

In reply Governor Morris said:‡

As to the strong house you have frequently desired us to build at Shamokin, you well know that we are ready to do anything for the safety of our Friends among the

* *Colonial Records*, Vol. VI., pages 662, 675.

† *Colonial Records*, Vol. VII., page 54.

‡ *Colonial Records*, Vol. VII., page 56.

Indians, and our people. We expect every day to see Scaroyady and Andrew Montour with agreeable news from our Brethren the Six Nations, and as soon as they arrive you will have notice immediately & we shall build the Fort.

Again at a conference held at Philadelphia (April 8th) the Governor informed the Indians that:

Agreeable to your repeated request, I am now going to build a Fort at Shamokin. Forces are raising for that purpose & everything will soon be in readiness.

Time wore away, however, and nothing was done. This increased the uneasiness of the Indians, and on the 10th of April, 1756, they reminded the Governor of his promise in these words:

You told us* that you must now build a Fort at Shamokin; we are glad to hear it; it is a good thing; these young men are glad in their hearts & promise you their assistance, & would have you go on with it as fast as you can, & others too will assist you when they see you are in earnest. The Fort at Shamokin is not a thing of little consequence; it is of the greatest importance to us as well as to you. Your people are foolish; for want of this fort, the Indians who are your friends can be of no service to you, having no place to go to where they can promise themselves protection; they can do nothing for you, they are not secure anywhere. At present your people cannot distinguish Foes from Friends, they think every Indian is against them—they blame us all without distinction, because they see nobody appear for them; the common people to a man entertain this notion & insult us wherever we go. We bear their ill usage tho' very irksome, but all this will be set right when you have built the Fort and you will see that we in particular are sincere, & many others will come to your assistance. We desire when the Fort is built you will put into the command of so important a place some of your best people, grave, solid & sensible men who are in repute amongst you, & in whom you can place confidence. Do this & you will soon see a change in your affairs for the better.

Notwithstanding all the requests and arguments of the Indians, and the repeated promises of the Governor to commence the erection of a fort at this important point, it does not appear that active measures were taken to effect it. It was always a favorite measure with the Governor, but the principal reasons for delay were probably the fear of opposition from the enemy should they be informed that the work had been commenced. The difficulty, too, of making arrangements was evidently another drawback, and especially the want of consent on the part of the Commissioners. They finally did consent,† and desired him to raise 400 men for that purpose, which he soon afterwards commenced doing.

* *Colonial Records*, Vol. VII., pages 79, 80.

† *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. II., page 606.

In the meantime exaggerated reports of the massacre continued to spread over the sparsely settled country, which added to the terror and consternation of the settlers.

It was the 16th of April,* 1756, when the Governor informed the Commissioners that he had directed Colonel William Clapham to rendezvous his regiment at or near Hunter's Mill,† where he directed a number of canoes to be collected and fitted for transporting stores to Shamokin, and he thought it would be necessary to form a magazine of provisions and other warlike stores sufficient to supply the troops. The Governor soon afterwards proceeded to Harris' Ferry to aid by his presence in hurrying forward the expedition.

Everything being in readiness to commence operations, Governor Morris, on the 12th of June, 1756, issued the following instructions to Colonel William Clapham:

1. Herewith you will also receive two Planns of Forts, the one a Pentagon, the other a Square with one Ravelin to Protect the Curtain where the gate is, with a ditch, covered way, and Glacis. But as it is impossible to give any explicit directions, the Particular form of a fort, without viewing and Considering the ground on which it is to stand, I must leave it to you to build it in such form as will best answer for its own Defence, the command of the river and of the Country in its neighborhood, and the Plans herewith will serve to shew the Proportion that the Different parts of the works should bear to Each other.

2. As to the place upon which this fort is to be erected, that must be in a great measure left to your Judgment; but it is necessary to inform you that it must be on the East side of the Susquehanna, the Lands on the West at ye forks and between the branches not being purchased from the Indians, besides which it would be impossible to relieve and support a garrison that side in the winter time. From all the information that I have been able to Collect, the Land on ye south side of the east branch, opposite the middle of the Island, is the highest of any of the low land thereabout, and the best place for a fort, as the Guns you have will form a Rampart of a moderate highth, command the main river; but as these Informations come from persons not acquainted with the nature of such things, I am fearfull they are not much to be depended on, and your own Judgment must therefore direct you.

3. When you have completed the fort you will cause the ground to be cleared about it, so to a convenient distance and openings to be made to the river, and you

* *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. II., page 626.

† Fort Hunter was about six miles north of Harrisburg, at the mouth of Fishing Creek. The site was high and commanding, and the surrounding scenery is of the most romantic character. The tracks of the Northern Central Railroad pass within a short distance of the site of the old fortification.

will Erect such buildings within the fort and place them in such a manner as you shall Judge best.

4. Without the fort, at a convenient distance, under the command of the Guns, it will be necessary to build some log houses for Indians, that they may have places to Lodge in without being in the fort where numbers of them, however friendly, should not be admitted but in a formal manner, and the guard turned out, this will be esteemed a compliment by our friends, and if enemies should at any time be concealed under that name, it will give them proper notions of our vigilance and prevent them from attempting to surprize it.

5. In your march up the River will take care not to be surprized, and always have your forces in such a disposition that you may retreat with safety.

6. You will make the best observations you can of the river, and the most difficult passes you meet with in your way, as well by land as by water, which you will note upon the map I gave, that it may be thereby amended, and furnish me with your opinion of the best manner of removing or surmounting those difficulties.

7. If you should be opposed in your march, or gain any intelligence of the approach of an enemy for that or any other purpose, you will inform me by express of such intelligence or opposition, the situation you are in, and everything else material, that I may send you proper assistance, and be prepared for anything that may Happen, and in the meantime you are to use your best endeavours to oppose the Enemy and to secure yourself.

8. As soon as you are in possession of the Ground at Shamokin, you will secure yourself by a breastwork in the best manner you can, so that you ever may work in safety, and you will inform me of everything committed to their care.

9. You will order the Commissary, and others into whose hands you may trust any of the Publick Provisions or Stores to be careful and exact in the distribution thereof, and to keep exact accounts of everything committed to your care.

10. Having suspended Hostilities against the Delaware Indians on the East side of the North East Branch of Sasquahana, in order to enter into a treaty with them, I send you herewith my Proclamation for that purpose, to which you will conform, and any friendly Indians that may Joyn you in your march or at Shamokin you will treat with Kindness, and supply them out of the Province Stores with such things as they may want, and you are able to spare.

11. Having sent the Indians, New Castle and Jagrea, again to the town of Diaboga, accompanied with some of the Jersey Delawares, all our good friends, who may and probably will return by the Sasquahana, you will, in about a fortnight after this cause a lookout to be kept for them, and if they return that way you will receive & assist them in their journey. Their Signal will be a red flag with the union in the corner, or if that should be lost they will carry green Boughs or clabd Maskets, will appear open and Erect, and not approach you in the night.*

When Colonel Clapham received these instructions he was at Fort Halifax † with a large body of men, engaged in making

* *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. II., pages 667-8, Old Series.

† Fort Halifax was situated on the east bank of the Susquehanna, at or near the mouth of Armstrong's Creek, about half a mile above the present town of Halifax,

preparations to resist any attacks that might be made against the place. He also had a number of mechanics and ship carpenters busily engaged in building flat boats for the purpose of transporting provisions and munitions of war up the river. These boats were pushed against the current by strong men using "setting poles." This method of navigating the river was very laborious as well as dangerous, because the savages lurked along the shore of the river to pick them off with their rifles. And for better safety it was necessary to have a guard, which traveled by land and kept within sight of the boats to protect them.

While at Fort Halifax Colonel Clapham had a number of carriages for mounting cannon manufactured, but the records do not state how many. It is inferred, however, from letters written at the time, that he had several pieces of artillery.

Before starting for his new field of operations Colonel Clapham had some difficulty with a number of his men on account of pay due them. Not being able to pay them because of a scarcity of funds, several of the soldiers and "batteaux men" became dissatisfied and refused to perform their duty. According to his statement, the latter were Germans, and twenty-six in number. They were arrested and confined for mutiny.

Everything being in readiness, the march to Shamokin was commenced early in July, 1756. There being no road on the east side of the river, it was necessary to cross to the west side and follow the path to a point opposite their destination. In many places the underbrush had to be removed and the road widened to admit of the passage of the troops and horses, and the march was necessarily slow.

Finally, after a toilsome march, the command reached its destination* about four hundred strong. It was a motley crew

and thirty-two miles below Sunbury. Nothing now remains to mark the spot, except an old well. Colonel Clapham had selected the site on account of its convenience and natural situation for establishing a magazine for provisions. There was an abundance of pine timber near at hand. When he received his orders from Governor Morris, he had already cut and squared 200 logs and had hauled eighty to the spot and made some progress in laying them. He also had twenty batteaux finished and two canoes to bring up provisions from McKee's store. Scouts were on the lookout all the time.

*The following extract is from a memorandum made in 1802 by Colonel Samuel

indeed. Indians hovered about the hills, noting their movements and watching an opportunity to seize and scalp stragglers. The ruins of Shamokin and the famous Moravian blacksmith shop were visible near a patch of cleared ground, not far from where the railroad now runs after crossing the island bridge. The surrounding mountains were heavily timbered and the lowlands and swamps were covered with impenetrable thickets of briars and bushes. It was indeed a wild and romantic spot at the junction of the two rivers. Blue Hill proudly reared its rugged crest and seemed to look down defiantly upon the ragged and poorly fed militia-men, as they lay encamped upon the very spot where the Indian town had once stood. The majestic river rolled its current silently towards the sea, and as the sun disappeared behind the bold, rocky promontory on its western shore, and the gathering twilight deepened into the gloom of night, the scene was indeed a weird one as the soldiers passed their first night upon the spot destined to become famous in the annals of history.

Once upon the ground, Colonel Clapham ordered temporary breastworks thrown up, for the better protection of his command, and preparations were at once made to commence erecting the fort according to the most approved plan. A hurried survey was made by the engineers, and a location for the defensive work selected. But notwithstanding the importance of the expedition, and the absolute necessity of preparation to resist attack, great dissatisfaction existed among the soldiers on account of their pay, and it was with difficulty that many of them could be restrained from returning home. Finally the dissatisfaction assumed such a serious aspect that, on the 13th of July, a council was called in the camp to take into consideration what was best to be done. As the report of that meeting shows clearly the difficulties the commander had to surmount, and

Miles, of the Revolutionary Army: "We crossed the Susquehanna and marched on the west side thereof, until we came opposite where the town of Sunbury now stands, where we crossed over in batteaux, and I had the honor of being the first man who put his foot on shore at landing. In building the fort at Shamokin, Captain Levi Trump and myself had the charge of the workmen, and after it was finished our battalion remained there as garrison until the year 1758."

forms an important link in the history of Fort Augusta, it is given herewith in full:*

Present—all the Officers of Colonel Clapham's Regiment, except Capt. Miles, † who Commands the Garrison at Fort Halifax.

The Subalterns complain, that after expectation given them by several Gentlemen, Commissioners, of receiving seven Shillings and Six Pence each Lieut., & five Shillings & Six Pence each Ensign per day, the Commissary has received Instructions to pay a Lieut. but five shillings and six pence, and an Ensign four Shillings.

Capt. Salter affirms, that the Gentlemen Commissioners assur'd him that the Subalterns pay was Augmented from five Shillings and six pence, and four Shillings to the sums mention'd above.

Lieut. Davies reports, that Mr. Fox assured him that the pay of a Lieut. in this Regiment woud be Established at seven Shillings & six Pence per Day, and that Mr. Peters, the Provincial Secretary, told him the same as a thing concluded upon, but hinted at the same time that he might expect but five shillings and sixpence per Day, before he came into the Regiment.

Lieut. Garraway says, that Mr. Hamilton told him at Dinner, at Mr. Cunninghams, that the Pay of a Captain in this Regiment was to be ten Shillings, a Lieutenants seven Shillings & six pence, & an Ensigns five Shillings & Sixpence.

Capt. Lloyd says, that Mr. Hughs, one of the Gentlemen Commissioners told him the same thing.

The Gentlemen Officers beg leave to Appeal to his Honor, the Governor, as an Evidence that that Opinion Universally Prevailed thro'out the Regiment, and thinking themselves unjustly dealt with by the Gentlemen Commissrs., are Unanimously Determined not to Honor their most hearty and sincere thanks for the Favours received, the grateful impressions of wch they shall never forget, and at the same time request a permission from your Honor to Resign on the Twentieth day of Augst next, desiring to be relieved accordingly.

[Signed] Levi Trump, Patrick Davis, Daniel Clark, Chas. Garraway, Asher Clayton, Wm. Anderson, John Hambright, William Plunkett, Sam. Jno. Atlee, Chas. Brodhead, Wm. Patterson, Joseph Scott, John Morgan, Samuel Miles, James Bryan, Pat. Allison.

James Young, who appears to have been a paymaster in the service of the Provincial Government, visited Shamokin about this time and found great confusion and dissatisfaction existing among the officers. On the 18th of July, 1756, ‡ he wrote a long letter

*See Vol. I., page 700, *Pennsylvania Archives*, Old Series.

† Notwithstanding this statement it appears that he was present and signed the report—or it was submitted to him afterwards for signature.

‡ His letter is dated at Carlisle. After remaining at Shamokin four days he left there early Friday morning in a batteau and "rowed her down to Harris' before night with four oars." He was greatly perplexed during his stay at Shamokin. He says: "I was ordered to pay but 384 private men and 16 sergeants. I found several more in the camp besides Ensign Meirs, with 20 men at Maggies Stores, Ensign Johnston

to Governor Morris, in which he gave a detailed account of the dissatisfaction he found prevailing there. Colonel Clapham, he stated, was much displeas'd on account of the insufficiency of funds forwarded to pay the troops. Clapham complain'd loudly and bitterly of what he term'd his ill usage, and in his wrath went so far as to threaten to leave the service and join the Indians if something was not done soon. This was very imprudent talk for the commanding officer, and shows that he was lacking in discretion.

Young, according to the records, did not pay any of the officers, because they claim'd more than he was instructed to allow them. And to make matters worse, all of the officers, with the exception of three or four, had been under arrest by order of Colonel Clapham upon one charge or another, but released at his pleasure without trial. His conduct array'd the officers against him and caus'd them to despise him. Paymaster Young very much doubt'd the wisdom of building a fort at this place, as, in his opinion, there was great danger of it being desert'd by the men on account of the bitterness of feeling which prevail'd, and he so stated in his letter to the Governor.

On the same day Colonel Clapham and James Burd united in writing a long and censorious letter to Governor Morris, in which they stated their grievances as follows:

SHAMOKIN, July 18th, 1756.

SIR; I am desir'd herewith to Transmit to your Honor the result of a Council held at the Camp at Shamokin, July the 13th, in consequence of a disappointment in the Pay of ye Subalterns, from wch it will appear to your Honor that they think Themselves illtreated by the Gentlemen Commissioners, whose Honor they rely'd on and several of whose promises they recite in Regard to their Pay, and that they are unanimously determin'd to resign their Commissions on the 20th day of August next if the respective Promises and Assurances of the Gentlemen Commissioners on that Head are not fully Comply'd with before that time.

I further beg leave to address your Honor with a Complaint in behalf of myself, and the other Captains and Officers of this Regiment. I had the honor to receive from you, Sr., a Commission as Captain in the Regiment under my command, dated March the 29th, for which the Gentlemen Commissioners, notwithstanding it was represented to them, have been pleas'd to withhold my pay and Assign'd as a Reason

with 23 men at Hunter's Mill, and a sergeant with 13 at Harris', all order'd there by Col. Clapham, and above his number of 400. I therefore did not pay them."—*Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. II., page 704, Old Series.

that a man can execute but one Office at a time, and ought to devote his whole service to it, which is not only an unjust remark, but affronting to all Gentlemen who have the Honor to hold directly from his Majesty or from any of his Majesty's Officers more than one Commission at the same time, by supposing them deficient in some part of their Duty, and is virtually an invective against the Government of Great Britain itself. They have likewise been pleased to deal with Major Burd upon the same principles and have paid him only as a Captain, which must be confessed is a very concise method of reducing without the Sentence or even the Sanction of a Court Martial.

The several Captains think themselves affronted by the Commissrs Instructions to the Commissary to pay but two Serjeants and forty-eight Private Men in each Company, notwithstanding two Corporalls and one Drummer were appointed in each Company by your Honor's express Command, this instruction appears to them also as a contempt of your Honor's Orders, and have accordingly paid these non-commissioned officers out of their own Pockets.

I entered into this service at the Solicitation of some of the Gentlemen Commissioners, in Dependence on Promises, which they have never performed, and have acted ever since not only in two Capacities but in twenty, having besides the Duties of my Commissions as Col. & Captain been obliged to discharge those of an Engineer and Overseer at the same time, and undergone in the Service incredible Fatigues without Materials and without thanks. But as I am to be paid only as a Col. I intend while I remain in this Service only to fulfill the Duties of that Commission, which never was yet supposed to include building forts and ten thousand other Services which I have performed, so that the Gentlemen Commissioners have only to send Engineers, Pioneers and other Laborers, with the necessary Teams and Utensils, while I, as Col. preside over the Works, see that your Honor's orders are punctually executed, & only Defend the Persons engaged in the Execution of them. In pursuance of a resolution of your Honor and the Gentlemen Commissioners to allow me an Aid-De-Camp who was to be paid as a Supernumerary Capt. in the Regiment; I according appointed Capt. Lloyd as my Aid-De-Camp on April 2nd, 1756, who has ever since acted as such in the most Fatiguing and disagreeable Service on Earth, and received only Captain's Pay.

Your Honor was pleased to appoint Lieut. Clayton Adjutant to the Regiment under my command by a Commission, bearing date the 24th day of May, 1756, but the Gentlemen Commissrs have, in Defiance of all known rules, resolved that an Officer can Discharge but one duty in a day, and have paid him only as a Lieutenant. Impowered by your Honor's orders, and in Compliance with the Exigencies of the Services, I hir'd a number of Battoe men at 2-6 per day, as will appear by the return made herewith to your Honor, and upon demanding from the Paymaster General money for the Payment of the respective Ballances due to them, was surprized to find that the Commissy had by their instructions restraing him from Paying any incidental Charges whatever, as thinking them properly Cognizable only by themselves.

'Tis extremely Cruel, Sr, and unjust to the last degree That men who cheerfully ventured their lives in the most dangerous and Fatiguing services of their Country, who have numerous Families dependant on their labor, and who have many of them while they were engaged in that service, suffered more from the neglect of their Farms and Crops at home than the Value of their whole pay. In short, whose Affairs

are ruined by the Services done their Country should some of them receive no pay at all for those services, if this is the case I plainly perceive that all Service is at an end, and foresee that whoever has the command of this Garrison will inevitably be Obligated to Abandon his Post very shortly for want of a Suply of Provisions. Your Honor will not be surprized to hear that in a government where its Servants are so well rewarded I have but one Team of Draught Horses, which, according to the Commissioners remark, can but do the Business of one Team in a day from whence you will easily Judge that the Works must proceed very slowly and the Expence in the end be proportionable.

Permit me, Sr, in the most grateful manner to thank your Honor for the Favour conferred on me and on the Regiment under my Command which I am sensible were meant as well in Friendship to the Province-as myself. I have executed the trust Reposed in me wth all Possible Fidelity and to the best of my Knowledge, but my endeavours as well as those of every other Officer in the Service have met with so ungenerous a Return so contracted a Reward that we can no longer serve with any Pleasure on such terms. And if we are not for the Future to receive from your Honor our Orders, our Supplies and our Pay beg Leave unanimously to resign on the Twentieth of August next, & will abandon the Post accordingly at that time, in which Case I would recommend it to the Gentlemen Commissioners to take great Care to prevent that universal Desertion of the men which will otherwise certainly ensue.

Thus much I thought it necessary to say in my own Vindication, and I am besides by the rest of the Gentlemen requested to add, that they have still further cause of Complaint from a Quarter where they little expected it, & are conscious to themselves they never deserved it, esteeming much lighter their Treatment from the other Gentlemen Commissioners in regard to their Pay than the ungenerous Reflections of one of those Gentlemen on the Conduct of an Expedition which it too plainly appears it was never his Study to Promote, and will Appeal to their Country and to your Honor for ye Justice of their Conduct in the present Step.

'Tis wth utmost concern & Reluctance that the Gentlemen of this Regiment see themselves reduced to the necessity of this Declaration and assure your Honor that nothing but such a Continued series of Discouragements could have ever extorted it from those who hope that they have not used any Expressions inconsistent wth that high Regard they have for your Honor, and beg leave with me to Subscribe themselves,

Your Honor's

Most obedient humble Servant,

WILL'M CLAPHAM,
JAMES BURD.

Notwithstanding these serious complaints, the Government was slow to remedy them by supplying the wants of the command. This, in a measure, was caused by the scarcity of money and provisions and a lack of decision and promptness on the part of those in authority. Colonel Clapham still remained at Shamokin, and although short of supplies, it appears that the work of building the fort was vigorously pushed. On the 14th of

August he again wrote to Governor Morris that his wants were still unsupplied, and that they only had about half a pound of powder to each man, and none for the cannon. Their stock of provisions was very low, and, as winter was approaching, famine stared them in the face, unless a supply was speedily received. Boats had been dispatched to Harris' for flour, but they were subjected to so much danger from the Indians on the west side of the river, that their safe return was almost despaired of.

In this same letter the Colonel informed the Governor that he was obliged to put Lieutenant Plunkett under arrest for mutiny, and only awaited the arrival of the Judge Advocate to have him tried by court-martial.

A month had now elapsed since the arrival of the force at Shamokin, and notwithstanding the dissatisfaction that existed among the officers and men, and the threats of the former that they would throw up their commissions and abandon the post by the 20th of August if they were not paid, it nowhere appears that any of them carried this threat into execution. The commanding officer, on deliberate and calm reflection, no doubt, came to the conclusion that a savage and wily enemy confronted them, and it was absolutely necessary for their *own* safety, as well as the safety of the helpless settlers, that defenses should be erected as quickly as possible to guard the frontier. In view of this, patriotic feelings evidently triumphed over personal bickerings, and the work of building Fort Augusta steadily progressed. In September a few supplies were received from below, which somewhat revived the drooping spirits of the command. Previous to this the men had been put on a short allowance of flour.

September 7th* Colonel Clapham recommended strengthening the fort by doubling it with another case of logs and filling up the intermediate space to render it cannon proof.

On the 14th of September, 1756, Peter Bard wrote to Governor Morris, informing him that "the fort is now almost finished, and a fine one it is; we want a large flag to grace it." The officers and men had labored hard for about six weeks on the works, and they felt greatly encouraged at their success in the face of the difficul-

**Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. II., page 766, Old Series.

ties which had constantly surrounded them. Colonel Clapham was evidently in a better humor, for about this time he informed Benjamin Franklin that in his opinion the post was of the utmost importance to the Province, and that it was impregnable against all the power of musketry. From its position, however, he feared that it was more exposed to a descent on the West Branch, and recommended that it be made stronger. The threatened French attack, if it was ever made, would be from that direction. The enemy could easily effect a lodgement on the summit of Blue Hill, which overlooked the fort, but as their position would be more than a mile away, they could do but little towards reducing the fort without the aid of heavy artillery; and as it could only be transported there with great difficulty, the danger was never very great, but, of course, this fact was not known to the garrison.

It may be interesting to know what stores and munitions of war were possessed by the garrison when the fort was nearly completed, 132 years ago. In view of this, the first report of Commissary Peter Bard, made in September, 1756, is transcribed and given as follows:

Provisions in Store, September ye 1st.

46 bbs. beef and pork.	5 Do. of peas.
9 Do. of flour.	1 Bullock.

Brought up September ye 1st.

2 cwt. powder.	11 frying pans.
6 Do. of Lead.	1 Stock Lock.
92 Pair Sboes.	A Lamp of Chalk.
4 Lanthorns.	27 bags flour about 5000 cwt.
1301 Grape shot.	4 Iron Squares.
46 hand granades.	12 Carpenter's Compasses.
58 Cannon ball.	1 ream writing paper.
50 blankets.	4 quires Cateridge Do.
4 brass kettles.	Some match rope very ordinary.
6 falling axes.	33 head of Cattle.

He does not state how many cannon they had, although it is known that several pieces were brought from Halifax. It is possible that they were not yet mounted, and he did not deem it wise to mention them for prudential reasons. As to the quantity of provisions in store, it does not seem that the men were in immediate

danger of starvation. Of beef there appears to have been an abundance, but coffee and sugar were wanting. When we consider the difficulty of transporting heavy stores up the river at that time, surprise may be expressed that they possessed as much as they did.

While the work was going on, the Indians watched them constantly. They lurked in the thickets and on the hill-sides for an opportunity to pounce on small parties, if they were reckless enough to stray any distance from the camp, and kill and scalp them. They could be seen on Blue Hill almost daily, peering over the cliffs and vigilantly observing every movement. On the 23d of August an express courier, on his way up the river from Harris', was killed and scalped* fifteen miles below the fort. The party that went to escort Captain Lloyd from Fort Halifax found his body and buried it by the roadside.

The following thrilling incident, related by Colonel Samuel Miles,† shows the constant danger to which stragglers were subjected:

In the summer of 1756 I was nearly taken prisoner by the Indians. At about half a mile distant from the fort stood a large tree that bore excellent plums, in an open piece of ground, near what is now called the "Bloody Spring." Lieut. S. Atlee and myself one day took a walk to this tree to gather plums. While we were there a party of Indians lay a short distance from us concealed in the thicket, and had

**Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. II., page 765, Old Series.

† Lieutenant Samuel Miles, afterwards better known as Colonel Samuel Miles, was born March 22, 1739, and was commissioned an Ensign at the age of 17, and continued in active service until December 12, 1760, when he retired with the rank of Captain. He married February 16, 1761, and settled in Philadelphia, and was a member of Assembly in 1772. March 13, 1776, he was commissioned Colonel; captured at Long Island, and not exchanged until 1778. After exchange, not being able to obtain his rank, he retired from active service and was appointed Deputy Quartermaster General of Pennsylvania, and served as such until 1782. He was appointed one of the judges of the High Court of Appeals of Pennsylvania in 1783, and in 1790 he was elected Mayor of Philadelphia. In October, 1805, he was elected a member of Assembly. Was taken sick at Lancaster, and died at his country residence, Cheltenham, Montgomery County, December 29, 1805, aged 66 years. He became a large land owner, in what is now Centre County, before the war, and after the war, in connection with General Patton, built large iron works in Centre County and laid out the town of Milesburg. He was Captain of the City Troop of Philadelphia, 1786-1791, and his portrait, with a full biography, will be found in *Wilson's History of the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry*.

nearly gotten between us and the fort, when a soldier belonging to the bullock guard not far from us came to the spring to drink. The Indians were thereby in danger of being discovered, and in consequence thereof fired at and killed the soldier, by which means we got off and returned to the fort in much less time than we were coming out.

A party of soldiers immediately sallied forth from the fort, on hearing the firing, and pursued the savages, but they escaped in the thickets. They succeeded in scalping the soldier before they fled. This circumstance is believed to have given the spring its name, which it bears to this day. When the rescuing party arrived they found that the blood of the soldier had trickled into the spring and given the water a crimson hue, and it was afterwards called the "Bloody Spring."* The peculiar rocks which at one time surrounded the spring have been disturbed, and its romantic beauty is lost. It is located on the original Grant Farm, well up on the hill-side. The high hills on the east and south afforded excellent hiding places for the savages, and when the topography of the country is studied, it will be plainly seen that the Indians had every advantage when lying in wait for parties visiting the spring. Whether more than one man was killed at this fatal spot is not stated, but this single murder is well authenticated.

* Hon. S. P. Wolverton now owns the ground on which this historic spring is located on the hill-side. The space occupied by it is about the size of an ordinary sized town lot, and it looks as if it might have been dug out and the earth taken away with horse and cart, as the excavation is about large enough in which to turn a horse and vehicle of that kind. At the head of the excavation the distance across is about twenty-five feet, and has a depth of ten or twelve feet, and then runs out in accordance with the declivity of the field. The spring flows a couple of months in the early part of the year, during which time the water runs down on the surface to the Klinsgrove road. The spring has been gradually filling up, and there is no doubt it would flow constantly if it were cleaned out. It will probably entirely disappear in a few years. Some years ago there was a clump of pines about the spring, but they have been cut away. Two small chestnut trees shade the spring in the forenoon and a good sized oak in the afternoon. The whole place has grown up with a dense crop of alders, briars and vines. Some years ago an Englishman, a machinist at the railroad shops, built a wall six feet high at the edge of the bank, at the Klinsgrove road, and formed a reservoir of water in which he placed fish and frogs; but vandals tore it away. On the rocks surrounding the spring are many names and dates rudely cut. Here are a few: "S. Rockefeller," "Abba Dock, 1857," "1825," "1854," "C. M. Sarvis," "M. C., 1868," "A. J., 1862," "M. M., 1876." It is now about 132 years since the tragedy which gave it such a sanguinary name occurred.—*J. J. Auten.*

Governor Morris was succeeded by William Denny,* August 20, 1756. Colonel Clapham wrote him a congratulatory letter from Fort Augusta, under date of September 23d, as follows:

SIR—I do myself the Honor to congratulate you on your safe Arrival & Accession to the Government of Pennsylvania, where I sincerely wish your Honor all the Success & Happiness that can possibly flow from the wisest Councils or the most consummate merit: it is with inexpressible Pleasure I observe that his Majesty has been graciously pleas'd to confer the Command of this Province on a Gentleman of Experience in military affairs, at a Time when the most Vigorous Measures are necessary for its Preservation and the Happiness of the People, will prove at once the Reward of your Cares & the Glory of your Administration.

Permit me, Sir, to inform you, that I received from your Honorable Predecessor, Mr. Morris, the Command of a Regiment of foot, consisting of four hundred Men, raised in the Pay of the Province of Pennsylvania, & now doing duty at Fort Halifax, which is garrisoned by a Company of fifty men, Detach'd from this Regiment, and the Rest of the Corps station'd at Fort Augusta at Shamokin, where I am in Justice bound to Acknowledge that they have shown a commendable Disposition to serve their Country, & suffer'd excessive Fatigue in building a Fort, agreeable to the Plan herewith transmitted to your Honor, in little better than the space of six Weeks, and in Escorting Provisions for the use of the Regiment at the same time.

There are now four Months Pay due to this Regiment, and as many of the Soldiers have left Families at Home dependant on their Pay, & reduc'd to the utmost Misery for Want of it, I find no small Difficulties in detaining them for the present, in so discouraging a Service, and am apprehensive I shall not (unless better supported by the Government) be able to do it much longer. I have, in order to relieve their real necessities, lent amongst them great Part of my own Pay, besides borrowing from others for that Purpose, and 'tho considerably in advance for the Province, have not one single Farthing in my Hand for any Incidental Charges. My duty to the Service calls upon me to inform your Honor, that no Person being regularly appointed to supply this Garrison with Flour, we have been twice reduc'd to the Quantity of two Barrels, and the Commanding Officer of the Escorting Party sent down to Hunters Fort for Flour, as often oblig'd to purchase it from different Parts of the Country, the Party being detain'd in the Mean Time, & deserting daily to the great prejudice of the Service. I beg Leave to represent to your Honor, that this Garrison consisting of three hundred & twenty Men can never Answer the Purpose expected of protecting the Frontier around it, & carry on the Works at the same Time, while one hundred Men are constantly employ'd in escorting Provisions for the rest, and frequently oblig'd to wait a considerable Time among the inhabitants, till Provisions can be purchas'd, and that a Quantity sufficient to serve the Garrison at least six Months, ought

*William Denny was born in England September, 1718. He received a fine education and was in high favor at Court. He was Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania from August 20, 1756, to October, 1759. On his removal from office, for yielding to the demands of the Assembly and passing their money bill, he returned to England, where he spent the remainder of his days in retirement on an annuity from the Crown. He died before the War for Independence commenced.

always to be in Store to prevent so Advanc'd a Post as this is, from falling into the Hands of the Enemy, in Case of a Siege or the Communication being by any other means cut off; I hope that this Regiment will be happy in your Honors Favour & Protection, & I am, Sir, with all possible Respect

Your Honors,

most Obedient, humble Servant,

WILLM. CLAPHAM.

On the 13th of October, 1756, Colonel Clapham was at Harris' Ferry,* from whence he addressed a letter to the Governor, informing him of the condition of the fort, and that he had received information that an attack upon it was contemplated by the enemy. He, therefore, had resolved to return at once and "defend it to the last extremity." The garrison at that time consisted of "320 effective men," and not one of them, remarks the commanding officer, has a "side arm in case of an attempt at storm."

The following day Captain Lloyd reported† that "the small number of grenades," which they had, "were sent without charges or fuses, the match was of bad quality, and the men and officers were entirely ignorant of the knowledge and practice of gunnery." He was also assured that it was "practicable for the French to bring brass four and six-pounders on drag-cars from Du Quesne to Shamokin."

The correspondence between Governor Denny and Colonel Clapham was voluminous, and if we were to give it in full it would fill a small book. That the commander of this important fort had a perplexing and trying time there is no doubt. Without money, and often short of supplies, it is not to be wondered, perhaps, that he sometimes felt discouraged and gave vent to his feelings in language more emphatic than elegant.

October 18th a conference was held at Fort Augusta with the friendly Indians,‡ who informed the officers that a large body of French and Indians were on their way from Du Quesne to attack and capture the fort. On being advised of this report the Governor at once ordered a reinforcement of fifty men. A return of this date shows the whole force to be 306 men.

* *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. III., page 9, Old Series.

† *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. III., page 12, Old Series.

‡ *Colonial Records*, Vol. VII., page 302.

On the 8th of November six barrels of powder,* 500 weight of musket barrels and fifty-six rounds of shot were received at the fort. The commander complained of the want of stronger teams and wheelbarrows, as all the dirt taken from the excavation had to be removed by the latter and shoveled from man to man. They were also very much in need of "axes, tomahawks, spades, nails, wagon masters and rum."

Had better facilities been provided by the Provincial Government for the prosecution of the work, of course it could have been completed earlier. But when we consider the difficulties under which the authorities labored, and the jealousies that existed among them, we must come to the conclusion that rapid progress was made. The work was hard, it is true, but when is it not under such circumstances? Considering these facts, it is not strange, perhaps, that the commander wanted plenty of "rum" for his men. Its use stimulated and encouraged them to wield the spade and push the wheelbarrow.

About the same time he wrote the Governor another letter, in which he said:

Two bushels of Blue Grass Seed are necessary wherewith to sow the Slopes of the Parapet & Glacis, and the Banks of the River—in eight or ten Days more the Ditch will be carried quite round the Parapet, the Barrier Gates finished and Erected, and the Pickets of the Glacis completed—after which, I shall do myself the Honor to attend your commands in person.

In course of time Fort Augusta † was so far completed that it was conceded to be one of the largest, strongest and most important of all the fortifications erected at that gloomy period on the frontiers of the Province. The following diagram, much re-

* *Colonial Records*, Vol. VII., page 302.

† There is some uncertainty as to the true origin of the name of the fort, and who applied it. Governor Morris, before it was built, speaks in a letter to Colonel Clapham, under date of June 25, 1756, of "my plan of Fort Augusta intirely." [See page 674, *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. II., Old Series.] The mother of George III. was named Augusta, but he did not ascend the throne until October 25, 1760, four years after the fort was erected. And it may be noted in this connection, as a singular historical fact, that the first authentic notice of London (*Londinium*) occurs in Tacitus; about 100 years after Cæsar's invasion of Britain, it was taken by the Romans under Claudius, called Augusta, and placed under a Roman administration. In later years a tradition prevailed that Major Bard had the fort named after his sister Augusta, whom it was said resided in England. But it is more likely that it was called for the mother of George III., and that the name is of royal origin.

The following description accompanies the original drawing:

Fort Augusta stands at about forty yards distant from the river, on a bank 24 feet from the surface of the water, that side of the fort marked with light lines which fronts the river, is a strong pallisado, the bases of the logs being sunk four feet into the earth, the tops holed and spiked into strong ribbons which run transversely and are morticed into several logs at 12 feet distance from each other, which are larger and higher than the rest, the joints between each pallisado broke with firm logs well fitted on the inside and supported by the platform, the three sides represented by dark lines are composed of logs laid horizontally, nearly done, dove-tailed and trunnelled down; they are squared some of the lower ends 5 feet diameter, the least from 2 feet $\frac{1}{2}$ to 18 inches diameter and are mostly white oak. There are six four Cannon mounted, one in — of each bastion fronting the river & one in the — and on the flank of each of the opposite bastions. The woods cleared to the distance of 300 yards & some progress made in cutting the bank of the river into a glacis.

From this minute description it will be readily understood that the fort combined great strength. It was neatly constructed according to the most approved rules of engineering at that time, and as it mounted twelve or more pieces of cannon, when fully equipped, a strong assaulting force would have been required to reduce it.

That the water has worn away much of the river bank since that time is evident, for instead of the location being "forty yards" from the margin of the river, it is now only a few feet. And notwithstanding it was such a strong defensive work at that time, not a vestige of it can be traced at the present day. One hundred years have sufficed to level it to the earth, and the ground upon which it stood is as smooth and tillable to-day as if a hillock of earth had never been raised on its surface.

On the 8th of November, 1756, Colonel Clapham informed Governor Denny that about fifty miles up the West Branch was located an Indian town, containing ten families, from whence marauding parties were continually annoying them by lying in ambush to pick off sentinels and to kill and scalp stragglers; and he believed that the party which killed the man at the Bloody Spring came from this town. These Indians, having once lived at Shamokin, were well acquainted with the country, and from their knowledge of the paths and defiles in the mountains, could lay in ambush, and after murdering one or more persons, escape with impunity. They had become so annoying that the commanding officer decided on sending a force to destroy their town and dis-

perse them. For this important secret expedition Captain John Hambright was selected and given the following specific instructions:

SIR: You are to march with a Party of 2 Sergeants, 2 Corporals & 38 Private men, under your command, to attack, burn and destroy, an Indian Town or Towns, with their inhabitants, on the West Branch of Susquehanna, to which Monsieur Montoure will conduct you, whose advice you are directed to pursue in every case. You are to attack the Town agreeable to the Plan and Disposition herewith given you, observing to intermix the men with Bayonets equally among three Partys in the attack, and if any Indians are found there you are to Kill, Scalp, and capture as many as you can; and if no Indians are there you are to endeavor to act with such manner, and in such Caution, as to prevent the Discovery of your having been there by any Party, which may arrive Shortly after you, for which Reason you are strictly forbid to burn, take away, Destroy or Meddle with any thing found at such Places, and immediately dispatch Monsieur Montour with one or two more to me with Intelligence; when you come near the Place of action you are to detach Monsieur Montour, with as many men as he shall Judge necessary to reconnoitre the Parts, and to wait in concealment in the mean Time with your whole Party till his Return, then to form your measures accordingly; after having burnt and destroyed the Town, you are in your Retreat to post an officer and twelve men in Ambush, close by the Road side, at the most convenient Place for such Purpose which may offer, at about Twelve miles Distant from the Place of action, who are to surprise and cut off any Party who may attempt to pursue, or may happen to be engaged in Hunting thereabouts, and at the same Time secure the Retreat of your main Body.

'Tis very probable, that on these Moon Light Nights, you will find them engag'd in Dancing, in which case embrace that Opportunity, by all means, of attacking them, which you are not to attempt at a greater Distance than 20 or 25 yards, and be particularly carefull to prevent the Escape of the Women and Children, whose lives Humanity will direct you to preserve as much as possible; if it does not happen that you find them Dancing, the attack is to be made in the morning, just at a season when you have Light enough to Execute it, in which attempt your Party are to march to the several Houses, and hursting open the Doors, to rush in at once; let the Signal for the general attack be the Discharge of one Firelock, in the Centre Divisions.

If there are no Indians at the Several Towns, you are in such case to proceed with the utmost Caution and Vigilance to the Road which leads to Fort Duquesne, there to lye in Ambush, and to intercept any Party or Partys of the Enemy on the march to or from the English Settlements, and there to remain with that Design till the want of Provisions obliges you to return.

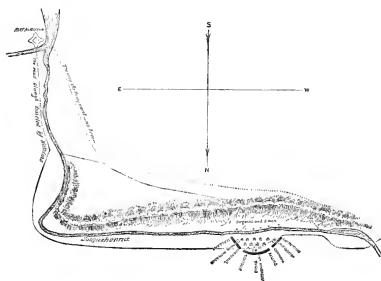
I wish you all imaginable Success, of which the Opinion I have of yourself, the Officers and Party under your Command, leave me no Room to doubt,

Your Humble Servant,

WILLIAM CLAPHAM.

That Captain Hambright carried out his instructions so far as making the march is concerned there is no doubt, but what success he had is not known, as the report, which he evidently made,

has never been found. This is very much regretted, as his expedition was an important one. Neither has it ever been clearly known where the town, or towns, he was sent to destroy were located. It is believed, however, that the first town was situated on the north side of the river, a few miles above the mouth of Pine Creek, opposite what is now the village of Pine, in Wayne Township, Clinton County. At this point antiquarians inform us that years ago great quantities of Indian relics were found, indicating that an important settlement existed there at one time. It is a few miles east of Great Island, and about the distance from Shamokin—by following the river—noted in the orders of Colonel Clapham. There was a river fording at this place, which is kept up at the present day and is known as Quiggle's Fording. There was a town at Great Island, also, but as it was inhabited by friendly Indians, and still existed after the expedition, it is evident that he made no effort to destroy it. The only record of the march known to exist is a rough pen draft, recently found among some old papers at Harrisburg, of which the following is a copy:



CAPTAIN HAMBRIGHT'S MARCH.

The time-stained paper, yet in a good state of preservation, bears this endorsement on the back: "4th Novr, 1756. Route of Captn. Hambright's secret Expedition. Inclosed in Col. W. Clapham's l'er of" The sentence is unfinished, but it may have

been intended to note his "letter of resignation." It will also be noticed that his letter conveying a copy of his instructions to Hambright, and forwarded to the Governor, was dated November 8th, four days after the endorsement on the draft of the march.* From this it is inferred that the expedition started sometime in the latter part of October. An examination of the draft will show to those familiar with the topography of the country that the expedition passed through the ravine at the lower part of Blue Hill (where the public road now runs), and continued up the country on the west side of the river, passed through White Deer into Nippenose Valley, thence over the hills to a point where they could descend McElhattan Gap and emerge upon the bank of the river a short distance below Great Island. It was the most direct route Captain Hambright † and party could travel to reach their point of destination quickly, but at that time it must have been an exceedingly hard and toilsome one, as they were obliged to climb many hills and pass through a rough section of the country.

There was much suffering among the garrison of the fort on account of the absence of a post physician, none having been ordered there for a long time. Fever and ague prevailed to an alarming extent—indeed that seems to have been the most dreaded of all the diseases, excepting small-pox. The latter broke out

*According to a letter of Governor Denny to the Proprietaries, under date of April 9, 1757 (see Vol. III., page 116, *Pennsylvania Archives*), Captain Hambright was directed to attack a "town called Shingleclamouse" (Clearfield), which was supposed to be a place of great resort for the Indians. The Governor says: "Captain Hambright entered the town, found the cabins all standing, but deserted by the Indians. Agreeably to his orders he did not touch anything nor destroy the town, in hopes that the Indians would come to settle there again. This was the only Indian town that could be attacked. And we found by a second expedition that they had returned, set their town on fire and then retired to Venango." From this it would appear that Hambright continued his march further than the draft he left behind indicates, but there is nothing on record from him relating to it.

† Although Captain Hambright was so prominent in early times, comparatively little of his history is known. Diligent inquiry among his descendants has failed to elicit any information as to the place and date of his birth, and when and where he died. That he belonged to Lancaster County is unquestioned. In 1775-6 he lived in Turbutt Township, Northumberland County, and was chairman of the Committee of Safety. At the time of the "Great Runaway" he retired to Lancaster and was Barrack Master there to the close of the war. According to *Harris' Biographical History of Lancaster County*, pages 264-5-6, his wife's name was Susanna. Major

once or twice, and for want of proper hospital facilities and treatment, a number of deaths occurred.

There appears to have been a great lack of harmony between Governor Denny, the Commissioners and the Assembly, which was the means of retarding operations at Fort Augusta. They were constantly at loggerheads, and the Assembly went so far as to treat the Governor with great disrespect. He complained of this bitterly to the Proprietaries, but affairs were not improved. In the fall of 1756 he reported that the French had sent six of their people and four Indians to view the fort, and that they succeeded in killing two sentinels,* scalped them and escaped.

The year 1756 was one of the most trying in the history of the Province. Colonel Clapham had borne many insults, as he termed them; from the authorities, but he remained at his post, still hoping for a change that would improve the condition of himself and his men, but it never came. He had given Governor Denny notice that most of his command was only enlisted for one year, that the term of service of many had expired, and that the time of the majority would cease in about a month. At last, says Governor Denny in his letter to the Proprietaries, under date of April 9, 1757, Colonel Clapham, "tired with the discouragements perpetually given to the service by the Commissioners, and with their particular treatment of him," had resigned his commission and

Frederick Hambright, born at Lancaster, November 22, 1786, was their son, and he became a distinguished military officer. In 1821 he was elected Sheriff of Lancaster County, an office previously filled by his brother, Colonel George Hambright. Frederick removed to Allegheny City, where he died March 17, 1872, in the 86th year of his age. His father probably died about the close of the last century. Samuel Evans, Esq., of Columbia, says "there was a Colonel Hambright, an officer in the Revolutionary War, who died in Earl Township, Lancaster County, and is buried in the old Welsh grave-yard, near Fairville," who is thought to be our hero. There are numerous descendants of Captain John Hambright, and many of them have displayed military genius of a high order. Colonel H. A. Hambright, a retired officer of the United States Army, now resides in Lancaster; and William A. Hambright, of Sunbury, was born there in 1840. He served nearly three years in the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Artillery, with the rank of Second Lieutenant. His father was the well known conductor on the Pennsylvania Railroad, who died a few years ago. They were all descendants of the brave pioneer officer of 1756.

*For confirmation of this report, see Vandreuil's report to M. de Moras, Minister of the Colonies and Marine, under date of February 1, 1757, printed on another page of this work.

retired from the service. And, as there never had been a Lieutenant Colonel appointed to the battalion at Fort Augusta, "Major Burd" succeeded to the command. The exact date of Colonel Clapham's resignation is unknown, but it is supposed to have been sometime during the closing days of 1756. According to Governor Denny, the "works there could not be finished before the severe season came on," when the old commander retired. But he thought they would soon be "completed if the soldiers could be prevailed upon to continue in the service," which he very much doubted. "They have done," he continues, "a great deal, and ought to have encouragement to do more, which it is not in my power to give."

It was under such discouragements as these that the great defensive work at Shamokin was continued, and it was owing to the constant delays on the part of the authorities that Colonel Clapham was finally forced to carry his threat to resign into execution. He may have been haughty and overbearing, and through an irascible temper brought himself into conflict with his superiors on many occasions, but with all his faults, he must be credited with doing a great work under the most harassing circumstances, and in saving the scalp of many a pioneer from the knife of the savage. At many times during the building of the fort he and his command were in imminent peril of their lives; but through pluck, endurance and self-sacrificing devotion, they triumphed over what often seemed to be insurmountable obstacles. If there is much that is censurable in the public acts of Colonel Clapham, there are still more of good deeds which stand to his credit during the dark period when he was in command. And after his stormy career, there are few but will be moved to sympathy on learning of the sad fate which awaited him on the western borders of the Province.

Of his early history comparatively little is known. According to the researches of Dr. W. H. Egle, State Librarian, "he was the son of an English gentleman, born July 5, 1722. He received a collegiate education and was appointed ensign in His Majesty's service. He came to America after the close of the first French and Indian War; subsequently resigned his commission and appears to have been located at Philadelphia at the time of the defeat

of Braddock. Offering his services to the Provincial authorities, he was commissioned as Captain and directed by Governor Morris to go into Bucks County and muster into the Provincial service Captain Insley's company—the regular troops posted at Reading and Easton. While there he built the stockade fort called Fort Allen. On the 29th of March, 1756, he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the Third Battalion, and as soon as the troops were collected marched to Shamokin to build Fort Augusta, in July, 1756. While on his way, however, owing to a letter written by Sir William Johnson to General Shirley, wherein the former blamed Governor Morris for issuing his declaration of war against the Delawares, and desiring General Shirley's interposition, Colonel Clapham was directed by the Provincial Council to issue orders to the officers under his command to conform to the suspension of arms. His force halted at Armstrong's, on the Susquehanna, where he erected a temporary fort and made every preparation for the establishment of a post. On the 10th of June a conference was held by him with *Og-Ha-Gra-Dis-Ha*, an Indian chief of the Iroquois or Six Nations, in which the Indians signified not only their assent to the building of the fort at Shamokin, but desired that another should be erected at *Adjouguay*, on the North Branch of the Susquehanna, the distance being 'three days' journey in a canoe higher up.' Owing to this satisfactory conference the Colonel subsequently was directed to proceed to Shamokin, where he arrived in due season and proceeded to erect the fort. It has been shown that he had much trouble with his officers, which was probably caused by his domineering spirit. A careful examination of the authorities bearing on the subject place him in the wrong."

After leaving the fort, about the close of 1756, he disappeared from public notice for some time, and his history is involved in obscurity. In the roster of the Third Battalion (known as the Augusta Regiment) it appears that "William Clapham" was Captain,* having been appointed March 29, 1756, with Lieutenant Colonel set after the date. In the same regiment the name of "William Clapham, Jr.," appointed Lieutenant † August 20, 1756,

**Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. II., page 538, New Series.

†*Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. II., page 538, New Series.

appears. On the 16th of February, 1757, Colonel Burd notes in his journal, at Fort Augusta, the arrival of Lieutenant Clapham and another officer in charge of thirteen men. Under date of March 24th he again records his arrival with several officers in charge of a party of men and "battoes" loaded with provisions. On the evening of the 28th Lieutenant Clapham started down the river, on his return, in a canoe. In a "List of the Officers of the New Levies, 1759," the name of William Clapham* is given as Colonel. In "A List of Officers who Served in the Pennsylvania Regiments of Three Battalions, 1758-9," the name of William Clapham† appears under the head of Captains, with the word "dead" written after it. Who was Lieutenant Clapham, Jr.? Was he a son of Colonel Clapham? We would naturally infer that he was, from the use of the affix "Jr.," but there is no evidence on record to show that such was the fact, or that they were not both the same man.

It appears, however, that when "Captain Clapham" was commissioned, April 21, 1759, he was ordered to Fort Pitt. April 15, 1761,‡ he is credited with making a careful return of the number of houses and the population of Pittsburg, outside of the fort, for Colonel Bouquet.

At the time of the Bouquet expedition, in 1763, Colonel Clapham appears to have been some distance from Fort Pitt—probably on a scout—when he was killed§ on Sewickley Creek, near where West Newton now stands, on the 28th of May, 1763, about 3 p. m., by the Wolf, *Kikyuscung*, and two other Indians, one of whom was called Butler. They killed and scalped all the *family*, but three men at work at some distance escaped through the wood and carried the news to Fort Pitt. Gordon says, in the appendix to his History, page 622, that the warrior Wolf and other Delawares murdered and scalped Colonel Clapham and four of his people, of whom two were women. The latter were treated with brutal indecency. Two soldiers, stationed at a saw mill near the fort, were killed and scalped. On the 5th of June, 1763, Colonel

* *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. II., page 580, New Series.

† *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. II., page 608, New Series.

‡ *Egle's History of Pennsylvania*, page 321.

§ Isaac Craig, Esq., Allegheny.

Burd noted in his journal, at Fort Augusta, that he had received a letter from "John Harris, giving an account of Colonel Clapham and twelve men being killed near Pittsburg, and two Royal Americans being killed at the saw mill."

Judge Jasper Yeates, in describing a visit to Braddock's battle field, adds: "I had often heard of the celebrated fortress of Du Quesne in my youth. What is it now? A little irregular mound, a few graves, and the fosse of the fort are only visible. I remarked the grave of Colonel Clapham."

There is no positive evidence that his wife was killed; neither is there any that she was ever with him at Fort Augusta. It is probable that she joined him after leaving Fort Augusta. But that she was killed on this occasion may be inferred from a statement in a letter from Colonel Bouquet to General Amherst, dated Fort Pitt, May 31, 1763,* in which he says: "We have most melancholy accounts here—the Indians have broke out in several places, and murdered Colonel Clapham and his family."

So ends the career of the builder of Fort Augusta. If the date of his birth is correct, he was not quite forty-one years of age when he fell beneath the tomahawk and scalping knife. Scarcely in the prime of manhood. If the "William Clapham, Jr.," was his son, he must have entered the service at a very early age, or his father was married when quite young. It would be very gratifying to have the full and authentic history of this remarkable man, but it is not likely that it could be obtained at this late day. The family probably became extinct after the warrior, Wolf, did his bloody and fatal work, and the ashes of the founder of Fort Augusta have long since mingled with the soil.

**Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. II., page 742, New Series.

CHAPTER IX.

COLONEL JAMES BURD ARRIVES AND TAKES COMMAND OF FORT AUGUSTA—HIS REMARKABLE AND INTERESTING JOURNAL—DAILY MILITARY LIFE AT THE FORT—EXCITING INCIDENTS.

COLONEL CLAPHAM having retired from the command of Fort Augusta, after a residence of about six months at Shamokin, was succeeded by Colonel James Burd,* who also entered upon an exciting career at that famous place. It was not new to him, as it will be remembered he was with the party on their arrival in July, and on the 13th he united with Colonel Clapham in signing the report of a council regarding the pay of subalterns.

The new commander arrived late during the night of December 8, 1756, and found that his predecessor had departed on the morning of the 6th, rather unceremoniously, leaving everything in confusion. He was in such a hurry to get away that he had neglected to date the orders he left behind for his successor. What route he traveled, or where he went, are unknown, as the

* James Burd, son of Edward Burd and his wife, Jane Haliburton, daughter of the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, was born March 10, 1726, at Ormiston, near Edinburgh, Scotland, and died October 5, 1793, at Tinian, near Highspire, Dauphin County, Pa. He came to America in 1747, and May 14, 1748, married Sarah Shippen, daughter of Edward Shippen and Sarah Plumley, of Philadelphia. She was born February 22, 1731, and died September 17, 1784. They are both buried in the graveyard at Middletown, Pa. From 1750 to 1753 Mr. Burd resided at Shippensburg, as manager of the affairs of Mr. Shippen. About 1754 he purchased a farm on the Susquehanna, at Tinian, where he resided until his death. He entered the Provincial service as Captain in 1754. The same year he rendered valuable assistance in the laying out of a road to the Ohio, known as the "Braddock Road." In 1755 he was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel of the "Augusta Regiment," and December 3, 1757, became its Colonel. There being two regiments in service, his rank was a very prominent one. He fulfilled with great uprightness and punctuality the public duties with which he was entrusted for quite twenty years. When the war of the Revolution began, he was very active in raising troops to aid in the cause of independence, and was commissioned, September, 18, 1775, Colonel of the Second Battalion of Lan-

records of that period are silent on the subject. But it is inferred that he directed his course towards Philadelphia; and probably he traveled by the Tulpehocken route, as Colonel Burd would certainly have met him on his way up the river.

Notwithstanding the confusion and ill feeling which had prevailed among the officers and men for months, it seems that a secret directing power had prevented everything from falling into chaos and accomplished much good. Had it not been for this unseen power, the fort would have been captured by the French and Indians and the whole West Branch Valley would have been overrun and held by the enemy.

Fortunately for the sake of history, Colonel Burd was a very thoughtful and methodical man, and he left behind him an elaborate journal,* in which there is a record of daily events transpiring at Fort Augusta from the time he assumed command until he departed to join the Bouquet expedition, in October, 1757. This journal gives a minute history of military life at the fort for over nine months, and it vividly brings to the mind of the reader the trials and tribulations endured by the commander and his brave men at that time. It is given herewith in full:

“8th Decem., WEDNESDAY, FORT AUGUSTA, 1756.—Arrived here with Capt'ns Shippen & Jamison, and a party from the Camp at McKee's Meadows with 19 baggs of flour, and 26 Caggs of Rum, & 8 horse load of salt, at eleven O'Clock P. M., where I found Capt'n Hambright Commandant, from whome I Rec'd Col-

caster County Associators. The dissensions in his battalion, and the reluctance on the part of his men to serve anywhere except in their own immediate neighborhood, coupled with the fact that officers of less experience were placed in command over him, in December, 1776, he resigned. This was a source of deep regret, as besides “being fond of a military life, he had anticipated some reputation by exercising, in behalf of his country, the professional experience and knowledge he possessed.” The Middletown Resolutions, of 1774, passed at a meeting of which he was presiding officer, were written by him and show his loyalty in defense of the liberties of America. He was a man of most excellent manners, hospitable in his intercourse with his neighbors, and respected for his integrity as a civil officer. At the time of his death he held the position of Associate Judge of the county of Dauphin. His residence at Tinian yet remains, although modernized, an engraving of which, as originally erected, is published in *Egle's History of Dauphin County*.

**Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. II., pages 745-820, New Series.

lonell Clapham's orders to me without a date; Collonell Clapham left this Fort on Monday last at 10 o'clock A. M. Cap't Hambright informed me that he Rec'd a furlow from Col'l Clapham, and had liberty to leave this upon my arrivall, and intended to sett out to-morrow for Phil'a. Capt'n Jamison, Lieut. Clark & Commissary Baird likewise informed me they had Rec'd ferlows from the Col'l. Capt'n Jamison's & Leut. Clark's to Commence the 16th Jan'ry, 1757, & Commissary Baird's at his pleasure, all for one month. Upon my arrival I found absent from the Regement the following officers: Col'l Clapham, Capt'n Lloyd, Capt'n Salter, Lewt's Clapham, Trump, and Myles, & Ensigne Patterson.

"9th, Thursday.—This day I inquired into the State of the Garrison, & found 280 men here doing duty, and that no work has been done for some time; the ditch unfinished; the Picketts up; the Beeff Sintern unfinished; the Pickett gates not done, & the Beaff all in the store in bulk; no place provided for the flour, & the salt in Casks, — in ye heads standing on the Parade, the Battoes all frose up in the River, and Nine officers for duty; no Instructions given to any officer Concerning the works begun, nor do I find in my Instructions any plan of the Fort, or orders Informing me how the begun works was intended to be finished.

"I employed the People this day in disposing of the Cargoe of flour & Rum I brought up, and Collecting the horses to go down to the Camp at McKee's this night for another Cargoe; accordingly I detach'd this Evening at 7 o'clock, Lew't Garraway & Ensigne Brodhead with a party of 50 men, with orders that Lewt. Garra'y march down the party of Capt'n Work's Comp'y that was at McKee's Camp, & the party of Soldiers belonging to Hunter's Fort; to Fort Hallifax the first party, & the latter order to Hunter's Fort. Ordered Ensigne Broadhead to Releve Ensigne Scott, & to Stay at that Camp untill further orders; to Guard the stores left there, with 30 men of the party I sent; & that Ensigne Scott should march up here with as much Provisions as he could, under the Escort of 20 men of the party sent down. Capt'n Hanbright sett out for Phil'a this Even'g in Consequence of his furlow.

"10th, Friday.—Ordered a Generall Parade this morning. Employed a party to build a smock house for the Beaff, one to hawl

the Battoes out of the Ice upon the Bank to preserve them from being destroyed by the Ice when ye River should break up; one to Clean out the Fort, which was full of heaps of nusances; one to through all the stone out of the Picketts; one to Ram the Earth about the Beaff Sistern; one to build a beakhouse, and one to build a Chimny in Capt'n Handbright's barrick, & one to make beds in the Guard house; hard frost; nothing Extraordinary this day.

"11th, Saturday.—Employed to-day as yesterday. This day the weather has altered to a thorough though, and I am very much affraid the Beaff will spoil, & it is not in my power to touch it untill the Sistern is finished.

"Ensigne Scott returns this Evening at 8 O'Clock with a party from the Camp at McKee's, and 28 horse load of flour, & — load of salt, & 13 horse load of Rum—obliged to put the flour & Rum, in the Coll's Celler, & leaft, as there is not one foott of room in the store to hold anything—thaughts very much to-day. .

"12th, Sunday.—I have thought it my duty to-day to employ the Carpenters in working at the Beaff Sistern. This day it rain'd so hard that we could not have sermon.

"13, Monday.—Continued working at the Beaff Sistern, at the Barrick beds, at the bakehouse, at smock house, Cleaning out the Fort; an officers in the woods with thirty men getting loggs for the smock house & slaps for the barrick beds, the Smiths, bakers & sawers at work. Sent off Daniel Lowry, with all the Battomenes & two of the lightest battoes to the Camp at M'Kees, for the Remainder of the Stores left there, ordered them to be brought up in the lightes, & of the Battoes under the Com'd of Ensigne Broadhead.

"14th, Tuesday.—Employed as yesterday, & digging a little house for the use of the officers & walling the well of the same. Nothing material; the River rises.

"15, Wednesday.—Employed as yesterday; obliged at Noon to give over work, it snows so hard and is so cold the soldiers cant stand it. The River Rises prodigeously to. Ensigne Broadhead & George Allan arrived here at Noon with the party that was encampt at McKee's; the Remainder of the Stores and to

Battoes, 10 load salt, 1 barr'l do., 7 barr'ls rum, 1 bar'l flour, 1 bagg do.

"16th, Thursday.—This day it snows so hard that the soldiers can't work, but as it seems to thauqh and the River swells prodigeously I have detached Capt'n Jamison,* Lew't Clark & Ensigne Scott, with one hundred men, Including all the battoemen, with all the horses & battoes, to Hunters, for Provisions for the use of this Garrison.

"Capt'n Jamison sett off in 5 battoes, with 60 men mt'd, at 2 o'clock, in order to get to the Camp at McKees, and have all the battoes there lanch'd and loaded with the Empty Cask, & ready ag't ye party should gett up. Lewt. Clark & Ensigne Scott marcht ab't $\frac{1}{2}$ after 4 this afternoon with the Remainder of the Detachement.

"At 8 this Evening I Rece'd Intellegence by a messenger sent from Ensigne Scott, to inform me that Lewt. Clark, with his Devision, had gott over Shamochan mountain, but that the first Devision had made the mountain so slippy that he had attempted all in his power, but could not gett the horses up the mountain, upon which I sent to his Releeff, Ensignes Broadhead & McKee, & twenty men, with spades & shoovells, &ca., to Clear the road & gett the party up the mountain.

"Ab't 12 this Evening, Ensignes Broadhead, Scott & McKee returns with the partys & 18 horses, & Reports that it was Impracticable to gett the horses up the mountain, that they had used their utmost Endeavours, & had two horses kill'd in the attemp, &, therefore, was obliged to desist & Return here for further orders; ordered the party to wait till morning.

"17th, Friday.—This morning I sent off Ensigne Scott, with his party, at 10 O'Clock, w't ye 18 horses, & sent with him two

*Captain David Jamison was from Lancaster County. He entered the service as Captain, in the French and Indian war, in 1756, and subsequently was promoted to Major, June 3, 1758, of the Second Battalion, commanded by Colonel Burd. He was in the expedition against Fort DuQuesne under General Forbes. In 1760 he appears to have been Brigade Major, with the rank of Captain, in the Provincial forces. As he did not participate in the land grants to the officers of the French and Indian war, it is probable that he died before the Bouquet expedition. Colonel Burd speaks of him as "a gentleman of education, does his duty well and is an exceedingly good officer."

Pillotts to Convay him round the mountain. It snowed so hard there was no work done this day; the Pillotts return this Evening, and report that Ensign Scott and the party gott round the Hill, and that the Road that way is very easy.

"18th, Saturday.—This day Employed all the Soldiers in Clearing the Snow out of the Fort.

"19th, Sunday.—This day we had two sermons, one forenoon & one afternoon, by Doct'r Morgan. About two o'clock George Gabriell, and four men more, arrived here from Capt'n Jamison's Camp, two miles on this side of McKee's meadows, and brings me a letter from Capt'n Jamison informing me that the River was so shutt up that they could proceed no further with the battoes and had haul'd them up upon the Bank, left a Serg't & Corp'll & 12 men with them, and was to proceed to Hunter's with the remainder of the Detachm't. The River full of ice; the west branch shutt up; it's left off snowing; the North branch open as yett, but very full of ice.

"20th, Monday.—This morning it snows prodigeously & has all last night; no possibility of working to day; the snow is ab't 2 foott deep.

"21st, Tuesday.—This morning left off snowing; employed in Clearing the Snow out of the Fort; sent of Volunteer Hughes^d with 3 Soldiers and 4 horses to the Camp at the Island 2 miles on this side McKee's, with three days' Provisions* for 18 men, with Instructions to gett the Battoes brought to the main if possible and there secured, & then to proceed to Hunter's mill with the party to Join Capt'n Jamison's Detauchment at that place. Employed this day in Clearing the snow out of the Fort. The snow is two foott deep on ye Ground; no work can be done.

"22d, Wednesday.—Continue working this day at Clearing the Fort of Snow. No work can be done.

*When Colonel Burd assumed command the following stores were in the fort: Beef, 57,615 pounds; 6 barrels of pork; 2 of beef; 2 of peas; 11,376 pounds of flour; 1,200 pounds of powder; 3,000 of lead, bullets and shot; 46 hand grenades, not filled nor fused; 2,000 flints. The number of cannon is not given. On the 21st of December Commissary Bard reported that there were six weeks' provision of flour at the fort.—*Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. III., page 79, Old Series.

" 23d, Thursday.—Snowed all last night, Compute the snow this morn'g to be 2 foott 4 Inches deep. Clearing the snow out of the Fort. This day I employed 6 men to Clear out the Store & attended the same myself, and found the province stores in a very bad situation, all Consuming & such things as would rott, roteing, the flour work't in the Clay of the floor; the floar of the Store being all over water, I gett 11 boards sawed & put upon part of the loaft where I put a great many perishable articles, & gott pieces of boards & slabs put under the flour Casks; moved 20 Casks of flour out of Capt'n Hanbright's Barrick & put it in the Store.

" 24th, Friday.—The snow is so deep no work can be done; I had this day 3 additionall Joists cut for the store to be under the flour Bing, but could not gett them Home, the horses were so weak.

" 25th, Saturday, Xmas.—No work done to day on account of the depth of the snow.

" 26th, Sunday.—Had prayers & a sermon this forenoon, & prayers in the afternoon by Doct. Morgan.

" 27th, Monday.—This morning $\frac{1}{4}$ before 10 o'clock, arrived two soldiers from Hunter's mill with a letter from Capt'n Jamison —ordered officers & soldiers to an allowance of 1lb flour & 1lb meat p. day. No work done to day on account of the snow; only 6 Carpenters making a Bing in the store to hold flour.

" 28th, Tuesday.—The soldiers employed to day Clearing away the snow for a parade ground to exercise in; keep the 6 Carpenters making a Bing for to hold flour; thaughts much to day.

" 29th, Wednesday.—This day it thaughts so much that the soldiers can neither exercise nor work; Continue the Carpenters at the Bing & sawers.

" 30th, Thursday.—This day much as yesterday. Lewt. Clark arrived this evening at 5 o'clock with a party of 40 men & Ensyne Scott from Hunter's Fort; they brought no Provision as they report they could gett no Horses.

" 31st, Friday.—No work done to day unless by the Carpenters & sawers, as the weather would not permitt.

" 1st January, Saturday, 1757.—No work done to-day.

" 2d, Sunday.—The weather this day would not permitt sermon nor prayers.

" 3d, Munday.—The Carpenters Continue working at the flour Bing, at the Hospitall beds; the sawers at the saw pitt; soldiers in the woods Cutting a Store of fire wood to be piled up & resawed in the Garrison, in case of need; the weather exceeding severe, but the snow not so deep.

" Sent off Capt'n George Allen with a party of 12 men & two battoes, with orders to hunt up & bring over to this Fort, all the Province horses he could find on the other side of the River, both on the West and North branch of the River.

" 4th, Tuesday.—Continued working as yesterday; George Allen Returns with his party, and Reports that he had found 4 horses, one of which (only) belonging to the Province; that he had, with a good deal of difficulty, gott them upon the Island, and could bring them no further; that the weather was such he could not proceed up the North branch so farr as I ordered, and by the extremity of the weather was obliged to Return—the snow being frose hard cutt the soldiers' ankles prodigeously.*

" 5th, Wednesday.—Nothing materiall this day; Continued working as on the 3d Curr't; ordered that all the Chimneys in and about this Garrison should be swept clean, which was done accord'gly, & Report made thereof by all the officers this day. The River very full of driving ice to-day.

" 6th, Thursday.—Continued at the same work as on the 3d Curr't; this Evening two men arrived here at 6 O'Clock in the evening, & brought me a letter from Capt'n Jamison, dated from Berry's place, upon his march heither.

" 7th, Friday.—Continued working as above. This Evening at 6 O'Clock, Capt'n Jamison & Ensigne Patteson arrived here with a party of 66 horses, which Carried 47 baggs of flour, weighing 7,700 lbs.

" 8th, Saturday.—This day kept working as above. Sent Capt'n George Allen over the River with a party to hunt up the North

*It will be noticed in the course of this journal that this was a favorite word with the Colonel.

branch, with orders to bring in all the Province horses he could find. Sent another party up Shamochan Creek with the same orders. & sent a third party up the North branch w't the same orders. The three partys Return in the Evening; George Allen brought two horses and left them upon the Island; the other two partys bring two horses.

"9th, Sunday.—This morning, sent George Allen with a party to the Island, & sent two other partys out to bring in all the Province horses that could be found, to be sent down to Hunter's and return'd to the owners, being unfitt for service; they brought in six. Sent Lewt. Davis & Ensyne Broadhead to Hunter's this morning, with a party of 40 men, to Eschort 20 horse drivers down, and 66 horses, and Eschort a Cargoe of stores up; sent by them the 6 horses above mentioned. Gave the following Persons furlows for the follow'g times: Serg't Andrew Bane, for 15 days; Alex'r Stephens, 12 days; Cornelius Atkinson, 12 days; Benj'n Nicholson, 12 days; John Cook, 5 days; Drum Major John Feeld, 6 days. Lewt. Davis & party Returns and Reports that it was Impracticable to gett over Shamochan Creek. Great rain; the River rises.

"10th, Munday.—Sent Lewt. Davis this morning to Shamochan Creek, to view it, and make report thereof. This morning sent a battoe & 5 Soldiers down to Hunters', in order that Mr. Crostian may prepare for Lewt. Davis's party. Lewt. Davis returns & reports that the Creek is unpassable.

"11th, Tuesday.—Sent off Lewt. Davis with a party of 30 men with the horse drivers & horses at 10th A. M. At 3 P. M. sent off to Hallifax Ensigne Broadhead with a party of 51 men, with orders to Carry down all the Battoes from McKee's place, & to join Mr. Davis & bring up a Cargoe of flour from Fort Halifax on to the Battoes. Sent George Allen & 3 men on b'd a Canoe with Provisions for the party. This day working at the Hospitall & the store, and preparing slabs for barrick beds; took up — Canoes that came adrift down the River. All the Carpenters except 5 gone down on the party, being the only fitt to work The Battoes. At 5 P. M. Serg't Basoon returned with 27 of Mr. Broadhead's party, the bridge they had made a Cross the Creek being swept away, before they could gett over, by the Impetuosity of the Creek.

"12th, Wednesday.—The Serg't Basoon & party went off this morning, I sent a battoe to the mouth of Shamochan Creek to ferry them over. The battoe returned at 2 P. M. The River falls; working at the store, fire wood, & Hospitall, & smoak house.

"13th, Thursday.—This day Continued working as above; the River falls & Clears of Ice; nothing materiall happened, only George McClenechan, Wagon'r, found a saddle and a horse load of lead in the woods & brought them home.

"14th, Friday.—This day employed at the Hospital, the Smock house, Cutting a store of fire wood for the Garrison, & sawing plank for the Pork Sistern. The weather frizes hard; the river full of Ice.

"15th, Saturday.—This day I went with Capt'n Shippen & a party, & laid out a straight round Shamochan Hill, for the Benefit of transporting our Provisions heither, finding it impracticable to pass over the mountain. The Carpenters Employed as yesterday. I gott a leather of 30 foott long made to-day, & hung upon the hooks on the front wall of the store, there to be ready in Case of fire, as likewise 12 water bucketts for the same purpose. It frizes hard & the river fills with Ice.

"16th, Sunday.—Doctor Morgan read prayers This morning—it snows a little & frezes very hard.

"17th, Monday.—This morning I went myself with a party, & began to open the Road, mentioned the 15th, in this Journall. The Carpenters, &ca., Employed as the 15th; the River very full of Ice & the weather extream cold—nothing materiall.

"18th, Tuesday.—This morning at 10 o'clock A. M., Serg't John Lee arrived at this Fort, who brought me letters & Informed me that the party Commanded by Lew't Davis, at Fort Hallifax, had gott all the Barrells filled with flour, and were ready to sett off with the Battoes for this Fort. The work Continued; it frizes prodigeous hard, the west branch is fast, & the North branch is very full of Ice & moves slowly.

"19th January, Wednesday.—Ordered a leather to be made to hang upon the roof's of the houses with hooks, to extinguish any fires that might happen in or about the Garrison. The other works Continued. Lewt. Clark march't this evening at 5 o'clock,

with two soldiers with him, In Consequence of a furlough given by Col'l Clapham, for one month from the 16th Curr't. The river full of Ice & frizes very hard.

" 20th, Thursday.—This day I sent Capt'n Shippen and the Adjutant, with a small party, to extend the road from the first rise over the Gutt, to the forks of the road on the top of the mountain, with orders to blaise it. At 10 o'clock this morning Capt'n Jamison & the Commissary Gen'll of Stores, Mr. Bard, march't with a party of 5 Soldiers in Consequence of furloughs given them by the Col'l Clapham, the 16th Curr't, for one month. Capt'n Shippen returns and reports he had found a very good road with an easy asshent over the mountain that could be travell'd at all times & had blais'd it well. This day the party clearing the road to the first rise and making the bridge over the gutt, reports the same finished; frizes hard.

" 21st, Friday.—This day it rained very hard and froze as it fell, so that no work could be done.

" 22d, Saturday.—This day the weather grew softer; Employed a party to Dab the Hospital Chimny, another to shingle the smoak house, another getting wheel barrow stuff, another getting shingles and laths; the sawers could not work to day, their pitt being full of water with yesterday's rain, employed them in clearing their pitt; 2 men employed handling axes, 2 in handling Tom haucks; The smiths & Gunsmiths at work; The Ice begins to come down the N. Branch.

" 23d, Sunday.—We had prayers to day at 11 o'clock & a General parade at 10 o'clock, when I examined all the arms of the Regement present, and found them Generally very much out of order, in so much that I thought it for the good of the service that the whole Reg't should have to-morrow to clean their arms, & ordered a General Review on Wednesday morning at 10 o'clock. At 3 o'Clock, P. M., 3 men arrived here with 3 loads of rum for Mr. Trapnell. At 4 O'Clock, P. M., Volunteer Hughes arrived here with a party of 12 men under his command, he had under his eschort the two Indians from Connistogo town, named William Sack & Indian Peter, the said Indians being committed to his care by George Croghan, Esq'r., at Harris's ferry, to be by him trans-

ported heither. I Rece'd said Indians as friends, they delivered me a letter from George Croghan, Esq'r., dated at Harris's the 20th Curr't, Intimating to me that he had sent them to the Ohio on his Majesty's service, & desiring that I might assist them with guns, poudder, lead & Provisions, or any thing elce that they might want for to enable them to proceed on their journey, and to dispatch them after one day's rest. They likewise presented to me the Governor's pasport, Commanding all officers, Civil & Military, to allow them to pass unmolested, as likewise Commanding all Military officers to assist them in everything they should stand in need of. Mr. Croghan likewise informs me that he expects some Indians down Susquehanna on the Business of the Governm't, and desires that I may not suffer them to be hurt, & I have given orders accordingly. I have advised the Indians to rest to-morrow, and on Tuesday morning to sett out on their Journey, which they agree to.

" 24th, Munday.—All the soldiers are employed to-day in cleaning their arms, having appointed them this day for that purpose. This day it snows much, and snowed a great deal last night. The officers of the sundry Comp'ys report that the arms are now all in good order. Gave the Indians their poudder horns full of poudder, & bullotts & swan shott in their pouches, what they said would be suffitient for their journey. They required mockesons of me, & I told them I had not, they said they were barefotted, & that Mr. Croghan told them they would be provided here. I gave Indian Peter a p'r of new shoes out of the Province store, and gott a pair of new Solls put upon William Sack's shoes; with this Provision they seem'd satisfied. I likewise prepared hard bisquett for their Journey, suffitient, & meatt & every Necessary fitt for their Journey.

" 25th, Tuesday.—This morning it snowed hard, & has snowed all last night; I inquired of the Indians if they intended to proceed on their journey, and they informed me that the weather would not permitt. No work done to-day; it thaughs.

" 26th, Wednesday.—Working to-day at the smock-house, at the fire leather, & at dabling the hospitall Chimney, the s'wers were at work, making ax and Tomhawk handles. The two Indians de-

manded of me two matchcoats, two tomhawks, one Dear Skin for to make mockesons, & some flints—I told them I had neither matchcoats nor dear skins, but gave them two Tomhawks & some flints. I ordered a Canoe to be launc'd this morning to carry the Indians over the River, I informed the Indians that the Canoe was ready, & they told me they would not go away to-day, but would go to-morrow.

“ Ensigne Scott marcht this morning with a party of five men to his Command at Fort Hunter; ommitted the Generall Review until the Indians should go.

“ 27th, Thursday.—As the Indians did not seem inclinable to go airly this morning, I pospon'd the Generall review, & employed the men, one party finishing the Clapboard'g & making a dore to the smoak house; another party dabling it, dabling the Chimney and walls of the Hospitall; making a leather; getting Coall-wood for a Coall-pitt, & getting fire wood; the Smiths, & sawers, and wheelbary makers, and ax handle makers, all at work. This day, at 12 o'Clock M. D., the Indians, William Sack & Indian Peter, Crossed the River in my Canoe, sent 3 men to put them over and bring the Canoe back; at their setting off I saluted them with 3 platoons of 12 men, 3 rougths of all the Drums, 3 huzas, & one Great gun. It thaughs much to day. In this night's orders appointed the Gen'll Review to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock A. M.

“ 28th, Friday.—This morning had a Generall Review of all the Regement, & found that severall's had lost their Bayinotts, but all the Arms in good order. Working to-day at the bake house, getting shingles at the Coall kill, dabling the smoak house; the Smiths & Sayers at work. The weather thaughs and it is exceeding muddy; the River Remains fast all along shore yett.

“ 29th, Saturday.—It snowed all last night and continues to snow very hard all this day, so that no work can be done. This evening it turns to rain.

“ 30th, Sunday.—This day it rain'd so hard all day that we could not have prayers. Two soldiers arrived here from Lewt. Davis, from Fort Hallifax, with letters at 6 O'Clock this Evening, Vizt: Sam'l Vantyne & Arch'd Kelso.

“ 31st, Munday.—It rained very hard all this day, there was no

possability of doing any work, only the wheelwrights, & the two men making ax handles. The River rises & is full of Ice; it frezes towards Evening.

"Tuesday, 1st February.—This day it rained, hail'd and snowed all day, and is so extream cold that the soldiers was not able to work out of doors. The wheelbarrow makers are at work in the Carpenter shop; the saw pitt is full of water & most froze to the bottom. The west branch driving full of ice; severall canoes come down it upon cakes of Ice; some ice driving down the North branch. This morning, John Hans, of Capt'n Jamison's Company, died in the Hospitall of the Bloody flux, and was burryed this Evening.

"2d, Wednesday.—This morning it snowed & blew prodigiously cold; the soldiers could not work out. The wheelbarrow makers at work & some men prepering splitts, &ca., to hang the beaff upon; in ye afternoon a little milder; the Colliers went to work.

"3d, Thursday.—This morning clear weather, but frezing much; at 12 O'Clock to-day heard two Guns feired over the River; lookt out with the spy glass, about $\frac{1}{2}$ after 12 O'Clock discovered two Indians in the draught where the water runs oposite to the Sally port; the Indians hung out a rid handk'r, which I gave William Sack & Indian Peter for a signall, and so Conclude from the signall to be these two Indians; I have sent a Canoe & 3 men over for them, but the River is so full of ice driving in large Cakes that I am affraid I can't gett them brought over.

"The Canoe returns & brings William Sack & Indian Peter, they report that the weather was so exceeding bad they could not travell, and the Creeks and River Impassable, that the snow was so deep they could not walk, and, therefore, were forced to Return.

"The wheelbarrow makers at work, 2 men making tomhawk handles, 2 making shingles for the Bake house, 6 men clean'g the saw pitt, a party in the woods getting stuff, 6 Colliers at work.

"4th, Friday.—This day 34 in the woods cutting & pointing pickitts, 2 making Tomhawk handles, 2 mak'g wheelbarrows, Colliers, bakers, sawers & Smiths at work. It is clear weather but extream cold, a good deall of Ice in the river driving; John

McCom, of Capt'n Jamison's Co., died this Evening in the Hospital.

"5th, Saturday.—It's so cold and snows so hard to-day the soldiers can't work. The wheel-wrights are at work, and the Tomhawk handle makers. John McCom was buried to-day.

"6th, Sunday.—This day it snowed very hard all day, and the snow is deep on the ground, having snowed last night. We could not have sermon nor prayers; the River drives with Ice yett.

"7th, Munday.—This day it snows a little in the morn'g; at work in the woods getting firewood, 22; at the Coall Kill, 6; sawers, 2; making helves, 1; getting stuff for helves, 2; making wheelbarrows, 2. Very cold, the Ice driving but very little.

"8th, Tuesday.—Employe this day as follows: 22 men cutting pickets; 1 man pointing ditto; 6 men at the Coall; 2 sawers; 2 making tomhawk helves; 2 making wheel barrows; 9 putting beaff in ye smock house; 2 work'g at the bake house—a clear cold day.

"9th, Wednesday.—Employed as yesterday—sent 17 men out to hunt up any stragling horses that might be yett in the Province service, but could only find 4, which I have sent down to be discharged the service. The two Indians, William Sack & Indian Peter, applyed to me for an Eschort to Conduct them safe to the Conostoga Town. I accordingly sent Volunteer Hughes & 3 Soldiers and 4 horses, with orders to Conduct them safe Home, they sett out from this at 5 P. M.—this Evening it Rains and blows prodigeously.

"10th, Thursday.—Could not work to-day; it rained and blew prodigeously all last night and all this day. The saw pitt is full of water. Dr. Morgan* made Complaint this morning that there

*Dr. John Morgan was born in the city of Philadelphia. His father, a respectable Welsh gentleman, settled there at an early day. He was the brother of Colonel George Morgan, and studied medicine with Dr. Redman. He was an apothecary to the Pennsylvania Hospital. After leaving Fort Augusta he accompanied the Forbes expedition, in which he held a lieutenant's commission, but acted chiefly as surgeon. Colonel Burd says he did "his duty very well." At the close of the war he traveled extensively in Europe and devoted much of his time to anatomical studies. He was a man of much learning, and on his return from abroad he became the coadjutor of Dr. Shippen in founding a medical school in his native city. He died October 15, 1789, in the 54th year of his age.—*Shippen Papers*, page 74, and *Hazard's Register*, Vol. II., page 127.

was a great deal of under water in the Hospitall; the Doct'r told me that he thought he had bad success in his cures, which he imputed to the want of fresh Provisions & Vegetables; I acquainted the Doct'r that I had some thoughts of Removing the Hospitall to Fort Hallifax, or Fort Hunter, as soon as the weather would permitt; he told me if that was not done many would loose their lives. The River in a fine State for Battoeing.

" 11th, Friday.—Employed this day as follows: 29 men in the woods Cutting picketts; 2 Carpenters pointing do.; 2 Carp'rs making Tomhawk helves; 2 Carpenters making wheelbarrows; 2 Carp'r working at the bake house, sawers Emptying the water out of the saw pitt; the Smiths at work & Colliers. This day it blow'd very hard & froze most severe.

" 12th, Saturday.—Employed this day as yesterday; this day it frizes most intensely; the River is quite full of Ice; tho' the people are at work, yett they can't do much.

" 13th, Sunday.—This morning I ordered a Generall Parade of all the Regement present, at 10 A. M., and prayers at 11 A. M., if the weather would permitt. Had the Generall parade accordingly, & found all the arms in good order, bright and quite Clean. This day it frizes severe, and is so extream cold that I omitt prayers, ye Officers Complain'g it was too severe.

" 14th, Munday.—Imployed this day as follows: 21 men in the woods cutting picketts, 2 pointing ditto, 6 Colliers, 2 men at the wheelbarrows, 2 making ax handles, 2 making the pork sistern, 4 sawers, 3 Bakers. This day it frizes a little; more moderate then it has done for some days past; the River is quite full of Ice driving thick cakes.

" 15th, Tuesday.—This morning John Apelby, of Capt'n Salter's Compa', died; 2 men employed in mak'g a Coffin for ditto.

" Twenty-one men in the woods Cutting picketts, 1 pointing ditto, 6 Colliers, 2 making wheel barrows, 2 making ax handles, 2 wagoners, 4 sawers, 2 at the pork Sistern, 3 bakers, 4 Smiths.

" Burried John Apelby this Evening; this day it snows a little; the River Continues full of Ice; finish'd cutting picketts this evening; ye Adjutant reports they have cutt upwards of a thousand.

"16th February, Wednesday.—This morning Christian Holtsaple, of Capt'n Salter's Company died. Seventeen men in the woods pilling of picketts & Cutting fire wood, 1 man pointing picketts, 6 Colliers, 4 Smiths, 4 Sawers, 3 Bakers, 2 Carpenters making a Coffin, 2 jointing plank for ye pork sistern, 2 making wheelbarrows, 2 making ax handles, 2 wagoners, 4 digging a Grave.

"At 11 A. M., two men arrived here with Rum for Mr. Trapnell, & informed me that the Battoes were lying weather bound at Berry's place. At 12 M. D., Lewts. Davis & Clapham arrived here with a party of 13 men, & brought my letters & Confirm'd the battoes being at Berry's place, under the Command of Capt'n Trump.* The above Christian Holtsaple was burried this evening.

"This day I was taken so ill that I could not read my letters; should have answered Col'l Clapham's letter, & Lewt. Col'l Armstrong's, but my Indisposition would not permitt. It thaughts to day much.

"17th, Thursday.—This day it rained so hard all day that the soldiers could not work out of doors; the river clear of Ice, and thaughts much. The 2 men at work making wheel barrows; 1 making ax handles; Smiths & Bakers at work.

"18th, Friday.—Fine clear weather. Employed to-day as follows: 21 working in the woods cutting picketts & Cutting & piling brush, 3 bakers, 6 Colliers, 4 sawers, 2 making wheel barrows, 2 pointing picketts, 2 joint'g plank for the pork Sistern, 2 making ax helves, 2 making peddles, 2 Carters.

"This day, at 1 P. M., Capt'n Trump arrived here with Ensignes Broadhead & Scott, & the party & battoes, with 51 barrells flour, 3 hhds. of Rum, 1 faggott steel, 12 barrells pork. At 2 P. M., it began to rain to-day; we have great difficulty in getting the battoes unloaded; sent Serg't Lee to Carlisle, Express.

"19th, Saturday.—It rained all day to-day; no work done ex-

*Captain Levi Trump was from Northampton County. He entered the service in the early part of the French and Indian war and continued to its close. He subsequently removed to Barbadoes, West Indies, where he died. Colonel Burd speaks of him in this manner: "Does his duty with freedom, and has shown a good spirit on all occasions."

cept emptying the battoes of the remainder of their loading, which is now all in the store; returned to the full allowance of Provision, 1 lb, 2 oz. b. & 1½ lb flour.

"20th, Sunday.—Had a Generall Review of all the Regem't; appointed the party to wait Lieut. Col'l Armstrong's orders. The Fort was so wett we could not have sermon nor prayers to-day.

"21, Munday.—Employed this day in preparing their arms for a Generall Review to be held at 4 P. M.; had a Generall Review according to appointment; the River rises much; a Review to-morrow at 9 A. M.

"22, Tuesday.—A Generall Review at 9, A. M., when I Exersized the officers & Soldiers particularly in firing; appointed a party of 30 men to go with 10 battoes tomorrow, 10 more belonging to Hunter's Fort & the Hospital Consisting of 24 sick; Lew'ts Clayton & Clapham, & Ensigne Morgan goes with the party; fine weather.

"23d, Wednesday.—This morning at 9, A. M., the party mentioned yesterday sett off from this for Hunter's Fort,* with 10 battoes; 23 men lifting the old picketts, 3 Carpenters new pointing do., 2 working at the pork sistern; 2 wheel barrow makers; 4 making the Barrier gate; 6 Colliers; 2 making paddles; smiths & bakers at work; 10 dabling the bake house; fine weather; Cloudy.

"24th, Thursday.—Employed this day 2 making the wheel barrows, 2 at the pork sistern, 4 at the barrier gate, 3 pointing picketts, 3 bakers, 4 smiths, 4 sawers, 6 Colliers, 25 heaping brush, 12 lifting & setting picketts, 5 dawbing the bake house, 2 wag'r; fine clear weather.

"25th, Friday.—Employed this day 18 digg a place in the store for the pork sistern, 11 at the picketts, 15 getting stones for the Necessary house, 3 Carpenters pointing picketts, 4 at the Barrier Gates, 2 at the pork sistern, 2 making wheel barrows, 6 Colliers, 2 Sawers, 3 Bakers, 4 Smiths, 2 Carters; fine weather; cold.

"26th, Saturday.—Employed 16 heaping brush, 14 digging for the pork sistern, 15 setting picketts, 6 Colliers, 3 Bakers, 4 Smiths,

* The village of Rockville is near the site of the old fort. At this point the Susquehanna River is spanned by the magnificent bridge of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

2 Carters, 4 sawers, 2 making the pork sistern, 4 working at the barrier's Gates, 2 at the wheel barrows, 3 sharpening picketts.

"This day at 12 o'Clock I sent out the Carter's to the old house at the spring,* to bring in some stones from thence, with a Covering party of a Corporall & 7 men at 10 O'Clock; the Centreys being three in Number, was shott at by a party of Indians, upon hearing the fireing, I detached off Ensignes Broadhead & Allison with a party of 20 men to support the Covering party attacked; upon Mr. Broadhead's approach with the party, the Indians from the lope of the mountain gave a Generall huza which Mr. Broadhead returned with his party & kept advancing upon the Enemy, the great shoutts made me think their Numbers were Considerable. I immediately detauch'd Capt'n Trump with an additionall party of 20 men & 2 Serg'ts with orders to oblige them to feight or to pursue them & try to surround with them. Capt'n Trump accordingly pursued them for an hour, but could not overtake them & returned with the whole party & brought with him two of the Centinalls that were killed & Scalp't by the Enemy. I immediately ordered a party to be draughted out of 50 men, 2 Serg'ts & 2 Corporalls, to be Comanded by Capt'n Trump with the Ensignes Broadhead & Allison, give them 3 biskitts a man & ordered Capt'n Trump with this party to follow the Indians & come up with them at their fires in the night if possible, & their surround & destroy them. Capt'n Trump march't to execute this order at 3 o'Clock, P. M.

"5 of the Covering party returned to the Fort, having left the Corporall Barr in the feeld; the Carters afterwards returns with The Cart & horses; the Corporall joined Ensigne Broadhead's party & pursued the Enemy; as I find these 5 of the Covering party ran off in disobedience to the Corporall's orders, which was to advance upon the Enemy and sustain the Centinalls, I have Confined them for Cowardice.

"This day it began to snow at 1 O'Clock very hard, & Continued so all day.

* Bloody Spring, on the hill-side, about half a mile from the fort. The surrounding hills, covered with timber and underbrush, afforded a good lurking place for the savages. The house alluded to must have been erected for the protection of a guard. Many fine stone were quarried at the spring.

"27th, Sunday.—It Continues to snow very much. This morning at 11 A. M. Capt'n Trump returns with his party, & Reports that he followed the tracks of the Indians (which he thinks steared their Course up the North branch in the parrallel of one mile distance from the River) untill dark, then he march't the same Course as nigh as he Could until 11 O'Clock P. M., the weather being very severe, it snowing very hard, & the snow deep, fatigued the soldiers so much that severall of them gave out and Could march no further, upon which Capt'n Trump marcht to the Top of a high mountain, being 14 miles from Fort Augusta, to Endeavour to discover the Indians' fires, in Conformity to the orders given him, but making no discovery he haulted his party some time and returned.

"John Lee arrived here with a party of 8 men and the Indians Named William Sam, William Taylor & his wife, Mary & James Narrows, being on their way to the Ohio in the service of the Government. It Continues to snow hard and frizes; no prayers on acco't of the severity of the weather.

"28th, Munday.—Employed 11 with the wagon; 6 Colliers; 4 Sawers; 4 Smiths; 3 Bakers; 30 heaping brush; 6 digging in the store; 2 making wheel barrows; 4 working at the Barrier Gates. This day the Indians Intimated to me that they would proceed upon their Journey after dinner, & that they wanted to be supplied with sundry Necessarys to Enable them to do the same. Upon which, in Conformity to the Governor's orders, in his passport, I furnished them with two Province Guns, two Tomhaws, three poudder horns full of poudder, lead in Proportion, one shott pouch and poudder horn, 40 lb. of biskitt, 11 ½ lb. of beaff, 10 lb. of pork, & 2 qts. of Rum. The Indians sett out at 4 P. M. I sent them over the River in two Cannoes, and landed them at the little Run in the Gap* of the mountain, opposite to the sally Port; when they parted with me; they told me they would be back again in one month if the weather proved Good; if not in two months; that they would go first to Chinglechamush,† from thence

* There was an Indian path through this gap. The road now follows it in making the ascent of Blue Hill.

† Where the borough of Clearfield now stands.

to Bachaloons,* that they would bring into friendship along with them, all the Indians they could, men, women & Children, to Fort Augusta, and that they would hang up a Red Handkercheeff, as a signall, in the head of their Canoe, or at their fire place, if they should sleep nigh this Fort. Extream cold weather, & 2 Inches of snow over all the Ground.

"FORT AUGUSTA, 1757. March 1st, Tuesday.—Employed this day, 34 heaping of brush; 13 with the wagon hawling picketts; 2 Carpenters hanging the front barrier gate; 2 do. making the gate posts, &ca., for the back barrier gate; 2 making the pork sistern; 2 making wheelbarrows; 4 sawers; 4 Smiths; 3 Bakers; 2 Candle makers; 6 Colliers; 4 digging in the store for the pork sistern.

"Mounted a pickett Guard this Evening of 1 Corporall & 6 men outside of the Fort; appointed a Court of Inquiry into the Conduct of the Corporall & his party that was attack'd by the Indians on Saturday last. The ground Continues Covered with snow and hard froze. The seven Company's of the Regement in Garrison here are each man served with one half pint of poudder, 12 bullets & 96 swan shott, being in all 20 rounds.

"This day I have a return of 11 men whose times of Inlistments are expired & refuse to do duty.

"2d, Wednesday.—Employed to-day 44 piling brush in the woods, 6 Carpenters working at the Barrier gates, 2 making wheel barrows, 17 with the wagon, 6 Colliers, 4 Smiths, 4 Sawers, 3 bakers, 2 making Candles; fine clear weather & thawing to-day.

"3d, Thursday.—Employed 4 Carpenters at the barrier gates, 2 at the pork sistern, 2 making piquetts, 23 in the woods, 26 setting piquetts, 8 working in the store assisting the Carpenters at the pork sisterns, 4 at the gate, 6 Colliers, 4 smiths, 4 sawers, 3 Bakers and 2 wagoners. Fine clear weather and thawing; at 8 P. M. began to Rain very hard and Continued all this night.

"4th, Friday.—Employed to day as follows: 2 Carpenters at the pork sistern; 4 at the saly barrier gate; 2 making a gate for the outline of Piquetts; 2 making wheel barrows; 15 Cutting

* An Indian town near the mouth of the Brokenstraw Creek, which empties into the Allegheny River a few miles below Warren.

piquetts; 3 digging in the store; 6 Colliers; 4 Smiths; 3 Bakers; 39 heaping brush. A soft day, but rain'g with Intermissions.

"5th, Saturday.—Employed, 19 with the wagon, 2 Carpenters at the pork sistern, 2 hanging the back barrier gate, 2 at the out piquett Gate, 2 making wheel barrows, 45 men setting piquetts, 4 sawers, 4 smiths, 3 bakers, and 1 mason & two men at the well of the necessary house, 3 Cleaning out the store; fine Clear weather to-day. Main Guard Consists of 1 Sergient, 1 Corporall, 1 Drum, 2 Padroles, 18 Private, 23; Centinalls, 6. Piquett Guard of 1 Sergient, 1 Corporall, 6 Private, 8; Centinalls, 2; one officer.

"6, Sunday.—This day it blew very hard and was prodigiously cold, on this account I posponed the Generall Revew untill the evening; had a Generall Revew at 4 P. M., when I had all the arms & Accutraments Examined, and as I thought it Necessary to make a speach to ye whole Regement Publickly, upon the occasion of the time for which they insisted being Expired of some, and nigh expiring for the whole Regement. I accordingly spoke to them to the following purpose:

"Telling them that I had a report delivered to me by Adjutant Allison of sundry men in the Regement who said their times of Inlistments were expired, and on that account had delivered up their arms & accutraments to the officers in their respective Comp'ys, and absolutely refused doing duty, which laid me under an obligation to talk to them thus publicly: Gentlemen & fellow Soldiers, I must first put you in mind of the Cause for which we were sent heither. Was it not for to maintain the Hon'r & Just Rights of Our Glorious Sovereigne & the Protection of our Country? Did we not all seemingly, Chearfully Embrace this Opportunity of serving our King & Country? Have we not taken possession of this Ground, which is allowed to be a place of great Importance, & have we not maintained it, and built a strong Fort upon it, and has not these works been erected at a vast Charge to the Government, & would all this been done with no further view then to make a parade to Shamochan? Surely this can't be the Case. & would you, like a parcell of dastardly pultrons, abandon these works & leave the King's Fort with its Gates open to Receive the Euemys of the Crown of Great Britain? Why, mearly, because your times for which you was inlisted expired, & you are not obligated, you think, to do the Duty you owe by Nature to your Gracious Sovereigne & bleeding Country. For shame! forever shame! everlasting Infamy & just Reproach will attend you & all your Generations after you, was you to attempt to act such a base part—a part so unbecoming the Character of a Protestant Britain—a part that would give just cause to the last of your seed to Curse you. And lett me tell you, Gentlemen, that I think the step already taken by a few of you tends nothing to your Reputation; on the Contrary, your delivering up your arms, &c., to your officers without previously acquaint'g me and having my authority for so doing, is a great step towards mutiny, & I would advise

you to be Cautious how you venture to persist in this unwarranted measure, and rest assured that at all events I will not suffer the King's Fort to be left without a Garrison to Defend it.

“Now, Gentlemen, as I have laid the matter Clearly before you, I would have you rely, upon my Hon'r, that as soon as the Garrison can be releav'd with the Conveniency of the Government Regularly, there shall not one man of you be obliged to Continue in the service, whose time may be expired, unless you enter anew Voluntarily, & that you will Receive pay for every day you do duty in the service, & have a Regular discharge, & would have you all Consider maturely of this; & those of you that say you are already free, to come to me to-morrow & acquaint me with your Conclusions; in the meantime, be very Carefull you determine to act Right, and don't attempt to pretend Ignorance, as I have Publickly showed you the Consequences of a Contrary part.'

“7th, Munday.—Employed this day, 17 Cutting piquetts, 40 setting piquetts & digging, 4 smiths, 4 sawers, 10 Taylors mending the watch Coats, 3 Bakers, 8 Carpenters.

“The following Soldiers who say their times of Inlistments are expired came to me in a body this day, vizt: Coll's Comp'y—John McMath, William Armstrong, Michael Stows. Majors' Co.—Rich'd Smith. C. Lloyd's Co.—Lawrence Lamb, Will'm Little, Wm. Supple, Arch'd Kelso. C. Hambright's Co.—Hugh Donaly.

“They told me that they had served the time for which they had Inlisted, and would go home and serve no longer. However, upon my talking with them and repeating in a great measure what I had told them the day before, they Consented to stay and do duty, relying, as they said, on my hon'r to fulfill what I had engaged to them. There is free men in the Regement doing duty besides those above mentioned, and who have never applyed to me: Coll's Co., Peter Smith; Majors' Co., Serg't Gotlip; Capt'n Shippen's Co., John Martin. Fine Clear Weather.

“8th, Tuesday.—Employed 8 Carpenters, 4 smiths, 3 bakers, 4 Sawers, 42 Setting piquetts, 21 Cutt'g ditto, 1 wheelbarrow maker.

“More men free to day, vizt: Coll's Comp'a, Alex'r Logan; Capt'n Lloyd's Co., George McClenehan, Neall McCallip, John Crofrost.

“This day the Serg't Major Reports that Wm. Little, of Capt'n Lloyd's Comp'a, refuses duty absolutely of any kind, & Neall McCallep refuses to do any other than soldier's duty.

"Fine clear weather to-day; hazy towards evening and a little rain; the River high and rising.

"9th March, Wednesday.—Employed to-day, 37 setting of piquetts, 17 Cutting piquetts, 8 Carpenters Cutting logs for the little house, putting up plattforms, making wheelbarrows, &ca., 4 Smiths, 4 Sawers, 3 Bakers. Fine clear weather to-day; the River falling.

"10th, Thursday.—This day it snowed so much that no work could be done. At Noon, came down the North Branch in a Canoe with English Collours fly'g, 5 Indians, one Named Nathaniell, & 4 more; they showed me Governour Denny's Passport, and told me they were ordered to inform me that Jo. Peepy and 90 Indians more would be down here to-morrow or next day; and further, that they were ordered to desire me to send an Express Immediately upon their arrivall, to Inform George Croghan, Esq'r, of the same, and I accordingly sent John Lee, John Boham and Benja. Nicholson off this night, 12 P. M., in a Canoe. I rece'd the Indians kindly, and told them I would Receive them all in the same manner. They were pleas'd & thank't me.

"11th, Friday.—Employed to-day, 17 in the woods, 8 Carpenters, 37 setting piquetts, 4 Sawers, 4 Smiths, & 3 Bakers; a fine Clear day; nothing materiall.

"12th, Saturday.—Employed to-day, 30 setting piquetts, 18 Cutting Piquetts, &ca., in the woods; 7 Carpenters, at work, 4 smiths, 4 sawers, 3 Bakers.

"This Evening Indian Nathaniell Informed me that he saw his Brother at Tiogo, who told him he was just come from Fort De Quesne, and before he left that place that 6 Frenchmen and 3 Indians had sett out from thence in order to come & vew the works at Fort Augusta; fine clear weather.

"13th, Sunday.—This morning, at the request of the Indians, I sent one soldier & one Indian up the River to meet the Indians, & to inform them of the welfare of their friends here, and that they should meett with a good reception.

"At 2 P. M., to-day the Indian Fleet hove in sight with two stand of English Collours flying, Consisting of 15 Canoes & 3 Battoes, they fired two rounds, and which I answered from the

upper Bastion of the piquetts, & welcomed them here with three Huzas; there was on b'd upwards of 90 Indians, many of which Kings & Cheeffs of their People, they all express'd a good deal of satisfaction at their meeting us here, and told me upon their arrivall that they hurried to come here, as they had good Intelligence the French Intended Immediately to besiege this Fort, and they were affraid that the Enemy would gett before them.

"They informed me that they mett sundry warriors comeing down upon This Province; some of whome they turned back; others would not obey them; however they advised them to turn back, otherwise it would not be good for them, that if they struck the English they should not be able to gett Home.

"Towards the Evening Jo. Peepy informed me that the Indians had been in Councell for sometime, & that the Kings & Cheeffs desired to meett me in Councell at my Home one hour hence; at 8 P. M. they mett me in Councell at my House, when Thomas, Deputy King at Kemeosquagy opened the Councell with three strings of Wampom, to the foll'g purpose:

"My Dear Brother:—Now we come from the Indian Country to see you at our house here, & we dispell the Clouds that you may see Clear Sun Shine, and we wipe the Tears all off your Eyes that you may see your Brothers clear & well.

"My Dear Brother, It is a Certain thing that your ground here is all Bloody, & we come to clean away all the blood that you may sett clean & well.

"My Dear Brother, We are all one, we are Brothers, the French have killed many of our People, but we all, the six Nations, have Councell'd to be English from this time forth, & we Clean your hearts of everything that you may give answer to your Brothers well when you speak this Evening. Two Delaware Warriors came down the North Branch in a Canoe; the Indians had spoke with these two Warriors, & the warriors told them they were going to warr upon Shamochan; & the Indians advised them not to; but at the time they would not be restrained; but, thinking better of it afterwards, they Determined to sett off in a Canoe after the Indians & take their advice, which they accordingly did, & arrived here in the Evening.'

"It Blow'd very hard to-day & rain'd.

"14, Munday.—This day it rained all day so that I could not work. At dusk this evening John Lee arrived here. The Indians informed me that they would sett of from this for John Harris' on Wednesday morning, and I acquainted them that I should gett Necessarys ready for them.

"15th, Tuesday.—This day 30 men at work upon the picketts,

4 Carpenters at the little house, 4 Smiths, 3 bakers, 2 wheel barrow makers.

"This day a Canoe went down the river; thought there was men in her; sent out three partys of Indians to Reconoiture. Intended to send a Canoe this Evening to John Harris, but the Indians Interrupted me. It is cold to-day.

"16th, Wednesday.—This day it frizes prodigeously and blows hard. Employed 17 men in the woods with the Cart, hawling stuff for the wheelwrights and little house, 6 Carpenters at work, 4 sawers, 4 smiths & 3 bakers.

"17th, Thursday.—This day, at 11 O'Clock A. M., the Indians being in Number a hundred sett out from this for John Harris's, in Battoes; sent Ensigne Alleson in a Canoe to Conduct them with particular orders for that purpose.

"This day, at 5 P. M., thirty more Indians arrived here, Conducted by William Printy, amongst whome was Monicatutha and Seneca George. The Indians informed me that they mett six warrier Indians going to warr ag't the flett heads, and wanted to know If I did not think it would be right to stop them in the morning and persuade them to go to Harris's; and they told me as I said they would do, I told them to stop them. These Indians behaved very well; pritty good weather; the River high.

"18th, Friday.—This morning the Indian Cheefs desired to speak with me when It suited me; I told the messenger I should be very glad to see them derectly. They accordingly waited of me at 10 A. M., & informed me that there was eight hundred French and Indians marcht from Fort De Quesne ag't this Fort, and they were actually arrived at the head of the West Branch of this River, and were there making Canoes and would Come down as soon as they were made, & desired me to believe this for truth, to be upon my Guard, and to fight as long as I had one man alive. I gave them for answer that I was very much obliged to them for this peace of Intelligence, that I was ready to Receive the Enemy, and that they might Depend I would follow their advice. They sett out from this at Noon.

"Employed 30 men at the ditch, 26 in the woods bringing

home piquetts, 6 Carpenters, 4 blacksmiths, 4 sawers, 3 bakers. Blew hard at south.

[That the French seriously contemplated an invasion of the West Branch Valley in force, for the purpose of seizing this portion of the Province, there is no doubt, but there is no evidence on record that a large expedition was ever started for that purpose. But that scouting parties were dispatched for the purpose of reconnoitering the country and reporting its condition and the strength of the English to the French commandant, there is no doubt. It was a party of this kind that was reported to Colonel Bard. The party doubtless concentrated at *Chinklecamoose* and there made preparations to descend the river on rafts, or floats, but it is extremely doubtful that it numbered 800 men. That would have been a sufficient force, if properly equipped and officered, to have captured Fort Augusta. According to tradition, this scouting party had four small brass cannon, and it descended the river to a point on the West Branch just below where the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad bridge crosses the river at Williamsport. This was near where the great war path crossed the mountain, through what is known as the Loyalsock Gap. On the beautiful level ground at this point (now in Armstrong Township, Lycoming County,) the party disembarked, went into camp and sent a few engineers and Indians over the path to Blue Hill, for the purpose of studying the situation and strength of the works at Shamokin. That there was such a camp at this place there is no doubt, for the early settlers found French buttons, trinkets and other evidences of a camp at this place. John Else, of Montoursville, now (September 1, 1888,) living at the age of 91 years, says that seventy years ago he traveled this path through the mountain, and the story was then current among the old settlers that the French disembarked from their flotilla a short distance above the mouth of Loyalsock and went into camp. At an early period in our history a rude excavation on the summit of the mountain was found, where this path and the present public road intersect, and, upon making an examination, the remains of camp kettles, spoons and other utensils, which had evidently belonged to a military chest, were found, showing that a body of French had been there at one time.

It is also pretty well authenticated that the French engineers reached Blue Hill with their Indian escort and made a careful reconnoissance of the situation, but finding the fort too strong to be assailed without heavy cannon, they returned to the camp below Williamsport and reported the facts. While making this examination the Indians scattered about in small parties and sought to shoot the sentinels for the purpose of securing scalps, and from all accounts they succeeded. After the engineers had departed some of these Indians lingered about the summit of Blue Hill and amused themselves by trying to shoot arrows across the river and into the fort, but failed on account of the distance being too great. It is also said that they would sometimes place themselves in an insulting posture to the garrison, but when a cannon shot was fired at them, and the branches of a tree cut off immediately over their heads, they gave a terrific war whoop and scampered off into the woods.

When the engineers returned and reported to the commander that the force was insufficient to reduce the fortification, preparations were made to return to the French strongholds west of the mountains. Here they were confronted with another dilemma. As they could not return in their floats, and it was impossible to drag their cannon back over the narrow paths they would be compelled to travel, they decided

to abandon them; and, according to tradition, they took the four brass pieces and threw them into a deep hole in the river, a short distance below the mouth of Loyalsock Creek, and ever afterwards it has been known as the "Cannon Hole." All rivermen know the spot well. At that time it was doubtless a chasm in the rocks, and very deep, but in course of time it became filled with gravel, and is no longer of any great depth. There is no account of any of the pieces ever having been recovered, and they doubtless remain there buried deeply in the mud and sand.

The only official account we have of this scouting party is found in Vaudreuil's report to the French commandant in Canada, now in the French archives. From this report it will be seen that the scout was comparatively small, and does not warrant the report in the *Colonial Records* that 800 men ever came down the river in a body. If such a force ever followed the scouting party, all record of it has been lost. Vaudreuil's report is as follows:

MONTREAL, 13th July, 1757.

MY LORD,

In my letter of the 18th of April, I have the honor to report to the Keeper of the Seals that the Delawares of Theoga,* whom I had attracted to Niagara, had informed M. Ponchot that the English had nine forts around them, one of which contained a garrison of six hundred men; † this exacted the more attention on my part, as an English prisoner had already made the same report to me.

As these forces are within reach of Presqu'île and the River au bœuf, I gave orders to the Commandants of these two posts to have scouts constantly abroad in that quarter. I caused express recommendations to be given to all the Indians, and particularly to the Delawares, to inform the Commandant of the first post at which they might arrive, of the enemy's movements as soon as they should be perceptible.

M. de la Chauvignerie sent M. de St.Ours with six Canadians and fourteen Indians on a scout to the English fort containing a garrison of six hundred men. This fort is on the upper part of the River Zinantchain and positively in the proximity of Fort Machault. ‡ Sieur de St. Ours took two scalps within sight of that fort, but he was unable to make any prisoners.

A party of fifteen Loups of the same village of Theoga, which is in the vicinity of the fort in question, brought M. Ponchot, at Niagara, a German prisoner, belonging to Bathleem, in Pennsylvania, with five scalps. Another party of the same tribe brought another prisoner.

I was informed that the English had caused five hundred bateaux to be constructed at Shamoken, on the River Canestio; that a Delaware had even seen them; that the English were still busy building other bateaux and were giving out that they would march ten thousand men to reduce all the forts on the Beautiful River.

I felt the necessity of assuring myself of the Loups of Chaamonaque or Theoga. 'Twas no trifling matter, but by dint of having belts secretly conveyed to them, they sent me word that they would send their families to the neighborhood of Presqu'île, to plant Indian corn, and that all the warriors would rendezvous at Theoga, to oppose the enemy's march.

I profited by every opportunity to send some Indians to that quarter. A Seneca told me that more than one hundred men had gone with the Loups to the River Canestio, to harass the English, who are very numerous about Shamoken, where they are really building bateaux; that he felt a pleasure in killing the English; that the river had only to be crossed and they were all found in a heap.

Cadet de Chevigny, accompanied by a single Indian, was on the banks of the River Potomack, where they killed an Englishman and took a French renegade pris-

* Tioga.

† Fort Augusta.

‡ At the mouth of French Creek, Venango County, Pa.

oner, whose head the Iroquois broke on the way, because he could not march; Sieur Chevigny burned two houses which were abandoned; a small fort, also abandoned, and four barns full of wheat.

A party of seven Indians, sent out by M. de la Chauvignerie, returned with seven prisoners and three scalps, which they took in the direction of Pennsylvania. This party had ranged around Shamoken; but the English kept so strictly on their guard that our Indians could not find an opportunity to strike a blow; this obliged them to push further into the interior of the country, to discover some settlements, having seen about forty houses abandoned.

It is to be presumed that the settlers had retired to Shamoken with their cattle, the Indians of the same party having assured that they had seen considerable movements in the neighborhood of the English fort, and that there was not a single person in the surrounding country.

Other parties arrived at different intervals, having likewise assured that the settlements at a distance from the forts were deserted, and that all the small stockades which the English had erected last year, to cover their frontiers, were vacated.

I was informed of negotiations of the English to destroy mine with the Loups of Theoga; that many Indians of that nation had assisted at them, but on a message which I had sent to their chiefs, the latter had departed with their warriors to go in search of those Indians, and had sent me word that in case they would not listen to them, they should be treated as real Englishmen. These Loups had been seduced by an English Interpreter who had made them considerable presents.

Sometime after I learned that all was quiet among the Loups; that they had concluded their planting; that the chiefs who had been to Philadelphia had returned, and had engaged their young men to go to war against the English.

These Indians reported that a great chief had arrived at Philadelphia (this is doubtless General Lawdun*); that he had held a great council there with the other chiefs of the country; when he was told that Colonel Johnson had caused his brethren of the Five Nations to be invited; that this great chief got into a considerable passion; that he had said that Colonel Johnson was wrong to call any one brother and ally; that the country of the Five Nations and that of the Beautiful River belonged to the King of England; that he knew the Five Nations and almost all the Indians side with the French; but as soon as the grass was a little high, the Governor of Canada would be dead, and that he would march everywhere; that he was not afraid of the French; that though he should lose a great many men on account of the Indians, he would not give in; that he, too, had Indian friends whom he would bring with him.

The Loups have assured me that it was impossible for the English to come and attack Presqu'île, owing to the difficulty of ascending the river, where the English would expose themselves to be defeated by a handful of men, and that moreover it would be necessary that they should pass through their villages.

An Englishman told me he passed a hundred times in the river of Canestio to Shamoken; that it is a very trifling circumstance, about as wide as the Niagara River, but rather a torrent than a river; full of rapids, shoals and large boulders; that the most could be done would be to ascend the river in very small bateaux by towing; that the country is impassable and full of defiles.

The Iroquois informed me that there was one portage of six leagues between it and the River Canaouagon,† or that above *La Paille Coupee*; ‡ on the other hand an Englishman has told me that, to reach Fort Machault, the English must make a land journey of seventeen leagues. I shall endeavour to ascertain precisely what I am to depend on.

I judge that the English fort in question is at least a hundred leagues from Fort Machault, and that it is situate on the frontiers of Pennsylvania.

* John Campbell, 4th Earl of Loudoun. On the 25th of December, 1755, he was appointed Colonel of the 60th, or Royal American Regiment. He was Commander-in-Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in America, where he arrived in July, 1756.

† Now known as Conawago Creek, Warren County, Pa.

‡ Now known as Brokenstraw, Warren County, Pa.

I have a number of Indian parties, even of the Five Nations, on the way to attack that fort. Although there is no appearance, according to the Delawares and our scouts, of any early movement on the part of the enemy, I have nevertheless given orders to M. de la Chauvignerie to cause to be completed the work necessary to put his fort in a state of defence.

I have not neglected anything to attract the Loups of Theoga, who are settled near Fort Shamoken, to me. I am of opinion that I could not effect it, because they have never had the least association with the French, and have always been among the English; nevertheless, my negotiations have so far succeeded, that I have actually with me the great chief of that Nation, who is called the King, with a suite of his warriors. I have received him very well, and sent him home in such a manner that he and all his Nation were attaching themselves warmly to the French and waging war on the English. I have required of him to give me a proof of the sincerity of his promise. He forthwith dispatched some of his warriors to join the army I am sending against Fort Georges.* The sight of that army, which is about nine thousand men, will not fail to impress those Loups with a high idea of the French power, and reanimate the confidence they are beginning to repose in us. The alliance I am entering into with these Indians will be very advantageous to us in every respect. They can extend their parties as far as New York and in many other places where our Indians cannot conveniently go to strike.

I am, with most profound respect,
My Lord, Your most humble and
Most obedient servant

VAUDREUIL†

To M. de Moras,‡

"19th, Saturday.—Employed to-day 12 Carp'rs, 26 in the woods, 27 in the Trinch, 5 working at the oven, 4 smiths, 4 sawers, 3 Bakers. Fine clear weather to-day.

"20th, Sunday.—Thought it my duty to work to-day. Employed 56 men at the Ditch, 11 carpenters, 5 making the oven, 3 bakers, 4 smiths and 4 sawers. It was a little cold to-day, but no frost; inclineable to Rain.

"21st, Munday.—Employed to-day 24 in the woods with the wagon, 24 at the Trinch, 4 Bakers, 10 Carpenters, 4 Smiths, 4 Sawers, 3 Bakers, 4 Masons. At Noon, turned out to work at the Trinch all the Cooks, Serv'ts & Guard, amount'g to 55; then the horses could hawl no more piquetts, so employed the wood party in the Ditch.

"This day at 12 O'Clock eight Indians came down the River with English Collours flying; they Confirmed the Intellegence I

*The French called Fort William Henry, situated at the head of Lake George, by this name.

†Pierre Regaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, Commander of the Royal and Military Order of Saint Louis, Governor and Lieutenant-General of the King in all New France, the territories and countries of Louisiana.

‡M. de Moras succeeded M. d'Machault as Minister of the Colonies and Marine February 1st, 1757.

had Rece'd of the approach of the Enemy to this Fort, & further told me that they would come down both branches of the River at once. I wrote one letter to the Col'l & one to Capt'n Jamison by them, they sett off from this ab't 1 P. M. Heazy weather to day, with rain towards evening.

"22d, Tuesday.—This day it rained so bad that we could do very little work, altered the plattformes in the Bastion, where the flag staff is, & cut new loop holes. Rain'd all last night and all this day.

"23d, Wednesday.—Employed to-day 24 men w't an officer in the woods, 11 Carpenters, 4 Smiths, 4 Sawers, and 3 bakers, the ground is all covered with snow, & Exceeding wett that we Can't possible work at ye trinches.

"We had an allarm this evening by four of the Centinalls along the River, some of them said it was battoes came down the west branch; others, that they heard 20 Guns fired down the River nigh to Shamochan hill; others, that the guns was fired a little below the spring; another that it was a large Rock tumbled off the mountain into the River. I doubled the Centinalls this evening, & gave orders that officers & soldiers should sleep with their Clothes on to-night; which Capt'n Shippen & I did, upon a skin on the floor.

"24th, Thursday.—Employed to-day, 27 working at the Plattforms, 11 carpenters, 25 in the woods, 4 sawers, 4 smiths, 3 bakers.

"This evening at 6 P. M. Capt'n Lloyd, Capt'n Jamison, Lewt. Clark, Lewt. Clapham, Ensigne Morgan, and Ensigne Grayden,* & Pason Steel arrived here with a party of——men; 7 Battoes loaded with 6,267 lb. of flour; 40 lbs. fresh beaff for the sick; fine Clear weather to day, but the Trinche's so wett that their's no possibility of working in y'm.

"25th, Friday.—It Rained so hard all day that it was Impossible to work; The River Rising.

*Lieutenant Caleb Graydon was from Bucks County, Pa. He was related to Captain Alexander Graydon, of the Revolution and author of the *Memoirs*. He was commissioned Ensign December 2, 1757; promoted to Lieutenant November 13, 1758, and was Quartermaster under Colonel Burd in 1760. Subsequently he was commissioned Captain in the Provincial forces.

"26th, Saturday.—This day it rain'd so hard that no work was done.

"27th, Sunday.—It snowed and rained so much to-day that we could not have sermon, but we had prayers towards Evening in a Generall parade, and the Chaplain prayed in each of ye barricks & the Hospitall.

"28th, Munday.—Employed this day, 69 in the woods heaping & burning brush, 16 working at the platforms, 11 Carpenters, 5 smiths, 4 sawers, 3 bakers. Lew't Clapham left this, this evening at dark in a Canoe; fine clear day.

"29th, Tuesday.—It Rained so much all day that no work could de done. This day I was informed by Capt'n Trump that one hundred of the Soldiers are determined to go off from hence, in a body, the 1st Aprile. I Remonstrate ag't it as much as in my power.

"30, Wednesday.—It rained all day, no work Could be done. This day it was Capt'n Lloyd's tour of duty to mount Guard, which he refused, giving for Reason that he was the Col'ls Aid-de-Camp.

"31st, Thursday.—This day employed 21 men with the wagon, 46 burning brush, 11 Carpenters at work, — smiths, 4 sawers, 3 bakers.

"This day Capt'n Lloyd * begg'd leave to mount Guard, and was permitted accordingly. I was given to understand that all the soldiers whose times of Inlistments were expired are determined to leave the Fort to-morrow. Clear weather to-day, but rain towards the evening.

*Thomas Lloyd had been an officer in the British service when he came to Pennsylvania at the outset of the French and Indian war. He is to be distinguished from those of the same name who belonged to the Society of Friends in Philadelphia and Chester Counties; neither was he related to any of the Lloyds whose descendants now live in Lycoming County. His military experience secured him a position in the Provincial service as aid to Colonel Clapham, with the rank of Captain, April 2, 1756. He arrived at Fort Augusta on the first of August that year. In October following he was sent to Philadelphia to "inform Governor Denny of the apprehensions of an attack by the French on Fort Augusta." The latter had found, however, that the place had been so well garrisoned that no force they could bring against it could accomplish its reduction. During the winter following Captain Lloyd was upon the recruiting service, and in March, 1758, he was at Harris' Ferry in charge of

"1st Aprile, Friday.—Employed 11 Carpenters, 21 setting piquetts, 33 working in the woods, 5 smiths, 4 sawers, 3 bakers. This evening, at dusk, Mr. James Hughes went of from this with 3 men in a Canoe to Harris's. This evening, at 11 P. M., Capt'n Hambright & Capt'n Young, the pay master, arrived here.

"2d, Saturday.—This day, at 2 P. M., Captain Patterson arrived here with his Comp'y. Nothing material to-day; rain to-day.

"3, Sunday.—Had a Generall Review this morning & afterwards sermon; mustered all the Reg't. It Rained to-day; the Rev'd Mr. Steel Spok to the Reg't publickly, and so did I.

"4th, Munday.—Employed to-day 11 Carpenters on the walls, 12 men with them 5 smiths, 4 sawers, 3 bakers, 43 working at the Trench.

"As I found a Generall resolution prevailing in the Reg't that the soldiers now free would not inlist again for any longer time than 12 months, I thought it for the good of the service to take this matter into Consideration, & accordingly I called a Councell of all the Capt'ns in the Reg't. Present—Captains Lloyd, Shippen, Jamison, Hambright, Trump; Capt. Lewt. Davis; Commiss'y Young, Chaplain Steell. I told the Gent'n that it was my opinion that it would be for the advantage of the service at present, as we were here situate to take the men for 12 mo's raither than they should leave the place, but that I should be glad to know their minds upon this occasion, & found that they were all of my opin-

the batteaux laden with flour for the fort at Shamokin. Upon the re-arrangement of the Provincial forces he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel February 22, 1758, and was on the expedition to the westward of the following year. While detained in Philadelphia he was anxious to be ordered back to the frontier. His wife died there about this time, which caused him much sorrow. In 1760, or later, he left the Provincial service and went to Jamaica, but he afterwards returned, as we learn from the *Shippen Papers* (page 74) that he was lost at sea on his way from Boston to Charleston, somewhere about 1770.

Some of Colonel Lloyd's correspondence, as printed in the *Shippen Papers*, forms very interesting reading. As a writer he was bright and piquant. Colonel Burd says of him, in giving the character of the officers of the Augusta regiment: "Captain Lloyd, a young gentleman of a pretty education and a good scholar; he has acted always as aid-de-camp to Colonel Clapham, and has done no duty in this regiment, only mounted two guards since he came last from Philadelphia. He is a gentleman of a hasty temper, and his understanding entirely subservient to his extravagant passion, which is greatly prejudicial to himself and troublesome to all around him."

ion, except Capt'n Lloyd. I told them that I had power from the Governour to Inlist for 12 mo's, & if they could not gett the men for a longer time they might inlist them for 12 months, when Capt'n Lloyd answered me as follows: 'By God, I will not be Capt'n of a 12 months' Company, any of the rest of them may do what the please;' & upon my reproving him he went off in a passion.

"5th, Tuesday.—This day could gett no work done. Commissary Young went of from this in a Battoe; the Doct'r George Allen and 9 men more after dark.

"6th, Wednesday.—This day, at 12 at noon, Capt'n Hanbright & Ensigne McKee left this with a party of 60 battoe men, 40 of the Hospitall, and upwards of 100 freemen, & 11 battoes. A party of 6 of the freemen returned, they could not gett over Shamochan Creek; they sett out again a little before dark. It Rained and thundered prodigeously this evening.

"7th, Thursday.—Employed to-day in digging down the Bank oposite to the Sally port, & Gathering pine knotts & padle stuff, & bringing it home; brought two Cart load of pine knotts.

"Capt'n Patterson sett off this Even'g after dark with a party of 10 men to go up the West branch in quest of Intellegence, and had my orders as follows:

"To proceed up the west branch of this River as farr as Shinglaclamush, keeping a good look out all the way, & marching as Close to the River as he could, in order to Discover if any body of the Enemy was upon the River; & if he should make a Discovery, to be very particular in Endeavouring to observe the Numbers, and what they were employed about, and to bring a prisoner, if he found it any ways practicable, but not to Discover himself or any of his party if he could avoid it; to observe whither the Enemy was chiefly composed of French or Indians. If he should discover a Body of the Enemy to post himself and party on the tope of the most Convenient adjacent hill, to be free from discovery, & have at the same time a good prospect of the Enemy, and there to lay one day, making particular observations of their motions; & in case he should discover any particular place that they frequented, to march to that place in the night, &

lay in ambush untill morning and try all he could to bring of a prisoner, which he might find santering out by himself; and in this Case to Return to this Fort with all Convenient speed; Recommending to come by water if he could find Canoes.

“But in case he should make no discovery between & Shinglaclamush, not at that place, to proceed up the South branch of the River, from the Fork at Shinglaclamush, & examine that branch; and follow the above orders, to go to the head of that branch; and if he found the Enemy was not there, to return to Shinglaclamush, and to go up the North branch from that place; & if he did not find any of the Enemy then neither, to return to Fort Augusta; I have given him a Red flagg & a watch word, being LONDON.

“These orders I gave Verball, not thinking it prudent to give him them in writing, least they should fall into the hands of the Enemy. I told him these orders severall times over, least he should forgett them and omitt any part of them, and he told me he understood them perfectly; fair weather, Cheefly Cloudy.

“8th, Friday.—Employed to-day in gathering pine knotts & bringing them into the Fort, & preparing loggs for Capt'n Hambright's room. This morning we were alarmed by some of Capt'n Patterson's party firing three guns; they lay over the River, we saw their fire place. Sent a party over the River which bro't over the Canoes that Capt'n Patterson Carried over ye river. Fine clear weather, but so much water in the Ditch we could not work upon ye Parapett. River Rises prodigeously.

“9th, Saturday.—Employed in bringing pine knotts, & building Capt'n Hambright's Room. Fine clear weather; the water still remains in the Ditch, so that we can't work; ye river very high.

“10th, Sunday.—This day we had a Generall Review at 10 A. M., & Sermon at 11 A. M. and 4 P. M.; fine clear weather; river falling.

“11th, Munday.—Thirty men employed at the Ditch to day under the Immediate Derection of Capt'n Shippen.* Carpenters

* Joseph Shippen came of a distinguished family. He was the second son of Edward Shippen, of Lancaster,—who laid out Shippensburg,—born October 30, 1732, and died at Lancaster February 10, 1810. He took an active part in military and

building Capt'n Hanbright's room, under the Direction of Capt'n Trump. Employed the guard to Gravel some places in the Fort. Fine clear weather to-day, and the River falling.

"12th, Tuesday.—It Rained all this day; no work could be done; River falling.

"13th, Wednesday.—Employed 20 men at the Ditch, 10 men getting firewood & covering the cart, 7 carpenters making Capt'n Hanbright's room. Fine clear weather; river falling.

"14th, Thursday.—Employed 10 men at the Ditch, 8 men w't the cart fetching fire wood, 1 mason & 1 man plastering Capt'n Hanbright's room, 5 carpenters at work, 2 smiths, 2 bakers. It Rained to-day, afternoon; were obliged to give over working, it continues to Rain very hard.

"15th, Friday.—It rained all last night and all this day, so that no work can be done of any kind.

"16th, Saturday.—This day so much water in the Ditch I could not work upon them. Employed 24 in the woods maling Rails for a garden fence, 12 Clearing a Garden, 3 smiths and 3 Bakers. The river rises.

"17th, Sunday.—Had a Generall Revew & Sermon at Noon. It rained this afternoon; we were obliged to ommitt Sermon. River rising much.

"18th, Munday.—This day there was so much water in the Ditch I could not work upon the parapett. Clearing ground for a Garden, & maling rails for do. Clear weather.

"19th, Tuesday.—Working as yesterday. This morning John Lee arrived here, & a man from Sam'l Scott's, with shoes to sell. Clear weather.

"20th, Wednesday.—Employed 13 in the woods gett'g rails for the Garden fence, 18 working at the Ditch, 3 Smiths, 8 Carpenters raising the walls. Clear weather; river falling.

political affairs, rose to the rank of Colonel, and became Secretary of the Province. In 1789 he was appointed Judge of the Court of Lancaster. Colonel Burd married his sister Sarah and was his brother-in-law. In speaking of the officers under him at Fort Augusta he says: "Captain Shippen.—My near connection with this gentleman I hope will apologize for me to the Governor for not doing justice to his merit. I beg leave to refer his Honor to Mr. Young, the Paymaster, or to William Allen, Esq., and James Hamilton, Esq., for his character, and will only say that he does his duty with great punctuality."—*Shippen Papers*, pages 28, 96 and 102.

"21st, Thursday.—It Rained very hard all this day; no work could be done.

"22d, Friday.—It was too wett to-day to work at the Ditch. Employed 22 men at the Garden clearing and bringing Rails and putting up ye fence; the Carpenters squaring loggs.

"I was informed this day that the officers were a good deall uneasy ab't a report that prevailed in the Garrison, viz: That the officers of this Reg't was to be brok & that the Commiss's had their friends prepared to Recruit and fill up the vacancys. I sent for severall of the Officers & inquired into this affair, & found that there was some such thoughts amongst them, & I traced the foundation of this story & found it proceeded from Capt'n Lloyd. I told the Gent'n that I thought there was no proper ground for entertaining such rediculous storys, and desired they might make themselves Easy; & further, that I would venture to assure them there could be nothing in it.

"23d, Saturday.—Employed 32 working at the Parapett, 7 carpenters making step leathers, &ca., 3 smiths, 3 bakers. Clear weather before noon, afterwards showry, & hard rain in the Evening.

"24th, Sunday.—This day it rained Cheefly. Had a Generall revew of the Regement to-day, at 12 M.; at 4 P. M., had church. At dark John Lee sett off from this.

"25th, Munday.—Employed to-day at the Parapett — men, — Carpenters at the walls; a party of — getting fire wood.

"This day at Noon Capt'n Patterson* arrived with his party all well; they came down the River upon Rafts; Capt'n Patterson Reports, That he march'd from hence Shinglaclamuch, that he Tract the 4 Canostogo Indians, who were sent ^{to} Mr. Croghan to the Ohio on Governm't Business & left this Fort on ye 28th Feb'y, great part of their way hither, and observed by the Traes that they was mett by a party of warriors from the Ohio, in Comp'y with whome he supposed by the Traes they went to the Ohio;

*Of the two families of Patterson in Lancaster County, it is believed that Captain William belonged to that branch which settled in what is now Rapho Township. His father was named Arthur, and he emigrated from Ireland in 1724. William served in the Indian wars and in the Revolution. He was taken prisoner by the British and died while held a prisoner in the prison ship on Delaware Bay.

that he saw ye Traes of a large party that had come from the Ohio ab't a month agoe, as he supposes, & had march't the Road towards Cumberland County. That he march't to Shinglacamuch, saw no Indians nor French, either upon his march or at the Town; the Road that leads from Buchaloons passes along by Shinglacamuch and forks on the south side of Susquahanna River, at the distance of abo't 40 miles from that Town; one road from that fork leads to Fort Augusta, and the other to Cumberland County; that both these roads were very much frequented, & it appeared to him the Enemy used them constantly when they came to make their Incursions upon this Province; that the Cheeff part of the houses at Shinglacamuch were burnt down, and he Immajn'd that no Indians had lived there a long time; that he was obliged to return from Shinglacamuch, not being able to proceed for want of Provisions, he and his party having lived upon Walnuts* for three days; the Country there was so excessively mountainous that they could not find any Game to kill, and the men were not able to travel any further in this situation, which obliged him to Return down the River on Rafts.

" This Evening Capt'n Hambright, Lewt. Garraway, & the Ensignes McKees and Hughes arrived here with a party of 90 men and 16 Battoes loaded with stores for the use of the Garrison. Capt'n Hambright informs me that there is a Detachm't to come up with the pay mast'r of 100 to reinforce this Garrison.

" 26th, Tuesday.—It rained to-day, & being employed in getting the Battoes, &ca., unloaded, I could not do any work; the Rev'd Mr. John Steell has leave of absence from this day untill the 1st June. Sent off Capt'n Hambright, Lieut. Allen & Ensigne Miles to Hunter's for stores, with a party of 44 men & 15 Battoes; they left this at 4 P. M. I am under a Necessity to give soldiers discharges; rainy.

" 27th, Wednesday.—Employed this day at the Garden, the Ditch being too wett; Capt'n Wetherholt and Lewt. Handshaw arrived here to-day at Noon with a Detachm't of 50 men with orders from Lieut. Col'l Weiser to reinforce this Garrison; clear weather.

* This was pretty scant fare, but it doubtless prevented the party from becoming so famished that they could not travel.

"28th, Thursday.—Employed to-day at the Ditch, and 6 men at the Garden; the soldiers gett very anxtious to have their discharges; fine clear day.

"29th, Friday.—Employed to-day 6 men at the Garden, 35 at the Ditch; 6 Carpenters, 2 Smiths, 3 Bakers. This afternoon Mr. Hugh Crawford arrived here with two Indians and 4 soldiers; fine clear weather.

"30th, Saturday.—Employed to-day 6 men in the Garden, 35 in the Ditch, 2 Smiths and 3 bakers; fine Clear weather to-day, river fall'g very much; the two Indians went away to-day, at Noon, up the North branch in a canoe.

"1st May, 1757, Sunday.—This day, at 2 P. M., I sent the 4 men to Fort Hallifax that Eschorted the Indian and his wife heither; I sent the horse likewise. River fall'g; Clear.

"2d, Munday.—Employed 9 Carpenters, 3 Bakers, 29 at the Parapett, 17 in the woods, 6 in the Garden, 2 Sawers. Fine clear weather.

"3, Tuesday.—Employed to-day 9 carpenters, 14 at the Garden, 12 with the wagon, 34 at the Parapett, 3 bakers, 3 smiths. Fine clear weather.

"4th, Wednesday.—Employed 29 at the Parapett, 22 with the cart and in the Garden, 9 Carpenters, 3 smiths, 3 bakers.

"This day, at Noon, John Lee arrived here & informed me that Capt'n Morgan & Lewt. Ingle, with 30 men, were upon the march heither, & had under their Eschort 44 bullocks for the use of this Garrison; he said he left them on this side Shamochan mountain.

"Capt'n Morgan and Lieut. Ingle arrived at 2 P. M., with the party, & informed me they left the Cattle ab't 1½ miles distance from this, under the care of two soldiers, upon which I immediately sent a Guard of 1 Serg't & 12 men to the Bullocks.

"At 3 P. M. I had an allarm; I sent Capt'n Jamison, Lieuts. Garraway & Clark with a party of 50 men to the Bullocks to support the Sergt's Com'd there; found the allarm false. At 4 P. M., the Indians named William Taylor and his wife, and Jamy Narrow arrived here from the Ohio.

"5th, Thursday.—Employed 9 Carpenters, 29 at the Parapett,

18 making Rails for the bullock pen, 14 guarding the cattle, 3 smiths, 3 bakers, 2 sawers; in Garden.

"This day, Indian William Taylor informed me that the party that killed the two Centinalls had left two letters, the one from an English woman Prisoner (whom he saw) the other from the French officer that Commanded the party to me here. I sent a party derectly to hunt for these letters, but they return & inform me they could not find them.

"William Taylor further informs me that the French & Indians are determined to come in a Large body & besiege Fort Augusta, when the leaves is the size of a Dollar. He says they are in great want of Provisions at Venengo, & that there is a French Fort there.

"6th, Friday.—Employed to-day 33 at the Parapetts, 10 in the Garden, 13 with the Cattle, 15 in the woods, 9 Carpenters, 3 bakers, 3 smiths.

"This day, at Noon, Capt'n Hanbright, Capt'n Young, &ca., arrived here with 17 Battoes. The Indians, William Taylor and James Narrow, and Wm. Taylor's wife, sett out from hence with a Canoe for John Harris's. I sent in the canoe John Carter with orders to deliver the Indians to John Harris.

"7, Saturday.—Employed to-day 33 at the Parapett, 10 in the Garden, 13 garding the Cattle, 15 in ye woods, 9 Carpenters, 3 bakers, 3 smiths. This day the Commissary Mustered all the Reg't. Fine Clear weather.

"8th, Sunday.—No sermon to-day; had a Generall Review of the Reg't and Detachm'ts. Fine clear weather.

"9th, Munday.—Employed to-day at the Parapett, at the Garden, in the woods, &ca.; clear weather.

"10th, Tuesday.—Employed as yesterday; the paymast'r sett off from hence w't him the Capt'ns Morgan & Patterson, Lieut's. Ingle and Miles, and Ensigne Patterson, at 8 A. M., with a party of 15 soldiers and 13 Battoes. This evening a great many disch'd men went from hence; fine weather.

"11th, Wednesday.—It rained so much to-day that I could not work at the Parapett nor at any other thing, so no work done to-day. John Meech, at 6 P. M., Express from Ft. Halifax.

" 12th, Thursday.—Employed to-day at the Garden and in the woods; too wett for working at the Parapett.

" 13th, Friday.—Employed to-day at the Garden, the Ditch being too wett; cold weather.

" 14th, Saturday.—Employed to-day in the woods, at ye Garden and building officers rooms, being too wett to work at the Ditch. River falling.

" 15th, Sunday.—This morning at 8 A. M., the following Gent'n sett out from hence to go a Recruiting, vizt.: Capt'ns Lloyd, Shippen, Jamison, Hambright and Trump, Capt'n Lieut. Davis & Lieut. Clark, in the battoes man'd with disch'd soldiers; at 11 A. M. the Indian left this; fine clear weather, river fall'g.

" 16th, Munday.—Employed at the Garden and ye bank.

" 17th, Tuesday.—Employed to-day at the Ditch, and Garden, and officer's rooms.

" 18th, Wednesday.—Employed as yesterday; this day at 11 A. M., Capt'n Patterson arrived here with the Battoes, and brought 2 four pound Canon.

" 19th, Thursday.—Employed to-day at the Parapett 14 men; sent off the Battoes to Fort Hallifax, under the Command of Lieut. Henshaw, at 10 A. M. Rec'd Information this evening that a Number of Indian tracts were seen one mile and a half distance from the Fort; ordered Capt'n Patterson, Ensignes Allison & McKee and a party of 30 men to follow the tracs early to-morrow morning, and Endeavour to come up with them, and Kill and take Prisoners the whole if they could.

" 20, Friday.—Capt'n Patterson and the party marched early this morning agreeable to orders.

" Capt'n Patterson returned at 10 A. M., and reports, that the tracs were some days old, and that he could not follow them farr. Employed at the Ditch, & 14 Cattle Guard.

" 21st, Saturday.—Employed 25 at the Barr'k, 14 Cattle Guard, 8 Carp'rs, 6 at the Garding, 2 sawers, 2 bakers, 4 smiths. This Evening two men, Named Wolf & Hamilton, arrived here Express; Woolf from Lieut. Ingle from Reading. Ordered a Generall Review of ye Garrison to-morrow, at 11 A. M.

" 22d, Sunday.—This morning I was informed by the lower

Centrys of the Palasades, that Severall Indian hallows were heard over the River; detauch'd Capt'n Patterson, Lieuts. Garraway & Clayton, and a party of 40 men over the River this morning, at 8 A. M., after the Enemy. Detauch'd Ensignes Brodhead & Miles with a small Reconoitering party of 12 men over the mountain by the spring, as I have some Reason to suspect the Enemy lurking there from my observation this night. 11 A. M. One of the soldiers of the Bullock Guard brought me in 3 Indian spears they gott by a tree that supports the spout at ye spring,* and the tracs fresh. Ordered the Bullock guard in with the bullocks. I suppose these Indians, laying wait for the Centrys on the Bullocks, observ'g the Reconoitering party, went of so precipitantly they could not recover their spears. Ordered the Bullock Guard, under the Com'd of Serg't Major Falconer, to march Immediately to the top of the Hill on the other side the spring, and there lay with the party conceal'd, untill he should hear Ensigne Broadhead attack, and then to march Immediately to his support. Ensigne Broadhead returns with his party and reports that he came upon the Indian tracs fresh, and pursued, but Could not overtake the Enemy. At 3 P. M. Capt'n Patterson and Lieuts. Garraway† & Clayton returns with the party, and Capt'n Patterson reports that he saw first a great many fresh Indians' tracs between this and Gabriell's‡ place, upon which he divided his party into three parts, one under his own Com'd, one under the Com'd of Lieut. Garraway, and one under the com'd of Lieut. Clayton, that under com'd of himself marching over the mountain, that under the com'd of Lt. Garraway by the River, and that under com'd Lieut. Clayton in the Centre. On the top of ye Mountain in this Position they followed the tracs, Came up with the Enemy's fires at Gabriell's, but the Enemy had discovered them and fled before them; they saw severall of them on flats in the River, but having neither Battoes nor canoes they could not gett at them; ranged the woods round Gabriell's and marcht to Mahaneyoy and returned home.

* The famous Bloody Spring.

† Colonel Burd thus speaks of Lieutenant Garraway: "A gentleman of some education, strictly punctual in the observance of duty, a good soldier, and ready to exert himself at all times in the service of his country."

‡ On the present site of Selinsgrove.

"At 5 P. M. Had a General Review of the Garrison; found the Arms, &ca., in good order. Dry weather; river falling.

"23d, Munday.—Employed 30 men at the Parapett; 6 went to the Island, a covering party for the carpenters getting shingles, 14 with the Bullocks, 3 in the Garden, 2 Sawers, 4 blacksmiths, and 2 bakers. Fine rain to-day.

"24th, Tuesday.—Employed 31 men at the parapett, 3 in the Garden, 14 bullock gaird, 8 carpenters, 2 sawers, 4 smiths, 2 bakers.

"Ordered the officer and old guard to Reconoiter every morning; they came off Guard by Rotation, by day break. Fine clear weather.

"25th, Wednesday.—Employed as yesterday. Nothing material.

"26th, Thursday.—Employed to-day 31 men at the Parapett, 4 in the Garden, 14 on the bullock guard, 8 carpenters, 2 sawers, 4 smiths, 2 bakers.

"This morning at 9 the Battoes arrived under the command of Lieut. Handshaw loaded. Mr. Handshaw reports to me that he lay at Gabriell's place last night contrary to his Inclination, being forced so to do by the battoemen who stopt here long before sun down and told him they would proceed no further; that the reason he heard of this determination of the Battoemen was that if they should arrive at Fort Augusta last night they knew the Major would dispatch them next day for Hunter's, but if they stayed there that night they could not well be sent from Augusta before Saturday morning. Mr. Handshaw was under a necessity to order draughts from each Battoe to join the soldiers to make up a Guard last night, which the Battoe men absolutely refused, and behaved with great Contempt, during the whole Voyage, to Mr. Handshaw and all the officers; upon the party, upon their arrivall here, complaint being made to me, I ordered three of them Confined.

"27th, Friday.—Employed to-day as yesterday. This morning the Battoemen sent me a message acquainting me that they were coming to me to know the reason that Battoemen was confined; I sent for answer that if they had anything to say to me they

might send one or two of their number, but if they attempted to come to me in a body, I would, with my own hands, shoot the first man that approach'd; upon which two of their number came and told me that in their agreeam't with Mr. Young they were to do nothing but work the Battoes. I gave them for answer that the present smallness of my Garrison laid me under a Necessity to do for the good of the service as well as I could; that if once the Garrison was reinforced the Battoemen would not have anything to do but work their Battoes; yett Notwithstanding they might Expect I would Insist upon it that the Battoemen should be subject and punctually obey the orders given them by the officers from time to time, (and as they had used the officers scornfully, and with great contempt, I would now settle that point with them and convince them of their Error.) I likewise told them that they should not be allowed to dispute the orders of the officers upon party nor depart from their duty when at Hunters, Hallifax, Harris, &ca., without leave obtained from the command'g officers of the party; that they should likewise obey the orders of George Allen, and that when they rec'd orders they should Endeavour to execute them Immediately, and if they thought themselves at any time aggrieved, upon their arrivall at Fort Augusta, I should always be ready to hear them and give them Redress. I desired them to acquaint all the Battoemen with this my resolution.

"28th, Saturday.—Employed to-day as yesterday. The two Battoemen waited upon me this morning and acquainted me that the Battoemen desired them to acquaint me that they would do no other duty than work their respective Battoes, that they thought they had made a very quick trip, and that I might continue them in this way or give them their discharges. I returned them for answer that I would do neither, and that I was fully determined to make Examples of all of them that I found Guilty of this piece of Mutiny; that if they Immajined I was under difficulty to gett Battoemen, they would find themselves in this much deceived. I could not put this intention in Execution to-day without stoping the works, but I have ordered the Adjutant to Parade the Battoemen to-morrow morning, and to acquaint them of my orders to him, to desire all of them that was strickly willing

to comply with my Proposition to them of yesterday, to file from the others and parade by themselves, that he might return me a Roll of them as likewise of the malcontents.

"29th, Sunday.—This morning the Adjutant acquainted me he had paraded the Battoemen, and that they acknowledged their fault and were all willing to comply with my orders; sent all the Battoes four miles down the River for limestones* to make lime to build a magazine. Had a Generall Review of the Garrison to-day at 5 P. M.

"30th, Munday.—Employed to-day, 34 at the parapett, 14 Cattle Guard, 7 cutting coal wood, 7 with the wagon, 6 Carpenters, 5 at the limekill, 4 smiths, 3 bakers, 2 sawers, 3 in the Gairden; sent the Battoes two trips for limestone to-day.

"31st, Tuesday.—Employed to-day 25 at the parapett, 10 with the wagon, 14 Cattle Guard, 7 Cutting Coal wood, 4 smiths, 2 sawers, 2 Bakers, 7 Carpenters, 3 at the limekill, 3 in the Gairden. Sent the Battoes two trips for Limestone.

"Wednesday, 1st June.—Employed to-day 13 at the Bank, 14 on the Cattle Guard, 12 with the wagon, 2 in the Gairden, 2 sawers, 2 bakers, 4 smiths. Sent the Battoes two trips for Limestone.

"2d June, Thursday.—This morning the sentence was read of the Court Martial ag't John McIntigger, John Boyl & Robert Gorrell; John Boyl Remitted, John McIntigger and Rob't Gorrell Drum'd out of the service.

"Employed to-day as yesterday; sent the Battoes down to Hunter's, under the Command of Capt'n Weatherholt; they sett off to-day at 10 A. M. The officers of this party, Capt'n Weatherholt, Lieut. Clayton. Ensigne Allison, party 15 men; Capt'n Patterson on leave of absence to Remove his Family.

"At 6 P. M., this day, one hundred Indians arrived here from the Treaty at Lancaster, under the Care of Capt'n Thos. McKee;† they encamped above the Fort, towards the old Town; gave them Provisions of all kinds, & ½ gill rum a man.

* The quarry is supposed to have been at the point below Shamokin Creek where abundance of limestone is still obtained.

† Thomas McKee was a famous Indian trader, who lived at a point on the river known to-day as "McKee's Half Falls." In the list of names of Indian traders he appears as having been first appointed by the Provincial Government as early as May,

"3d, Friday.—Employed to-day as yesterday; Capt'n McKee delivered me an order from the Commiss'srs to deliver to every Indian man 4 pound poudder, and 16 pound of lead, and 1 quart Rum, which I told him I would punctually comply with, as likewise Beaff & flour what they should want, while they Remained here, and $\frac{1}{2}$ gill of Rum a man, twice a day; & at their departure what Beaff & flour they might want for their Journey. Capt'n M'Kee told me that George Croghan had ordered me to deliver to two of the Indians 2 half barrels of poudder, besides the Commiss'srs allowance, which I Refused to Comply with, telling him that if the Govern'r or Commiss'srs had ordered it I should have Complied with their orders; but that I would not Receive any orders from George Croghan. Capt'n McKee shewed me the Governour's orders to him, to which I told Mr. McKee I should pay due Regard.

"This day the Indians gett troublesome; obliged to Insist upon their behaviour being orderly.

"4th, Saturday.—Employed to-day as yett, only a Number of my people mending Indian Canoes, &c. This day the Tuscorora tribe Informed me they intended setting off up the River, I gave them Provisions Enough, and 5 Gallons of Rum; they sett off accordingly; they wanted much to purchase Rum; I told them there was none here to sell. This day all the Indians intended to go, but an accident happening, vizt., one Indian Girle shott another with a Bullott and 4 swan shott through her arm, detained them; this Girle that was shott was New Castle's Daughter.*

1744. August 12, 1752, he was granted a warrant for a tract of 200 acres "on the Susquehanna over the blue hills." This land, at that time, had not been purchased from the Indians. As early as 1749 he was assessed in Paxtang, which shows that he must have possessed land before his warrant for 200 acres was issued. He was the son of Patrick McKee, who lived in Paxtang as early as 1730. Thomas McKee died at his famous place on the Susquehanna in April, 1772.

*She was the granddaughter of the famous Queen Alliquippa mentioned in Washington's Journal. New Castle was so named by Governor Morris, August 22, 1755, at a council held at Philadelphia. "Addressing himself to Kanuksusy, the son of old Alliquippa, whose mother is now living near Raystown, desired him to hearken, for he was going to give him an English name. '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 *New Castle*, and order you to be called hereafter by that name which I have given you, because, in 1701, I am

"The Indians are very well pleased w't the usage, and behave well and orderly, find'g they are obliged so to do.

"5th, Sunday.—This day Mr. McKee advised me to call the Cheeffs of the Indians together at my house, and putt them in mind of their promise to the Govern'r at Lancaster, vizt: Of leaving 12 of their Familys to settle near Fort Augusta, which I did this morning, & delivered them a speach & string of wampum to the Following purpose:

"BRETHREN OF THE SIX NATIONS: I am informed from your Brother Onas, our Govern'r, that you promised to him at Lancaster that 12 of your Familys would settle here & plant, & that he had sent Thomas McKee along with you to me to see that you was settled Comfortably to your Intire satisfaction; the Govern'r has ordered me to take Care of you & protect you, which I promise faithfully to your Brethren I will do to the utmost of my power; but I am this day informed by Mr. McKee that you purpose all to go away, & I desire to know your Resolutions & Reasons, if you have altered your minds.'

"Gave them the string.

"The Indians Consulted together what answ'r to make me, and at last the speaker, Thomas King, stood up and spoke to me to the following purpose:

"BROTHER CORIAGO: We never made any such promise as you mention to our Brother Onas; we never intended to stay here. Perhaps Ogohrodariho, Montour & Jo Pippy might make some such promise, but if they did it was intirely unknown to us. We have all our friends & Relations at our Towns, and it would not be good informed that your parents presented you to the late Mr. William Penn at New Castle." In a passport issued by Governor Morris, published in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. II., New Series, pages 698-9, New Castle is also called Cashunyon. After the defeat of Jumonville, when Washington, in anticipation of an attack of a large French force, was busily engaged in enlarging and strengthening Fort Necessity, the Indians began to flock to him. Towards night, on the 1st of June, 1754, Ensign Towers arrived with the Half King Tanacharison, Queen Alliquippa and her son, and other Indians. On the 10th Washington wrote to Governor Dinwiddie: "Queen Alliquippa desired that her son, who is really a great warrior, might be taken into council, as she was declining and unfit for business, and that he should have an English name given him. I therefore called the Indians together, by the advice of the Half-King, presented one of the medals, and desired him to wear it in remembrance of his great father, the King of England, and called him by the name of COLONEL FAIRFAX, which he was told signified THE FIRST IN COUNCIL. This gave him great pleasure." At a council held at Easton, November 17, 1756, Governor Denny, addressing Teedyuscung, said: "Since I set out I have heard of the death of several Indian friends by the small-pox at Philadelphia, and particularly Captain New Castle is dead, who was very instrumental joined with you as agent in carrying on this good work of peace." New Castle's daughter's name was Canadahawaby.

for us to stay here & leave them there; therefore we give you for answer that we are all going off to-day, & that none will stay here unless those that dye (meaning the sick People in the small pox,) which they leave with me, & Recommend them to my care, & I promise to take care of them.'

"They deliver me back my string. The Councill breaks up.

"At three P. M. all the Indian Councillors waits of me and acquainted me they wanted to speak with me in Councill. I went to them accordingly. The speakers gott up and spoack to the following purpose:

"BROTHER COROAGO: As our Brother Onas acquainted us that there would be a store of goods kept at Fort Augusta, that the Indians would bring down their skins here and be supplied with what Necessarys they wanted, in order that they might do this with safety, they told me they would always come in Canoes, and Come down the Midle of the River in daylight, that I might see them and know them to be friends, as their Hunters had not flaggs, and they desired that I might Receive them kindly, from time to time, & use them well, as they would always be Coming down the River, which I promised to do, & desired them to Rely upon my greatest friendship.'

"They took their leave of me, and I gave them 14 Gallons of Rum and Provisions, and Insisted that they should not drink any of their Rum nigh the Fort, but carry it in their canoes up the River, which they said they would do, and we parted.

"6th, Munday.—This day, William Sack, Geo. Sack & William Tayler, 2 women and 1 Child, informed me they were not going with the other Indians, and were determined to settle and plant 2 miles up the North branch and there hunt.

"Ogohrodariho and five Indian men, three women and a boy Remain; three of the Indian men, one woman and the Boy, very bad in the small pox. Ogohrodariho and two of the Indian men went up the West branch this morning in a canoe to hunt, and propose to stay 4 nights.

"Employed to-day 15 at the Parapett, 14 w't the cattle, 14 getting shingles on the Island, 7 w't ye wagon, 2 in the Garden, 2 Sawers, 2 at the lime kill, 2 bakers.

"7th, Tuesday.—Employed to-day 23 at the Parapett, 14 with the cattle, 8 with the wagon, 9 carp'rs, 9 raising a smith shop, 2 sawers, 2 bakers, 4 Smiths. Nothing material.

"8th, Wednesday.—Employed 21 at the Parapett, 14 with the cattle, 10 with the wagon, 2 Sawers, 4 Smiths, 4 in the Gairding,

2 bakers, 1 candle Maker. This morning one of the Indians that was bad with the small pox died. Ordered him to be laid out, and a shirt, &c., put upon him, and a grave to be dug for him, at the old Town where the Indians was always burried; Mr. McKee signifying to me that this would be agreeable to the Indians; the coffin is making. Burried the Indian this Evening.

"9th, Thursday.—Employed to-day 21 men at the Bank, 14 the cattle Guard, 12 with the wagon, 4 smiths, 2 sawers,* 2 bakers, 2 in the Garding, 8 carp'rs, 1 butcher.

"This morning, at 10 A. M., arrived here our Fleet of Battoes; at 11 A. M. arrived three Indian men, one woman and one child, vizt: William Sack, George Sack and William Taylor, Oghrodariho's wife and child. These Indians came here all Drunk; the three men came from their cabin, which they inform'd me was three miles from this, up the North branch; the woman went from this on Sunday with the main body of the Indians, & they would not inform me where she was come from. It surprised me a good deall to see them come here all drunk, knowing they had no liquor of their own, which led me to ask many questions, to which they would give me no satisfactory answer.

"At 4 P. M., a party of Indians fired upon the Bullock Guard Centrys and killed one of them. The Bullock Guard attackt the Indians Immediately. In this skirmish sixteen shotts was Exchanged. I detauched three partys from the fort to their support. The three Indians, Named on ye other side, went along with my partys; Indian William Taylor ran ahead of the foremost party, and kept hooping and hallow'g, and fired twice. The Bullock Guard had put the Enemy to the flyght before the other partys gott up. They pursued as did the partys, but could not overtake the Enemy. When the partys returned to the Fort, Indian William Taylor told me that he saw the Enemy and that they called out to him, what, are you, Uncle, going to help the white People?

*Throughout this journal it will be noticed that men were kept constantly at work with the saw. This was the only method they had at that day of manufacturing boards and square timber. It was known as "whip sawing." One man stood in a pit underneath the log, which was mounted on trestles, and drew the saw down, whilst the other, who stood on the log, drew it up. The process was slow and laborious, but it answered the purpose.

After this he told me he did not see them and that he only fired for fun.

"I ordered Lieut. Handshaw, Ensigns Broadhead* and Patterson, to hold themselves in readiness to march after the Enemy with a party of Thirty men, upon which Will'm Taylor grew furious and swore he would go to his cabin; he told me at the same time that the French were very good, and that we (meaning the white People) had settled the French upon the Ohio, and had gott money for it; that we had taken all the Indian's Lands from them, and that land on which Fort Augusta stands was theirs. I suspected this Indian much; he attempted to gett off severall times, but I would not suffer him, least he should carry Intelligence to the Enemy, by which means they might waylay my party and cutt them off; and I had great Reason to suspect this from the Behaviour of this Indian.

"Mr. McKee told me it was his opinion that the whole Body of the Indians was a few miles up the North Branch, (mean those that came from the Treaty at Lancaster,) and advised me not to send the party this night. I ordered the party under the Com'd of Lieut. Handshaw to march upon the Tracs by break of day in the morning; and If he found them to be the above Body of Indians, not to fire upon them nor discover himself and party, but to vew them and return to Fort Augusta.

"The man that was killed was Henry Worm of Capt'n Reynold's Comp'y; brought him home and buried him.

"10th, Friday.—Employed to-day 20 men at the Parapett, 14 Cattle Guard, 16 in ye Garding, 8 carpenters, 4 smiths, 2 bakers, 2 sawers, 1 wagoner, 1 candle maker.

"At 11 A. M. Mr. Handshaw returns, having executed my orders to him of yesterday, & Reports that he Reconoitered all the mountains for 6 miles on this side of the North Branch, & then crossed the River and Reconoitered the other side, and found beds and tracs of Indians, but could not follow them.

"At Noon Lieut. Humphreys arrived here with Ensigns Kern and Biddle and a Detachment of Lieut. Col'l Wiser's Battalion of 47 men; Mr. Humphrey's delivered me his Instructions from Col'l

*"Ensign Broadhead, a gentleman of little education but a very good soldier; does his duty well and cheerfully."—*Colonel Burd.*

Wiser. This Detachment is sent to relieve the like Number on Duty here. I delay sending them a few days, as I have great Reason to suspect the Body of Indians mentioned before has an Intention to try to surprise the Garrison, as they saw our Numbers small when they were here.

"At 2 P. M. Ogohrodariho and the other two Indians arrives from the west branch in 2 canoes; they report a party of the Enemy had crossed the River 17 miles up the branch, and they saw their tracs coming towards Fort Augusta.

"At 2 P. M. William Sack,* George Sack and William Taylor, went from this up the North branch to their cabin; at 7 P. M. William Sack, George Sack and one Hencoak, a white man, arrives here from their cabin. Hencoak informs me he saw three Indians in white new shirts a cross the River, and that about 3 or 4 miles above the Cabin there was a great many Indian fires, which he takes to be the Body of the Indians that went from hence.

"I omitted to mention in Thursday that one of the Bullock Guard Centrys told me that he saw the Indians before they fired upon the other Centry, and could have shott severall of them, but he knew them very well to be the Indians that went from this, & thought they were friends coming to Fort Augusta; to this he is willing to be Qualified; this Centry was afterwards shott at twice by the Indians, and returned them five shotts, and wounded one of them badly, but he gott up and gott off; the Centry's name is John Ermon of Capt'n Weatherholt's Company.

"11th, Saturday.—Employed to-day 50 men at the Parapett, 8 in the Gairden, 4 smiths, 2 sawers, 2 Bakers, 8 carpenters, 1 candle maker. I have been under a Necessity of hawling up the Battoes and corking them all, and new pay'ing them, as they are so laiky they wont sweem.

"Ogohrodariho † and the other two Indians told me to-day they

* George and William Sack were vagabond Cayugas, and resided at the Conestoga town. They were untrustworthy, and both were accused by the "Paxtang Boys" of committing murders. They fell at the massacre of the Conestoga Indians at the jail in Lancaster, December, 1763. Nothing is known of Taylor.

† *Ogoh-ro-da-ri-ho*, *Agagh-ra-darisha*, or *Og-ha-gha-disha*, was an Onondaga chief, residing on the North Branch of the Susquehanna. The first we hear of him was at a conference, held at the camp at Armstrong's, June 10, 1756, with Colonel William

spoke, three days ago, with 17 French Indians and two French men coming to Fort Augusta; but I suspect the truth of this.

"George Hills, of Capt'n Reynold's Comp'y, says that he saw the Indians on Thursday last, & knew them well to be the Indians that slept at the middle fire place at Fort Augusta, & never mistrusted them untill they fired & shott one centry through the arm, upon which he presented at one of the Indians who was stand'g with his brest to him ab't 15 yards distance, but his Gun snapt; to the truth of this he will be Qualified; he further says that he could have killed severalls of them as they past him, as they did not see him.

"11th, Saturday.—Ordered a Generall Review of the Garrison to-morrow at 4 P. M. Great deall of Rain to-day; stopt the works.

"12th, Sunday.—Sent out severall Reconoitering partys to-day, returned & reports no Discovery. Had a Generall Review according to the orders of yesterday. Sent Ogohrodariho up the North branch to Reconoiter, with orders to go to Lapach Peetos town, about ten miles from hence, where I suspect the Body of the Indians to lay.

"Ogohrodariho returns with William Taylor, and reports that William Taylor told him he saw Indians every day, but that he thought the Indians were not at Lapach Peetos Town. I suspect William Taylor to be a spy.

"13th, Munday.—Employed 40 men at ye Parapett, 14 Cattle Guard, 15 the wagon, 8 at the smith's shope, 2 sawers, 2 bakers, 1 candle maker, 8 carpenters. The Centry on the upper Palasade Bastion reports he saw 4 Indians come cross the River, at the head of ye Island, alarmed the Cattle Guard, & sent out two partys & 6 officers to surround them. The Partys return at 2 P. M., and reports they could find no Indians nor saw no tracs.

"14th, Tuesday.—Employed 44 men at the Parapett, 18 with

Clapham, when he advocated the building of a fort at Shamokin. He was called an "old man," but "a noted friend of the English, and known by the Province of Pennsylvania." He not only advised the building of Fort Augusta, but suggested the erection of another at *Adjouquay* (mouth of the Lackawanna). He paid a second visit to Shamokin in October following, conveying an important message. Nothing further is known of him.

the wagon, 14 Cattle Guard, 5 at the smith's shope, 4 smiths, 8 carpenters, 2 Sawers, 2 Bakers, 1 Candle maker. This Evening William Taylor came here from his cabin & William Sack.

"Wednesday, 15th.—Employed 55 at the Parapett, 14 Cattle Guard, 14 with the Wagon, 8 Carp'ters, 4 smiths, 2 Sawers, 2 Gairden, 1 Wagoner, 1 Candle maker. This day at Noon one Indian man, two women & 3 Children arrived here from Diahoga, they came for flour; they report that the Indians are to kill French Margaret & all her Family.

"16th, Thursday.—Employed 65 at the Parapett, 14 Cattle Guard, 6 Carpenters, 4 smiths, 2 sawers, 2 bakers, 1 rendering Tallow, 2 Gairdeners. At 4 P. M. the follow'g Indians arrive from Lancaster: Rob't White, Sam, John & Young John, one woman and a Girle, and 2 Children, being Nanticoks, in a Battoe loaded with Goods, their present.

"17th, Friday.—Employed 31 at the Parapett, 14 cattle Guard, 9 with the wagon, 8 Carp'rs, 4 Smiths, 2 bakers, 2 sawers, 1 rendering Tallow, 2 Gairdeners. This morning at 9 A. M. Lieut. Allen, Ensigns Broadhead and Hughes marcht with a party of 15 men and — Battoes for Hunter's for stores. Lieut. Handshaw and Ensigne Thorn marcht with the Releived Detachments of Coll. Wiser, Capt's Bussy's, Morgan's and Smith's Comp'ys. This day the Indians, arrived on Wednesday, Insist upon having flour, Rum, pouder, led and flints; they have accordingly 150 lbs. flour, 5 Gall's rum, 6 lbs. poudder, 14 lbs. lead and a handfull of flints.

"This day, at 3 P. M., 10 Delaware Indians arrived here, vizt: Joseph Nutimus (one of the Cheeffs of that Nation), John, 3 women & 5 children; they inform me that the Indians that came here on Wednesday, left an Indian man, their Uncle, a little way from this, up the North branch, and that they found him drowned in the River with a Kettle on his head, and they buried him.

"18th, Saturday.—Employed 12 men at the Bank, 26 at the Turneep ground, 2 in the Gairden, 1 wagoner, 14 Cattle Guard, 4 smiths, 4 sawers, 2 Bakers, 1 candle maker. So much water in the Ditch I Could not Employ more men on the Parapett to-day. At 10 A. M., Ogohrodariho and his Family went up the River to

return in three days. The Indians that arrived on Wednesday sett off at the same time. Robert White and the Nanticoks sett off at 4 P. M.; they were supplied with powder, lead, Rum and flour, as the other Indians.

“Sunday, 19th.—Indian Sarah, a Nanticok woman, return'd this morning for a match-coat she had forgott, and reports she saw no signes of Indians as she came along. This day, at 2 P. M., Sarah went from this, as likewise two Tuscorora men, three women and one little Girle; they went up the North Branch to make a Bark Canoe, and propose to return in two days.

“No Reveu to-day, as the Delaware Indians are here and my Garrison so small that I don't choice to give them an opportunity of knowing my Numbers.

“20th, Munday.—Employed 28 men at the Parapett, 21 at ye Turneep Ground, 14 cattle Guard, 4 carpenters, 4 sawers, 4 smiths, 2 bakers, 1 plowman, 1 candle maker, 2 Gairdners. Very great rain at Noon to-day and continued untill night; Stopt all the works; River rises.

“21st, Tuesday.—Employed to-day 20 at the Parapett, 4 at the Turneep ground, 4 with the sawers, 4 sawers, 3 smiths, 2 Bakers, 1 candle maker, 1 wagoner, 14 Cattle Guard, 2 waggoners. Rain to-day.

“22d, Wednesday.—Employed 30 Parapett, 14 Cattle Guard, 4 Turneep ground, 8 w't ye Wagon, 3 carpenters, 3 smiths, 4 sawers, 2 Bakers, 1 Candle Maker, 1 wagoner, 2 Gairdners. A great deal of rain to-day.

“23d, Thursday.—Employed 18 at the Parapett, 13 Turneep Ground, 14 Cattle Guard, 6 with the wagon, 3 smiths, 4 sawers, 2 bakers, 1 Candle maker, 1 wagoner, 2 Gairdners.

“This day, at 10 A. M., three partys of Indians surrounded the Cattle Guard, killed 4 & wounded 5 men of the party, and 4 men escaped, one being shott through the hatt; the party gave them Battle, but was overpower'd with Numbers. I sent two partys to their support Instantly upon hearing the Guns, but the Enemy run at the approach of the partys; they scalpt three of the men & was scalping the 4th, but were obliged by the first party to fly without the scalp; the Indian Ogohrodariho went along with the

partys, & behaved very well upon the occasion; the party's pursued without success. All the Party was Wounded at the first fire; yett, notwithstanding, they returned the fire severall times upon the Enemy; when the supports came up they found the Bullock Guard all in the field, none having given ground but one, Alex. Fisher, of Capt'n Patterson's Compa'y. List of the killed & wounded, vizt: Major's Comp'y—George Kelly, killed; Serg't John McDonald, Thomas Row, John Cliss, wounded. Capt'n Weatherholt's—Matinas Coal, killed. Capt'n Morgan's—James Kelly, killed. Capt'n Patterson's—Corp'l Robert Parker, killed; Nath. Barber, Will'm Watson, wounded. They Enemy left in the field one Gun, two Tomchawks & two match Coats; the Number of the Enemy was about 40 Indians; when they fled they went all of the field singly, which rendered in Impracticable to trac them.

“24th, Friday.—Employed 18 at the Parapett, 14 Cattle Guard, 4 sawers, 3 smiths, 2 bakers, 3 carpenters, 12 with the wagon, 1 candle maker.

“At 12 P. M., the Battoes arrived here under the Command of Capt'n Hambright with the following officers, Capt'n Patterson, Lieut. Allen, Ensigns Broadhead and Morgan, and Recruits.

“Ordered Capt'n Hambright, Lieut. Miles and Ensigne Allison with a party of 50 men to hold themselves in readiness to march to-morrow, being to Reconoiter the country 20 miles round.

“25th, Saturday.—Employed 30 men at the Parapett, 14 with the cattle, 4 sawers, 3 smiths, 2 Bakers, 3 Carpenters. At 3 P. M. the two Tuscorora Indians came down the River in a Canoe. As it rains very much to-day I have delayed sending Capt'n Hambright with his party of 50 men, and have ordered him, Lieut. Miles and Ensigne Allison, with the party, to hold themselves in Readiness to march to-morrow. Ordered a Generall Review of the Garrison to-morrow at 4 P. M.

“26th, Sunday.—Ordered three Reconoitering partys this morning to scour the woods all round the Fort, of 40 men & 3 officers Each. This day at 1. P. M., Capt'n Hambright sett off from this with his party of 50 men, in consequence of my orders of Friday.

The reconnoitering party returns and reports no signs of the Enemy.

"This evening at 7 P. M., a woman* wading the River opposite to the Centry of the upper Pallasade Bastion, was discovered by said Centry & called to the woman to know who she was, and she answered, a Prisoner that had made her Escape from the Indians. I sent a Battoe and brought her over; she proved to be one Betty Armstrong, the wife of James Armstrong, (a soldier in this Garrison,) who was taken captive by the Indians from Junietta, 18 months agoe.

"27th, Munday.—Employed 60 at the Parapett, 20 with the wagon, 14 Cattle Guard, 14 horse hunting, 4 Smiths, 4 Carpt'rs, 4 Sawers, 2 bakers, 1 candle maker; nothing materiall.

"28th, Tuesday.—Employed 30 men at the Parapett, 30 Cattle Guard, 17 with the wagon, 3 at the Lyme kill, 4 smiths, 4 sawers, 4 carpenters, 2 bakers, 2 Gairdners, 1 candle maker. At 3 P. M. Joseph Nutimus & John, Indians, arrived here from their cabins

*The circumstances connected with this thrilling affair are as follows: In February, 1756, Indians came to Juniata from Shamokin, to the house of Hugh Mitcheltrees and killed his wife and a young man; they thence went and killed Edward Nicholous and his wife, and took Joseph, Thomas and Catherine Nicholous, John Wilcox, James Armstrong's wife and two children prisoners.

Isaac Craig, Esq., of Allegheny,—most excellent authority,—says that Watson, from whose *Annals* the above paragraph is taken, is mistaken in regard to the name being Nicholous, it should be Nicholson. Joseph and Thomas Nicholson, after a long captivity, became famous as Indian interpreters and guides. Joseph was the guide and pilot who descended the Ohio with Washington in 1770, and was the only man wounded in Brodhead's expedition up the Allegheny in 1779. He died in Pittsburg.

In Sir William Johnson's "Report of Proceedings with the Confederate Nations of Indians, at a Conference held at Canajohary" in April, 1759, there is a list of five prisoners delivered to Sir William. The "3d, Elizabeth Armstrong, a girl about 4 years old, taken by 7 Delaware Indians & a Squaw near Juniata in Pennsylvania in the year 1756."

What anguish and suffering must these captives have endured, and how joyful must have been the meeting of "Betty" Armstrong and her husband when she was ferried across the river to Fort Augusta. It is probable that she had descended Lycoming Creek by the old trail and made her way down the river by the route usually traveled. As the child delivered to Sir William was about 4 years old in April, 1759, she must have been less than one year old when stolen from her home on the Juniata by the Indians. What became of the other child is unknown.

at Lapoch peetos Town, they report they saw no Indians nor tracs.

" 29th, Wednesday.—Employed 68 men at the Parapett, 3 cattle guard, 20 with the wagon, 6 on the Island getting shingles, 3 lime kill, 5 carpenters, 4 Smiths, 4 Sawers, 2 Bakers, 2 Gairdeners, 1 candle maker. At 11 A. M., Joseph Nutimus* & John sett off from hence, they told me they would return one month hence & endeav. to bring all the Delaware Indians with them, & conclude peace as much as in their power, I was under a Necessity to give them two baggs of flour. These Indians assured me that they Discovered the Enemy coming this way, that they would return Immediately and give me notice. They intend to return here to Live.

" 30th, Thursday.—Employed 72 men at the Parapett, 24 cutting turff, 30 cattle guard, 5 carpenters, 4 Sawers, 4 smiths, 2 Bakers, 1 candle maker, 2 Gairdeners. At 9 A. M. Capt'n Hambright arrived with his party of 50 men and reports that he had Reconnoitered a circle of 20 miles aggreable to orders, and had made no discovery of any road being cutt, nor no fresh tracs.

" July 1st, Friday.—Employed 64 at the Parapett, 24 with the wagon, 28 cattle guard, 5 carpenters, 4 smiths, 4 sawers, 2 bakers, 1 candle maker, 2 Gairdeners. Nothing materiall.

" 2d, Saturday.—Employed 67 at the Parapett, 25 with the wagon, 29 cattle guard, 5 Carp'rs, 4 smiths, 4 sawers, 2 Bakers, 1 candle maker. This evening at dark ordered Capt'n Weatherholt

* Joseph Nutimus was a Delaware Indian and chief of the tribe known as the Fork Indians, and later in life was known as "Old King Nutimus." His home for many years was at the mouth of Nescopeck Creek, where the town of Nescopeck, on the North Branch of the Susquehanna, now stands. He lived there between the years 1742 and 1763. At one time he and his people sympathized with the French, and their town was a rendezvous for those who were plotting against the English at Fort Augusta. It is believed that Nutimus was largely responsible for the slaughter of the Moravians at Gnadenhutzen in 1755. After Fort Augusta was built he became friendly and frequently visited the place, always arriving and departing in a canoe. It is stated that he abandoned Nescopeck, with his family, about 1763 and went to the Great Island, on the West Branch, and thence joined the Delawares on the Ohio. He had a son, Isaac Nutimus, who died in Tioga.—C. F. Hill, in *Historical Record*, Wilkes-Barre.

and a party of — men to scout as far as Mahonoy and return to-morrow.

“Ordered the Battoes to be in readiness to go to Hunter's to-morrow.

“3d, Sunday.—Lieut. Humphreys, Ensignes Broadhead and Scott, & a party of 30 men, sett off at 11 A. M., with the fleett of Battoes for Hunter's; Ensignes McKee & Bidle had leave of absence, the first for 3 weeks, the latter to go to Reading and to return with the first party; Capt'n McKee went along with the Battoes, and did Ogohrodariho, his wife & daughter, & Conostogo George.

“4th, Munday.—Employed 34 at the Parapett, 20 wagon, 30 Cattle Guard, 11 working in one of the Bastions, 1 Carpenter, 4 smiths, 4 sawers, 2 Bakers, 2 Gairdners, 1 Candle maker, 1 wagoner. This day it rained very hard most part of the day.

“5th, Tuesday.—Employed 32 Parapett, 29 Cattle Guard, 10 Carpenters, 4 Smiths, 2 Sawers, 2 Bakers, 1 candle maker, 3 making pins for the sods on the Parapett. Rained very hard all day.

“6th, Wednesday.—Employed 44 Parapett, 32 Cattle Guard, 12 wagon party, 10 Carp'rs, 4 Smiths, 4 Sawers, 2 pin makers, 2 Bakers, 1 candle maker. Took up a Bark Canoe coming down the West Branch; Rains very much; River Rises.

“7th, Thursday.—Employed 43 at the Parapett, 22 with the wagon, 14 cattle guard, 10 carpenters, 4 Smiths, 4 Sawers, 2 Bakers, 2 Gairdeners, 4 limekill, 2 pin makers, 1 chandler.

“Nothing materiall.

“8th, Friday.—Employed 51 at the Parapett, 40 with the wagon and Cattle, 10 carpenters, 4 Smiths, 2 Sawers, 2 Bakers, 2 pin makers, 1 chandler. Nothing Materiall.

“9th, Saturday.—Employed 60 Parapett, 20 Wagon, 14 Cattle Guard, 10 carp'rs, 4 Smiths, 4 Sawers, 2 Bakers, 2 chandlers, 3 making pins. Nothing materiall; a Generall Revew to-morrow at 4 P. M.

“10th, Sunday.—This day, at 1 P. M., the Battoes arrived here, under the command of Capt'n Trump, with him the officers, Lieut. Humphreys, Ensignes Broadhead and Scott, and the Rev'd Mr.

Steell;* with this party came 33 Recruits. 32 Bullocks, 2 cows, and 1 calf, and 29 sheep, and 17 Hoggs. Had a Generall Review this Evening; found the arms in bad order, occasioned by the Number of Recruits.

"11th, Munday.—Employed 57 at the Parapett, 22 w't the wagon, 41 with the cattle, 10 carpenters, 4 smiths, 2 bakers, 1 Pinnaker, 1 chandler, 2 Gairdners; nothing materiall.

"12th, Tuesday.—Employed 89 at the Parapett, 31 w't the wagon, 14 Cattle Guards, 4 smiths, 4 sawers, 2 Gairdners, 10 Carp'rs, 1 Chandler. Ordered Lieut. Miles, Ensignes Patterson † and Allison to hold themselves in readiness to march to-morrow morning.

"13th, Wednesday.—Employed 52 Parapett, 23 wagon, 14 cattle guard, 8 carp'rs, 4 smiths, 4 sawers, 2 Bakers, 1 Chandler, 1 Gairdner.

"This day, at 10 A. M., the Centrys of the wagon party discovered, as they said, 60 Indians upon the Islands at the mouth of Shamochan Creek. I detauched Immediately Capt'n Patterson with a party of 40 men to lay in ambush at the mouth of the creek, ordered Lieut. Humphreys to take the Com'd of the wagon party of 26 men, upon hearing of the first gun, to march with his party to the Island. The Battoes under the Com'd of Lieut Miles, sett out at 12 M. D., ordered them to surround the Island, to land their men (being 100 in Number) and to scour the two Islands. Saw the battoes land on the outmost Island ab't 1 P. M., they fired 4 shotts, detauched Immediately the Guard under the com'd of Ensigne Broadhead whome I had in Readiness. Capt'n Patterson's party forded into the Island Instantly, as did Lieut. Humphrey and Ensigne Broadhead; made no discovery. The 4 shotts was fired at 3 dear by the Battoemen, but could not discover the men that shott.

"14th, Thursday.—Employed 75 Parapett, 30 w't ye wagon, 14

*Colonel Burd says: "Rev. Mr. Steele, Chaplain, acts in his station to the general satisfaction of all the officers, and claims their respect."—*Shippen Papers*, page 103.

† "Ensign Patterson, a gentleman of little education, a very good soldier, and does duty well."—*Colonel Burd*.

cattle guard, 10 carp'rs, 4 Smiths, 2 Bakers, 4 Sawers, 2 Gajrdners, 1 chandler, 3 pin makers. This day, at 1 P. M., Joseph Nutimus, Indians, 3 men & Sundry women and children, arrived here in Canoes from Nescopeck; the bring no Intellegence New.

" 15th, Friday.—Employed 57 Parapett, 10 carpent'rs, 14 cattle Guard, 4 sawers, 4 smiths, 2 Bakers, 1 chandler, 29 wagon, 2 Gairdners, 1 pin maker. This day, at 2 P. M., came 7 canoes with Deleware Indians; they say they came to visit their Brothers, the English here, with whom they were now Intirely & firmly at peace; there is here now 40 Indians. This afternoon the Indians waited upon me, and told me they were in a starving condition & begged that I would Relieve their necessitys by giving them a little flour to carry home to their Famillys. I told them for answer I could not give them any flour to carry off without the Governour's orders, that I had wrote the Governour upon this head, & Expected an answer in 20 days by Mr. Thomas McKee, that if they Inclined to live here they should have the same allowance w't the soldiers. They left me very much disconted.

" 16th, Saturday.—Employed 45 at the Parapett, 28 with the wagon, 14 cattle Guard, 10 carpenters, 3 smiths, 4 sawers, 2 Gairdners, 2 Bakers, 1 Chandler, 2 pin makers.

" This day 2 canoes w't Indians went off prodigious angry at my refusall of a supply of flour, & all the others were preparing to go, upon which I reconsidered the matter and thought it most prudent to stop them, and I told them I was sorry to see them so hungry, and that although I had not the Governour's orders, I would give them 3 barrells of flour that they might not dey, untill I know the Governour's pleasure; they thank'd me, and said they now saw that their Brothers, ye English, would have compassion on them; they were heartily sorry for what they had done to their Brothers, the English, but now it was over, and that they were all determined to Return to this River, to their old Towns and live. Ordered a Generall Review to-morrow, at 10 A. M., and church after.

" 17th, Sunday.—Had the Generall Review and Church twice, at which the Indians attended. I had all the Indians to dinner with me to-day, which gave great satisfaction.

" 18th, Munday.—Employed 58 Parapett, 27 with the wagon, 14 cattle guard, 10 carpenters, 13 mauling Rails for a hogg penn, 4 sawers, 4 smiths, 2 Gairdners, 2 Bakers, 1 chandler. This day at 1 P. M., the Indians sett off quite pleased, and said they would return in 20 days with all the cheeffs of their Nations.

" 19th, Tuesday.—Employed 63 Parapett, 26 w't the wagon, 17 Cattle Guard, 11 carp'rs, 4 smiths, 4 sawers, 2 Gairdners, 2 bakers, 1 Chandler. Nothing Materiall.

" 20th, Wednesday.—Employed 65 at the Parapett, 27 with the wagon, 15 cattle Guard, 11 carpenters, 4 Smiths, 4 Sawers, 2 bakers, 2 Gairdners, 2 pin makers, 1 Chandler. This day, at 3 P. M., Capt'n Shippen arrived here with the fleett of Battoes and 27 Recruits.

" 21st, Thursday.—Employed 53 at the Parapett, 26 with the wagon, 14 cattle Guard, 10 carpenters, 4 sawers, 4 smiths, 2 bakers, 2 Gairdners, 1 chandler, 2 pin makers. Nothing materiall.

" 22d, Friday.—Employed 72 at the Parapett, 27 with the wagon, 14 cattle Guard, 10 carpenters, 4 sawers, 4 Smiths, 2 bakers, 2 Gairdners, 2 Masons, 2 pin makers, 1 Chandler. Nothing materiall.

" 23d, Saturday.—Employed 72 at the Parapett, 26 with the wagon, 14 Cattle guard, 10 carpenters, 4 sawers, 4 smiths, 2 Bakers, 2 Gairdners, 1 chandler, 2 pin makers. Ordered a Generall Revew to-morrow at 4 P. M.

" 24th, Sunday.—This morning I sent out a Reconoitering party, one Hundred men, with the following officers: Capt'ns Ham-bright & Trump, Lieut. Garraway, Ensignes Broadhead & Alle-son. Had a Generall Revew to-day at 4 P. M. The Reconoitering party returned at 9 P. M., & reported no signes of the Enemy.

" 25th, Munday.—Employed 62 at the Parapett, 27 with the Wagon, 14 Cattle Guard, 4 sawers, 4 smiths, 2 Gairdners, 2 pin makers, 1 Chandler, 8 soddors. Ordered the Battoes to be ready to sail to-morrow; I could not empty the flour sooner, having no place to put it in. Capt'n Patterson and Ensigne Miles goes w't the Battoes, and a party of 25 sold'rs; Lieut. Garraway, Ensignes

Scott & Allison goes recruiting. Ordered Lieut. Atlee* on the Recruiting service from Ft. Halifax, & Lieut. Miles to take post there.

"26th, Tuesday.—Employed 54 at the Bank, 26 w't the wagon, 14 Cattle Guard, 8 soddors of ye Bank, 4 Sawers, 10 Carpenters, 4 Smiths, 2 Gairdners, 2 Bakers, 2 Masons, 2 Chandlers. This day at M. D. the Fleett of Battoes sailed with the officers, Capt'n Patterson, Lieut. Garraway, Ensignes Scott, Miles & Allison, w't a party of 25 men.

"27th, Wednesday.—Employed 74 at the Parapett, 27 w't the Wagon, 14 Cattle guard, 10 carp'rs, 4 sawers, 4 smiths, 2 Bakers, 2 Gairdners, 1 Chandler, 2 masons. Nothing materiall.

"28th, Thursday.—Employed 70 at the Parapett, 27 with the wagon, 14 with the Cattle, 15 Carp'rs, 4 sawers, 4 smiths, 2 bakers, 2 Gairdners, 2 Masons, 1 Chandler. Nothing materiall.

"29th, Friday.—Employed 61 at the Bank, 27 with the wagon, 14 cattle guard, 4 Sawers, 4 Smiths, 2 bakers, 2 Gairdners, 2 Masons, 1 chandler. Nothing materiall.

"30th, Saturday.—Employed 62 at the Parapett, 30 with the wagon, 14 Cattle Guards, 15 Carp'rs, 4 sawers, 4 smiths, 2 Gairdners, 2 Bakers, 2 Masons, 1 Chandler. This morning at 2 A. M. John Cook, of C. Davis's Co., deserted from his post as centry on

*The father of Samuel J. Atlee married Jane Alcock, maid of honor to the Queen of England, and the match being clandestine, the couple immediately sailed for America. They had three children, William Augustus, Samuel John and Amelia. Samuel John, the subject of this sketch, was born at Philadelphia in 1739. Being a youth of great daring and ambition, he, at the early age of 16, obtained the command of a company in the Provincial service in the regiment under Colonel Burd. He was present at the defeat of Braddock and witnessed the horrors of the rout of the English forces on that dreadful day. Subsequently he came to Fort Augusta. He served eleven years, and twice during that time he was taken prisoner—once by the Indians and once by the French. At the expiration of his service he read law, was admitted to the Lancaster bar, and was engaged in the pursuit of his profession until the breaking out of the Revolution. He was married to Sarah Richardson, April 19, 1762. At the commencement of the Revolution he was one of two in Lancaster who had a knowledge of military tactics. He immediately undertook the work of drill, to prepare his fellow citizens for war. Nearly his whole time was devoted to this duty during 1775. In the beginning of 1776, by virtue of an Act of Assembly, he raised a regiment in Pequea Valley and in Chester County,—the First Regiment of State Infantry,—of which he was appointed colonel. He achieved imperishable honors with his regiment at the battle of Long Island, on which occasion he was

the lower Bastion of the Palosadoes. This evening I was walking on the Platforms; at 12 P. M., I heard a Gun fired ab't 2 miles down the River. Ordered a General Review to-morrow at 4 P. M. An Eclips visible of the moon at 7 P. M.

"31st, Sunday.—Ordered this morning a party of 40 men under Capt'n Trump with Lieut. Allen, to Reconoiter all round the Garrison to observe along shore if any tracs of the Enemy Crossing the River last night and to cover the Cattle Guard. At Noon the party returns and reports no signs of the Enemy. Had a General Review this Evening.

"Munday, 1st August.—Employed 53 men at the Parapett, 30 with the wagon, 14 cattle guard, 20 carp'rs, 4 sawers, 4 smiths, 2 Gairdners, 2 Bakers, 2 Masons, 1 chandler. Nothing materiall.

"2d, Tuesday.—Employed 52 at the Parapett, 30 with the wagon, 14 cattle guard, 2 carp'rs, 4 sawers, 4 smiths, 2 masons, 2 Bakers, 2 Gairdners, 1 chandler. This day at 3 P. M., the Fleet of Battoes arrived under the command of Capt'n Jamison, and reports Lieut. Miles and Ensigne Miles left sick at Hunter's and two men deserted of the Detauchm't; Capt'n Patterson & Ensigne McKee came in ye party. This Evening mounted a piquett Guard of 1 officer, 1 Serg't, 1 corporall, 1 Drum, 25 Privett—29.

"3d, Wednesday.—Employed 67 at the Parapett, 30 with the wagon, 14 cattle guard, 20 carpent'rs, 4 sawers, 5 smiths, 2 Gairdners, 2 Bakers, 2 masons, 1 chandler.

taken prisoner, having only a sergeant and sixteen men left, the rest having been previously killed or taken prisoners. He suffered imprisonment for eighteen months, part of which time he was on board a prison ship. During this time he lived for two weeks on chestnuts. Colonel Atlee was chosen a member of the Continental Congress in 1778, and held a seat in that body up to 1782. He was also a member of the Supreme Executive Council, and was concerned in many public acts. In 1784 he was one of the commissioners to ratify the treaties of Forts Stanwix and McIntosh with the deputies of the Six Nations. He was also elected to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania for 1782, 1785 and 1786. While attending the ratification of the Indian treaties he contracted a cold, by lying on the damp ground, from the effects of which he never recovered. In November, 1786, while walking in the streets of Philadelphia, he was seized with a paroxysm of coughing, ruptured a blood vessel, and shortly afterwards expired. In personal appearance he was very handsome, with a fresh and ruddy complexion, brown hair, blue eyes, straight and portly, and very military in his carriage. At the time of his death he was not yet 48 years old.—*Harris' Biographical History of Lancaster County*, pages 15, 16 and 17.

"This day I proposed to the Battoes to hault here 6 or 7 days to help out with the works, which they agreed to.

"4th, Thursday.—Employed 55 at the bank, 35 with the wagon, 14 Cattle Guard, 20 carpenters, 4 Sawers, 4 Smiths, 3 Gairdners, 2 Bakers, 2 masons, 1 chandler. Wm. Taylor, his wife & Indian Nancy arrived here at 5 P. M. Nothing materiall.

"5th, Friday.—Employed 60 at the Parapett, 30 with the wagon, 14 Cattle Guard, 20 carpenters, 4 Sawers, 4 Smiths, 2 Bakers, 2 Masons, 3 Gairdners, 1 chandler; nothing materiall.

"6th, Saturday.—Employed 58 at the Parapett, 14 cattle guard, 30 with the wagon, 20 Carpr's, 4 Sawers, 5 Smiths, 3 Gairdners, 2 Masons, 2 Bakers, 1 chandler; a Generall Review to-morrow at 5 P. M. Wm. Taylor and the Indian woman went from this at 6 P. M., to Wywamjre.

"7th, Sunday.—Had a Generall Review agreable to the orders of yesterday.

"8th, Munday.—Employed 50 at the Parapett, 36 with the wagon, 14 Cattle Guard, 17 carpenters, 4 sawers, 4 smiths, 3 Gairdners, 2 Bakers, 2 masons, 1 Chandler; nothing materiall.

"9th, Tuesday.—Employed 45 at the Parapett, 17 Carp's, 8 Soddors of the Bank, 5 smiths, 14 Cattle Guard, 33 with the wagon, 4 sawers, 4 bakers, 2 Gairdners, 2 masons, 1 chandler.

"Nothing materiall, only the works was stopt to-day by rain.

"10th, Wednesday.—Employed 40 men at the Parapett, 36 with the wagon, 14 Cattle Guard, 18 carpenters, 4 Sawers, 5 Smiths, 2 Masons, 2 Gairdners, 2 bakers, 1 chandler.

"Ordered that Capt'n Hambright & Lieut. Clayton* & a party of 50 men hold themselves in readiness for a march to-morrow morning, likewise George Allen to hold himself in readiness with the Battoemen & Battoes. Nothing materiall; this day finished sod'g the Parapett.

"11th, Thursday.—Employed 23 men at the Glasse, 36 with the wagon, 14 cattle Guard, 17 carpenters at the Plattform, 4 sawers, 2 Gairdners, 2 Masons, 2 Bakers, 1 Chandler.

"This morning Capt'n Hambright sett out with the Ten Bat-

*"Lieutenant Clayton, Adjutant, an exceeding good soldier, very active and extremely assiduous in the discharge of his duty."—*Colonel Burd.*

toes for Provisions to Hunter's with Lieut. Clayton & a party of 50 men at 8 A. M. Parson Steell went with the Battoes by my leave to go home, at his Request. An Generall allarm at 10 P. M.

"12th, Friday.—Employed 34 men at the Glassee, 49 with the wagon & cattle, 17 carpent'rs at the Platform, 6 at the saw pitt, 4 smiths, 3 Gairdners, 2 Bakers, 2 Masons, 1 chandler.

"13th, Saturday.—Employed 30 at the Glassee, 45 men with the wagon & Cattle, 18 Carpenters at the platforms, 4 Sawers, 4 Smiths, 3 Gairdners, 2 Bakers, 1 chandler. A Generall Review to-morrow at 5 P. M. Nothing materiall. George Wilsby died, being of my Co.

"14th, Sunday.—Ordered a party of 3 officers and 50 men to Reconoiter all round the Fort this morning, vizt: Capt'n Weatherholt, Lieut. Allen and Ensigne Broadhead, and to be particularly carefull to observe any tracs of the Enemy. At 11 A. M. the party returns and reports no signs of the Enemy. This morning Capt'n Jamison reports that Corporall James Lain, of his Comp'y, deserted last night. No Review. It Rained so hard; the sun under cloud that I could not see the Eclips, and the sun sett under cloud.

"15th, Munday.—Employed 29 men at the Glassee, 50 with the wagon, 18 Carpenters, 4 sawers, 4 smiths, 2 bakers, 3 Gairdners, 1 Chandler, 3 Sinking a well for a little house. This day 8 taken sick from the works. Nothing materiall.

"16th, Tuesday.—Employed 30 at the Glassee, 36 with the wagon, 14 cattle guard, 17 Carpenters at the walls, 4 Sawers, 5 smiths, 3 Gairdners, 1 chandler.

"Two men deserted to-day, Jacob Hillibrand of Capt'n Shippen's Comp'y, and Bernard Bower, of Capt'n Hambright's.

"17th, Wednesday.—Employed 27 at the Counterscarph, 41 with the wagon, 17 Carpenters at the Platforms, 4 Sawers, 3 Gairdners, 1 Chandler, 4 smiths. Nothing materiall.

"18th, Thursday.—Employed 22 Counterscarph, 41 with the wagon, 14 Bullock Guard, 10 in Ambush, 17 carpenters at the walls and Platforms, 4 Sawers, 5 Smiths, 3 Gairdners, 2 Bakers, 1 chandler. Nothing materiall.

"19th, Friday.—Employed 30 men at the Bank, 14 Cattle

Guard, 41 with the wagon, 17 carpenters at the Platforms and Walls, 4 Sawers, 4 Smiths, 2 Gairdners, 1 chandler. This day at Noon Capt'n Hambright arrived here with the Fleet of Battoes & 48 Bullocks, and 27 Recruits. Joseph Nutimus* arrived here at the same time with his wife, one young child and an Indian Girl from Nescopeak.

"20th, Saturday.—Employed 31 at the bank, 55 Wagon and cattle, 17 carpenters at the walls, 4 Sawers, 3 Smiths, 3 Gairdners, 2 masons, 1 chandler. It rained pretty much to-day & stopt the works. Ordered a General Review of the Garrison to-morrow at 5 P. M. Likewise ordered a party of 50 men and 3 officers, under the command of Capt'n Shippen, to Reconnoiter round the Fort to-morrow, to march when the bushes is dry.

*Brief reference is made to Nutimus in a note on page 244. But as a few errors in his history, which do him great injustice, crept into that reference, it is deemed but an act of justice to set the old Indian right. Mr. John W. Jordan, of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, who has carefully examined the Moravian records at Bethlehem, writes:

"*Notamaes*, the proper name of this chieftain, which signifies *a spear or gig to strike fish with*, was always a warm friend of the Moravians, before the Indian wars and to his death. He frequently visited Bethlehem, where he was entertained hospitably, and whenever their missionaries visited Nescopeck he gladly reciprocated.

"There is in the archives of the Moravian Church at Bethlehem a MS. of David Zeisberger's in which he states: 'The party that made the assault [on Gnadenhuetten] was composed of Monseys and numbered twelve. It was led by Jacheapus, the chief of Assinnissink,' [a Monsey town in New Steuben County, N. Y.] And further, the diaries of the Friedenshuetten (Wyalusing) mission, which I edited a few years since, contain this notice: 'July 14, 1765.—News reached here that Jacheapus, the Monsey who had fired Gnadenhuetten, had died of small-pox up at Sir William Johnson's.' He had been taken prisoner during the Pontiac War, and died in captivity.

"The Diary of Bethlehem Congregation contains the following, under date of August 11, 1757: 'To-day we learned that one of the chiefs who had attacked Gnaednhuetten and had carried off Susan Nitschmann [a member of the mission family] was killed by an Indian, not far from Easton, on the pretext that he was a French spy. Notamaes told us how he had advised him not to attack us on the Mahoning, but scarcely had he left Nescopeck, but he took his way thither.' From this evidence it is certain that the old king of Nescopeck cannot be accused of the massacre of Gnadenhuetten.

"Permit me to add a few more items of this family, extracted from the journal of Bishop John von Watteville, the diaries of the Bethlehem congregation and a MS. of John Heckewelder, in my possession.

"In the autumn of 1748 Bishop von Watteville, with Bishop Cammerhoff and David Zeisberger and John Martin Mack, visited the Wyoming Valley:

"Oct. 10.—We came to the falls at Nescopeck, where we had Zeisberger take the

"21st, Sunday.—At 3 P. M. Capt'n Shippen returns with his party and reports that he had reconnoitered 7 miles round, but had made no Discovery of the Enemy. Had a Generall Review this day at 5 P. M.

"22d, Munday.—Employed 58 with the wagon and bullocks, 60 at the counterscarp and Ditch, 17 carpenters at the walls and Platforms, 4 Sawers, 4 Smiths, 3 Gairdners, 2 Masons, 2 bakers, 1 chandler. It rained much to-day. This evening we had three allarms; the whole Garrison was under arms all night, & it rained prodigeously, and an Indian came up within shott of the lower pallasadoe Bastion; the Centry fired upon him but mist him; one of the Centrys in the Fort likewise fired at (as he supposed) an Indian and miss'd him.

"23d, Tuesday.—Employed 41 w't the wagon, 14 cattle Guard, 57 at the counterscarp and Ditch, 19 carpenters at the walls and platforms, 4 sawers, 5 smiths, 2 Bakers, 3 Gairdners, 2 Masons, 1 Chandler. Ordered Capt'n Patterson and Ensigne Graydon to 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 Pantès, the third son of Notimaes (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 Governor's house (more spacious than any I had 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 Pantès, his brother Joe and 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' 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 (it was running high in its channel by reason of the late rains), and having neither horses or canoe, we were compelled to wade it—the water rapid and leg-deep. 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 caushes*. To all that was said he would indicate his assent with the word "Kehelle." 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 Notimaes' 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

hold themselves in readiness for a march to morrow morning, & the Adjutant to parade 40 men, and Capt'n Allen to hold the Battoemèn and Battoes in readiness.

"24th, Wednesday.—Employed 23 at the counterscarp, 36 with the wagon, 14 Cattle Guard, 5 sod cutters, 8 sodders, 17 carpenters at the walls and platforms, 4 sawers, 5 smiths, 3 Gairdners, 2 Masons, 1 Chandler. Granted Lieut. Allen leave of absence until the next Battoes goes down. Capt'n Patterson & Ensigne Graydon and a party of 40 men sail'd with the Fleet of Battoes this morning at 10 A. M. for Hunter's. Nothing materiall.

"25th, Thursday.—Employed 41 with the wagon, 14 cattle guard, 8 Sodders, 18 carpenters, 37 at the counterscarp & Ditch, 4 sawers, 5 smiths, 3 Gairdners, 2 bakers, 2 Pin makers, 1 chandler. This day Philip Goodman of Capt'n Hambright's Comp'y, deserted from his Post as a centry in the woods. I hunted for him with large partys, but could not find him; this stopt the works to-day.

"26th, Friday.—Employed 41 with the wagon, 14 cattle guard, deer-roast, when we presented him with a silver buckle and needles and thread for his wife.'

"1754, March 29.—At noon came old Notamaes, chief at Nescopeck, with his two eldest sons and his negro and negress, on his journey to the Jerseys. * * * April 29.—Notamaes and company passed through on their way home.

"1755, June 2.—The Nescopeck Indians came here for good, as they are half starved. [A great drought prevailed in the Wyoming Valley from April to July of that year.]

"1757, Sept. 1.—Notamaes' son, who came from Nescopeck for some Indian corn for his sick folks, returned home. He told us his father did not wish to move to Diahoga [Tioga], but remain in Nescopeck.—*Bethlehem Diary*.

"A few years ago the family were residing on the Great Island, on the West Branch, and on the removal of the Delawares to Ohio two of his sons were of the number. Heckewelder states: 'Isaac and Partes 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-time delighting in nothing more than in 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 fences, with some fruit trees planted in it next to his house. Preferring manual labor to that of legislating, he altogether declined serving in that capacity. Both died in Ohio.'

The old chieftain had four sons. They were named as follows in the order of their births: Isaac, Joseph, Partes and Benjamin.

33 counterscarp and ditch, 8 Soddors, 5 Smiths, 4 Sawers, 19 carpenters, 3 Gairdners, 2 Bakers, 1 chandler. At 3 P. M., William, Sam, 4 Indian women, 1 Boy and a child arrived here in two canoes.

"27th, Saturday.—Employed 41 with the Wagon, 14 cattle guard, 18 carpenters at the walls and Platforms, 39 at the Ditch and counterscarp, 4 masons and attendants, 2 Pin makers, 4 Sawers, 2 Bakers, 3 gairdners, 1 chandler. Ordered a Generall Review of the garrison to-morrow at 5 P. M.

"28th, Sunday.—This day at 5 P. M., a woman hallowed for help from the west side of the river, I sent a party of 50 men and two officers, vizt: Capt'n Jamison and Ensigne McKee, in four Battoes, with orders for one Battoe to land and the other three to keep in the offing. I likewise sent the Picquett of 30 men under the command of Ensigne Broadhead to keep off and be ready to cover the retreat of the four Battoes, least an ambushcade should be formed & the woman prove a Decoy. Capt'n Jamison brought the woman to this Fort, and I found her to be an old woman that had been taken prisoner by a party of 6 Indians and one French man Named Peter; she was taken last Saturday was a week within a mile of Justice Galbraith's house upon Swettarow & 5 more, & she made her escape from the Indians eight days ago; her name is Nelly Young; she says the were all on horse back. Had a Generall Review at 5 P. M.

"29th, Munday.—Employed 36 at the Counterscarp, 41 with the wagon, 7 Soddors, 1 Mason and 3 attenders, 18 carpenters, 4 Sawers, 7 Smiths, 2 Bakers, 2 Pin Makers, 1 Wheeling clay, 1 chandler, 3 Gairdners, 14 with the cattle. This morning an express arrived at 6 A. M., to Mr. Smith, Suttler. Mr. Smith went from this w't one man in a canoe at 9 A. M.

"30th, Tuesday.—Employed 41 with the Wagon, 14 cattle Guard, 32 at the counterscarp, 18 carpenters at the Platforms, 5 masons and tenders at the little house, 4 sawers, 7 smiths, 3 Gairdners, 2 bakers, 1 levelling with the Pallasadoes, 2 pin makers, 1 chandler.

"31st, Wednesday.—Employed 27 at the counterscarp, 41 with the Wagon, 14 cattle guard, 18 carpenters, 4 Sawers, 7 Smiths, 4

masons & tenders, 3 gairdners, 2 bakers, 1 levelling within the Pallasadoes, 1 chandler, 2 pin makers. Nothing materiall.

"September 1st, Thursday.—Employed 20 men at the counterscarp, 41 with the Wagon, 14 Cattle Guard, 18 Carpenters at the Platforms, 4 sawers, 7 smiths, 2 Sawing pin wood, 3 Gairdners, 2 Bakers, 1 levelling within the piquetts, 7 sodders, 1 chandler, 4 Masons and tenders. This day at Noon Capt'n Patterson arrived with the fleett of Battoes; he brought 7 Recruits. A Number of his party sick, and likewise the Battoemen.

"2d, Friday.—Employed 41 with the Wagon, 14 cattle Guard, 30 at the counterscarp, 18 carpenters at the Platforms, 4 sawers, 7 smiths, 3 Gairdners, 7 Sodders, 2 bakers, 1 chandler, 4 masons and Tenders, 1 Wheeling clay. Herman Howfman, of Capt'n Hambright's Co., died this Evening.

"3d, Saturday.—Employed 19 at the counterscarp, 48 with the Wagon, 70 at the fish Dam, 20 carpenters at the platforms, 4 sawers, 7 Smiths, 2 Gairdners, 1 Chandler, 2 bakers, 1 wheeling clay, 4 masons & tenders. This day Jacob Smith, of Capt'n Shippen's Co., deserted; I sent 2 partys to scour the woods all around, but they could not find him. A Generall Revew to-morrow, at 5 P. M.

"4th, Sunday.—This morning Daniell Murphy, of Capt'n Lloyd's Comp'y, died. This day, at 2 P. M., arrived here, down the N. branch, in two canoes, 2 Indian men, three woman, one Girl and three children; they brought skins to deall for goods out of the Provintiall, & seem much disappointed; had a Generall Revew at 5 P. M.

"5th, Munday.—Employed 50 at the fish Dam, 23 scouring the Ditch, 18 carpenters at the platforms, 4 sawers, 7 smiths, 3 Gairdners, 2 Bakers, 4 mason and tenders at the little house, 2 cutting coal wood, 1 Wheeling clay, levelling, 49 with the Wagon and cattle. This day a child died.*

"6th, Tuesday.—Employed 25 at the Ditch, 45 at the fish dam, 50 with the Wagon and cattle, 18 carpenters, 4 Sawers, 7 Smiths, 3 Gairdners, 4 mason & tenders, 2 Cutting coal wood, 2 Bakers, 1 Wheeling clay, 1 chandler. Nothing materiall.

*This is the first mention of the death of a child at this post.

"7th, Wednesday.—Employed 50 at the fish dam, 38 with the wagon, 14 with the cattle, 18 carpenters at the platforms, 9 smiths and coal wood cutters, 4 Sawers, 2 bakers, 1 Chandler, 4 mason and tenders, 2 wheeling clay.

"8th, Thursday.—Employed 26 at the ditch, 38 cattle and wagon, 4 Sawers, 9 smiths and coal wood cutters, 3 Gairdners, 4 Mason and tenders, 3 Butcher & Bakers. This day it rained very hard.

"9th, Friday.—Employed 26 at the Ditch, 38 cattle and wagon guards, 18 carpenters, 4 sawers, 9 smiths and coal wood cutters, 3 gairdners, 4 mason & tenders, 3 butchers and bakers. This day, at 11 A. M., Capt'n Shippen and Lieut. Humphreys left this with the fleet of battoes and 40 men. This Evening, at dark, sent off Serg't Lee and two men more on horse back.

"10th September, Saturday.—Employed 38 wagon and cattle, 24 at the Ditch, 18 carpenters, 4 sawers, 9 Smiths and coal wood cutters, 2 Gairdners, 3 Bakers, 6 weeding turneeps, 1 wheeling clay, 4 masons and tenders. Five Indians arrived to-day with skins.

"11th, Sunday.—Had a Review.

"12th, Munday.—Employed 30 at the Ditch, 40 Wagon and cattle, 18 carpenters, 4 sawers, 9 smiths and wood cutters, 2 gairdners, 4 mason and tenders, 3 bakers and butcher, 2 wheeling clay. This morning, Jacob Smith, of Capt'n Shippen's Co., was brought in Prisoner; he deserted from hence the 3d Curr't, and I have Reason to believe was going to the French, but not being able to find the way was obliged to return, being very weak for want of Provision. Great Rain.

"13th, Tuesday.—Employed 44 at the ditch, 48 wagon and cattle, 19 carpenters, 4 Sawers, 9 Smiths and Wood cutters, 4 mason and tenders, 3 bakers and butcher, 3 Gairdners, 1 wheeling clay. This day, at 4 P. M., one canoe arrived with Cutting-finger'd Peter and four more Indian warriors from the Ohio.

"14th, Wednesday.—Employed 49 with the wagon and cattle, 18 carpenters, 9 smiths and wood cutters, 3 cutting wood for the lime kill, 33 at the ditch, 3 gairdners, 4 masons quarrying stones, 4 sawers.

"This day the Indian Warriars waited of me to acquaint me that they were sent by their Cheeff to know of me if the English were at piece with the Delawares, & if I would receive them here kindly if they would come in, to which I answered that the English were at peace with the Delawares, and I would Receive them kindly. The Warriars said that they were to Return to the Ohio, and desired I might write a letter by them to the commander of Fort Du Quesne, to which I answered that altho' the English were at peace with the Delawares they were not with the French; & therefore, I would neither write nor speak to the commander of Fort Du Quesne, otherwise than from the musell of my Guns; but a conversation of this kind I shall always be ready to carry on, and told the warriars he might give that officer this for answer from me.

"15th, Thursday.—Employed 34 at the Ditch, 49 with the cattle & Wagon, 18 carpenters at the Platforms, 9 Smiths and coal wood cutters, 2 cutting wood for the lime kill, 6 sawers and Bakers, 3 Gairdners, 1 Butcher. Nothing materiall.

"16th, Friday.—Employed 32 at the Ditch, 49 with the wagon and cattle, 18 carpenters, 4 sawers, 9 smiths & coal wood cutters, 3 bakers and butcher, 3 gairdner, 3 cutting wood and attending the lime kill, 3 Brickmakers.

"17th, Saturday.—Employed 32 at the ditch, 50 with the wagon and cattle, 18 carpenters at the Platforms, 4 Sawers, 9 Smiths and wood cutters, 2 gairdners, 3 Baker and butcher, 4 mason and tenders, 3 at the lime kill, 3 brick makers. This day, at 11 A. M., Capt'n James Young, Capt'ns Lloyd and Busee arrived here with a party of 50 men.

"18th, Sunday.—This day severall Indians arrived at 4 P. M.; Lieuts. Humphrys and Allen arrived with a fleet of battoes and recruits.

"19th, Munday.—Employed 50 with the wagon and cattle, 33 at the ditch, 18 carpenters at the Platforms, 4 sawers, 9 Smiths & wood cutters, 3 bakers and butchers, 4 mason and tenders, 3 at the lime kill, 3 brick makers. More Indians arrived.

"20th, Tuesday.—Employed 70 with the wagon and cattle, 30 at the Ditch, 19 Carpenters, 9 Smiths & Coal wood Cutters, 3

Gairdners, 4 Mason & tenders, 3 Brick makers, 4 sawers, 3 Bakers & Butchers. This day Ensigne Johnston Resigned his commission to me; the Reason he gave for so doing, was that he has not been promotted.

" 21st, Wednesday.—Employed 60 with the wagon & cattle, 19 carpenters at the walls, 7 Smiths, 4 sawers, 7 at the lime kill, 30 at the Glasse, 3 Gairdners, 3 Bakers & Butcher, 3 brick makers. Had a Generall Review of the whole Garrison, the Comissary of the musters mustered the rest. This evening the Indians pursued our horses, endeavouring to carry them off, they catcht the Comissary Young's horse and carried him away.

" 22d, Thursday.—Employed 36 at the Glasse, 49 with the wagon, & cattle 14, 19 carpenters on ye walls, 4 sawers, 7 smiths, 3 Bakers and butcher, 3 Gairdners, 2 Masons, 3 Brick makers, 2 chandlers. The Pay master sett's off to-morrow; sent down Serg't Lee w't his horses to night.

" 23d, Friday.—Employed 34 at the Glasse, 38 with the wagon, 14 cattle guard, 19 carpenters on the walls, 4 Sawers, 7 Smiths, 7 Brick makers, 3 Gairdners, 2 masons, 2 Bakers & Butcher. This morning at 8 A. M., Capt'ns Young, Lloyd & Bussee, & Ensigne McKee sett off with the Fleett of Battoes & the party that came up with the pay mast'r. Capt'n Lloyd begg'd leave to go to Philad'a, he assuring me he had the Governour's liberty, upon which I granted it, with orders to return Immediately, and upon no acco't to lett his stay exceed three weeks. The pay master will be at Harris's ferry upon his return to Philad'a, the 4th October. I allow the Battoeman 6 days to provide themselves with arms & Blankitts.

" 24th, Saturday.—Employed 34 at the Glasse, 14 with the cattle, 30 with the wagon, 17 Brick makers, 19 carpenters, 7 smiths, 4 Sawers, 3 Gairdners, 2 masons, 3 Bakers & Butcher, 2 Chandlers. Ordered Capt'n Patterson and Lieut. Humphreys to hold themselves in readiness for a march to-morrow. Ordered the Adjutant to prepare a party of 50 men for a march to-morrow.

" 25th, Sunday.—This morning Capt'n Patterson and Lieut. Humphreys, with a party of 50 men, march't over the River at

the Forks, with my orders to Reconnoiter for three days towards the Ohio, and to make observations if any signes of the approach of the Enemy. This day Capt'n Hambright with a party, Reconnoitered the Island and found that the Indians supposed to be friendly Indians, had carried off Capt'n Lloyd's horse, Capt'n Hambright's, Capt'n Trump's, Capt'n Young's, and a black bald-faced horse of Mr. Crostian's.

"26th, Munday.—Employed 34 at the Glasse, 37 with the wagon, 14 cattle Guard, 20 carpenters at the walls, 4 Sawers, 7 Smiths, 3 Brick makers, 3 Gairdners, 3 Bakers and Butcher, 2 Masons, 2 Chandlers. Three Indians arrived here to Day.

"27th, Tuesday.—Employed 36 at the Glasse, 37 with the Wagon, 14 cattle Guard, 20 carpenters, 4 Sawers, 7 Smiths, 2 masons, 3 brick makers, 3 gairdners, 3 bakers and butcher.

"This Evening at Dark, Will'm Galbraith and Mich'l Taffe sett off from here, in a canoe, with one soldier. This afternoon Capt'n Patterson and Lieut. Humphreys, and a party of 50 men, arrived. Capt'n Patterson reports (by the Adjutant) that he Reconnoitered the woods well, & discovered no approaches of the Enemy; he found Capt'n Hambright's, Capt'n Trump's, and Mr. Crostian's horses.

"28th, Wednesday.—Employed 36 at the Glasse, 14 Cattle Guard, 48 with the Wagon, 20 carpenters on the walls, 7 Smiths, 4 sawers, 3 Gairdners, 5 Brick makers, 4 masons and tenders, 3 bakers and butcher. This morning ordered Capt'n Hambright, with a party of 30 men, to reconnoiter up Shamochan Creek, 15 miles; in the Evening Capt'n Hambright returned, and report no tracs of the Enemy.

"29th, Thursday.—Employed 36 with the Wagon, 14 cattle guard, 38 at the Glasse, 20 Carp'ters upon the walls, 4 Sawers, 7 Smiths, 3 Gairdners, 5 Brick makers, 4 Masons and Tenders. A child died this evening, of Capt'n Patterson's Co.

"30th, Friday.—Employed 50 at the Glasse, 36 with ye wagon, 14 with the cattle, 20 Carpenters on ye Walls, 4 sawers, 7 smiths, 6 brick makers, 3 gairdners, 5 masons, — chandlers. Ordered Capt'n Jamison, and a party of 40 men, to hold themselves in readiness for a march to-morrow. Here follows a Receipt for

curing the fever & ague, taken from Mr. Franklin's Newspaper, of the 8th September, 1757, No. 1498:

"Take two ounces of Jesuit's Bark, one ounce of Snake root, one ounce of salt of Tartar, and half an ounce of Cammomile flower; put them into a half Gallon bottle filled with Jamaica spirit, and sett it into a Kettle of Water, over a moderate fire, & lett the Ingredients infuse three days, the water being kept rather warmer than blood warm. A Dose for a grown Person, half a Jill three or four times between the Fitts. For a Child of a year old, a tea spoon full, mixed with balm tea. The Quantity to be Increased according to the age of the Person. The Ingredients, by ading more spirit to them, make a good preventing Bitter.

"1st October, Saturday.—Employed 24 at the Glasse, 37 with the Wagon, 14 with the cattle, 20 Carpenters on the Walls, 7 Smiths, 6 brick makers, 3 gairdners, 5 masons, 3 bakers & butcher, 4 sawers, 1 chandler. This morning, at 9 A. M., Captain Jamison sett off for Hunter's, with a party of 40 men. Two cannoes, with Indians, arrived here to-day, down the North branch; they inform no approaches of the Enemy. Robert Kilton of Capt'n Patterson's Co., died this Evening.

"2d, Sunday.—This day it was a continual hard Rain.

"3d, Munday.—Employed 34 men at the Glasse, 36 with the Wagon, 14 Cattle Guard, 20 Carpenters at the Walls, 4 Sawers, 7 smiths, 5 masons and tenders, 6 brick makers, 3 baker & butcher, 1 chandler. This day the Indians intended to attack our out-pa'ty; but not liking their disposition, they went over the River and halloed at the Fort, & went off.

"4th, Tuesday.—Employed 30 at the Warff, 34 with the wagon, 14 Cattle Guard, 20 carpenters at the Walls, 7 Smiths, 4 sawers, 6 brick makers, 3 gairdners, 3 bakers & butcher, 5 mason & tenders, 1 chandler.

"5th, Wednesday.—Employed 14 with the cattle, 36 with the wagon, 20 carpenters upon the walls, 7 smiths, 4 sawers, 3 gairdners, 5 Masons and Tenders, 5 Brick makers, 30 at the Warff, 3 Bakers and butcher. Could not find the wagon horses to-day, the wagon party guarding the Bullocks.

"6th, Thursday.—Employed 43 at the warff, 36 hunting for the wagon horses, 14 cattle guard, 20 carpenters on the walls, 4 Sawers, 7 Smiths, 5 brick makers, 3 Gairdners, 5 masons & tenders, 2 chandlers, 3 bakers and butcher. Indian Bill inform'd me he saw

8 Indians cross the River to-day. This Evening Ensigne Broadhead returns with the horse-hunting party, and Informs me he could not find the horses, and that he discovered the tracs of 30 Indians going towards Tulpohackin.

"7th, Friday.—Employed 41 men at the warff, 14 with the cattle, 36 with wagon, 20 carpenters on the walls, 7 smiths, 4 sawers, 5 Brickmakers, 3 Gairdners, 1 Grubber, 3 Bakers & Butcher, 1 chandler.

"8th, Saturday.—Employed 41 at the warff, 14 with the cattle, 36 with the wagon, 20 carpenters on ye walls, 7 smiths, 5 Brick makers, 3 Gairdners, 4 Sawers, 3 Butcher & baker, 5 masons and tenders at the Gutter, 1 chandler, 1 Grubber. This morning the Indians kept houping & hallowing on the other side the River, & fire three guns; sent two partys after them to no purpose. Jo. Nutimus arrives.

"9th, Sunday.—This day, at 5 P. M., Capt'n Jamison & Ensigne McKee arrived here with the party of 40 men and 10 Recruits, with the fleett of Battoes, and at 6 P. M. a Sèrgt. & 10 men from Coll. Wieser; 6 Indians arrived this morning.

"10th, Munday.—Employed 30 men at the warff, 49 with the wagon & cattle, 20 carpenters on the walls, 4 Sawers, 9 Smiths, 3 Gairdners, 5 masons & tenders, 5 Brickmakers, 1 Chandler, 1 Grubber.

"Ordered Capt'n Hambright and Ensigne Broadhead to hold themselves in Readiness for a march to-morrow; the Adjutant to prepare a party of 50 men with Provisions for three days. This afternoon two Indians arrived from Fort Nyagerra.

"11th, Tuesday.—Employed 36 with the Wagon, 14 with the Cattle, 20 Carpenters, 2 Sawers, 7 Smiths, 3 Gairdners, 3 Bakers & Butcher, 5 Brickmakers, 3 Masons, 1 Chandler, 1 Grubber, 35 at the Warff. It Rain'd all day, which stopt the works, detain'd the party. This day, at 4 P. M., two warrier Indians arrived here. I suspect them to be going to murder the Inhabitants; I have ordered them to watcht, & if I find they intend towards the inhabitants, I intend to send a party after them to kill them.

"12th, Wednesday.—Employed to-day 24 at the Glasse, 14 Cattle Guard, 36 with the wagon, 20 Carpenters on the walls, 2

Sawers, 7 Smiths, 3 Bakers and butcher, 3 Gairdners, 5 Brick makers, 3 Mason & tenders, 1 Chandler, 1 Gruber. This morning, at Revellee, Capt'n Hambright and the party sett off.

"Tedeuyshunk's son offers himself Volunteer in this Reg't to day. This evening, after dark, one of the party returns, having lost the party ab't 10 miles off.

"13th, Thursday.—Employed 29 at the Glasse, 37 with the wagon, 14 with the Cattle, 20 Carpenters on the walls, 2 Sawers, 5 Smiths, 5 Brickmakers, 3 Gairdners, 3 Bakers & butcher, 1 Chandler, 1 Grubber, 2 Masons.

"October 14th, Friday.—Employed 34 at the Glasse, 37 with the wagon, 14 Cattle Guard, 20 Carpenters, 2 Sawers, 5 Smiths, 1 Gunner, 3 Gairdners, 1 Grubber, 5 Brick makers, 3 Masons, 1 Chandler, 3 Baker and Butcher. This day, at 3 P. M., Capt'n Hambright, Ensigne Broadhead and the party of 50 men return'd, and reported that he discovered severall tracks of the Enemy, which he followed without success; that he could not find the wagon horses, and was firmly of opinion they were Carried off."

At this point the interesting journal of Colonel Burd ceased, and he soon after left the fort to make a tour of inspection of the troops and forts from the Susquehanna to the Delaware. Captain Hambright was detailed to accompany him, and they started on their journey from Lancaster on the 16th of February, 1758. The next day, however, Captain Hambright was taken violently ill, and the Colonel was obliged to leave him at "Barney Hughes," in the care of a physician, and proceed alone. In accordance with his custom, Colonel Burd kept a daily journal of the incidents of his tour until his arrival in Philadelphia, on the 7th of March, which may be found in Vol. III. of the *Pennsylvania Archives* (Old Series), pages 352 to 357.

During the summer of 1758 Colonel Burd participated in the Forbes and Bouquet expeditions, and had command of 582 men, many of whom were drawn from Fort Augusta. He was in "the battle of the Loyal Hannon" (Brushy Run), and after that victory accompanied the army to Fort Du Quesne.

CHAPTER X.

REPORTS SHOWING THE CONDITION OF AFFAIRS AT FORT AUGUSTA
—THE MAGAZINE AND ITS REMAINS—YOUNG SHIKELLIMY AT-
TENDS A CONFERENCE—CAPTAIN ORNDT'S CURIOUS LETTER.

WHEN Colonel Burd retired from Fort Augusta, by order of Governor Denny, to perform other duties, although he was nominally in charge of the post, the command devolved on the next officer in the order of rank. That officer was Captain Joseph Shippen, his brother-in-law, and as he had been on duty in the garrison for several months, he understood the situation and the wants of the men thoroughly. After great labor the fort had been put in complete order, and it was sufficiently armed and manned to successfully resist any force that the French and Indians might bring against it, if they still contemplated an attack.

Colonel Burd had been on active duty at the fort from early in December, 1757, to the middle of October, 1758, a period of about ten months, and he had passed through many exciting scenes and vicissitudes. But with all the difficulties with which he had to contend, he succeeded in the object of his mission to Shamokin. During the time he had command he was obliged to hold numerous conferences with Indian deputations, to keep scouting parties constantly in the field to guard against being surprised by a lurking and wily enemy, besides guarding the transportation of provisions up the river. This latter duty was in some respects more exacting and trying than fighting the enemy, as it would not do for a moment to have communication with his base of supplies broken.

As we are about to enter upon a new era at the fort, it may prove of interest to the reader to know the exact strength of the garrison at the time Captain Shippen assumed command, therefore the following report, under date of January 1, 1758, is copied in full:

Out of the whole number of men reported it will be observed that 232 were fit for duty. And a statement was also appended to the report showing the following officers absent on leave: Captain Thomas Lloyd, Lieutenants Charles Garraway and Nathaniel Miles, Ensigns Charles Broadhead and William Patterson. Captain Jameson was absent on other duty, and Colonel Burd and Captain Hambright had just departed on a tour of inspection.

Under date of January 20, 1758, Captain Shippen forwarded the foregoing report to Colonel Burd, and in his letter of transmittal stated that he had restricted the garrison to an allowance of one pound of flour per man since the beginning of the year, as he only had 17,390 pounds of flour and 91,481 pounds of beef on hand. Old King Nutimus and his family were visiting him, and the number of Indians present was forty-three. Job Chilloway had also arrived from the Munsey country, "at the head of the Cayuga branch above Diahoga," and assured him that the "only Indians on the Susquehanna who were enemies are those of the Munsey Nation, and they are determined to continue the war against the English." And in conclusion the Captain added that Captain Jameson and Lieutenant Garraway had just arrived with "12 battoes containing 6,000 lbs. flour, 2 hogsheads of whiskey, 3 barrels of salt and 20 bushels of Indian corn for the garrison, besides a quantity for Mr. Carson's store."

On the 1st of March Captain Shippen reported the following provisions, clothing, ammunition, tools, &c., in store at Fort Augusta:

RETURN OF PROVISIONS, CLOATHING, AMUNITION, TOOLS, &c., IN STORE AT FORT AUGUSTA, THE 1ST DAY OF MARCH, 1758.

75,786 pounds of Beef.	9 Pair of Traices.
3694 pounds of Flour.	5 Drag Chains.
7 Sheep.	4 Ordinary Cross cut Saws.
2 Bushells of Salt.	4 Ordinary Whip Saws.
40 Gallons of Rum.	1 New, Ditto.
23 pounds of Match Rope.	3 Ordinary Hand Saws.
12 Old Great Coats, entirely worn out.	2 Do., Dutch Saws.
173 pairs of coarse yarn Stockings.	23 Pick Axes.
23 Brass Kettles.	18 Grabbing Hoes.
5 Ditto, not worth mending.	18 Broad, Ditto.
14 Frying Pans.	3 Frows.

15 Reams of Cartridge Paper.	5 Crow Bars.
4 Horse Bells.	6 Iron Wedges.
3 Pairs of Steelyards.	7 Calking Irons.
9 Old Lanthorn Frames, useless.	298 New Blankets, Distributed amongst the Soldiers.
1 Set of old Cooper's Tools.	282 Old do., worn out, Distributed amongst the Soldiers.
1 Set of old Carpenter's do.	14 Batteaus, patch'd up for ye pres't use.
32 old Carrying Saddles, useless.	8 pieces of Cannon.
½ Piece Ozenbrigs.	2 Swivels.
18 Yards of Flannel.	7 Blunderbusses.
12 Horse Collars.	313 Small arms, good.
10 Pitching Axes, good.	114 Do., Out of Order.
56 Do., worn out, not worth Steeling.	104 Cannon Ball.
10 Ordinary Broad Axes.	1301 Grape Shot, made up for Cannon.
7 Do., Drawing Knives.	46 Hand Granadoes.
5 Do., Adzes.	1600 Flints, very ordinary.
70 Tomahawks.	½ Cask of Nails.
3 Hammers.	2 Grind Stones, almost worn out.
22 Spades, mostly worn out.	¼ Faggot of Steel.
21 Shovels, Do.	450lb. wt. of Bar Iron.
15 Maul Rings.	
2 Hand Screws.	

	Bbls of powder.	½ bbls do.	Bullets.	Duck and Swan Shot.
In Store.....	13	2½	1770	820
Made up into Cartridges for Cannon & Swivells.....	3	2	50	20
In the Soldiers horns & pouches.....		4	190	140
	16	8½	2010	980

Expended this last Month, ¼ Barrell of powder by the Soldiers, in teaching them to shoot at marks, and keep their Arms in Order.

JOSEPH SHIPPEN,

Capt. in Augusta Reg't.

Soon after making this report Captain Shippen was granted leave of absence by Colonel Burd to visit Philadelphia, and Major Thomas Lloyd, "of the second battalion," who had returned, took command of the fort. He made a report, under date of April 1st, of the condition of the garrison, which showed that the total force consisted of 348 men, 205 of whom were fit for duty. Dr. John Morgan was reported absent visiting the sick at Harris'.

Captain Gordon, who served as engineer of the works, submitted the following report on the 6th of May, 1758:

A Magazine ought to be built in the South Bastion, 12 by 20 feet in the clear, also a Laboratory of the same dimensions in the East Bastion. The Wall of the Magazine to be $2\frac{1}{2}$ Foot thick, with three Buttresses, 2 Foot thick at the bottom, levelling to 9 inches at Top, in each side. The breadth of Buttresses, $3\frac{1}{2}$ Ft. The Magazine to have an arch of $2\frac{1}{2}$ Brick thick, and to be under ground within $1\frac{1}{2}$ Foot of the Top of the Arch. The Walls seven foot high from the Level of the Floor, and to have a Foundation 2 Foot below the Floor; great care taken to lay the Joists, and to fill up between with Ruble Stone and Gravel, rammed; the Joists to be covered with Plank $2\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick. An Air Hole 1 foot Square to be practised in the Gavel end, opposite the Door. The Passage to the Magazine to have a zig-zag, and over the Arch some Fine Plaster laid, then covered with Fine Gravel and 4 foot of Earth a Top.

The Laboratory likewise to be arched, but with $1\frac{1}{2}$ Brick, and without Buttresses.

A Fraise ought to be completed round the Fort, to be introduced upon the Horizontal Line, at 20 Degrees of Elevation, or as much as will be sufficient to discover it underneath from the Flanks. This Fraise to be $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in the Ground, $3\frac{1}{2}$ without, not to exceed 5 inches in Thickness, the Breadth from 4 to 7; a number of these Fraises ought, before set in the Wall, to be tunnelled on a Piece of Slab or Plank, of 5 inches broad, within 6 inches of the ends, which gives an inch at the end clear of the Slab; the distance from one another, $2\frac{1}{2}$. After made fast to this Slab, to be introduced in the Wall, and the Earth ramm'd well between. When the Earth is well fixed and the whole set round, or a considerable way, another Piece of 3 inches broad and 2 thick, should be nailed al along close to the wall, which will bind the whole very fast together.

The magazine was built according to his suggestions, and to-day it is still in a good state of preservation, being the only evidence of the existence if the fort. It is located in a small field about sixty feet south of the brick house known as the "Hunter Mansion," and 165 feet from the river bank. A small mound of earth marks the spot where it may be found, and upon examination an opening in the ground is discovered, which is two and a half feet wide. There are twelve four-inch stone steps leading below. On descending these steps the ground space inside the magazine is found to be 10 x 12 feet, and it is eight feet from the floor to the apex of the arched ceiling. The arch is of brick and commences on an offset purposely made in the wall five feet above the ground floor. The brick are of English manufacture, and were transported from Philadelphia to Harris' and then up the river by batteaux. On entering the ancient magazine one is reminded of a huge bake oven. It has often been stated that an underground passage led from the magazine to the river, but had been closed up. Although a break or narrow cave-in in the river bank,

directly opposite the magazine, which had existed for years, would indicate that such was the fact, yet there is no evidence on the inside of the walls that there ever was such a passage. A recent careful examination failed to show any signs of an opening having existed. The stone basement walls are as solid, apparently, as when they were first laid. There are no marks or other evidences whatever that there had been an opening in the wall, or that it had been closed up since the construction of the magazine. If there ever was such a passage from the magazine to the river, it must have started from the bottom of the floor, which has long since been covered with a foot or more of debris. But there was a zig-zag covered way leading to the door of the magazine from the fort, as suggested in Captain Gordon's report, which may have given rise to the belief in after years that a subterranean passage led to the river. There was such a passage starting from one of the angles of the fort, but it had no connection with the magazine.

It is greatly regretted that something has not been done by the owner of the ground to preserve this interesting relic from decay. It will not be many years before the walls will crumble and render the place unsafe to enter. A long time ago it was used by the Hunter family as a cave for the storage of various articles, provisions, etc. At present it is but a receptacle for the carcasses of extinct cats and the home of friendless bats. With a neat iron fence to protect the mound from vandals, it might exist for many years, and be an attractive spot for antiquarians and others who take some interest in studying the spot where such a famous defensive work once stood. Although the neighboring ground shows no evidence of the fort that once stood there as a menace to the savage foe, and with its bristling cannon held them at bay for years, its historic associations are not dimmed by the flight of time.

At the same time that Captain Gordon recommended the construction of the magazine he furnished a list of ammunition* and stores wanted, among which were sixteen cannon, four twelve or nine-pounders and the balance six-pounders, with fifty rounds of shot for each gun of ball, eight rounds of grape, twenty-four barrels of powder for the cannon and ten for musketry; 25,600

* See *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. III., page 388, Old Series.

musket balls, 1,600 flints, 600 muskets complete with cartridge boxes. He also described minutely how the cannon should be mounted.

During the absence of Colonel Burd a change of commanders frequently occurred at the fort. On the 2d of June, 1758, we find Captain Levi Trump in command. On that day he made a return which showed a force of only 121 men, 99 of whom were fit for duty. There was but one captain present, and that one was himself. There were only two ensigns and two sergeants left. All the other officers had departed, with details of men, to take part in the Forbes and Bouquet expedition. This was a small force to hold this important post, but the exigencies of the service westward were so great that the risk of depleting it, with the hope of striking an effective blow at Fort Du Quesne, was taken. The successful result of the western expedition showed the wisdom of the commanding officer.

One month later, July 1, 1758,* Captain Trump reported that he had 189 men in the garrison, 160 of whom were fit for duty. He had been re-inforced by small detachments commanded by Captains Robert Eastburn and Paul Jackson. There were now three captains, three lieutenants, three ensigns, six sergeants and three drummers in the command. He also reported that he had commenced digging the cellar for the store-house for Indian goods, but he had not sufficient carpenter tools to complete the building. He also complained that they had no doctor, and several soldiers were lying sick. Dr. Morgan, the post surgeon, had gone with the western expedition. He was also informed that the French were erecting a fort at "Shinglaclamush" (Clearfield), and it was feared they contemplated an attack on Fort Augusta. Colonel Burd immediately ordered him to "confine all the French deserters that were enlisted as soldiers, and send them under guard to Lancaster Goal," which he did. This was done to have them out of the way in case of an attack, as it was feared they would desert back again if their countrymen appeared, and inform them of the condition of the fort and garrison. At the same time the Captain reported that their colors were entirely worn out and

*See *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. III., pages 430, 431, Old Series.

they would be extremely glad to receive new ones. The flag-staff was seventy feet high.

In July, 1758, Frederick Post,* the Moravian, who had been ordered by Governor Denny to proceed to the Ohio and confer with the Indians, set out on his perilous mission. He arrived at Fort Augusta July 25th, and records in his journal that he and his party were well received. After tarrying two days, and being furnished with everything necessary for the journey, he set out on the 27th. His route was up the West Branch, and on the evening of the 28th he arrived at "Weheeponal,† where the road turns off for Wioming, and slept that night at Quenashawakee." The next day he continued his journey and crossed the river at the Great Island. His companions, he reports, now became "very fearful," and that night they slept "a great way from the road, without a fire." Little sleep was obtained on account of the "bugs and mosquitoes." When they reached the mountains they were very glad, as there had been heavy rains all night. On the 1st of August they "saw three hoops on a bush, and to one there remained long white hair." The next day they "came across several places where two poles, painted red, were stuck in the ground, in order to tye their prisoners." That night they reached "Shinglimuce"‡ (Clearfield), where they saw more painted sticks, and the missionary was saddened when he gazed upon the means the Indians made use of to "punish flesh and blood."

After great suffering Mr. Post reached the Indian towns beyond the Ohio, and entered upon his mission. Among the leading chiefs he met was King Beaver. He also visited Fort Du Quesne. While he was at an Indian town on Beaver Creek he saw the captive girls, Barbara Leininger and Anne Marie le Roy, but pru-

*The journal of this distinguished Moravian, which is very full and interesting, is printed in the third volume of the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Old Series, beginning on the 520th page and ending on the 544th. Referred to in *Colonial Records*, Vol. VIII., pages 147-8, and also page 223.

† Supposed to have been at what is now known as Newberry, in the Seventh Ward of Williamsport. Queen Margaret had a town here. The place where he "slept" is now the village of Linden, Lycoming County.

‡ *Chinklecamoose*, corrupted from *Acht-schingi-clamme*, signifying "it almost joins," in allusion to the Horseshoe Bend in the river at that place, whose extremities almost unite.—*Reichel, Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, page 19.

dently did not converse with them. They speak of him in their narrative, on page 147 of this work. The French were much incensed at him, believing that he was a spy, and ordered the Indians to murder him. They also offered a large reward for his scalp. After enduring much suffering, and his life being in imminent danger all the time, he started on his return September 9th, under the protection of six friendly Indians. They were obliged to travel secretly through the wilderness to escape from the Indians that had been ordered by the French to pursue and capture him, and his guides were compelled to exercise all the sagacity they could command to elude their pursuers. They slept without fires and endured great suffering from hunger and the voracious insects. On the 11th of September they crossed the Allegheny River, and that night they "slept on the side of a mountain, without fire, for fear of the Indians." It was a very cold night and Mr. Post suffered greatly, as he had "but a thin blanket." For the balance of the journey home we will let him relate his sufferings in his own words:

12th.—We made a Little fire to Warm Ourselves in the Morning, our horses began to be weary with Climbing up and down the Steep Mountains.

We Came this Night to the top of a Mountain where we found a Log house, here we Made a Small fire Just to boyl ourselves a Little Victuals, the Indians were very much Afraid, and Slept with their Gun and Tomahawk on all Night; they heard somebody Run and Whisper in the Night; I Slept Very Sound, and in the Morning they asked me if I was not Afraid the Indians would Kill me. I said no, I am not Afraid of the Indians nor the Devil himself, I fear Great Creator God; ay, they said, you know you will go to a good place when you die, but we don't know that that makes us afraid.

13th.—In the afternoon we twice crossed Chowatin and came to Ponchestanning* (an Old Town that lies on the same Creek), we went through a bad Swamp where was very thick sharp thorns, so that they tore our Clothes & flesh, both hands & face to a bad Degree; we had Such a Road all the Day, in the Evening we made a fire, and then they heard Something Rush in the Bushes as tho' they heard Somebody walk, then we went about three Gun shot from our fire, not finding a Place to lie Down for the Innumerable Rocks, that we were Obligated to get small stones to fill up the Hollow places in the Rocks for our Bed, but it was Very Uneasy, Almost Shirt and Skin grow together, they Kept Watch one after another all Night.

14th.—We Came to Susquehanna, & Crost 6 times, & Came to Calamaweshink, † where had been an Old Indian Town; in the Evening there Came 3 Indians, and

* Punxsutawny, in Jefferson County.

† Chinklecamoose.

said they saw two Indian tracts where we Slept turn Back, so we were sure that they followed us.

16th & 17th.—We Crossed Over the big Mountain.

18th.—Came to the big Island, where we had nothing to live on, were Oblidg'd to lye to Hunt.

19th.—We met With Twenty Warriors who were Returning from the Inhabitants, with five Prisoners & 1 Scalp, Six of them were Delawares, the Rest Mingoes, we sat Down all in one Ring together. I informed them where I had been & what was done, they asked me to go back a Little, and so I did, and Slept all night with them, and Inform'd them of the Particulars; they said they did not know it, if they had, they would not have gone to war: be strong if you make a Good peace, then we will bring all the prisoners Back again; they Killed two Deer, & gave us one.

20.—We took leave of each other and went on our Journey, & Came this Night.

22d.—Arrived at Fort Augusta in the Afternoon, very Weary and Hungry, but Greatly Rejoiced at our return from this Tedious Journey.

In several respects this journey was the most dangerous of any made by the early missionaries, as it not only involved great powers of endurance and suffering from hunger and exposure, but great care, coolness and sagacity. It is doubtful if any other man at that time but Frederick Post could have made the journey successfully.

In the meantime the garrison at Fort Augusta was constantly kept on the alert. In a long letter, under date of July 19, 1758,* Captain Trump reported to Governor Denny that, with the few men left with him, he was doing the best he could to strengthen the works, but he had but one officer besides himself, and no ensign. Captain Montgomery had reached him on the 16th with three subalterns and sixty-two men, who were drafts out of several companies of the new levies. But he immediately met with another discouragement by receiving an order from General Forbes for Captain Robert Eastburn and Captain Paul Jackson with thirty-five men of each company to join him at Raystown. "This," adds the Captain, "is more than they have here." He was likewise ordered to "draught forty of the best men belonging to Colonel Burd's Battalion and send them to him (Forbes) with two officers." This left but 143 men at the fort, and out of this number there were ten whose terms had expired, and they would not enlist again; and, he added, "a great part of them that are left are blind,

* See *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. III., page 480, Old Series.

lame,* sick, old and decrepit, not fit to be intrusted with any charge." The outlook for the commander was certainly gloomy when he had to depend on "blind and lame" soldiers to do garrison duty! He had received four pieces of cannon from Philadelphia, but as he had no one to make carriages for them, they were useless. He was also obliged to depend on Indians for intelligence of what was going on around him, and for this duty they expected pay. He had no drums to beat an alarm, as they had all been taken away. The work on the Indian store-house could not be carried on for lack of carpenters and tools, but he reported that he had fitted up one of the barracks, which would hold "a great quantity of skins." The trade in peltries at that time was great, as the Indians were constantly bringing them in to exchange for provisions and clothing. With such discouragements the Captain certainly had a serious time, and the wonder is that the enemy did not pounce on the fort, capture it and massacre the "halt and the blind" that were left to defend it!

* In a private letter to Colonel Burd, under date of July 20, 1758, Captain Peter Bard, the Commissary, writes from Fort Augusta as follows: "I arrived here on the 20th past, in company with Captains Eastburn and Jackson, and sixty-five men, being a detachment from each of their companies and four officers, and found 121 men in garrison, the leavings of the battalion; some dragging their legs after them, others with their arms in slings, several sick. The garrison cuts a droll figure to what it formerly did. The 17th instant came here one Captain Montgomery with 62 men to relieve Eastburn and Jackson's companies. I think they exceed anything of men kind I ever saw. They look more like a detachment from the dead than the living. I would have given five pounds to have had Hogarth here when they were drawn up upon the parade, to have taken them off that I might have had the pleasure of giving you a view of them. Major Shippen wrote to the Captain (Montgomery) upon some complaint of the inhabitants, for his not going in quest of some Indians of whom they had discovered the tracks. It's my opinion that six Indian warriors would have scalped them all. They had six bullocks in charge for this garrison, and a mile from Hunter's they lost them all, they did not bring one to the fort. This day, march the Captains Eastburn and Jackson with their companies, to join you and forty picked men of your battalion, so I leave you to judge what a blessed corps we have got left. Captain Trump and Ensign Henry are all of the old officers here. The garden is the only thing that looks like itself, and that in a great measure has lost its relish with me for want of your good company. I saunter in it now and then like a lost sheep. We have great quantities of almost everything that is good in it, and I often wish you and the gentlemen at Raystown could partake of them. Our soldiers, who have their share, find great comfort from it. I believe we shall have no occasion to trouble our friends next year for seeds. Our young nursery grows charmingly. I can't for-

From an official report* made by Captain Trump on the 1st of August, 1758, it appears that he had 169 men, 141 of whom were fit for duty. Captain Montgomery and himself were the only officers of this rank present, with two lieutenants, two ensigns, four sergeants and two drummers. Twenty-two men were in the hospital. At the same time Peter Bard, the Commissary, reported that there were in store 62,443 pounds of flour, twenty-eight bullocks, ninety-one bushels of Indian corn and four barrels of salt. Many other items of camp and garrison equipage are embodied in the report, but as they were generally old and worthless, it would be a waste of space to enumerate them. At the same time Commissary Bard reported, separately, that there were twelve pieces of cannon at the fort, two swivels, seven blunderbusses and 114 small arms, in good condition. They also had 704 cannon balls, 1,301 grape shot, twenty rounds of grape shot, thirty-five rounds of partridge shot, twenty-two barrels of powder, 1,883 pounds of bullets and 617 pounds of bullets and swan shot. But with an inefficient force to handle the defensive weapons it is not likely that much resistance could have been made in case of an attack.

At the close of the year 1758 the condition of affairs had not improved at the fort, for we learn from Captain Trump's report that on December 1st he had 170 men, and out of this number 123 were fit for duty. The same number of officers present were reported as were given in the last report.

During the winter of 1759 a period of comparative quietness seems to have prevailed at the fort, which was no doubt caused by the operations of the Provincial forces on the western frontier. On the 13th of April, however, Captain Trump notified Governor Denny of the arrival of Job Chilloway at the fort, who brought information of the holding of a grand council of the Six Nations at Onondaga.† He was present, and it was opened by four chiefs,

bear smiling as I am walking in the garden, to observe the great quantities of marigolds you have planted—there is enough to make soup for your whole army."—*Shippen Papers*, page 124.

* For the report in full see pages 502 and 503 of Vol. III., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Old Series.

† See page 582, Vol. III., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Old Series.

singing "the war song and handing round an uncommonly large war belt." It was his opinion that the Indians had decided to favor the French and were preparing to raid the white settlements. Permission had been given the French to pass through their towns and to commence the erection of a fort on the head-waters of the West Branch. From that point the descent of the river could easily be made on batteaux. Nearly one thousand warriors were assembled to be ready when the word was given to commence the work of slaughter and pillage.

Sometime during the early part of this year John Shikellimy,* who had become estranged from the whites and behaved badly, visited the fort and appeared to be well disposed towards the Provincial Government. Governor Denny had sent him a string of wampum and solicited his attendance at a conference to be held at the fort. He also extended to him his hand, thanked him sincerely and greeted him as a friend. Shikellimy attended the conference, which was held for the purpose of considering the propriety of "cutting a road † from the fronteer to Fort Augusta." It was claimed that this road would be a benefit to the Indians who came to the fort to trade at the store which was opened at their request. Shikellimy seemed to favor the project and promised that he would acquaint the Onondaga council with what the Government proposed doing, and endeavor to obtain their consent. At the end of the conference, and when he was ready to set out for his home, he requested enough provisions to last him on the journey. Lieutenant Graydon, who appears to have been in command at that time, ‡ gave him 100 pounds of flour and a quantity of meat, when he started in good spirits.

* He was the son of Shikellimy, the famous Indian King, and on the death of the latter, December 17, 1748, succeeded him as viceroy, but failed to command the same respect that his distinguished father did.

† See letter of Richard Peters to commanding officer at Fort Augusta, Vol. III., page 727, *Pennsylvania Archives*, Old Series, and Lieutenant Graydon's reply, same volume, page 729.

‡ The exact date when Lieutenant Graydon took command cannot be determined, as the early records are silent on the subject; but as Captain Trump made a report to Governor Denny on the 13th of April, 1759, and Graydon wrote concerning the conference under date of May 6th (*Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. III., page 729, Old Series), the time can be fixed within a few days.

Nothing of any importance is reported to have transpired about the fort until July 12, 1762, when a great excitement was raised on account of a report that liquor was being furnished to the Indians secretly. The Indian agent informed Lieutenant Graydon that he had detected Colonel Burd's store-keeper selling liquor to the Indians, and that he had sufficient proof to convict him. He demanded of the commandant why his liquor had been seized. Graydon in his reply said that he was obliged to do so in accordance with the Governor's instructions. The store-keeper denied the truth of the charge. Graydon said that Colonel Burd's "good friend," Holland, "had been posted at a peephole, made in the wall in the adjacent house, from whence he could see in the Colonel's store, and the proof is: That he saw some squaws in the house with the store-keeper and me (Graydon); that one of them asked for rum and shewed a dollar; that I went away. Then the store-keeper shut the door and delivered the squaws some rum."*

Lieutenant Graydon admitted that he was in the house when the squaws were there, but did not stay long, and did not notice any of the circumstances charged, nor did he suspect the store-keeper of any intention of selling them liquor. But, he added, he did not know what might have occurred after he left. He inferred that the store-keeper suspected Colonel Burd of encouraging "this long continued practice," and had no doubt represented it in as bad a light as he could, to the prejudice of Colonel Burd. He therefore deemed it best to enclose his opinion to Colonel Shippen, in a letter addressed to his sister in Philadelphia, so that she could hand it to the Commissioners, and his version of the affair would reach them simultaneously with the report that the agent had forwarded. The friends of Colonel Burd would then be apprised of what was going on and be prepared to defend him.

In course of time an account of the affair was laid before Colonel Burd, who wrote from Lancaster to Colonel Shippen concerning it, under date of July 18, 1762, as follows:

I am pestered with that fellow Nathaniel Holland, Clerk to the Indian Store at Fort Augusta. He has accused Mr. Dennis McCormack, my clerk, for Issuing Provisions at that place, with having carried on a trade with the Indians, in Consequence of which he has seized all the Rum in Store, and he further says that this Clandestine

* See Graydon's letter, page 88, Vol. IV., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Old Series.

Trade is carried on by my Particular orders. Mr. Holland has sent an Express to Philada., and Mr. McCormack has come down to me here, and in order that this letter may come to your hand soon and safe, I have sent him with it to you.

Inclosed is Mr. McCormack's Deposition, which was taken here, as I intended to have sent him back to Augusta, if I could have forwarded my letters by a safe hand to Philadelphia, but failing of this I am under the Necessity of sending himself.

Now Sir, as to a trade being carried on with the Indians By me, for me, by my Clerk, by the Officers, or Garrison of Fort Augusta, or in any manner, or way whatsoever, at Fort Augusta, to my knowledge, I hereby declare to be absolutely False, & to the truth of this I am ready & willing to take my oath in any words that the Commissioners, or even that Scoundrell Holland would Commit to paper, and further I can procure if Necessary the oaths of the Officers and Garrison of Augusta to the same purpose, & of every person living on the Susquehanna from Harris's to Augusta, that I never brought a skin or any other Indian Commodity whatever to their knowledge from Augusta.

You will observe by the Deposition that Mr. McCormack did want of an Indian Squa a thin Indian dressed winter Skin to line a pair of plush britches for himself which he was getting; if this is the ground of the Complaint it must appear to His Honr the Govr & Commissrs to be intirely malitious in Holland, & not from a well grounded zeal of serving his Country.

It Really vexes me much to be eternally plagued in this manner by Holland, and the more so that it is an accusation of the highest breach of trust for me to break a well known Law of that Government whose bread I daily eat.

I must therefore beg your friendly offers in laying the state of the case clearly before the Governor if Necessary; and if this affair is mentioned to my disadvantage, that you will represent it as it really is, & you are fully at liberty to show this letter to any Person whatsoever, as I shall support it in every particular, &c.

From the tone of this letter it will be inferred that Colonel Burd was not in a very good humor over the charge when he wrote, but whether anything further grew out of the affair, and how it was finally arranged, does not appear upon the records of that time.

From other reports, however, it seems that the illicit traffic in whisky was continued, if we may judge from the following extraordinary letter of complaint from Captain Jacob Orndt to Governor Denny:

FORT AUGUSTA, Sept. 17th, 1759.

May it Plece your Honour:

SIR:—By George Doms, Shoemaker, I have Rece'd his patition To your Honour for fourter Residence here, & as your Honour is plese to Requist wherin he has offended, and my Displeshur to him, I must beg your excuus for giving a full Relation of his Conduct since my Recedince here, which was thus:

A short time after my arrival at Fort Augusta, the Petitionir, George Dom, Came to me & Desired I would permit him to go Down in the Country and purchis some necessaris his wife wontid, as she was near her time, which I permitid him to Do, but as the same time possitively forbid him not to bring up any liquer, furter then for his

family's use, as I had your Honour's orders that no sutler should be permitted to Seal goods or Liquer here without your Honour's lices; and he as the same Time Solmly promised he should not offer to do any such things, yet, notwithstanding the above orders & his own promise, he went to Tulpehokin, priftly brought a quantity of liquers and clendestinely sold the same to the Soldiers, and as the same time Contractid with men to bring him about 40 galons more; the person agreeable to their agreement brought up the liquer a few days after. Mecomon's Store was lockt up, but when I got intiligind of there arrifel I order'd the men a halfe an hour to Refresh themselves, & then to Return with there liquer, & not to offer to Dispose of it to any body here; nevertheless, the above George Dom again Transgressed my orders by Purchis these liquer, & had them conceled in the woods till he had an opportunity to convey them to his house, as he lives outsid the fort; and a few Days after these Josaph Nutimus, an Indian, came to me and complained that the same night a soldier from the quarter guard came with a Cantin full of Wiske to his wife and Daughter to make them Drink and to Debuts them, and if they were used so here, they are obliged to leve there Wives and Children at home, and not to bring them Down any more; and a few nights after these, again the quarter guart was made Dronk & got a fiting among themselves, and when serch was made for the liquer it was found by the said George Dom and a Soldeir, a beager, which livet in the beak house, besaids George Dom. I orderid the liquer to be brought to the barxde & Store it; a short time after, the s'd George Dom Desired he might go Down and buy some lather, as the Tauer had Disapoinidit him in Sending it up, when I again orderid him not to bring any liquer up for use. Mr. Clark had the Store and was appoinded, but he Disregartid all orders and the welfare of the community, brought up a quantity of liquer and other goods from Reading. As soon as I was acquanitid of his arrifel and had brought up a quantity of liquer again, I orderid him to Depart the garrison in Six Days' time. Before the exparation, a patition was presented to me, signed by some of the Soldiers in his behalf, to which I paid no Regard, as his offince had been so notorious, and when he found he must Depart the garrison he got the Inclosed letter write and was Drapt behind me as I pased to the gardain, by the content I apprehanded he intend to force arisedent by Raysing muteny in the garrison, and as soon as I had Read the letter I orderid the whole garrison under arms and told them I had your Honour's orders to prevent any person seling liquer to the garrison without his honour's license and asked them if they intended to Raise a Muteny to settle such vilain here to abuse the country by selling liquer to the guard to Disable them from there Duty, and said that I was astonised they should pretend to say they must suffer in not having there shoas mentid when there is three shoamakers in the garrison, being solders and had materials, & both made & Mentid the Shoas for the garrison, and the s'd george Dom had behaved in so base a manner, I orderid him to leve the garrison the next Day, but permitted his wife to Stay til she was able to Travel and in these I think I have obaid fuly your Honour's order and Don my Duty.

And as there has been Severil familys here which wer not of the garrison & levet here an had no promission, brought up for there support, and I could not learn that the where any service to the garrison, I have orderid them to leave these, for I have observed that they are more hurt to the country than binifet.

I am, Your Honour's most
obedient Humble Servent,

JACOB ORNDT.

This letter shows that a state of demoralization must have existed in and about the garrison at that time which was discreditable to the service. The report of Captain Orndt evidently had a marked effect on Governor Denny, as, in a letter* dated September 5th, and addressed to ——, he calls attention to it and says that it "is of a very extraordinary nature," and he fears that "bad consequences may happen from the mutinous disposition of the soldiers." He expressed a wish to have the garrison relieved, "and, if an additional number of soldiers could be spared," he would favor making the force stronger on account of the importance of the post. It does not appear to whom the Governor addressed his letter, but it was probably Colonel Burd. Neither does it appear how Captain Orndt † came to be acting in an official capacity at that time, unless the commander was temporarily absent.

Owing to some dissatisfaction, Governor Denny retired from the office of Lieutenant Governor in October, 1759, and was succeeded by James Hamilton, who served again in that capacity until 1763.

The death of King George the II. occurring on the 24th of October, 1759, a proclamation was in due time issued to the Colonies announcing the accession of George the III., and trusting that he would be respected and obeyed as their sovereign.

Soon after Governor Hamilton took charge of the affairs of the Province the Assembly became impressed with the idea of abandoning Fort Augusta, which caused much feeling among the settlers. This movement, it is supposed, was brought about by the mutinous disposition that had been shown by the garrison, caused by the clandestine traffic in whisky. Better counsels prevailed and the proposition for abandoning the post was dropped. General Amherst, in a letter to Governor Hamilton, under date of January 18, 1761, commended him for his zeal "in not dis-

* Page 686, Vol. III., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Old Series.

† Captain Jacob Orndt was commander of Fort Allen for several months, when he was entrusted with other military duties at Reading and Easton. It does not appear when he was sent to Fort Augusta, or for what purpose. His commission as captain is dated December 10, 1757, and on the 2d of June, 1758, he was promoted to the rank of major.

banding the small garrison at Fort Augusta." The General expressed a hope that in a further conference with the Assembly he might be able to impress upon them the necessity of retaining the old garrison, as he had no regular troops to put in their place.

June 13, 1762, Governor Hamilton addressed a letter to Joseph Shippen, informing him that he had received intelligence from the Indian country which made it necessary for him to re-inforce* the garrison at Fort Augusta with men and provisions, and that there was no time to lose. He therefore forwarded blank recruiting orders and commissions, and directed him to proceed at once to Lancaster in order to forward the service. And when he had succeeded in recruiting a force of men he was to proceed at once to Harris' Ferry, and collect together at that place, or at Fort Hunter, as many "battoes" and canoes as would be required for the transportation of the provisions and ammunition which would be sent immediately from Philadelphia. As the case was urgent, he was instructed to hire as many "battoemen" as would be requisite for the service.

Captain Shippen was further instructed that in case he received intelligence of the enemy's design of attacking Fort Augusta, and it should appear to him to be necessary that a re-inforcement of men was required without delay for the defense of the post, and before the recruits could be raised, as was intended, "to collect and hire as many of the frontier inhabitants as he could get—not exceeding ninety—and fit them out with arms and ammunition and allow them soldiers' pay while they were in the service, and order them to march with the utmost expedition to Augusta and put themselves under the orders of the commanding officer there until they shall be discharged or relieved by the soldiers to be raised."

It is a singular fact that no monthly reports of the condition of the garrison, or the quantity of provisions on hand, were afterwards made. If such reports were made they do not appear in the published volumes of the official records of that period. It is likely that they were made, but were mislaid and lost.

*See page 82, Vol. IV., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Old Series.

CHAPTER XI.

EXCITING AND PERILOUS TIMES AT FORT AUGUSTA—A SECRET PASSAGE WAY TO THE RIVER CONSTRUCTED—THE SETTLERS WARNED—STRICT ORDERS ISSUED BY THE COMMANDING OFFICER.

COLONEL BURD returned to Fort Augusta on Saturday, February 16, 1760, and noted in his journal that he found Lieutenant Graydon and thirty-six men. There were "little stores, no tools, and everything much out of order." On the 17th he held a conference with John Shikellimy and delivered him a string of wampum from Conrad Weiser. This day he also held a court-martial for the trial of Sergeant Thomson on the charge of "encouraging the old garrison to mutiny," but the finding of the court is not given. On the morning of the 19th the old garrison "marched off."

John Lykens reached the fort on the 26th with letters to Colonel Burd from the Governor. The former then notified "Mr. Holland to acquaint all the chiefs of the Indians that he had a message to deliver to them," and wished to know if they would visit his house the next day. At first they sent word that they would see him the next afternoon, but before the time arrived he received another message from the Indians informing him that they would not go into the fort to his house, as they feared he would "cut them off." A message was returned stating that he had no such intention, but to show his good faith he promised to meet them at the Indian store. This was satisfactory to them and the conference was held at the store. Among those present were "Colonel Hugh Mercer, Ensign Graydon, Ensign Morgan, Nathaniel Holland" and some nine Indians. The conference related to the murder of Doctor John and an Indian boy. The proclamation of the Governor regarding the matter was read, and the Indians informed that proper efforts would be made to find the murderers, and if caught they would suffer in the same manner as

if they had killed an English family. This satisfied the Indians, and they soon afterwards departed to carry the news to their chiefs and tribes.

On the 3d of March the Colonel notes in his journal that an Indian attempted to kill Nathaniel Holland, but he marched out with the guard and prevented it. It seems that the Indians did not feel very warmly towards this man. He was the store-keeper, which may account for their dislike of him. Store-keepers and agents are unpopular with the Indians even to this day.

As soon as Colonel Burd had finished his business at Fort Augusta he departed, and on the 6th of July we find him at Pittsburg "with the Pennsylvania regiment." On the 4th of November he arrived at Lancaster on his return and dined General Bouquet and Major Gates.

Nothing further is heard of Colonel Burd until June 5, 1763, when we find him at Fort Augusta again, and he notes in his journal that he had "begun" again that day. Lieutenant Samuel Hunter was in command. This is the first mention of this distinguished officer, who afterwards bore such a conspicuous part in affairs about Fort Augusta.

June 6th Colonel Burd "was informed by an Indian, who professed great friendship for the English," that he feared it would soon be very bad for him and the garrison, and he was cautioned to be on the alert. If the Indians and French attacked the fort and were successful, he was warned that no quarter would be given. He immediately ordered reveille to beat at day-break and all the garrison to be under arms and repair to the bastions prepared to resist any attack that might be made. Twelve men, with a sergeant and corporal, were ordered to mount guard, with a sentinel in each bastion, and all persons passing after "retreat" were to be challenged. The gates were ordered to be closed at dusk and the corporal was to visit the sentinels every half hour. The fact of a number of Indians coming to the store about this time and wanting to exchange all their peltries for powder, gave cause for suspicion that all was not right. Lieutenant Hunter's fears were further increased on the 8th by receiving a message from "Telenemut," an Indian living a short distance up the West

Branch, warning him to be upon his guard, for he (the Indian) did not know at what moment the place might be attacked. As a further precaution all those living outside the fort were ordered to repair inside immediately, and an express was dispatched after Colonel Burd, who appears to have departed, giving him information of the apprehended danger. Settlers living in the neighborhood were warned to repair to the fort with their families for protection, which they did. Almost a panic seemed to prevail among the garrison and people in anticipation of danger. All the small arms were gathered up and charged for immediate use, so that each man might have "two or three by him" in case of danger. On the 9th no Indians came to the store to deal, which was another suspicious circumstance, and increased the apprehensions of trouble. John Shikellimy arrived in his canoe on the 11th, and he promised to be on the alert and give early information of the approach of an attacking party. Colonel Burd, who was on a mission to Wyoming, also sent a warning message to the commander, and preparations for defense were increased. But, much to the relief of the garrison and refugees, no attack was made, and about 9 o'clock in the evening of the 15th Lieutenant Graydon and a small party arrived and he assumed command.

The former orders by Lieutenant Hunter were continued, and, as a small re-inforcement had arrived, ten men were stationed in each bastion. The work of strengthening the fort was also continued. Colonel Burd, Captain McKee and several others arrived in the evening of the 18th of June, which had the effect of inspiring the command with more confidence. The Colonel immediately assumed command, and on the 25th a conference with a number of Indians was held at the "agent's store." While the speeches were being delivered all the garrison was under arms. On the 26th a large convoy of provisions was received, with "33 quarter casks of gunpowder and a cask of lead." The next day Colonel Burd served as "officer of the guard."

Matters became so serious about this time that orders were issued "that no soldier belonging to the garrison, or any person within it," should have "any dealings with Indians on any pretence whatever."

On the 29th of June the work of building a "covert way to the river" was commenced, and three houses at the south end of the town were pulled down. The construction of this "covered way" was for the purpose of obtaining water in case of siege, and also to facilitate the landing of parties from canoes with safety. That it was built there is no doubt, for under date of June 30th it is noted in the journal that an order was issued directing "every one passing through either of the barrier gates to shut them to prevent cattle from getting into the covert way,* and also to walk on it as near the pickets as they can." It was this secret passage which doubtless gave rise to the stories, in later years, that it led from the magazine to the river. It was built a short distance above where the magazine stood, and was very likely entered from one of the angles of the fort. When the fort was dismantled and torn down the covered way to the river was among the first things destroyed.

Nothing remarkable occurred up to Friday, July 1, 1763, when an Indian named John Orby, who was with the garrison, informed Colonel Burd that while he was "lying at his fire-place by himself," an Indian stepped up, threw some dirt upon him and aroused him. This Indian, who was named Wingenam, informed him that he and two other Indians had been sent from Allegheny to view the fort, and that they had been around it. This alarming intelligence caused the Colonel to issue an order that upon the first alarm the women in the garrison should repair to the well with all the buckets and vessels they could collect and fill them with water, and render all the assistance they could. On the 16th the Colonel noted that he had commenced tearing down the Indian trading house and taking the materials into the fort. Monday, the 18th, "two young fellows of French Margaret's family" arrived and wanted to make purchases, alleging that they were going to hunt at "Mockintongo," but on being refused they returned home much crest-fallen.

About this time a device known as the "crowfoot" was adopted by the commander of Fort Augusta to punish the Indians who were constantly prowling about in the bushes, lying in ambush to

* See page 437, Vol. VII., *Pennsylvania Archives*, New Series.

pick the sentinels off with their rifles, or to pounce upon small parties sent out some distance from the fort. It is said the first



Caltrap or Crowfoot.

lot was obtained from England. They were strewn along the paths, and in the woods and swamps most infested by the wily foe and did effective service. When thrown upon the ground one of the barbed prongs* of this deadly device always pointed upward, and when stepped upon would penetrate the soft moccasin and foot of the unsuspecting foe, and as it had to be cut

out, the rusty thorn would produce a wound terribly painful, if not fatal in its results. After the country was cleared up they were found upon the hills miles away, where the suffering barbarian had doubtless halted to get relieved from his torture.

Whilst it is possible that the first of these deadly implements were brought from England, it is also quite probable that many were made by the blacksmith at the garrison, as very little skill was required to produce them. They were made of iron (possibly heavy wire) by welding two pieces together crosswise, then bending the prongs, which were from one and a half to two inches long, so that no matter how dropped one prong, with its sharp point, would always stand erect, and these prongs being barbed like a fish-hook, made them truly a formidable weapon.

When the settlers came after peace was declared, their cattle and horses frequently stepped upon them and death from locked-jaw often resulted, so that they were carefully hunted up and stored away in barrels in the passage way leading to the old magazine,

*The words caltrap, calthrop and calthorp appear to have been derived from the Anglo-Saxon word caltrappe, the name of the star thistle (*centaurea calcitrapa*), a native of Southern Britain and Europe, and from which the modern word "crowfoot" has no doubt been corrupted. The oldest implement referred to and described in history under the name of caltrap, etc., was used in military warfare by the Romans and other ancient nations. It was a four-pronged piece of iron, each prong about four inches in length. When it was desired to check the approach of the enemy's cavalry over a plain, or of his besiegers in the ditch of a fortification, caltrops were sometimes thrown down and would work terrible mischief to the enemy's horses or men. The ancient caltrop is pictured as being very sharply pointed, but not barbed, as is the case with the modern "crowfoot."—*J. H. McMinn.*

from where they were afterwards obtained as valued relics and scattered far and wide. M. L. Hendricks, the antiquarian, says that when he was prosecuting his searches about the ruins of the fort, he discovered two barrels filled with these implements, that had been covered with earth, and a small tree was growing above them. These implements are very scarce now and are highly prized as relics. A few specimens may be found in the collections of our local antiquarians and in the hands of other persons.

July 1, 1763, Lieutenant Hunter noted in the records of the fort "that Lieutenant Graydon, Mr. Carmalt, Balzer Geer & John Dean, went down to the mill in a canoe." This is the first mention of a mill in this locality, but as he does not state where it was situated, we are left to infer that it was at Hunter's. A few days later a re-inforcement of twenty-nine men, of Colonel Work's company, arrived in charge of Lieutenant Hendricks.

Friday, July 28th, Colonel Burd was informed by Job Chilloway that a great council had been held at Onondaga, and that he would soon have information as to the result. At the same time he learned that "Shamochan Daniel, with 18 Indians, had struck" Sherman and Path valleys on the Juniata and killed a great many white people. This same marauding party had intended invading Berks County, but the friendly Indians on the east side of the Susquehanna had stopped them. In the meantime the work of putting the fort in a better condition was continued. A picket guard was kept outside all the time, and the cattle, which were driven out in the morning to graze, were brought in at night. An order was also issued "that no soldier, woman or child" should go into the garden upon any pretence, unless by the particular order of the officer. When anything was wanted out of the garden application was to be made to the gardener, who would deliver it. A guard of twelve men, under the command of a sergeant and corporal, was held in readiness all the time, with their arms and accoutrements, to move outside quickly when an alarm was given. Sunday, August 7th, Andrew Montour arrived from the West Branch and informed Colonel Burd that Pittsburg and Ligonier had been taken by the Indians, and that the savages were watching every movement of General Bouquet since he had marched from Carlisle, and that they were determined to attack

him. On the 10th Lieutenant Blythe reported the arrival of a small re-inforcement with a convoy of provisions. At 3 o'clock in the morning of the 20th of August Colonel Burd and a small party set out in two canoes for Harris' Landing, for the purpose of attending to other important business relating to Provincial affairs.

The western expedition by the Provincial forces was anxiously watched, not only by the small garrison at the fort, but by the few settlers along the river and in the adjacent valleys. Much depended on the success of this military movement. If it failed this portion of the Province would no doubt be overrun by hordes of savages, and the settlers would either be butchered or carried into captivity. Fort Augusta, which had already cost a great deal of money, could not expect to hold out much longer, and once in the hands of the enemy, they would have a strong position from which to direct operations, besides being in closer communication with the forts along the Canadian border.

If General Bouquet's expedition succeeded, peace would certainly follow in a short time, and the people would be relieved from the anxiety which now distressed them. But his movements were necessarily slow on account of the great difficulties that had to be overcome in penetrating the wilderness. Provisions had to be provided and transported over horrible roads, which caused great delay. Whilst waiting to hear from the expedition, it can readily be imagined what suspense and anxiety prevailed among the people on the Susquehanna.

On the 31st of August Captain Graydon and a party of twelve men arrived from below, bearing the joyful tidings that General Bouquet had finally reached Fort Du Quesne and that the outlook was encouraging. This caused much rejoicing among the officers and men, and the settlers also shared in the good news. In due time the news was confirmed, when everybody experienced great relief of mind and set about making plans for the future.

CHAPTER XII.

BATTLE OF MUNCY HILLS—WHEN IT OCCURRED AND THE LOSSES—
BARBAROUS MURDER OF TWO INDIANS—ESCAPE OF ANOTHER
AFTER BEING SCALPED—REFERENCES TO THE EXPEDITION.

WE now come to another important epoch in the history of the West Branch Valley, in which events of a startling and bloody character will crowd upon us. A description of the trying and exciting times at Fort Augusta have occupied much space, but it was necessary that they should be given in their order to complete the record. Lieutenant Samuel Hunter, who will hereafter occupy a conspicuous position in affairs at the fort, now comes upon the stage as the chief actor. Under date of Thursday, August 25, 1763, he makes the following entry in his journal:

this day at Twelve o'clock, Capt. Patterson, George Allen & Capt. Bedford arrived here with a party of 114 men, on their way to destroy some Indian Towns about sixty miles up the west Branch from here. they set of again the same day, all in great spirits. fair.*

On the subsequent day, the 26th, Lieutenant Hendricks made this entry in the records of the fort: "Nothing extraordinary. Fair." Saturday, August 27th, Lieutenant Blythe makes the following important entry † over his own name:

About Twelve o'clock, Capt. Patterson & Capt. Bedford came Back here, and seventy six of their party. they were Disappointed of their scheme. in cutting some

* Lieutenant Graydon also left a note on record concerning the party. He says that it appeared on the Blue Hill side of the river, and three men came over to the fort and reported that they were from Cumberland County; that there were fifty in the expedition. They claimed that their object was to look at the land on the river and at the Great Island, where some of them proposed to settle. The Lieutenant could not imagine what the object of the visit was, but as the party made many inquiries about Indians, he suspected that they had a design against them. The names of the men visiting the fort were: John Woods, James McMein and James Dickey.

† See page 442, Vol. VII., *Pennsylvania Archives*, New Series.

of the Indian Towns up the West Branch for about Thirty miles from here, they fell in with a strong party of Indians coming to War, which had the first fire of our men, but they, Returning the fire Briskly and advancing upon the Enemy, made them give way, but did not think it proper to follow them any further, haveing some of their men killed, and the wounded they could not leave, as it was near night, so tacked about & march'd all night through the woode. the Indians followed them and fired upon them about Ten O'Clock at night, but did them no harm. George Allen & John Wood, with Twenty six of the party, was separated from C. Patterson & Bedford in the night, and did not come here till five O'Clock in the afternoon, and on their way came up with three Indians comeing from Bethelam. After dealing their peltry, took them prisoners, but comeing nigh this place, thought proper to kill & scalp them, and brought all their Goods & Horses along with them here. they got in all, four Indians scalps—one at the field of Battle, & them Allen brought. there was four of our men killed, & four more wounded very bad.

This refers to what in subsequent years was known as the "Battle of Muncy Hills." For a long time the particulars of this exciting affair remained in such obscurity that many came to believe that nothing of the kind ever occurred; or if there was a fight, it was such a commonplace affair as not to warrant a prominent place in the annals of those times. Many years ago, however, careful, industrious research on the part of the late Hon. Thomas Wood,* of Muncy, developed the particulars of the battle as briefly alluded to in the statement of Lieutenant Blythe.

When the author of the History of the West Branch Valley was gathering materials in 1855 for the first edition of his work, he was

* Hon. Thomas Wood was the son of William Wood and Grezel Dunlap. He was born January 21, 1810, near Thompsettown, Juniata County, Pa., and when four years old (1814) his parents removed to Muncy Valley. His ancestry has many historical associations. His great-great-grandfather, Captain John Wood, fought under King William at the battle of the Boyne, in 1690, and was rewarded for gallantry with a grant of an estate in County Cavan, Ireland. His great-grandfather, James Wood, came to America in 1731, and settled in Cumberland County, Pa. His grandfather, George Wood, removed to Juniata County, where his father, William Wood, was born in 1776. His maternal grandfather, John Dunlap, was a Revolutionary soldier, belonging to the Pennsylvania Line, was mortally wounded at the battle of Chestnut Hill, taken prisoner by the British, and died within a few days in Philadelphia. His maternal grandmother, Robina Orr, was a member of the famous Orr family of the North of Ireland, which met with such terrible persecutions at the hands of the British government for being Irish patriots in the rebellion of 1798. Thomas Wood married, in 1834, Margaret, eldest daughter of Col. Jacob Beeber, one of the early settlers in the Muncy Valley. He represented Lycoming County in the Assembly, at Harrisburg, during the session of 1854-55. He died February 12, 1884, aged 74 years.

unable to learn anything positive relating to the affair. According to tradition a severe battle between the whites and Indians had taken place somewhere on the path crossing Muncy Hills from Warrior Run to Warrior Spring.* No written account of the affair was then known to exist in the neighborhood, and the verbal report was so much blended with uncertainty that it was received with caution and but brief reference made to the event. The early pioneers who lived in the vicinity in those troublous times had passed away, and their immediate descendants had been educated more particularly in the use of the rifle than that of the pen for recording the exploits of their fathers. Nor could any official report of such expedition be found among the Colonial papers, consequently the author made a point of being content with that only which he deemed reliable.

Mr. Wood, however, still entertained an idea that something important had occurred in the vicinity of the place where vague tradition pointed, and he pursued his inquiries for years for the purpose of developing the facts, if any existed. The absence of any account of the affair from the records was singular and increased his desire to solve the mystery. Finally, after patient inquiry and investigation, his labors were rewarded by discovering a copy of an old book entitled *Loudon's Indian Narratives*,† published at Carlisle in 1808, by Archibald Loudon, which gives two detailed accounts of this battle, as well as the cause, and the unhappy occur-

* This famous spring was located on the bank of the river near what is now the village of Port Penn, a short distance West of the borough of Muncy. It was drowned out by the pool of Muncy dam when the canal was built. The waters of the spring flowed into what were known as the Muncy Ripples, which were a famous landmark in the river at that time. These ripples consisted of a descent of several feet in passing the limestone formation which crosses near where Warrior Spring issued from the east bank, and were perhaps one mile in length. During low stages of water they could be crossed by wading, and were (in places), in later years, obstructed by coffer dams of stone for fishing, and water power for Shane's mill. The Warrior Spring flowed into these ripples from heads beneath the limestone ledge at different places on the bar, from the bank of the river. The spring and ripples are now hidden by the pool of the dam. The spring was a favorite place of resort for the Indians, and parties of them frequently encamped for some time by its side.

† This exceedingly rare and curious publication consists of two small volumes, and the account of the battle is found in volume II., page 184. The only copy known to be in existence at the present day is in the State Library, at Harrisburg, and it is guarded with extreme care.

rence which took place the next day among a detachment of the party engaged.

The historical statement alluded to is well sustained by documentary evidence, and the narratives are quoted herewith in full:

THE FOLLOWING NARRATIVE WE HAD FROM ONE OF THE MEN WHO WAS AT THE BATTLE OF MUNCY, ON WHOSE VERACITY WE CAN DEPEND.

In the year 1755, Peter Shaver, John Savage, and two other men were killed at the mouth of Shaver's Creek on Juniata by the Indians. February, 1756, a party of Indians from Shemoken came to Juniata; the first place they came to was Hugh Mitcheltrees, who was gone to Carlisle, and had got a young man of the name of Edward Nicholous to stay with his wife until he would return. The Indians killed them both. The same party of Indians went up the river where the Lukens's now live; William Wilcox at the time lived on the opposite side of the river, whose wife and eldest son had come over the river on some business; the Indians came while they were there and killed old Edward Nicholous and Thomas and Catharine Nicholous and John Wilcox. James Armstrong's wife and two children prisoners.

An Indian named James Cotties who wanted to be Captain of this party, when they did not choose him he would not go with them. He and a boy went to Shearman's Creek, and killed William Sheridan and his family thirteen in number; they then went down the creek to where three old persons lived, two men and a woman of the name of French, which they also killed, of which he often boasted afterwards that he and the boy took more scalps than the whole party.

In the year 1757 the same Cotties went to Hunter's fort, seven miles from Harrisburg, and killed a young man of the name of William Martin, under a chestnut tree, gathering chestnuts. After the war was over he came to Hunter's fort again and made his boast what a good friend he had been to the white people in the time of the war. At the same time another Indian who had been friendly to the inhabitants the time of the war named Hambus, said he was a liar, for that he had done all the mischief he could, upon which the two Indians began to fight, but the white people parted them. Hambus told him that he had killed Martin within sight of the spot where they now stood. The same day Cotties got drunk and fell asleep on a bench; when Hambus saw that he was asleep he struck his tomahawk into his head and killed him.*

In September 1763, about one hundred of us went up to take the Indian town at the Great Island, and went up to Fort Augusta where we sent a man forward to see whether Andrew Monture was there, but he was not; he asked where he was and was

* Captain Peter Bard, in a letter from Fort Augusta to Colonel Burd, at Raystown, under date of July 20, 1758, thus refers to this affair: "Jem Cottes and his brother, two Indians, went from here some time since hunting, and opposite Captain McKee's, they being on an island, discovered about thirty Indian warriors going down towards the inhabitants; upon which they made the best of their way to the fort, and informed Captain Trump that evening, and he sent them and one of our men down in a canoe to acquaint Lieutenant Broadhead, whom we expect up with the party, and to alarm the inhabitants; and at Hunter's Hambus and Jem Cottes quarreled, and the former killed the latter."—*Shippin Papers*, page 126.

told he had gone to the plantation. We had apprehended that Monture knew of our coming and had gone to inform the Indians at the town called Great Island, or Monsey town, and when we got to the fort the officers that lay there wanted to persuade us not to go over, as the Monsey Indians were friendly to the white people. But as this was contradicted by some, we concluded to go. When we had crossed the river we saw Monture coming down in a canoe with a hog and some corn which he had brought from his plantation. When he came near we called to him, upon which he landed and enquired our business, which we told him, and asked his advice whether it was proper to proceed or not. He said they were bad Indians and that we might use them as we pleased. We went that night to Monture's plantation,* and next morning crossed the Monsey hill, and discovered fires, where the Indians lay the night before. Here we consulted whether to proceed or not; at length William Patterson turned back, and we followed. When arrived at the top of the Monsey hill, we met with a party of Indians which we engaged; had two men killed, and four wounded, two of which died that night. We then went and secreted the dead bodies in a small stream to prevent their being discovered by the enemy. By that time it was night, and we went on about twenty perches, where the Indians fired on us from behind the point of a hill. About twelve of us ran up the hill when we heard them running, but could not see them. We then came back to where they had fired on us at first, and found that the rest of our party were gone. We heard somebody coming after, stopped to see who it was; George Allen and two or three more of our men came up to us. We chose Allen to pilot us into the path, which he undertook to do; but after traveling along the side of Monsey hill with much difficulty, until midnight, I told him we were going the wrong road; he told me if I knew the road better to go before. We then directed our course southward until near daybreak, when we came to a path, which Allen informed us led to the Great Island and crossed the North branch to Iskepeck falls; in this path we traveled until daylight, when we saw a smoke, and proceeding ten or twelve perches we saw some Indians sitting around a fire. I then turned to the right into the woods, and some of our men followed me and some went on in the path till the Indians saw them, and seized their guns; we then raised our guns to fire, but the Indians cried don't shoot brothers, don't shoot! we answered we will not if you do not; we then went up to them and asked where they had been; they said they had been at the Moravian town buying goods; we told them we had an engagement the evening before with some of their people; they said it was impossible, as there were no Indians at the Great Island but a few old men and boys, the rest having all gone out a hunting; I told them I knew better; that they were gone to Tuscarora and Shearman's Valley to kill the white people; that we had been waylaid at Buffalo creek by them and had five men killed and one wounded; that James Patterson's shot pouch and powder horn had been found near the place, and he was a Great Island Indian, and they must come with us. The three Indians began to tremble, and leaving the victuals they were preparing, proceeded with us.

After we had traveled a short distance, I asked George Allen what we should do with the prisoners; he said we would take them to the fort and deliver them up to the commander; I told him if we do that perhaps they will let them go, or send them to Philadelphia, and where they would be used better than ourselves by the Quakers, and you know what a defeat I got a few weeks ago at Buffalo creek, where five of

* Near the mouth of Chillisquaque Creek.

my neighbors were killed and I had hard running to save my own life; I have declared revenge on the first Indian that I saw, and am glad that the opportunity now offers; "Why," said Allen, "would you kill them yourself, for you can get no person here to help you;" "there is enough," said I, "that will help me to kill them." "Where will you kill them," said Allen; I told him on the hill that is before us, which lies between the two branches of the Susquehanna river, near the North branch.* When we came to the top of the hill the prisoners asked liberty to eat some victuals, which we allowed them; they directed us to where we might find it among their baggage; we went and found it, and gave it to them. While they were eating we concluded who would shoot at them; there were six of us willing to shoot; tying then to each prisoner, and as soon as they were done eating we told them to march on before us, and when they had gone about thirty yards, we fired at them and the three fell, but one of them named George Allen, after the George Allen that was with us, was shot only through the arm, and fell with that arm uppermost and bloodied his body, which made us believe that he was shot through his body; but after he was scalped, having a good pair of leggins on, one of the men had staid behind to take them off; before he could get any but one, the Indian started up and ran; the man was surprised at his raising from the dead, and before he could get any assistance he had made his escape. He afterwards told, that running down the hill he fell asleep, that after he recovered he got up to run, but the skin of his face, the scalp being off, came down over his eyes so that he could not see; he then took off the leggin that was left, and bound it round his face, and when he came to a spring he took the cold moss of the stones, laid it on his head to keep the hot sun from beating in upon his brains, and made out to get to the Great Island, when he recovered. He threatened to take revenge on George Allen, his namesake, and James Gallaher, not that they were worse than the others, but because they were the only persons he was acquainted with; it, however, so happened that he never had them in his power.

Another account in the same work is as follows:

It was generally believed if there could be an expedition sent out to destroy some of the Indian towns, and to annoy them in their own country, it would be the most effectual method to keep them from murdering and massacring the inhabitants; accordingly a company of volunteers turned out to the amount of about one hundred men, and marched up the Susquehanna as far as Monsey, and at the foot of a hill of that name they spied some Indians. They held a council what was best to be done; one of the men who had been a captive with them for nine years, advised them to return on the path they came, for the Indians would take round them and come upon their rear, and take them upon disadvantageous ground; they had not retreated far till they met the Indians, and a smart battle ensued, which lasted till dark. The Indians were in two companies and one of their captains called Snake was killed; and when his party found their leader was killed they moved off. When night came on the

*From this description it would appear that the spot where this atrocious crime was committed was located well up on the hill in the rear of the borough of Northumberland. However bad many of the Indians were, there is no excuse for this murder, save an insatiable desire to wreak vengeance on all redskins; and in carrying it out the innocent were made to suffer for the guilt of others. Is it any wonder that the evil passions of the Indians were aroused and that they retaliated so savagely?

white men retired a small distance and lay down to take a little rest. The Indians came round and posted themselves in a thicket a few perches from the white men; they were so near that they heard them cocking their guns, and directly they fired on the white men, who were about to return the fire, when the captive above mentioned called not to fire, for if they should empty their guns the Indians would rush up with their tomahawks. The white men and Indians lay that near that they could speak to each other; the Indians hearing some of our wounded making some moaning, called to them that some of them was very sick; our men replied that they would serve some of them as they had done the Snake. However, the Indians did not choose to risk another battle, but moved off, and ours came home and brought the wounded. How many was killed we cannot tell.

It was generally believed that this little campaign proved of great service to the inhabitants. It was supposed that these two companies of Indians were on their way down to murder and massacre the inhabitants when the men met them.

It will be seen by the foregoing extracts that this battle was fought in September, 1763, over one hundred and twenty-five years ago, by a volunteer company of about one hundred men from Lancaster and Cumberland counties, sent by the settlers into the Indian country to chastise the savages for the numerous murders and depredations committed by them on the frontier settlements of those counties. This expedition was undertaken without any direct authority from the officers of the Province, but no doubt with their approbation, and had it not been for the sequel, they would have been proud to record it. At that time great dissatisfaction existed among the inhabitants of those counties, on account of the shelter and protection afforded by the Government to several tribes of (so-called) friendly Indians. This dissatisfaction was shown in December, of that year, by the massacre of the Conestoga Indians by the "Paxton Boys" at Lancaster, and the flight and pursuit of the Moravian and Wyalusing Indians to the barracks in Philadelphia to escape a like fate. Notwithstanding the apparent friendship of these Indians, they seem to have held intercourse with those in the French interest, and there is little doubt that many of them engaged secretly in marauding expeditions against the whites. Among them was the remnant of the Monsey tribe then living at the Great Island, beyond the limits of Proprietary authority. The Proprietors appear to have relied on the settlers to defend themselves as best they could, independently of both the Proprietary Government and the army officers of the Crown. It is simple justice to the men of those perilous times to bear this in

mind; and it can easily be proved by a few extracts from the correspondence of those officers with the Governor of the Province and the tart interchange of sentiment between him and the Assembly. A few references are made in this connection to establish the truth of this declaration.

In the ninth volume of the *Colonial Records*, page 62, will be found a letter from Sir Jeffrey Amherst, which contains a paragraph from Sir William Johnson, and which was laid before the Executive Council by the Governor, dated October 16, 1763, expressing "surprise at the information of the people of the Province who tamely look on while their brethren are butchered by the savages." On page 65 may be found a spirited message from the Council in reply, defending themselves from "this hard censure" by a reference to their grant of the 4th of July for seven hundred additional men who were at the different stations on the frontiers, and had intercepted and repulsed several parties of Indians, and that "a large body of them were now engaged in an expedition against the Great Island,* which has heretofore served as a station whence the savages usually issue for the annoyance of our settlements." On page 68 the Governor, in answer to *Papouan* (a Wighalousen chief), states that his people were greatly provoked on account of late murders; and that some of them had gone into the Indian country to take satisfaction, he knew not where, and that they perhaps would not distinguish between friend and enemy. By reference to page 87, same volume, may be seen the consequence of this battle on "Muncy Hill," in the desire expressed to know how *Papouan* was treated, etc. He said: "Now I will tell you what a company of warriors (the Monseys), who are striking you now, said to me on my coming away: 'Now Brothers, you are going down among our Brethren the English. I and all the warriors should be very glad to know whether they treated you kindly or not and how you are used.'"

These references fully corroborate the statements in the narra-

*In 1763 Colonel John Armstrong collected a force of 300 volunteers from the valleys of Bedford and Cumberland, and marched from Fort Shirley on the 30th of September, across the country, against the Indian towns on the West Branch. The savages escaped, but their towns at Great Island and Myanaquie (at the mouth of Kettle Creek) were destroyed, with great quantities of provisions.

tives of the battle, and the following pretty clearly shows that not only the Government, but the community censured the barbarous shooting of the three friendly Indians. On page 140 will be found the following extract from a remonstrance of Mathew Smith and James Gibson on the part of the frontier inhabitants, addressed to the Governor and the Assembly. In number three of the enumeration of the grievances complained of they say:

And as to the Moravian Indians, there are strong grounds at least to suspect their friendship, as it is known that they carried on a correspondence with our enemies on the Great Island. We killed three Indians going from Bethlehem to the Great Island with blankets, ammunition and provisions, which is an undeniable proof that the Moravian Indians were in confederacy with our open enemies. And we cannot but be filled with indignation to hear this action of ours painted in the most odious and detestable colors, as if we had inhumanly murdered our guides who preserved us from perishing in the woods, when we only killed three of our known enemies, who attempted to shoot us when we surprised them.

This spirited remonstrance is dated February 13, 1764, and is followed by a declaration to the House on the 17th, in which (see page 144) the following passage occurs, clearly pointing to this expedition and battle in Muncy Hills, and showing that it was composed of independent volunteers, equipped at their own expense:

When last summer the troops raised for defence of the Province were limited to certain bounds, nor suffered to attempt annoying our enemies in their habitations, and a number of brave volunteers equipped at their own expense in September, up the Susquehanna met and defeated their enemy with the loss of some of their number, and having others dangerously wounded, *not the least thanks or acknowledgment* was made them from the Legislature, etc.

By turning back to page 142, in the ninth division, we find direct allusion to the manner this expedition was received and advised at Fort Augusta on the way up the river:

That Fort Augusta, which has been very expensive to this Province, has afforded us but little assistance during this or the late war. The men that were stationed at that place neither helped our distressed inhabitants to save their crops, nor did they attack our enemies in their towns, or patrol our frontiers.

The general sentiment of condemnation by the Government, as well as the community of that day, against the barbarous shooting of those three friendly Indians sank so deep that it eclipsed and shrouded in shame and disgrace all the well merited glory of this daring volunteer expedition at the battle of Muncy Hills. It was

the inconsiderate act of but a small portion of the expedition, for which the whole were held accountable, and notwithstanding their remonstrances to the Governor, and their declarations in defense to the House of Assembly, he deemed it his duty to apologize to a party of Indian chiefs in council on the 27th of September, 1766, in the following language, which may be found on page 331 of the same volume:

We agree with you that when there has been any wickedness committed, it should all be removed, so that neither may bear anything in our hearts against each one another. Before we proceed to give you an answer to your speeches, we call to mind with griefs of heart, that three Indians of your tribes came to their death in the heat of the war by some parties of our warriors, who did not know that they were of your tribes, and took them to be enemy Indians, and unfortunately killed them by mistake. And now Brethren, with this string we take the hatchets out of your heads, and all mourning from your hearts.

A string.

Brethren, with these handkerchiefs we wipe away the tears from your eyes.

Brethren, with these strouds we cover their graves—we have pulled up a great tree and gathered together all the bones and blood, and buried them all together in a deep hole, and planted this tree over them, that neither we nor our children may ever find the place where they are buried.

And now Brethren, we proceed to give you an answer, as many things in a time of great wickedness have been done to hinder seeing one another and counseling together. We join you in wiping all tears from your eyes, taking all sorrow out of your hearts, and making the council seats clean from all blood and filthiness, that we may confer with the same cheerfulness and openness that our grandfathers used to do.

In his researches Mr. Wood was able to locate the ground on which the ill-advised "Battle of Muncy Hills" occurred. It was on the farm and near the residence of Joel Bieber, and not far from where the Banghart brick school house stands. The Indian path, which the expedition was following, crossed the hills* at this place and descended to Warrior Spring,* on the bank of the river. In later years an occasional Indian relic was picked up on this ground. Several specimens may be found in the Gerner collection, at Muncy, which are treasured as memorials of the

* It was here that old *Egohowen*, a Muncy chief, entertained *Newhaleeka*, chief of the Delawares. As late as 1771 the latter was living at the Great Island, and *Shawana Ben*, who was chief of the remnant of the Shawanese, lived there also. Under the wide-spreading branches of a majestic elm these chiefs and their attendants met and conferred together on tribal business, and drank of the pure waters of the spring. A fit place for warriors to assemble, and who will say that the name was not appropriate?

sanguinary conflict which took place near by. And as is often the case in such instances, superstition has thrown a weird and gloomy pall over much of the surrounding region, and curious stories have been related by individuals of what they have seen in some of the dark defiles of the hills. Their imagination has pictured, when they were passing over the road at night, stalwart warriors with waving plumes crouching in the bushes, and strange sounds, which were construed into groans, were heard. But it is useless to add that such things were anything but the imaginations of an excited brain. However wild the Muncy Hills may be even to this day, and what strange things* may have occurred within their gloomy precincts, it is not likely that the spirits of any of those concerned in the conflict have ever returned to plague or frighten those who have had occasion to travel the paths by night or day.

*According to tradition a white prisoner was burned at the stake by a party of Indians here at an early day, but there is nothing on record to authenticate it. The story is that they stuck his body full of pitch pine splinters before applying the torch, when they danced around him like demons and awoke the echoes of the solitude with their yells. And for years the superstitious believed that no grass grew on the spot where the tragedy was enacted.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONTINUED RUMORS OF A THREATENED ATTACK ON FORT AUGUSTA
—GOVERNOR PENN FINALLY INDUCED TO RECOMMEND ITS EVACUA-
TION TO PLEASE THE QUAKERS—THE LAST CANNON—ITS HISTORY.

AS reports were daily received of a contemplated attack on the fort, the utmost vigilance was constantly observed by the garrison, and every available preparation for resistance was made. The work of tearing down the trading house and removing the materials inside the fortification was continued. On the 27th of July, 1763, Lieutenant Blythe entered in the journal that a Mr. Clark arrived that day with "one canoe loaded with rum and sugar," and that Andrew Montour had been there on a visit, but left in the evening for his place up the river. He traveled in a canoe. The following day Lieutenant Hendricks and Mr. Irvine went down the river with a party of eight men in charge of "three battoes loaded with Province goods." They probably consisted of peltries obtained from the Indians in exchange for provisions and ammunition.

On the 14th of September a court-martial sat at the fort for the trial of two prisoners confined in the guard house. Lieutenant Hunter served as president, with Lieutenants Hendricks and Blythe as members of the board.

This same day Captain Graydon made an entry on the record that "they had got a new flag staff placed and a flag hoisted," which was an event of some importance at the fort. It will be remembered that the commanding officer had complained that the old flag was worn out.

Friday, September 23d, Lieutenant Hunter with a picket guard was sent up the river to "Monture's place to bring off what necessaries he had there, and to destroy his corn." The officer on his return reported that he saw nothing that gave him any suspicion of the enemy being in the neighborhood. The same

day a fire broke out in Lieutenant Hunter's house, but it was extinguished before doing any damage. This accident caused an order to be issued directing all the chimneys to be swept the next day, which was strictly carried out.

Nothing of any importance occurred until the 5th of October, when messengers arrived from Fort Hunter with intelligence that Job Chilloway and others had gone to Philadelphia, and that the Indians were "universally joined against the whites and were determined to attack the fort." This alarming intelligence caused some uneasiness, but Lieutenant Hunter felt able to make a strong resistance in case of an attack. The weather was cold.*

As a better safe-guard strict orders were issued that "no soldier or non-commissioned officer was to fire his piece on any pretense whatsoever, except at an enemy or by the leave of a commissioned officer." On the 9th Sergeant Grant arrived with two canoes loaded with stores, and intelligence was also received that Colonel John Armstrong was on the upper waters of the West Branch with a force of three hundred men for the purpose of destroying the villages where Indians were in the habit of congregating previous to making forays on the settlements below. Monday, the 9th, nothing of any importance occurred, but on the 11th Captain William Patterson, Captain Bedford, Captain Sharp, Captain Laughlin, Captain Crawford, and about two hundred volunteers, arrived at the fort on their way from the Great Island, they having been in company with Colonel Armstrong. An Indian town at the mouth of Kettle Creek was destroyed, together with a large number of wigwams at Monseytown† and on the Great Island. They also reported that they had destroyed about two hundred acres of corn which they found on the flats at various points along the river. Many Indians were seen, but they could not be brought to an engagement. Some dispute arising between Colonel Armstrong and the officers mentioned above, they separated from him and his part of the force about seven miles above Fort Augusta,‡ and he continued on by the nearest route to Car-

* About 8 o'clock in the evening of October 6, 1763, there was a light fall of snow at Fort Augusta.

† Located on a level plain, on the north side of the river, just west of Lock Haven. It is known by this name at the present day.

‡ See Vol. VII., page 447, *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series.

lisle. It is regretted that so little was left on record concerning the operations of this great expedition. It was 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, as the sequel will show.

October 13, 1763, the records inform us, Major Clayton, with a force of eighty soldiers and volunteers, arrived at the fort on their way to Wyoming. On the 15th Lieutenant Hunter and twenty-four men belonging to the garrison joined the party, and they set off for their destination up the North Branch. On the 17th an express arrived with the startling news from John Harris that the Indians had killed forty-five persons in Northampton County, and that they were still engaged in their bloody work. He likewise said that the Governor had sent a letter to Mr. Elder requesting that an express be sent after Major Clayton, notifying him to return. This was done, and the Major returned on the evening of the 20th. At Wyoming he found that ten persons had been killed and scalped by the savages. They destroyed what cabins and corn they could find.

Sunday, October 23d, John Mitchell and "another man" reached the fort, and Lieutenant Hunter recorded in the journal that they came in "pursuit of some negroes," but for what reason is not stated. Colonel Burd and Captain Graydon, with an escort, reached the fort on the evening of the 9th of November. They had in charge "eight battoes loaded with thirty barrels of flour and other stores for the use of the garrison." They also brought a commission for Dr. Wiggins, who was serving as post surgeon. They were followed on the 16th by Mr. McCormick, who was in charge of a party driving forty-four head of cattle. He brought information of three families having been killed and scalped within eight miles of Carlisle. On the 17th there was a great fall of snow at Augusta, which prevented them from slaughtering the cattle, as was the intention that day. On the 20th, however, the work was completed and the meat packed. The following day an order was issued "that five women of each company be permitted to draw provisions on the conditions that the rations so drawn be not allowed to the contractor. The persons receiving them must pay

for them." The officer of the guard was also instructed to wait on the commanding officer every day for orders.

On the 9th of December, 1763, Lieutenant Blythe and six men went from the garrison "to his plantation to bring in some of his effects he had left there." From this it appears that he had already selected a tract of land with the view, evidently, of settling on it as soon as he could do so with safety.

December 12th a court-martial, consisting of Captain Graydon, president, and Lieutenants Hendricks and Wiggins, was ordered to sit for the trial of William Page, who was charged with striking Corporal Weston while on duty. It was also ordered that Richard Fitzgivens be discharged from the garrison, "he having rendered himself by his behavior as unworthy of remaining a soldier." Other courts-martial followed for the trial of soldiers for various offenses. Another heavy snow was reported on the 14th; on the 16th the weather was "fair and cold," and on the 17th the river was "driving with ice." The following day the batteaux and canoes were hauled out of the water on the bank for safety, as a rain had set in and there were indications of a rise in the river, which still continued full of floating ice. Several soldiers were reported suffering with the small-pox, a disease which seems to have prevailed more or less at all times among the garrison. On the 27th George Jenkins, a member of Captain Graydon's company, died of small-pox and was buried at 4 o'clock in the cemetery near the fort. For the balance of the month nothing unusual occurred and the year 1763 closed with "pleasant weather."

With the opening of 1764 the same condition of affairs prevailed in the West Branch Valley that had existed during the past year. In February Colonel Burd sent out scouts in different directions to endeavor to discover the enemy and engage them for the purpose of preventing them from falling upon the settlements,* but no discoveries were made.

From the minutes of the Board of Commissioners for Defense it appears that at a meeting held on the 20th of July, 1764, at which the Governor presided, it was agreed "that four companies be stationed and range between the rivers Delaware and Susque-

* See page 165, Vol. IV., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Old Series.

hanna, including thirty men* to garrison Fort Augusta." After the large number of men that had been kept here for several years this was looked upon as a remarkable change in the policy of the Government, particularly when it was remembered that the Indians were as threatening as ever. At this same meeting it was decided that two companies of Provincial troops should be stationed on the west side of the river and given a wide range. And one officer was to have command of three companies. The garrison at Fort Augusta was to be "victualed by the Crown." From the report of a muster soon after this meeting, it appears that Captain Hunter's company consisted of 47 men, and Captain Graydon had a detachment of sixteen. They belonged, with others, to the first battalion of the Pennsylvania regiment. In the second battalion, which was mustered at Carlisle, August 1, 1764, Captain John Brady appears with a company of forty-one men. This is the first appearance of the name of Brady on the records in connection with defensive operations on the frontier, which was the beginning of his distinguished career.

In a message to the Assembly, under date of February 9, 1765, Governor Penn said that from the great importance of Fort Augusta to the protection of the Province, when engaged in a war with the Indians, he thought it absolutely necessary to keep a garrison in the fort during the preceding year, and was of opinion that until the final conclusion of peace with the savages, it would be highly imprudent to abandon the post, and he therefore recommended a continuance of supplies for it.†

To this recommendation the Assembly soon afterwards replied as follows:

After due consideration we are of opinion that as the cannon and other military stores at Fort Augusta cannot be at present removed from thence, it may be prudent to defer any resolution concerning the evacuation of that post until further certainty of peace being firmly established with the Indians; yet in the meantime, as the fund from whence that garrison has been paid up to the first of last month is nearly exhausted, we should approve an immediate reduction of the troops stationed there, although in respect to disbanding the whole garrison we can only recommend to your honor and the Provincial commissioners when more satisfied of the Indians' fidelity, and conveniency offers for water carriage from Shamokin, to lose no time in removing

* See page 195, Vol. IV., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Old Series.

† *Colonial Records*, Vol. IX., page 244.

the cannon and stores, and disbanding the remainder of the garrison, in order to ease the public of that burden whenever it can be done with safety and prudence.*

The clamor for the evacuation of Fort Augusta was continued, however, by the people of the eastern part of the Province, on the ground of the great expense involved in keeping it up. Many of these people sympathized† with the Indians, and they did not fully realize the condition of affairs on the frontier; and some of them, in their blindness, thought the settlers should be able to defend themselves. On the other hand, the settlers begged that they should not be deprived of all protection and left to the mercy of the savages. Between these two parties—the one that surrounded the Governor and Assembly, and the other on the Susquehanna and west of it, which was constantly exposed to danger—a bad feeling existed, and many grave charges were made. Finally the home party triumphed in their demands, and on the 30th of March, 1765, the Assembly resolved to evacuate‡ the fort as soon as they were satisfied that peace had been firmly established with the Indians. This decision caused much rejoicing in and about Philadelphia among a portion of the inhabitants, and a corresponding feeling of sadness and dejection on the part of those who lived on the frontier and had to face the bullet and the scalping knife. About this time Governor John Penn,§ who sympathized with the Quaker idea, made this communication to the Assembly:

* See page 246, Vol. IX., *Colonial Records*.

† The situation of the frontiers was truly deplorable, principally owing to the supineness of the Provincial authorities, for the Quakers, who controlled the Government, were, to use the language of Lazarus Stewart, "more solicitous for the welfare of the blood-thirsty Indian than for the lives of the frontiersmen." In their blind partiality, bigotry, and political prejudice, they would not readily accede to the demands of those of a different religious faith. To them, therefore, was greatly attributable the reign of horror and devastation in the border counties. The Government was deaf to all entreaties, and General Amherst, commander of the British forces in America, did not hesitate to give his feelings an emphatic expression. "The conduct of the Pennsylvania Assembly," he wrote, "is altogether so infatuated and stupidly obstinate, that I want words to express my indignation thereat." Nevertheless, the sturdy Scotch-Irish and Germans of the frontiers rallied for their own defense, and the entire force of Colonel Bouquet was composed of them.—*Egle's History of Pennsylvania*, page 107.

‡ See *Colonial Records*, Vol. IX., page 283.

§ John Penn was the son of Richard and grandson of William Penn. He was born in Philadelphia in 1728, from which circumstance he was called the "American

That immediately on receiving intelligence that the Indians had ratified their engagements made last fall with General Bouquet, I gave orders that Fort Augusta should be evacuated, and commissioned Colonel Francis to settle the accounts of that garrison, which amounted to £437.96, for which he desires provision to be made.

But the request for an appropriation of funds to carry out the Governor's orders was postponed until the meeting of the next Assembly. This was no doubt caused by remonstrances from those who did not believe that it was prudent to entirely abandon the post until there were positive assurances of peace and quietness on the border. Just when the post was formally abandoned does not appear on the records that have been preserved; but it seems to have been kept up as a place of refuge, with a small garrison, for a long time afterwards, and proved of great service during the trying times of the Revolution and the "Great Runaway." The gradual work of dismantling it probably began about 1780, as the ground upon which it stood had passed into private hands. It took a long time to dig down the embankments and level off the ground, and the present century was well under way before all traces of the fortification had disappeared.

When fully equipped, in 1758, Fort Augusta mounted from twelve to sixteen pieces of artillery, ranging from six to twelve pounders. They were of English manufacture, and all have been lost sight of save one. What disposition was made of the balance is not clearly known. It is supposed that a few were returned and rendered service in other places during the Revolution. Tradition informs us that several pieces were thrown into the river when it was feared the British and Indians might capture the place in 1778-9. Many years ago a brass piece was seen by a number of persons in the river, opposite where the fort stood, but no attempt was made to recover it, and it probably remains buried in the mud to this day. The single one that has been preserved is treasured as a valuable relic of by-gone times, and its history, which is checkered and interesting, is related by Dr. R. H. Awl, of Sunbury, as follows:

Penn." He was Governor of the Province from 1763 to 1771, and also from 1773 to the end of the Proprietary Government in 1776. During the Revolution he remained in the country. In 1777, having refused to sign a parole, he was confined by the Whigs at Fredericksburg, Va. He died at his country seat in Bucks County, February, 1795.—*Egle's History of Pennsylvania*, page 111.

"This cannon measures from the tip of cascabel to the end of muzzle fifty-six and one-half inches, in front of trunnion thirty-one inches, behind trunnion thirty-three and three-fourths inches. In circumference it measures thirty-nine inches at the base-ring and twenty-four and one-half inches at the muzzle, and weighs about one-half a ton. The piece at the muzzle end was broken off with a sledge hammer by an old darkey "Cudgo," while drunk, in 1838.



The Old Cannon.

The cannon began its migration by being taken to Muncy, where it remained until 1774, when it was brought back to Augusta.

It is supposed that at the time of "The Great Runaway," in 1778, the cannon was spiked and thrown into the river. In 1798 it was taken from the river by George and Jacob Mantz, Samuel Hahn, and George Shoop. After heating it, by the burning of several cords of hickory wood, they succeeded in drilling out the spiked file.

"It next became the object of political contention, frequently changing from one party to the other. At one time the party in possession buried it in Mr. Prince's archway, opposite the south side of the public square. Its hiding place was made known by Mrs. Prince having stumped her toe on a part that jutted above ground. The place of its concealment being thus revealed, the other party stole it, and put it in the cellar of Robin's tanning place, at the east end of Market Street, where George Cadwaller's residence now stands. In 1824 it was stolen from the river bank at Sunbury by citizens of Selingsgrove, then Union County, and hidden away in Mr. Baker's cellar. In 1825 George Weiser, Esq., of Sunbury, on going to Selingsgrove, by some means discovered where it was hidden, bribed the maid to have the cellar door unlocked and the dog removed from the premises, when a company from Sunbury, consisting of George Hileman, John Eply, John Weaver, John Pickering, James McCormic, Jacob Diehl and others, went to Selingsgrove, took the cannon from the cellar and started for Sunbury.

"After arriving at Sunbury they went to the hotel then kept by John Weaver, at the corner of Third and Market streets, in the stone building now owned by William H. Miller, carried the can-

non up on the attic, placed a bed over it, on which Joseph Eisely, then a fourteen-year-old boy, was to sleep and give the alarm in case a party should come to steal it away. The cannon having been kept safe, was brought down next morning and did good service at the Fourth of July celebration. In 1830 it was stolen out of the cellar of Robin's tanning place, where the residence of George Cadwalleder now stands, by citizens of New Berlin, Union County, named Charles Awl, Samuel Kesler, Charles Baum, Elias Hummel, Michael Klecner, Thomas Halabush, Samuel Winter, and Thomas Getgen. From New Berlin it found its way to Selinsgrove, where it remained until 1834, when Dr. R. H. Awl, Charles Rhinehart, Henry V. Simpson, Thomas McEwen, Jerry Mantz, Jacob and John Reichstine, Weiser Zeigler, Edward Lyon, Peter Zimmerman and George Mahan laid a plan to recapture it. Two of the boys went to Selinsgrove on the Fourth of July and learned that the cannon was kept in the fire engine house of that place. The rest of the party at Sunbury took a horse from Mrs. Rhinehart, a wagon from Hugh Bellas, Esq., and the ferry flat, crossed the river and met the other two boys late that night at the red bridge over Penn's Creek. After succeeding in getting the cannon from the engine house, they loaded it, crossed the river and came to Sunbury, where George Mahan stole a keg of powder from Edward Y. Bright, and at day-break on the 5th of July opened fire on the river bank in front of Captain Daniel Levy's residence, who, with sword and pistols, came out and offered to command the defense in case of an attack from Union County.

"We quote the following from the *Annals of Buffalo Valley*: Daniel Levy, Esq., outlived all the old lawyers except Mr. Bellas. He was a conceited man, active as a cat, an insatiable dancer, a hard fighter and great boxer. The interesting fact in Levy's history is, that of the only two duels fought in this county he was one of the participants. A military gathering took place in 1812 at Michael Kutzner's hotel, on the corner of Market and Second streets, the house being now occupied by the widow of Hon. C. G. Donnel. During the time of the gathering a dispute arose between Daniel Levy and General Hugh Brady, a man of six feet, active, strong and as brave as Cæsar. He was the last survivor of the Brady family, and died at Detroit, Michigan, in 1851.

No sooner did this dispute arise than, without further preparations, they attacked one another with their swords. In the fight Brady cut off Levy's cue, wounded him in the shoulder and also broke his sword. Samuel Awl, Esq., Michael Kutzner and others, put chairs between the duelists and in this way separated them. This took place in the bar-room of the then hotel. A sword of one of the duelists missed its mark and hit the window sill with great force, making a deep mark which remained for years, until the room was repaired for a private residence.

"In 1849 about thirty young men from Danville undertook to capture the cannon. Jerry Hall, of Sunbury, who was then a clerk in the Danville post-office, learning of the plan, sent a letter by Clinton Fisher, in advance of the confiscating party, to Captain C. J. Bruner and Captain Henry D. Wharton, notifying them of the plot. The Sunbury people placed pickets around the house of Benjamin Krohn, on Front Street, where the cannon was concealed. When the Danville party made their appearance they were surprised to find that they had been outgeneraled. They returned to their homes sadder and wiser than when they came.

"In Sunbury it has remained since 1834, frequently changing owners and place, as the several parties got possession of it. First at the old "barracks" on Front, near Chestnut Street, where the soldiers of 1812 staid, being chained and locked to a five hundred pound ring-stone; then in Peter Weimer's cellar, the vat of Zeigler's tan-yard, the Northumberland County prison, Chestnut Street gutter, where it was buried, and John Schissler's cellar, all of which were at one time the keeping place of this old military piece. Samuel Huey took charge of the cannon for many years, from whom it was stolen and is now in the possession of the Sunbury No. 1 Fire Engine Company."

CHAPTER XIV.

MURDER OF TEN INDIANS BY STUMP AND IRONCUTTER—ARREST OF THE MURDERERS AND THEIR RESCUE FROM THE JAIL AT CARLISLE—AN EXCITING TIME—CAPTAIN BLYTHE.

PEACE having been restored after the success of the Bouquet expedition, the inhabitants began to settle down and resume their avocations without fear. And after such a long period of unrest and turmoil it was fondly hoped that no further disturbances would occur to mar the happiness of the people. But it was decreed otherwise. Another exciting episode occurred to disturb the country.

On the 10th of January, 1768, occurred the murder of White Mingo and five other Indians by Frederick Stump, a German, living in Penn's Township, not far from where Selinsgrove now stands. Information of the atrocious deed was made at Philadelphia by William Blythe,* January 19th, and is in substance as

*Captain William Blythe, who was an officer at Fort Augusta when Colonel Burd was in command, was from Cumberland County. He was an Indian trader at Shippensburg in 1748. His commission was dated December 24, 1757, and he continued in service until the close of the Bouquet expedition to the Ohio, and participated in the land grants in Buffalo Valley. At the time this tragedy was committed he was living in a cabin at the mouth of Middle Creek. The Indians had first called at his place and he treated them kindly. On leaving they proceeded to Stump's, who lived near by. Captain Blythe was the ancestor of Judge Blythe, who, forty years ago, was very prominent on the bench in this State. For his services in making information of the murder he received two tracts of land which were surveyed on applications in the names of his daughters, Margaret and Elizabeth, containing, together, 640 acres. Linn, in his *Annals*, says the land laid immediately south of White Deer Creek, whither he removed during the year, and was, therefore, one of the first settlers of Buffalo Valley after the purchase. His cabin stood on Red Bank Run, near the river, on the Elizabeth Blythe tract. Her application of April 3, 1769, describes it as including an old Indian fort and a settlement begun by her. Captain Blythe lived to be a very old man. He is described as being tall and raw-boned, and in the latter years of his life he was blind. The date of his death is unknown.

His daughter Margaret married Captain John Reed, who had commanded the

follows: Hearing of the murder, he went to George Gabriel's, where he met Stump and several others, on the 12th, and was then told by Stump himself that six Indians, White Mingo, Cornelius, John Campbell, Jones and two women, came to his house, near the mouth of Middle Creek. Being drunk and disorderly, he endeavored to get them to leave, which they would not do. Fearing injury to himself, he killed them all, dragged them to the creek, and making a hole in the ice, threw in their bodies. Then fearing the news might be carried to the other Indians, he went the next day to two cabins, fourteen miles up the creek, where he found one woman and two girls, with one child. These he killed, and placing their bodies in the cabin, he burned it. That he (Blythe) sent four men up the creek, who reported that they had found the cabins burned and the remains of the limbs of the Indians in the ashes.

It is surmised that Stump killed the drunken Indians by "knocking them on the head" with a tomahawk* when they were so helpless as to be unable to defend themselves. The women and children were doubtless murdered in the same way. Linn, in his *Annals of Buffalo Valley*, says the scene of the latter deed was on the run that enters the creek at Middleburg, which goes by the name of Stump's Run to this day. Stump had an accomplice in

"Paxton Boys." Her tract was patented to Reed in 1774. Her children by Captain Reed were William, (father of James Reed, who resided near Hartleton, and was the grandfather of Dr. Uriah Reed, of Jersey Shore,) James, who moved West, and Elizabeth, who married John Armstrong. Captain Reed died before 1778. His widow afterwards married Captain Charles Gillespie, an officer of the Revolution, and raised a second family. Margaret Blythe survived the fortunes of her second family, and took refuge with her first husband's children. She died at the residence of her son, William Reed, in Hartley Township.

Elizabeth Blythe married Dr. Joseph Eakers, who had been a surgeon in the Revolutionary army. In October, 1798, they sold their place to James Hepburn and went West, where she died. Her husband returned, resumed practice, and was drowned in Muddy Run, north of Milton, many years ago.

* One of the dead bodies was carried down the creek to the river, and floating on finally lodged against the shore on the Cumberland County side, below where the road bridge at Harrisburg now stands. The Indian had been killed by being struck on the forehead with some instrument which crushed his skull. His entire scalp, including his ears, was torn off. An inquest was held by the coroner of Cumberland County, February 28, 1768, when the body was buried near where it was found.—*Rupp's Union County*, page 274.

this bloody tragedy, named John Ironcutter (Eisenhauer), who acted as a servant to him. Both were Germans.

As soon as the crime became known the most intense excitement was aroused. The settlers were astounded at the magnitude and relentless barbarity of the act. The Indians, who were friendly, and had come from the Great Island and pitched their rude wigwams on the creek, in order to be near and claim the protection of the whites, had given him no cause for thus barbarously murdering them. The whites were alarmed, too, for fear that when the sad intelligence reached the friends of these Indians they would rise up and commence to burn, murder and scalp all that they could find, in order to be revenged.

A few Indians being in the neighborhood soon heard of the affair, and on hastening to the spot found the charred remains of their friends. Learning that Stump was the murderer, they immediately started to look for him. In the meantime he had fled to Fort Augusta, and entering a house in the occupancy of the mother and aunts of Mrs. Grant, claimed their protection, alleging that he was pursued by Indians. The ladies, noticing from his countenance that all was not right, at first refused to have anything to do with him, fearing that the Indians might come and murder them too, on finding him secreted in the house. He begged so piteously, however, for protection, that they relented and snugly stowed him away between two beds. But a few minutes elapsed before the arrival of the infuriated Indians, who had tracked him to the house. They inquired if he had been seen there, and blustered and threatened considerably, but the ladies insisted that they knew nothing about him, when they were compelled to reluctantly depart without finding him. Before leaving they seized a harmless cat, plucked out its hair, and then tore it to pieces, for the purpose of illustrating what they would have done with Stump if they had caught him. It was a great pity that the women did not turn him over to the Indians. If they had done so the Province would have been saved much trouble and expense, as the sequel will show.

When the news of the butchery reached the ears of Governor Penn he was greatly shocked; and as his sympathies were largely with the Indians, he thought that it was his duty to have the mur-

derers apprehended and brought to justice as speedily as possible. The information, sworn to by Captain Blythe, was laid before the Council, which was then in session, and a resolution was promptly passed instructing the Governor to write to the magistrates of Cumberland County and require them to have Stump and his accomplice arrested without delay; also to order the sheriffs of the adjoining counties of Lancaster and Berks to be on the alert and arrest them if they came within their districts.

The Council further advised the Governor to write to General Gage and Sir William Johnson, acquainting them with the unhappy event, and request them to communicate the same as soon as possible to the Six Nations in the most favorable manner in their power, to prevent their taking immediate revenge for this great injury committed on their people; and to assure them of the firm and sincere desire of the government to give them full satisfaction at all times, for all wrongs done to them, and that they would leave nothing undone to bring the murderers to condign punishment.

On the 19th of January, 1768, Governor John Penn addressed a long letter to the magistrates of Cumberland County, giving them the necessary instructions how to act. Amongst other things, he said:

I am persuaded, gentlemen, that the love of justice, a sense of duty, and a regard for the public safety, will be sufficient inducements with you to exert yourselves in such a manner as to leave no measures untried which may be likely to apprehend and bring to punishment the perpetrator of so horrid a crime, which, in its consequences, will certainly involve us again in all the calamities of an Indian war, and be attended with the effusion of much innocent blood, unless by a proper exertion of the powers of Government, and a due execution of the laws, we can satisfy our Indian allies that the Government does not countenance those who wantonly spill their blood, and convince them that we think ourselves bound by the solemn treaties made with them. I have this matter so much at heart, that I have determined to give a reward of two hundred pounds to any person or persons who shall apprehend the said Frederick Stump and bring him to justice, etc.

A similar letter was also forwarded to the magistrates of Berks and Lancaster counties, enjoining upon them the necessity of acting with promptness, should the murderers escape into their territory.

Accompanying this letter was a public proclamation bearing

the broad seal of the Province, in which it was strictly commanded, "that all Judges, Justices, Sheriffs, Constables, Officers Civil and Military, and all other, his Majesty's faithful and Liege Subjects within this Province, to make diligent search and inquiry after the said Frederick Stump, and that they use all possible means to apprehend and secure him in one of the Public Gaols of this Province, to be proceeded against according to law."

Governor Penn also sent a message by an Indian named Billy Champion, to Newhaleeka, the chief of the Delawares, and other Indians, residing at the Great Island, acquainting them of the cruel murder of their friends, and assuring them that the most speedy measures would be taken to have the ends of justice accomplished. For carrying this message the Council allowed Billy for his services a "blanket, a shirt, a hat, a pair of shoes, a pair of Indian stockings, a breech cloth, and four pounds two shillings and six pence in cash."

Stump was finally arrested and lodged in the jail at Carlisle. The account of his capture is given as follows:

Captain William Patterson, lately in the Provincial service, now living on Juniata, about twenty miles from Frederick Stump's, hearing of the murder committed by him and his servant, on the bodies of a number of Indians, engaged nineteen men at two shillings and six pence per diem wages, to go with him to take them. On their approach Stump fled to the woods; but Patterson pretended to the people in the house that he came there to get Stump to go with them and kill the Indians at the Great Island; this decoy had the desired effect. Some one went out, found and brought Stump to the house. On his coming in Patterson arrested, bound and brought him, with his servant, John Ironcutter, without delay to Carlisle jail, where he was lodged on Saturday evening, the 23d of March, 1768.

Thus it seemed that the ends of justice were about to be accomplished, and the murderers receive the punishment which they so justly deserved. A difficulty, however, arose among the magistrates of the law at Carlisle about where he should be tried.

It was intended to take him to Philadelphia for trial, and a discussion arose upon this point. The account is continued as follows:

The court just then concluding, all the justices were in town. The Monday morning following the sheriff was preparing to carry him to Philadelphia, agreeable to the express mandate of the chief justice's warrant; but a doubt arose amongst the justices and towns-people, as is pretended, whether the sheriff had a right to remove him, he being committed to their jail by two justices, Armstrong and Miller. But the truth

was they apprehended a design to try him at Philadelphia, though the chief justice's warrant expressly commanded that he should be brought down for examination—and thereupon the sheriff was directed to proceed in his duty.

Wednesday several justices again met to consult about sending him down; while they were consulting about forty of the country people assembled and marched near the town, declaring they would take him out of jail, as they understood he was to be taken to Philadelphia. A gentleman advised them not to go into town, but send in two of their party to know the sentiments of the magistrates on that head. The two messengers came into town, and received assurances that Stump should not be sent to Philadelphia but receive his trial at Carlisle, upon which the messengers returned, and the company dispersed and went to their respective dwellings.

Thus matters quietly rested until Friday, when a company from Sherman's Valley, about fifteen miles from Carlisle and Stump's neighborhood, assembled, and came near the town, about eight of whom came in by couples; the first two that entered the prison asked the jailer for a dram, or some liquor, which he went to get for them, and when he brought it the others entered. They directly drew a cutlass and presented a pistol, swearing they would kill him if he resisted or made the least noise; the same care was taken as to the jailer's wife. Immediately came up the general company, of about sixty armed men, and surrounded the jail; the rioters within had a sledge, crowbar and axe, with which (as some say) they broke the inner jail door; while others assert that they had procured the keys of the dungeon from a girl in the jail. They proceeded down to the dungeon where Stump lay handcuffed, the chain which fastened him to the floor having been taken off two days before. They then brought him up. In the meantime came the sheriff, Col. John Armstrong, Robert Miller, Esq., and Parson Steel, who were admitted within the circle of armed men round the jail, but not knowing of others being within, went on the steps of the jail and declared they would defend it with their lives. By this time those within came with Stump to the door—the sheriff seizing him, when one of the men made a thrust with a cutlass, which passed close by his throat, and immediately the whole body surrounded the sheriff and justices, and carried them to the middle of the street, but happily did not touch a hair of their heads, and went off with Stump, greatly shouting; but first took him to a smith, whom they obliged to cut off his irons. The sheriff and justices immediately went after them and overtook one-half of the company; but the rest, with Stump, were gone over the hills to Sherman's Valley.

Some of them declared they would give Mr. Patterson the interest of his £200 reward, which should not be of any service to him, and great danger was apprehended to his person and property for his upright and spirited behavior in the cause of virtue and his country.

Ironcutter was also rescued at the same time and carried off with Stump. This violent demonstration on the part of the people against the enforcement of the civil law caused a tremendous excitement throughout the Province. The Governor was astounded and scarcely knew how to act. Not daunted by the violence of the people, however, a party composed of the sheriff, clergy, magistrates and several other reputable inhabitants, speed-

ily assembled and proceeded to Sherman's Valley to remonstrate with those who had rescued Stump, against such lawless proceedings. They represented to them the dangerous consequences of such conduct, and the bad example they were setting. They manifested some contrition at first, and partially promised to return him in three days, but they did not do it.

The people of the frontier were very much alarmed at this lawless demonstration, and many of them left their homes. Captain Patterson being threatened by the rescuers of Stump, was obliged to keep a guard in his house night and day.

The reasons given by the mob for their conduct was that the Government always manifested greater concern over the killing of an Indian than a white man; that numbers of the whites had been barbarously murdered and there were no lamentations, nor exertions of the Government to bring their murderers to justice; that their wives and children must be insulted by Indians, and a number of them receive the fatal blow, before they dare say it is war. In view of this they were determined no longer to submit.

Governor Penn ordered proceedings to be instituted against those who had thus violated the law and forcibly rescued Stump. Testimony was obtained against twenty-one of them, including the ring-leaders, and warrants issued for their arrest. Whether they were arrested or not does not appear.

The most positive instructions were issued by the Governor for the re-arrest of Stump and Ironcutter, and a warrant from the chief justice forwarded to the authorities to convey them to Philadelphia, accompanied by a second proclamation offering an additional reward of two hundred pounds for Stump,* and one hundred for Ironcutter. He also caused a description of their persons to be published to assist in their apprehension.

The description of the culprits given at the time, and extensively published, was as follows:

Frederick Stump, born in Heidelberg† Township, Lancaster County, in Pennsylvania, of German parents. He is about 33 years of age, 5 feet 8 inches high, a stout

* According to a letter written by John Armstrong to Governor Penn, dated Carlisle, January 24, 1768, Stump admitted that he killed nine of the Indians and his servant one. His excuse for killing them was believed to be false. Armstrong had given the coroner instructions to bury the bodies found under the ice in two graves.

† Now in Lebanon County, which was taken from Lancaster and Dauphin in 1813.

fellow, and well proportioned; of a brown complexion, thin visaged, has small black eyes with a downcast look, and wears short black hair; he speaks the German language well and the English but indifferently. He had on, when rescued, a light brown cloth coat, a blue great coat, an old hat, leather breeches, blue leggins and moccasins.

John Ironcutter, born in Germany, is about 19 years of age, 5 feet 6 inches high, a thick, clumsy fellow, round shouldered, of a dark brown complexion, has a smooth, full face, grey eyes, wears short brown hair and speaks very little English. He had on, when rescued, a blanket coat, an old felt hat, buckskin breeches, a pair of long trousers, coarse white yarn stockings, and shoes with brass buckles.

After their rescue from the Carlisle jail they came to the neighborhood where the bloody crime had been committed. But as their presence was not agreeable to the inhabitants—notwithstanding they winked at the crime—Stump soon afterwards retired to the residence of his father in Tulpehocken, and Ironcutter was secreted by some of his friends. No effort was made to arrest them, as the settlers generally sympathized with them. They soon afterwards fled to Virginia and never were disturbed. Stump died there at an advanced age, and it is not known what became of his accomplice.

CHAPTER XV.

LAND GRANTS TO THE OFFICERS—WHERE THEY WERE LOCATED—
TREATY OF FORT STANWIX—MONTOUR'S RESERVE—MANORS OF
POMFRET AND MUNCY—LAND OFFICE OPENED.

AS early as 1764 the officers of the First and Second Battalions, who served under Bouquet on the expedition against the Indians at Fort Du Quesne, held a meeting at Bedford, on the return march, and made an agreement with each other, in writing,* "that they would apply to the Proprietaries for a tract of land sufficiently extensive and conveniently situated, whereon to erect a compact and defensible town; and, also, to accommodate each of us with a reasonable and commodious plantation; which land and lots of ground, if obtained, we do agree shall be proportionably divided, according to our several ranks and subscriptions." This agreement was signed by Lieutenant Colonels Turbutt Francis and Asher Clayton, Major John P. De Haas, Captains Jacob Kern, John Proctor, James Hendricks, John Brady, William Piper, Timothy Green, Samuel Hunter; Henry Watson, adjutant First Battalion; Conrad Bucher, adjutant Second Battalion; William Plunkett and James Irvine, captains; Lieutenant Daniel Hunsicker; Ensign McMeen, Piper and others. They appointed Colonel Francis, Captain Irvine, etc., commissioners to act for all the officers. These commissioners made an application to the Proprietaries on the 30th of April, 1765, in which they proposed to embody themselves in a compact settlement, on some good land, at some distance from the inhabited part of the Province, where, by their industry, they might procure a comfortable subsistence for themselves, and by their arms, union, and increase, become a powerful barrier to the Province. They further represented that the land already purchased did not afford any situation convenient for their purpose; but the confluence of the two branches of the

* See *Linn's Annals of Buffalo Valley*, page 26.

Susquehanna at Shamokin did, and they, therefore, prayed the Proprietaries* to make the purchase, and make them a grant of 40,000 acres of arable land on the West Branch of the Susquehanna. Lieutenant Thomas Wiggins† and Ensign J. Foster, who were absent from Bedford when the agreement was signed, were subsequently admitted into the association.

In accordance with the request of the petitioners, Thomas and Richard Penn held a treaty with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix‡ on the 5th of November, 1768, and made another purchase of land on the Susquehanna for \$10,000. This deed conveyed all the land beginning on the north boundary line of the Province to the east side of the east branch of the Susquehanna§ at the place called "Owegy," and running with the said boundary line down this branch till it came opposite the mouth of a creek, called by the Indians *Awadac* (Towanda), then across the river, and up said creek on the south side thereof, and along the range of hills called Burnett's Hills by the English, and by the Indians ———, on the north side of them to the head of the creek running into the West Branch, called *Tiadaghton*,|| and down it to the river; then crossing and running up the south side to the forks which lie nearest a place called Kittanning, on the Ohio; from thence

* For the proceedings in full of the meetings of the association see Vol. I. of the Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

† Lieutenant John Wiggins was surgeon of the Augusta Regiment, and he also served in the same capacity during the Revolution. He was from what is now Dauphin County—then Lancaster. He was born in Ireland in 1712, and died June 12, 1794, and is buried in the old Paxtang church grave-yard. From him is descended John Wiggins Simonton, President Judge of the Dauphin Judicial District. Colonel Burd says of him: "He was a gentleman of education and did his duty very well."

‡ This fort was built in 1758 by the English at the enormous expense of \$256,400. During the Revolutionary war Fort Schuyler was built from the ruins of Stanwix. It stood near the present town of Rome, Oneida County, New York, between the waters of the Mohawk and Wood Creek.

§ See History of Indian Purchases by Hon. Daniel Agnew, LL. D., late Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, pages 13, 14, 15.

|| At the time of the purchase the Indians alleged that Lycoming Creek was the *Tiadaghton* referred to. This was afterwards discovered to be incorrect. What is now known as Pine, the largest stream emptying into the river from the north, was the real *Tiadaghton*. This bit of sharp practice caused much trouble for a period of sixteen years. It is supposed that *Tiadaghton* is an Iroquois word, and its meaning has been lost.

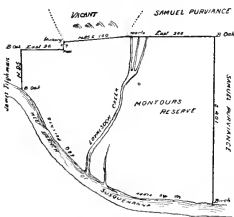
down the Ohio to the western bounds of the Province; thence around the southern boundary to the east of the Alleghenies to the line of the tract purchased in 1758 by the said Proprietaries, and from thence along the line of a tract purchased in 1749, around to the place of beginning.

From the boundaries laid down the tract included about sixteen miles in width of the Province of New York, from the Delaware to the Susquehanna. From the head of Towanda Creek along Burnett's Hills would undoubtedly be the range now known as the Elk Mountains, and further west Brier or Laurel Hill. This is an unbroken mountain until it is pierced by the second fork of Pine Creek, the stream called Tiadaghton. This description would harmonize with the language used in the deed. No other stream would answer the description, as the head of the main branch of Pine Creek is some thirty miles north-west of the head of the second fork, which could not be reached by following the range of hills mentioned above from the head of Towanda Creek, and crossing the main branch of Pine Creek one mile below Big Meadows, at the mouth of the third fork, and fifty-five miles from the river. From the geography of the country the stream described as forming the western boundary of the purchase of 1768, on the north side of the West Branch, was the stream known as Yarnell's Creek, and then down the same to the second fork of Pine Creek, thence to the river, a distance of about fifty-three miles. The line then passed up the south side of the river to the forks of the West Branch at the Canoe Place, now the corner of Clearfield, Cambria and Indiana counties. The line from this point to Kittanning was run by James Galbraith, according to the orders of Surveyor General Lukens, under date of April 17, 1768.

When the mountainous nature of the country, which was embraced within the lines of the northern part of the purchase, is considered, it is not surprising, perhaps, that the Indians were loth to part with it. It was an exceedingly wild and romantic region, and abounded in game of all kinds. Streams filled with fish coursed through the ravines and afforded a source of food supply that was valuable to the wandering bands of the different tribes at that day. Their women and children devoted a portion of their time to fishing, while the warriors engaged in the chase, and be-

tween the two they managed to secure a fair supply of food. This was another reason why the Indians disliked to abandon that magnificent portion of the valley lying on the north side of the river, between Lycoming and Pine creeks. It was always filled with deer and elk, on account of the fine grazing, and hunting parties invading it never came away empty. This fact alone so tempted the cupidity of the Indian that he was induced to tell a deliberate falsehood—which at one time was so revolting to the Indian's sense of justice—when the law of self-preservation stared him in the face. This lie relating to the boundary line caused serious trouble for sixteen years, and it was only when the Indians saw that a lie would no longer benefit them, that they acknowledged the false part they had played, and admitted that Pine Creek was the stream referred to in the treaty and not Lycoming, known to the Moravians as the "Limping Messenger."

At different times, between the confirmation of the purchase of 1768 and the opening of the Land Office, a number of special grants to various individuals, for valuable services rendered the Proprietaries, were made. Among these grants was one to Andrew Montour, made on the 29th of October, 1768. It was



Montour's Reserve.

located at the mouth of Loyalsock Creek (now Montoursville), and was made in recognition of the valuable services he had rendered the Government from time to time as a guide and interpreter. The tract, which took in both sides of the creek, contained 880 acres, and was called "Montour's Reserve." This was the site of the Indian town Otstonwakin, frequently alluded to in the times

of the Moravian missionaries. Annexed is a copy of the draft of the survey as on file in the Land Office.

The following certificate is appended to the draft:

By virtue of an order of survey dated the 29th day of October, 1768, surveyed the third day of November, 1769, unto Andrew Montour the above described tract of

land, situate on Loyalsock Creek (Stonehauger) and the West Branch of the river Susquehanna, in the county of Berks, containing eight hundred and eighty acres and allowance of six per cent.

PR WM. SCULL.

In Surveyor General Scull's list of returns it appears that he made return of this survey on the 9th of January, 1770, but the land was not patented until the 17th of June, 1785, the title having passed to other parties, of which there is a full explanation in the warrant. The patent was granted to Mary Norris and Peter Zachary Lloyd, and is recorded in Patent Book P, Vol. III., page 416, the consideration money being £142.79. Andrew Montour seems also to have been known as "Henry Montour." He is designated in the patent as "Andrew Montour who by the name of Henry Montour," by deed, etc., conveyed to Robert Lettes. The following extract from the record gives the history in detail:

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA, SS.

WHEREAS by Virtue and in Pursuance of an Order of Survey dated the Twentieth Day of October 1768, granted to Andrew Montour, there hath been surveyed a certain Tract of Land, Containing Eight hundred and eighty acres and allowance of six per cent for roads, &c., Situate on Loyalsock Creek and the West branch of Susquehanna river, in the County of Northumberland, And whereas the said Andrew by the name of Henry Montour by Deed dated 12th Augt. 1771, Conveyed the same to Robt. Lettes Hooper, who by Deed dated 27th Feb'y, 1773, conveyed to Jos. Spear, who by Deed dated 9th Dec'r. 1773, conveyed to James Wilson, Esq'r, who by Deed dated 26th June, 1777, conveyed to Mary Norris who by Deed dated 27th June 1777, conveyed one Moiety thereof to Peter Zachary Lloyd, Esq'r, And the said Mary Norris & Peter Zachary Lloyd have paid the Purchase Money at the Rate of Five Pounds Sterling, per Hundred Acres, with the Interest thereon due, agreeable to an Act of Assembly, passed the ninth Day of April, 1781, entitled "An Act for Establishing a Land Office, &c." and a Supplement thereto, passed the twenty-fifth of June, then next following THESE are therefore to authorize and require you to accept the said Survey into your Office, and to make Return thereof into the Office of the Secretary of the Land-Office, in Order for Confirmation, by Patent to the said Mary Norris & Peter Zachary Lloyd, And for so doing, this shall be your Warrant.

IN WITNESS whereof, the Honourable James Irvine, Esquire, Vice President of the Supreme Executive Council, hath hereunto set his Hand, and caused the lesser Seal of the said Commonwealth to be affixed the seventeenth Day of June, in the year of our Lord *One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-five*.

JOHN LUKENS, Esq. Surveyor General.

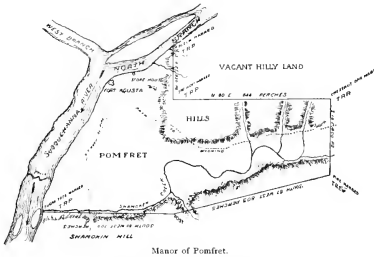
The above document contains the following endorsement on the back: "1785, June 17th, Northumberland 880 acres. Mary Norris & Peter Zachary Lloyd, Esq. Returned &c 17th June, 1785. No Eighty-four."

Previous to the purchase of 1768, Robert Martin, an emigrant from New Jersey, erected a house on Northumberland point and kept a tavern. This building was the first one at that place, and after the purchase of 1768 it was thronged with land speculators, surveyors, pioneers and adventurers who came to seek locations on the West Branch. There is but little doubt that he was the first settler on what is now the site of the borough of Northumberland.

Robert Martin was a native of New Jersey, but the date of his birth is unknown. Soon after attaining his majority he settled at Wyoming under the Pennsylvania title, but being unable to live there in peace on account of the Connecticut claimants, he abandoned his farm and removed to Northumberland. This was a short time previous to the purchase of 1768. During the Revolutionary struggle Mr. Martin became quite prominent, and was paymaster of the militia service during the campaign of 1776. He was a member of the Provincial Conference of June 18, 1776; of the convention of the 15th of July following, and of the Assembly in 1777 and 1778. He held the office of justice of the peace under the constitution of 1790 for many years. In 1789 he built a grist mill on Lycoming Creek in what is now Newberry, and known to-day as Good's mill. He died at Northumberland about 1813, leaving a large estate, mostly in unseated lands. One of his daughters married Dr. James Davidson, a distinguished surgeon in the army during the Revolution, who was also from New Jersey. He and his bride settled on a farm just below the mouth of Pine Creek. They had five sons and three daughters. Among the sons was Dr. Asher Davidson, who died at Jersey Shore in 1864. His parents when they died were buried in the old graveyard at Pine Creek, which was on their estate. Another daughter married Captain Thomas Grant, of the Revolution, who built a house on the farm which adjoined Fort Augusta on the east, and is now owned by Hon. S. P. Wolverton, of Sunbury. Their descendants embrace many of the best families on the Susquehanna.

About the time of the survey of Montour's Reserve, another was made at Shamokin (now Sunbury), in pursuance of a warrant issued by Lieutenant Governor Penn, of a tract to be called the Manor of Pomfret. The following draft of the survey, copied

from the books in the Land Office, at Harrisburg, shows the lines as they were run, and what territory of to-day is included:



Courses and distances of the river Susquehanna from the sugar tree at the junction of Shamokin Creek with the river:

1 N 7 W 20	11 N 70 E 101
2 N 20 W 34	12 N 75 E 21
3 N 30 E 64	13 N 5 * 34
4 N 7 E 60	14 N 48 E *
5 N 14 E 70	15 N 39 E *
6 N 23 E 240	16 N 35 E *
7 N 32 E 60	17 N 39 E *
8 N 15 E 200	18 North-east to ye
9 N 23 E 24	beech 8 ps. N E of
10 N 46 E 54	Small Run.

By virtue of a warrant dated the 29th day of October 1768, surveyed the 19th day of December 1768, to the use of the Honorable the Proprietaries of the Province of Pennsylvania, the above described tract of land situate at Shamokin, on the river Susquehanna, containing four thousand seven hundred and sixty-six acres of land and allowance of six per cent.

PR. WM. SCULL.

In feudal times a manor was a territorial district, with jurisdiction rights, and perquisites thereto belonging. In England manors were afterwards called baronies, and ultimately lordships. Each lord held a court, called Court Barons, for redressing wrongs and settling disputes among the tenants. Pomfret was evidently another name for Pontefract, a borough town in Yorkshire, Eng-

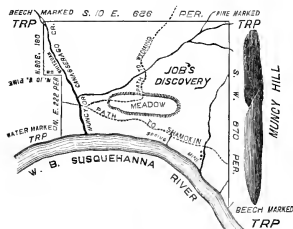
*Obliterated.

land. It is derived from the Latin, *pons fractus*, from the breaking of a bridge over the Aire. Pomfret castle was built in 1080 and passed through many stormy scenes. It gave the title, Earls of Pomfret, to the family of Formor.

Nothing more than the survey was done with Pomfret. No barony was established or courts held. In a short time from the date of the survey the county of Northumberland was erected and a new order of things established. It is interesting, however, to examine the lines and see what territory was embraced within them, and contemplate what is there to-day.

In relation to manors it seems to have been a policy of William Penn, at an early period of the history of land affairs in the Province, to reserve out of each purchase from the Indians one-tenth of the lands, to be selected and laid out before the Land Office was opened for the purpose of granting applications or warrants to individuals, which was intended as the property of himself and successors. This policy is shown by a warrant issued by William Penn at an early date to Edward Pennington, then Surveyor General, to survey for the Proprietor 500 acres of every township of 5,000 acres. This practice was continued, with some variations, up to the beginning of the American Revolution.

On the 25th of December, 1768, a warrant was issued by John Penn, directing the survey of a tract at Muncy, to be called Muncy



Muncy Manor.

Manor. The land was recommended by Job Chilloway, the friendly Indian and guide, and it was designated on the draft as "Job's Discovery." It was considered the most important point on the West Branch, above Shamokin, on account of its fine location, the richness of the soil and the

beauty of the surrounding scenery. It was also the central point of the great war paths leading east, west, north and south, and

from the earliest times had been a favorite place of resort by various Indian tribes. A copy of the draft of the original survey is given above :

Appended to the draft are the "courses and distances of the river from ye beech," as follows: 1. N 57 E 50; 2. N 43 E 155; 3. N 24 E 147; 4. North 84½; 5. N 10 E 72; W 134; 80 ash.

The certificate is as follows: By virtue of a warrant dated the 24th day of November, 1768, surveyed the 26th and 27th days of December, 1768, for the use of the Honorable the Proprietaries of the Province of Pennsylvania, the above described tract of land situate on the West Branch of Susquehanna River at the mouth of Muncy alias Cannassarago alias Ocochpocheny Creek, containing one thousand six hundred and fifteen acres with allowances of six per cent.

PR. WM. SCULL.

Returned into the Secretary's office the 8th of February, 1769.

The above is certified by James P. Barr, Surveyor General, as "a copy of the original" on file in that office, under date of February, 1866.

In accordance with the custom established by William Penn, and continued by his sons to the close of the Proprietary Government, another manor was directed to be surveyed on the river. It was located on the south side of the purchase, and John Lukens, Surveyor General, issued a warrant dated December 27, 1768, and on it Mr. Maclay surveyed, February 18, 1769, a tract of 1,328 acres about one mile above the mouth of Penn's Creek, adjoining, on the south, the line dividing the purchase of 1754 from that of 1768, and extending up the Susquehanna 966½ perches.

January 31, 1769, a warrant for the survey of one thousand acres was issued by John Penn, and as a portion of the land embraced by it has been the cause of much litigation, it is given herewith in full:

{ L. S. } PENNSYLVANIA, ss.

BY THE PROPRIETARIES.

These are to authorize and require you to survey and lay out, or cause to be surveyed and laid out for our use, the quantity of one thousand acres of land, viz.: Five hundred acres thereof at the mouth of a creek known by the name of Lycoming, and extending thence down and upon the river Susquehanna, and the other five hundred acres in any part of the purchase lately made at Fort Stanwix of the Six Nations, that shall not interfere with any previous warrant, and to make return of the same in our Secretary's Office; and for the so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant. Witness, John Penn, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor and Commissioner of Property of the

said Province, who by virtue of certain powers from said Proprietaries, hath hereunto set his hand and caused the seal of the Land Office to be affixed at Philadelphia, this thirty-first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine.

To John Lukens, Esq., Surveyor-General.

JOHN PENN.

To William Scull, Deputy Surveyor:

Execute this warrant, and make return of survey into my office.

JOHN LUKENS, S. G.

N. B. The last above mentioned 500 acres may be surveyed in the forks of Susquehanna between two runs a little above the head of Shamokin Island, or at the place called the Narrows, running a mile or more along the river and back to the hill called Hence Michael's Place.

JOHN LUKENS, S. G.

February 3, 1769.

P. S. If the land at Lycoming should be found to belong to Andrew Montour, lay out on this warrant 500 acres at any place thereabouts not already appropriated.

February 22, 1769, there were surveyed on this warrant 180 acres at the mouth of Mahoning Creek, including the land on which a portion of the borough of Danville now stands, by William Scull, Surveyor General; and on the 28th of the same month 320 acres were surveyed on the same warrant at the mouth of Buffalo Creek, by William Maclay. And on the 20th of March following 579 acres were surveyed on the east side of Lycoming Creek, extending down the river. This included all the western part of what is now the city of Williamsport. This was the last of the manor surveys. The warrant was dated January 31, 1769, and returned May 5, 1770. On this survey a patent was issued to Rev. Richard Peters, August 11, 1770, for 599 acres, and called "Orme's Kirk." November 23, 1772, it was sold to Turbutt Francis; January 19, 1775, to Hawkins Boone, and July 11, 1791, his executors sold to William Winters 287½ acres. The remainder of the 599 acres constituted what was afterwards known as the Amariah Sutton farm, now owned by Hon. R. J. C. Walker.

Under date of February 3, 1769, the following petition from Colonel Francis and other officers was received at the office of the Governor, duly considered and granted; and as it is a curious document, it is given in full:

Coll. Francis, Coll. Clayton, Major De Hass, Capt. Irvin, Capt. Plunket, Capt. Hunter, Capt. Kern, Capt. Green, Capt. Honsecker, Capt. Simes, Capt. Hendricks, Capt. Brady, Capt. W. Piper, Capt. Boucher, Lieut. Steward, Lieut. Wiggins, Lieut.

Hays, Lieut Nice, Lieut Hunsiker, Lieut Askey, Lieut McAllaster, Ens. W. Piper, Ens. McMean, Ens. Morrow, Ens. Stine, Ens. Foster:

The above officers of the First & Second Battallion of the Pennsylvania Regt. & who served under Coll. Bouquet in 1764, apply for twenty-four Thousand acres of Land to be taken up on the waters of the West Branch of the River Susquehanna in not less than eight Thousand acres in a Tract, & divided amongst them and seated according to their agreement amongst themselves & the concession of the Proprietars to their Petition.

N. B. There *is* but three officers who have left us since our first Application to the Proprietors.

TURBUTT FRANCIS.

Granted (except that Coll. Clayton is not allowed to have any share) upon the terms expressed in the Minutes of Property of the 3d Feb. 1769.

JOHN PENN.

The "minute" of the meeting of the Board of Property, referred to above, is given herewith as part of the history of this great land transaction, as well as to show what each applicant was required to pay for his grant. It is as follows:

MINUTE OF THE BOARD OF PROPERTY.

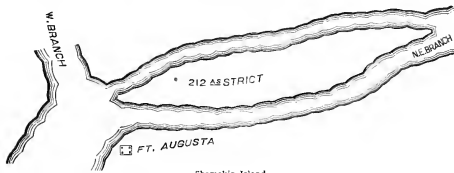
At a Meeting at the Governors the 3d Feby, 1769, present, The Governor, The Sec'y, Mr. Tilghman, The Auditor Gen'l. Mr. Hockley, The Rec'r Gen'l Mr. Physick, The Surv'r Gen'l Mr. Lukens.

Ordered that Col. Francis and the Officers of the 1st & 2d Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment be allowed to take up 24,000 as., to be divided amongst them in distinct Surveys on the Waters of the West Branch of Sasquehanna to be seated with a Family for each 300 as., within two years from the time of Survey paying 5*l* Sterling p hundred & 1d Stg. p. acre. The Land to be taken as near as may be together and in bodys of Eight Thousand Acres at least. If more than eight Thousand acres can be had in one place they may have the Liberty of taking it & laying out the Residue in two other places if it can't be got in one. The whole paid for before patents issue for any parts. Surveys to be made & returned in nine Months and Settlements made and Money paid in 15 Months after Returns made. Int. & Quit Rent to commence in nine Months after Application. If all cannot pay for their parts in time, patents to issue for the whole to such as will pay the whole Money still seating as above.

Another important landmark in early times was Shamokin Island, in the North Branch of the Susquehanna, at the point where it unites with the West Branch and forms the main river. When Fort Augusta was built the lower point of the island extended a short distance below the fortification, but the water, during the past hundred years, has so worn away the point that it is now above where the fort stood on the main land. The island

was a favorite place with the Indians, and they had two villages on it. One was near the upper end and the other about the middle, and the remains of their wigwams were pointed out long after the white settlers came. Stone axes, and spear and arrow-heads of flint, were also picked up where their huts had stood. A mound is said to have existed on the island, where it is supposed many bodies were buried. Only a few skeletons were unearthed, and they appeared to have been buried a long time.

On being informed of the value of the island, the Penns were not slow to take steps to acquire it for themselves, and on the 29th of November, 1768, a warrant in favor of John Penn and John Penn, Jr., Proprietaries, was issued; and on the 16th of December following a survey was made, and the following draft is now on file among the records at Harrisburg:



By virtue of a warrant dated the 29th Day of November, 1768, Surveyed the 16th day of December, 1768, unto the Honorable the Proprietaries the above described Island, situate opposite to Fort Augusta, in the North East Branch of Susquehanna in the New Purchase, containing Two hundred Acres and allowance of six per cent.

PR. WM. SCULL.

Mungo Reed appears to have been the first white man to settle on the island, erect a cabin and make improvements. The Duke De La Rochefoucault Liancourt,* a French traveler, who visited Northumberland in 1795, thus refers to him:

Near to Northumberland, on the northern arm of the Susquehanna, and close to the point of confluence of the two arms of that river, lies an isle, which contains about two hundred and fifty acres of the richest soil, from fifty of which the largest trees have been cut down. The land is fit for all the purposes of agriculture, and might be cultivated with equal profit and satisfaction by an industrious owner. It is the most pleasant little estate which can possibly be bought by any person desirous of

* *Liancourt's Travels in America in 1795*, Vol. I., pages 69, 70, 71 and 72.

settling in Northumberland. At present it is the property of a man much advanced in years, who lives on it, in a small log house. He bought it about seven years ago for one thousand six hundred dollars, and very lately refused three thousand three hundred, which were offered for this island.

The records show that Reed purchased the island from the Penns, as per article of agreement dated July 2, 1784, for \$1,413.33. The article was proved August 27, 1802, and recorded the same day in deed book L, page 701, at Sunbury. Reed, however, did not long remain the owner of the island, as the following brief of the title from his purchase to the present time will show:

29th July, 1786. Transfer by Mungo Reed to Abraham Scott of the above article of agreement and the premises; said Scott to pay the balance of purchase money, and pay Reed one hundred pounds. Proved 27th July, 1802. Recorded 27th July, 1802, deed book L, page 702.

John Penn and Richard Penn, by attorney, John R. Coats, to John Boyd. Deed, 26th March, 1802. Same day acknowledged. Recorded 10th December, 1817, deed book T, page 418. Recites death of one of the J. Penns and Richard as brother. Letter of attorney dated 27th November, 1800, intended to be recorded. Recites article of agreement with Mungo Reed for absolute sale. Recites transfer by Mungo Reed to Abraham Scott; death of Scott intestate in August, 1798, leaving issue Samuel, Alexander, Mary Wilson, late Mary Scott, Sarah and Susanna, and a widow, Mary. That Samuel, after his father's death, conveyed his share to Alexander and died intestate, leaving issue Samuel Hunter Scott, Sarah and Susan. Susanna, a daughter of Abraham Scott, died after Samuel, unmarried and without issue. Recites payment of all the consideration money. Conveys Shamokin Island. Recites warrant dated 29th November, 1768, and survey for Proprietaries on the 16th December, 1768. In trust for heirs of Abraham Scott.

April term, 1802. Proceedings in partition in Orphans' Court of Northumberland County. Petition of Alexander Scott, heir at law of Abraham Scott, deceased; states the death of Abraham Scott and his issue, and the title to him of Shamokin Island; prays an inquest. Awarded. O. C. docket 3, page 245.

June term, 1802. Inquest returned and confirmed, and Shamokin Island awarded to Alexander Scott June 15, 1802. Orphans' Court docket No. 3, page 252.

Sarah Scott, widow of Abraham Scott, deceased, to Alexander Scott. Deed of release 12th August, 1802. Recorded deed book T, page 421, 10th December, 1817. Recites partition and distribution 15th June, 1802. Releases island from dower—\$150.24 per annum during life.

Sarah Scott to same. *Ut supra*, page 422. Releases her share of money, \$1,001.64 $\frac{2}{3}$; \$500.82 $\frac{2}{3}$ upon death of widow; \$250.41 $\frac{1}{5}$ her share of Susanna Scott's portion; \$125.20 $\frac{2}{3}$ upon death of widow.

William Wilson and wife to same. *Ut supra*, page 423, *Ibid.* \$1,001.64 $\frac{2}{3}$; \$500.82 $\frac{2}{3}$ upon death of widow; \$250.41 $\frac{1}{5}$ her share of Susanna Scott's portion; \$125.20 $\frac{2}{3}$ upon death of widow.

Henry Vanderslice, sheriff, to Alexander Scott. Deed 30th April, 1803. Re-

corded T, page 420, 10th December, 1817. Consideration fifteen pounds. Judgment in name of John Deemer, against executors of Samuel Scott, and sale of one-fifth of Shamokin Island to Alexander Scott, as property of Samuel Scott.

Sarah Scott, Alexander Scott, William Wilson and Mary, his wife, and Sarah Scott, Jr., with Edward Lyon. Article of agreement dated 2d March, 1802. Recorded in deed book U, page 340. Agrees to convey the Shamokin Island in North-east Branch of Susquehanna river, opposite Fort Augusta, called "Corcyra"—£3,000.

Alexander Scott to Edward Lyon. Deed 6th October, 1805. Recorded in deed book T, page 452, 13th February, 1818. One-fifth of Shamokin Island in North Branch Susquehanna river, opposite Fort Augusta. Recites sheriff's sale and deed from Vanderslice. Consideration fifteen pounds.

John Boyd to Edward Lyon. Deed 24th April, 1821. Recites that he held legal title, and the transfer by heirs of Abraham Scott of equitable title, and payment of consideration money and a former deed to Lyon by him dated 28th June, 1802, conveys Shamokin Island. Recorded in deed book U, page 338. Consideration, \$1.00.

Seth Chapman vs. Executors of Edward Lyon. No. 6 April term, 1824, *Fi. Fa.* Levy on Shamokin Island. "Lands levied and condemned."

Same vs. Same. No. 7 *ibid*—*ibid*.

William and Thomas Clyde vs. John Watson and E. Lyon. No 17 April term, 1819. 23d January, 1819, judgment.

William Clyde, who survived Thomas, vs. Executors of Edward Lyon. No. 84 November term, 1823. Appearance docket. Amicable *Scire Facias* to revive, etc. 27 November, 1823, judgment confessed. 17 April term, 1819, aforesaid. No. 52 April term, 1824, *Fi. Fa.*

Same vs. Same. No. 52 April term, 1824, *Fi. Fa.* Levy on Shamokin Island. "Lands levied and condemned." No. 13 August term, 1824, *Vend. Ex.*

Same vs. Same. No. 13 August term, 1824, *Vend. Ex.* Lands sold to John Cowden for \$9,200.

James R. Shannon, sheriff, to John Cowden. Deed acknowledged 16th day of August, 1824, for Shamokin Island. Sold as the property of Edward Lyon in hands of his executors. Ent. March 12, 1829. Consideration, \$9,200.

Will of John Cowden, dated 1st September, 1836. Registered 16th January, 1837, will book No. 3, pages 241 and 242, devises island to John H. Cowden.

The Philadelphia Bank vs. John H. Cowden. Judgment. Same vs. Same, *Fi. Fa.* Same vs. Same, *Vend. Ex.*

Merchants and Manufacturers Bank vs. John H. Cowden. Judgment. Same vs. Same, *Fi. Fa.* Same vs. Same, *Vend. Ex.*

6th August, 1842. Deed Henry Gossler, sheriff, to Alexander Cummings for Shamokin Island. Acknowledged 13th August, 1842. Entered in sheriff's deed book B, page 232.

20th August, 1842. Deed Alexander Cummings and wife to the Philadelphia Bank. Indorsed on the above deed. Acknowledged. Recorded in deed book C C, pages 489 and 490.

31st March, 1845. Deed Philadelphia Bank to Ebenezer Greenough. Proved. Recorded 17th June, 1846, in deed book E E, pages 635, etc.

E. Greenough's Executors to Joseph Weitzel. Deed dated the 19th day of March,

1857. Recorded June 7, 1858, in deed book O O, pages 388, etc. Consideration, \$14,000. Conveys the whole of Shamokin Island.

Joseph Weitzel and wife to Joseph Bird. Deed dated the 4th day of January, 1864. Recorded January 4, 1864, in deed book T T, pages 343, etc. Consideration, \$18,600. Conveys the whole of Shamokin Island.

Joseph Bird and wife to John B. Packer. Deed dated the 1st day of June, 1877. Recorded June 19, 1877, in deed book No. 74, page 70. Consideration, \$20,500. Conveys the whole of Shamokin Island.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the island has had many owners since the days of the Penns. And, it might be added, it presents a changed appearance from what it did when Count Liancourt* saw it, over ninety years ago. It is now in a high state of cultivation and yields luxuriant crops. The farm residences, barns and out-buildings are elegant and capacious. Hon. John B. Packer, the present owner, has spared no expense to beautify and adorn the farm, to protect it from the encroachments of the water, and make it in every respect a model of rural beauty. There is a fine native grove on the upper end of the island, public bridges connect it with the main land, and the Philadelphia and Erie railroad also crosses it, using two bridges for that purpose. Could old Mungo Reed look upon it now he would be compelled to rub his eyes the second time to convince himself that he once lived there, felled the stately oaks and struggled hard to gain a subsistence!

On the 18th of February William Maclay made the first survey in person on the west side of the river. Linn, in his *Annals of Buffalo Valley*, says his field notes are yet preserved among the records in Union County. February 22d the Rev. John Ewing's survey was made, which was the first in Buffalo Valley. It com-

* This distinguished French Duke was born in France, 1747; and was grand master of the wardrobe to Louis XVth and XVIth. During the Revolution, like another Lafayette, he was the friend of liberty, but the enemy of licentiousness. The downfall of the throne compelled him to quit France, and after having resided for some time in England, he visited America in 1795, and made a tour through this part of Pennsylvania, stopping some time at Northumberland. He then passed up the river and visited the French settlement called Asylum, composed of French refugees, in what is now Sullivan County. He published two large volumes entitled *Travels in the United States*. In 1799 he was allowed to return to his native country, where he died in March, 1827, greatly respected for his liberal principles and his benevolence. It was chiefly through his exertions that vaccination was introduced into France.

menced near the mouth of Buffalo Creek and extended up the river 675 perches "to a walnut that formerly stood on Dr. Dougal's line." This survey contained 1,150 acres. Two days afterwards he surveyed the Bremmer tract for John Penn, which contained 1,434 acres. At that time he named it the "Fiddler Tract," because, according to tradition, it had been given to a fiddler for one night's performance on the violin. Bremmer was a London music dealer, and it is inferred that he was a fiddler by occupation.

The site of what is now the flourishing borough of Lewisburg was surveyed February 28th by Mr. Maclay, commencing at a tree which stood at what is now known as Strohecker's landing; and on the line he notes the spring now belonging to the University grounds. The line as he ran it was one mile long to the mouth of Buffalo Creek.

The following day, February 4th, a special application was issued in favor of Dr. Francis Allison, being No. 2, for 1,500 acres, and a survey was at once made of 1,620 acres, above the mouth of Bald Eagle Creek. It embraced that beautiful tract of alluvial land, now in a high state of cultivation, extending westward from the mouth of Bald Eagle and taking in the ground on which the passenger station of the Philadelphia and Erie railroad now stands, at Lock Haven. An Indian village, called Old Town, stood near the mouth of the creek, opposite Great Island. There are several very fine farms on this tract to-day, the most attractive, with its handsome dwelling house and out-buildings, being that of Hon. Charles A. Mayer, of Lock Haven.

Sometime during 1769 Thomas Brown settled two miles up Loyalsock Creek and made an improvement. He was one of the first settlers in that section, and it is a source of regret that nothing is known of his history.

Joseph Bonser was an early settler above Loyalsock, on the small stream which still bears his name. His cabin stood at the point where the great Sheshequin path intersected the run, and where Rev. David Brainerd met and preached to the Indians as early as 1746. The great swamp alluded to by Colonel Hartley was in this neighborhood.

Edward Burd is reported to have settled and made a small im-

provement on the river five miles above the mouth of Buffalo Creek as early as 1768. His claim included the site of the Indian town which so many afterwards coveted.

Edmund Huff settled in 1768 in Nippenose Bottom and made an improvement on what was afterwards the farm of General McMicken. Huff seems to have been quite an adventurer, or squatter. At one time we find him living near Bald Eagle's Nest (Milesburg), and later at what is now Newberry, where he had a fort, although it had a questionable reputation in later years.

Near the close of February many of the officers of the First and Second Battalions met at Fort Augusta and agreed to take the land proposed by the Proprietaries, and that one of the tracts should be surveyed on the West Branch, adjoining Andrew Montour's place at Chillisquaque Creek, and one in Buffalo Valley. And in order to expedite business it was agreed that Captains Plunkett, Brady, Piper and Lieutenant Askey should go along with Mr. Maclay to Buffalo Valley, and Captains Hunter and Irvine with Mr. Scull, to direct the survey in the "forks," as they termed it.

On the 1st, 2d and 3d of March, 1769, Samuel Maclay, for his brother William, made the survey for the officers which embraced the heart of Buffalo Valley. The survey was made, according to the minutes, "without opposition." The party then returned to Fort Augusta, held a meeting, and determined that the third tract of 8,000 acres should be surveyed on Bald Eagle Creek. Captains Hunter, Brady and Piper were appointed to oversee that survey, which was to be made by Charles Lukens. The records say that Dr. Plunkett, Colonel Francis and Major de Haas furnished the stores for the surveying party.

The Bald Eagle survey was made under the direction of Charles Lukens. It commenced on the western boundary of the Allison tract, embracing the territory between the river and along Bald Eagle Creek as far as Howard, in Centre County. The Berks County line of 1752 crossed the river five miles below Selinsgrove, passed through the middle of Sugar Valley, again crossing the river near the mouths of the Bald Eagle Creek, Quinn's Run and Paddy's Run. The assumed purchase line of 1754 crossed the river about a mile above the mouth of Penn's Creek, crossed the

Bald Eagle at the mouth of Beech Creek, and the West Branch near the mouth of the Sinnemahoning. The latter line becoming the assumed boundary between Berks and Cumberland, all the territory of Clinton eastwardly of it was in Berks and within Charles Lukens' district.

In making the survey of the officers' tracts on Bald Eagle the first one, which was assigned to Ensign William McMeen, commenced at an ash on the river bank, now within the limits of Lock Haven. This survey was returned as containing 216 acres, and it was patented to Alexander Hamilton May 3, 1774. Lieutenant Hunsicker came next with a tract of 282 acres, including the site of the present town of Flemington. Captain Timothy Green's tract of 542 acres included what is now Mill Hall. John Brady had a tract on Fishing Creek, which was returned as containing 393 acres. Captain James Irvine's tract, westward, contained 547 acres. Culbertson, who was his tenant, was killed by the Indians near what Lukens called "Hick's Spring." Above this tract another was surveyed in the name of Captain Brady, containing 144 acres. Captain William Plunkett also had a tract which contained 540 acres.

Linn says that west of Brady was Ensign James Morrow's tract, about whose right there was so much litigation, consequent upon the refusal of the proprietors to patent it to him. Morrow, or Murray, was charged with being with the party which rescued Stump and Ironcutter at Carlisle, and the Proprietary vacated his right. In *Ross vs. Eason*, 4 *Yates*, page 54, is a report of a case which arose upon Murray's right (part of the officers' survey on the *Chillisquaque*), which was decided in favor of Murray. Whether any difficulty arose about the tract on Bald Eagle is unknown.

Among others securing grants in this survey may be mentioned Major John Philip de Hass,* 809 acres, and Lieutenant James Hays, 303 acres. Lieutenant Thomas Wiggins had a tract west of Hays, which included the mouth of Bald Eagle Creek, and embraced 125 acres.

*It is not known that any of these officers settled upon their tracts except Lieutenant James Hays, who lived and died upon his location, and is buried in the Hays grave-yard at Beech Creek, Clinton County. Major de Haas' son moved upon his land early in the present century, and his descendants are very numerous both in Clinton and Centre counties.—*Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. II., page 617, New Series.

The William Glass tract (not included in the officers' survey) was made April 4, 1769, and took in the upper portion of the ground on which Lock Haven now stands. It was on this tract that the famous Clary Campbell squatted. According to Judge Huston, in his work on *Land Titles*, page 318, the work was inaccurately done,* and when the land came to be re-surveyed, many of the tracts were found to contain an excess of over one hundred acres of the quantity called for. As the country was a wilderness at that time, and land was plenty, the surveyors were not particular as to how they ran their lines.

On the 16th of May, 1769, lots were drawn by the officers for the choice of lands. Captain Hendricks having won the first choice, took the eastern end of Buffalo Valley survey. Captain Plunkett then chose the tract on which the Driesbach church was finally built, and Captain Brady what afterwards became the Maclay place. Captain Kern took the site of Vicksburg. Dr. Thomas Wiggins got 339 acres. Dr. Wiggins resided in Lower Paxtang Township, now Dauphin County. By his will, proved August 31, 1798, he devised to his brother, John Wiggins, his land in Northumberland County; and by the will of John Wiggins, second, he devised it to John and James Simonton, each 110 acres.†

May 16, 1769, the officers ‡ met at Harris' Ferry (now Harrisburg), when Messrs. Maclay, Scull and Lukens laid before them the drafts of their respective surveys. Mr. Maclay reported that the tract surveyed by him in Buffalo Valley contained 8,000 acres; Mr. Scull, that in the "forks," 6,096 acres, which left 9,004 for Bald Eagle Creek, and Mr. Lukens' survey was several thousand acres short of the quantity. They agreed then that Colonel Francis should receive his share, 2,075 acres, surveyed to him in one tract,

* For a very full description of these surveys, together with a map showing the lines, see *Linn's History of Clinton and Centre Counties*, pages 469, 70, 71.

† See *Annals of Buffalo Valley*, page 31.

‡ On the 9th of March, 1771, the officers of the First and Second Battalions held another meeting, when Charles Lukens reported that the whole tract surveyed by him on Bald Eagle Creek contained only 8,380 acres, which was 1,524 acres less than the quantity allowed them. He divided the Bald Eagle tract into twenty shares, the last of which Lieutenant Askey got; so that Lieutenant McAllister, Ensign Piper, Captain Sems and Captain Kern yet lacked their shares. Colonel Francis then said that a

adjoining the tract purchased by him of Andrew Montour. According to the draft of this survey, now on file in the Land Office, it extended up the river from Chillisquaque Creek to a point near Watsontown, taking in the land on which Montandon, Milton and Watsontown now stand. Colonel Francis having acquired by purchase the land from Chillisquaque Creek to and including Northumberland, owned a continuous strip from that place to a point near Watsontown, a distance of about eighteen miles. This made him one of the most extensive land owners of that time. John Lowdon bought the tract from Francis on which the town of Northumberland was built, and it was patented to his wife, Sarah Lowdon, July 7, 1770. Boyd and Wilson also purchased of him the tract at Chillisquaque, and in 1791 they erected a mill, which has been rebuilt at different times and kept going to the present day.

Above Francis' tract, which took in a portion of the "Paradise" country, came Ensign Stein; next Lieutenant Hunsicker. Then came Captain William Piper, 609 acres, on Warrior Run, which included the present site of Watsontown. North, along the river, was Lieutenant Hayes, 334 acres, where Dewart now stands, and several other officers. These tracts were all surveyed in May, 1769. Captain Piper and Lieutenant Hayes settled on their lands and lived and died there. The others all sold to speculators or other parties.

Colonel Turbutt Francis was a son of Tench Francis, who was Attorney General of Pennsylvania from 1741 to 1755, and was born in Talbot County, Maryland, in 1740. He was named for his mother, Miss Turbutt, and was a full cousin of Dr. Francis, the translator of Horace, and Sir Philip Francis, one of the reputed authors of the letters of Junius. He served in the French

grant might be obtained for the tract of land in Buffalo Valley, formerly intended to be located by Captain Plunkett, and since surveyed for the Proprietaries, containing 1,005 acres. Piper was, therefore, given lot No. 6, on Bald Eagle, surveyed for Ensign Morrow, who was excluded from the grant by the Penns, because he was of the party that rescued Stump and Ironcutter from the Carlisle jail. Captain Kern was given 287 acres, late the Chamberlain mill tract in Kelly Township; Lieutenant McAllister 290 acres, adjoining the foregoing, and Colonel Francis, for Captain Sems, 527½ adjoining. Colonel Francis sold the latter to William Linn, of Lurgan Township, Franklin County.—*Linn's Annals of Buffalo Valley*, page 37.

and Indian wars, and was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the First Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel John Penn, June 6, 1764, and took part in the Bouquet expedition. He also served as prothonotary of Cumberland County. When Northumberland County was erected, in 1772, he was appointed one of the first justices of the peace, and was afterwards honored with having one of the original townships named after him, which is still in existence.

At the time of Colonel Plunkett's invasion of Wyoming, Colonel Francis subscribed fifty pounds* to assist in defraying the expenses of the expedition from Fort Augusta.

The village of Turbutville was named after him, but through some fatality the title has been corrupted into *Turbot-ville*, much to the annoyance of those who are familiar with the origin of the name. Turbot is the name of a fish, and its application in this instance is wholly out of place.

During the Revolutionary war Colonel Francis remained passive, his sympathies rather inclining to the British side of the question.

He died at his home in Philadelphia in 1797, aged about 57 years. From a copy of his will found among the Samuel Wallis papers, and now in the possession of Howard R. Wallis, of Muncy, it appears that he bequeathed to his wife Sarah all his "household furniture, plate, servants, horses, carriages, and also the sum of £4,000 in money." He also gave her "£260 per annum, to be paid to her yearly or quarterly, as she might choose."

To his daughter Rebecca he gave one-third of his estate, to be paid her on reaching the age of eighteen, or on the day of her marriage.

To his sons, Tench and Samuel Mifflin Francis, he gave the balance of his estate. His wife and Samuel Mifflin were constituted his executors. The will was dated February 11, 1777, and was written wholly in his own hand, without subscribing witnesses. It was proved by David Kennedy and Dr. William Smith, by comparison and similarity of hands.

Sometime towards the close of the year 1769 an Irishman

* See ex-Governor Hoyt's *Seventeen Townships of Luzerne*, page 113.

named Larry Burt had a cabin near the mouth of Larry's Creek. It is said that he was an Indian trader, but his name does not appear in the official list of traders for that day. Burt had an Indian woman for a wife and he sold goods to the Indians. His cabin stood a few rods above where the iron bridge now crosses the stream. The stream now known as "Larry's" Creek was named after him. Nothing more of his history is known. Being an adventurer, he probably retired on the appearance of the land speculators and followed the Indians westward.

The special grants having been disposed of, preparations were made for opening the Land Office, and in order to give the reader a clear idea as to how business was transacted at that day, and applications granted, the following advertisement by the secretary of the Land Office is given:

The Land Office will be opened on the third day of April next, at 10 o'clock in the morning, to receive applications from all persons inclinable to take up lands in the New Purchase, upon terms of five pounds sterling per hundred acres, and one penny per acre per annum quit-rent. No person will be allowed to take up more than three hundred acres, without a special license from the Proprietaries or Governor. The surveys upon all applications are to be made and returned within six months, and the whole purchase money paid at one payment, and patent taken out within twelve months from the date of the application, with interest and quit-rent from six months after the application. If there be a failure on the side of the party applying, in either proving his survey and return to be made, or in paying the purchase money, and obtaining the patent, the application and survey will be utterly void, and the Proprietaries will be at liberty to dispose of the land to any other person whatever. And as these terms will be strictly adhered to by the Proprietaries, all persons are hereby warned and cautioned, not to apply for more land than they will be able to pay for, in the time hereby given for that purpose.

By order of the Governor.

JAMES TILGHMAN,
Secretary of the Land Office.

Philadelphia Land Office, Feb. 23, 1769.

Notwithstanding the stringency of the conditions enjoined upon those taking up lands, it appears that they never were wholly complied with, so far as related to the patenting was concerned. Simultaneously with the advertisement of the secretary of the Land Office, preparations were made for the commencement of business on a large scale. Location books were opened, in which the tract applied for was entered, numbered and described. It being understood that many applications would be made, and

many of them for the same tract, it was decided by the Governor and his agents that the best way to award these applications would be to place them in a box, mix them well together, and then draw them therefrom and number them as they came forth. This plan, it was thought, would prove more satisfactory, as there could be no partiality in awarding an application. The form of an application was as follows:

No. 1085.

GEORGE GRANT hath made application for three hundred acres of land, on the north side of the West Branch of Susquehanna, joining and above the Honorable Proprietors land at Muncy Creek, including Wolf Run.

Dated at Philadelphia, this third day of April, 1769.

To William Scull, Deputy Surveyor; you are to survey the land mentioned in this application, and make return thereof into the Surveyor-General's Office, within six months from the above date; and thereof fail not.

JOHN LUKENS, S. G.

Instructions were also issued by Surveyor General John Lukens* to the deputy in whose district the tract located was to be surveyed, and they accompanied the application. Four deputy surveyors were appointed by the Commissioners of Property to attend to the field work. Their names were William Gray for the

* John Lukens was a grandson of Jan Lucken, a Quaker from Holland, one of the first of the thirteen settlers of Germantown, who arrived in Philadelphia October 6, 1683. The seventh son of the emigrant, Jan Lucken, was Peter, born January 30, 1696. Peter married Gainer Evans, whence the common appellation, Gainer or Gayner, amongst the girls of the Lukens family. John Lukens was Surveyor General under the Proprietaries, appointed December 8, 1761, and re appointed under the Commonwealth April 10, 1781. He died in office in October, 1789. Among his children were Charles, who is connected with the early history of the Valley as Deputy Surveyor. He surveyed the officers' tracts on Bald Eagle Creek in March, 1769. Jesse, another son, was killed in Plunkett's expedition to Wyoming in December, 1775.

A daughter of John Lukens married Joseph Jacob Wallis, who died in 1795, leaving a large estate and the following descendants:

1. John Lukens Wallis, the first white male child born west of Muncy Creek, in 1773.
2. Grace Wallis, married Evan Rice Evans, Esq.
3. Sarah Wallis, married Daniel Smith, Esq.
4. Thomas Wallis, who became a physician. He was the father of the late Mrs. J. M. Petrikin, of Bellefonte.
5. Gayner Wallis, married Enoch Smith, Esq.
6. Elizabeth Wallis, married Thomas Evans.
7. Joseph Jacob Wallis.—*John Blair Linn.*

south-eastern part of the purchase; Charles Stewart for the district lying up the North Branch; William Scull* for the north side of the West Branch above Chillisquaque, and Charles Lukens for the south side, bounded on the south by the treaty line of 1754, and east by Buffalo Creek. His district also extended to the head-waters of Bald Eagle Creek, and embraced the valleys of Nittany, Sugar, Nippenose, White Deer Hole, White Deer, and the upper part of Buffalo Valley.

When the Land Office was opened, on the 3d of April, 1769, there was a great rush of applicants, and on the first day 2,782 applications were issued and directed to the deputy surveyors in their respective districts embraced in the purchase of 1768, including the north side of the river from Lycoming to Pine Creek. But a dispute arose which caused much trouble afterwards. The Indians claimed that Lycoming was the Tiadaghton mentioned in the treaty, and that the lands west of Lycoming were not included in the purchase, and that the whites had no authority to occupy them. The Proprietaries supposed Pine Creek was the Tiadaghton referred to in the treaty, but as the Indians expressed much dissatisfaction at the occupancy of these lands, an order was issued forbidding any surveys to be made in this territory west of Lycoming Creek. A large number of applications had, however, been granted for tracts in this district, and squatters were already upon the land. But in obedience to the

*Nicholas Scull, Surveyor General of Pennsylvania, was the eldest of the six sons of Nicholas Scull, Sr., who emigrated to America from County Cork, and landed at Chester in October, 1685. Nicholas Scull (his son) was born near Philadelphia in the year 1687, and was an apprentice to Thomas Holmes, the first acting Surveyor General. He married Abigail Heap in 1708. While young, Scull was actively engaged in surveying, and learned several Indian dialects. He was present at many councils with the Delaware and Conestoga tribes. He acted as interpreter at a council in Philadelphia April 18, 1728, and when all business was transacted it was "ordered that three match coats be given to James Le Tort, an Indian trader, and John Scull, to be by them delivered to Allumapees, Mr. Montour, etc." Nicholas Scull was elected sheriff of Philadelphia in 1744-5-6. On the 10th of June, 1748, he succeeded William Parsons as Surveyor General. He died in 1761 and was buried in Philadelphia. His wife died May 21, 1753, aged 65. They had nine children, and William, the deputy surveyor, was one of them. Descendants of Nicholas Scull reside at Reading, Westmoreland County, and in Pittsburg. John Scull founded the Pittsburg *Gazette*. John Lukens succeeded Scull as Surveyor General in December, 1768.—See *Autobiography of Nicholas Biddle*, pages 378-384.

order no surveys were made until the dispute was finally settled by the treaty of 1784, and there was an interim of sixteen years which was fraught with fear, uncertainty and bad feeling relating to the occupancy of this territory.

As soon as the applications were accepted surveyors were set to work to run the lines. In the same month they were in White Deer Hole Valley making surveys, and on the 1st of July in Black Hole Bottom, and on the 4th, 5th and 6th in Nippenose. The first survey in this Bottom was made on the application of Elizabeth Brown, numbered 44, and included the mouth of the creek. It was made July 4, 1769. On the 7th of the same month the first survey was made in Nippenose Valley, on the application of Ralph Foster, and embraced the tract where Sanderson's mill stands. On the 8th and 9th surveys were made along the river in what is now Wayne Township, Clinton County, and at other points above. In October surveys were made in Mosquito Valley, south-west of Williamsport, and at various other places in Charles Lukens' district.

In William Scull's district we find them making surveys on Muncy Creek in the vicinity of where Hughesville now stands. The surveyors in the other districts were also progressing with their work.

Applications were granted until the 31st of August, 1769, when they amounted to 4,000. Surveys were never made, probably, on half of the applications issued, but applications were made as often as four or five times for the same tracts by as many different persons. Priority seems to have been generally given according to the prescribed rule adopted for the regulation of such cases, and the first applicant for a tract generally secured it. There were some five or six applications for the land of John Cox, three miles above the mouth of Buffalo Creek, including the old Indian town where Shikelliny dwelt before he changed his residence to Shamokin to assume the duties of vice-king by appointment of the Six Nations. Many of these applications were surveyed on other tracts, several of which were opposite Long Island (in the river at Jersey Shore) and Nippenose Bottom and Buffalo Valley. A tract was generally found to fit the application. These applications only cost a dollar for office fees, and a small sum to the first

explorer or guide to the land, who was generally an expert woodsman and sought the best locations. Some lines were run and marked in order to define their locations to a particular spot. Hawkins Boone was the principal explorer and woodsman in Bald Eagle, Nittany and other valleys. In some of his notes taken at the time he mentions the Bald Eagle's Nest, near Milesburg, and a settler there named Huff, who had cut logs to erect a cabin. He was one of those early adventurers from Cumberland County, mention of whom will be made in another place.

The application of Andrew Hackett included "an old Indian cornfield, near a mile from where Bald Eagle Creek cuts through the hill, and where the Frankstown road leads through to the Great Island." This was on an important path which was frequently traveled by Indian war parties, and it was found to be very convenient for the whites in later years.

In many cases the tracts were located by letters cut on the bark of trees standing in a particular place, or by certain localities including deer licks, by which means they could be identified. Many of the surveys made on these applications were not found for many years afterwards, as the people were soon compelled to abandon the frontier, and in many cases never returned.

The year 1769 closed the application system, and in 1770 the Proprietaries commenced the issuing of warrants, which was pretty much on the same principle. Conditions, however, were fully set forth in the warrants, signed by the Governor, with the seal of the Land Office affixed. The original was filed in the Surveyor General's office, and a copy directed to the deputy in the district where the land was supposed to lie. When it was doubtful where the land was, they were in many cases directed thus: "To the proper Deputy Surveyor;" and he was supposed to be able to find it. In the scramble for land great confusion was caused, and in many instances sharp practices were resorted to for the purpose of securing eligible locations.

Among the noted pioneers of 1769 was Samuel Wallis, who became the most extensive land owner of that time. He was aggressive and adventuresome, and acquired one tract after another until he owned over 7,000 acres in one body in Muncy Valley alone. He also secured other tracts up the river, and on

Sinnemahoning, which amounted to several thousands of acres more. His famous plantation, known as "Muncy Farm,"* figures more in history than the balance of all his possessions. His seat was at what is now known as Hartley Hall, at the junction of the Williamsport and North Branch and Philadelphia and Reading railroads, three miles west of Muncy, and ten miles east of Williamsport. Here Mr. Wallis commenced the erection of a house early in 1769, which is still standing in a good state of preservation. It is without doubt the oldest house in the West Branch Valley to-day, and is regarded as the most important of all its historical landmarks. It was built on high ground, on an arm of the river, which encloses a large island, near the mouth of Carpenter's Run. The location was well chosen. A few hundred yards north of the house Fort Muncy was afterwards built as a protection against the Indians and as a rallying point for the settlers.

Not content with the acquisition of this great tract of rich farming land, Mr. Wallis was so imbued with the speculative fever of that day, that he was constantly on the lookout for other lands. There is in existence to-day an ancient draft showing the outlines of a tract of 5,900 acres, which took in the ground upon which Jersey Shore is built, and the surrounding country. The draft shows the winding course of the river from the mouth of Larry's Creek to Pine Creek, including Long Island, and as it is a document of much importance, the description of the survey, written upon its face, is given herewith in full:

"A Draught of a tract of Land situate on the north side of the West Branch of Susquehanna below & adjoining pine Creek.

"Surveyed the 17th & 18th Days of June in 1773, for Samuel Wallis, in Pursuance of Eighteen orders of survey Dated the 3d Day of April 1769 & granted to the following persons, viz: One order No. 1573 granted to Samuel Nicholas & one other order No. 1588 granted to Samuel Nicholas. One Order No. 1701 granted to Thomas Bonnal. One order No. 327 granted to Joseph Couperthwait. One order No. 464 granted to William Wilson. One order No. 592 granted to John Sprogle. One

* It appears from the old records that the warrant for the "Muncy Farm" was in the name of John Jarvis, Sr., and it was originally known as the Jarvis tract.

order No. 318 granted to Thos Morgan. One order No. 118 granted to Richard Setteford. One order No. 1147 granted to John Cummings. One order No. 1373 granted to Samuel Taylor. One order No. 2231 granted to Joseph Knight. One order No. 107 granted to William Porter. One order No. 807 granted to Joseph Paul. One order No. 2127 granted to Henry Paul, Junr. One order No. 724 granted to Joseph Hill. One order No. 608 granted to Isaac Cathrall. One order No. 1546 granted to Benjamin Cathrall & one order No. 1558 granted to Peter Young.

"Beginning at a marked Elm standing on the North side of the West Branch of Susquehanna above and at the mouth of Larry's Creek & Turning thence N. 45° E. 400 p. thence N. 67 W. 310 p. thence S. 77 W. 765 p. thence S. 51 W. 700 p. to Pine Creek thence Down the said creek by the several courses thereof to the mouth thereof, thence down the northerly side of the West Branch of the River Susquehanna by the several courses thereof to the place of beginning at the mouth of Larry's Creek containing & laid out for five Thousand Nine Hundred acres with Allowance of six acres p cent for Roads and Highways."

This document is signed as follows: "John Lukens, Esq., Surveyor General, by order and direction of Jesse Lukens, per Samuel Harris."

The "draught" indicates the Susquehanna River and Pine Creek along the two sides of the survey; the large island in Pine Creek, the now almost obliterated island at the mouth of Pine Creek, in the main river, and the Long Island, as well as the mouth of Aughanbaugh's Run, a stream which is now but a mere rivulet; "Nepensis" Creek, and Larry's Creek.

There was also recently found among his papers a long and carefully drawn article of agreement, which, on account of its antiquity and historical value, is worthy of a place in these pages. It is as follows:

MEMORANDUM.

That it is agreed by and between Samuel Wallis, of the city of Philadelphia, and Joseph Jacob Wallis, of the county of Northumberland, to enter into a joint partnership in the Farming Business, & Raising of Stock on the farm now belonging to Samuel Wallis at Muncy, in the county of Northumberland & Province of Pennsyl-

vania, for the Term of eleven years, to begin and commence from the 1st Day of January which was in the year of Our Lord one Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-four, upon the following terms to wit:

1st. That all the Servants, Stock, Farming Utensils &c. which was on sd. Farm on the said 1st Day of January 1774, together with all that has been since that time purchased and placed on the Farm, be valued at what they originally cost, and that an Estimate be made as near as Possible of the True Value of all the crop which was at that time on the sd. Farm.

2d. That the Said Joseph Jacob Wallis do pay, or secure the payment of one-half part of the full amount of all such Valuation, Estimate & Original costs of the Servants, Stock, Farming Utensils & crop then on the sd. Farm.

3d. That the said Samuel Wallis Shall, at his own proper cost, and expense (Provisions for the Workmen and the use of a Team to do the necessary Halling only excepted) finish the Dwelling House which is now on hand and Build a good and Convenient Barn and stables fitting to accommodate such a Farm.

4th. That each of the said parties shall with their Respective Familys have (at any time when the said Samuel Wallis may chuse to be their with his Family) equal Priviledge, benefit & advantage of in and to the said Dwelling House During the full Term before mentioned.

5th. That all costs and expenses which may arise on purchasing of Servants, Stock, Farming Utentials, Provisions, Labor, and all other Incidental charges which may be necessary for working and Improving the said Farm, shall be equilly paid and Discharged by the said parties, Share and Share alike.

6th. That all the Servants, Stock, Farming Utentials, &c. which was the Property of Saml. Wallis and on the Farm the sd. 1st Day of January, 1774, Together with all that has been since that time purchased & placed on the sd. Farm Shall be the Joint Property of the sd. parties.

7th. That all moneys arising from the sales of the Produce of the sd. Farm be equilly Devided between the said parties, share & share alike.

8th. That in consideration of Saml. Wallis having given up to the said Joseph Jacob Wallis for the Term of Eleven years, one-half part of all the Benefits and advantages of a well Improved Farm, he the said Joseph Jacob Wallis Doth promise and oblige himself to undertake the sole care and Management of all the sd. Farm & Premesis for their Joint Benefit, except at such times as he the said Samuel Wallis may chuse to be there, when and at all such times the said parties are to manage in Conjunction as all Joint Partners in such cases ought to do.

9th. That it is agreed that the Partnership accounts Shall be settled once every year by and between the said Parties—but in case the said Joseph Jacob Wallis Should die at any time During the Said Intered Partnorship, then in that case only the said Partnorship is Immediately to Dissolve and all our relations thereto be Directly settled, and all Property of every kind whatsoever belonging to the Partnership be equilly Divided between the Heirs, Executors or administrators of the said Parties.

10th. That it shall be the particular care of the said parties to keep the said Farm with all its buildings and appurtenances in good order and repair, and at the

end of the said Term of Eleven years to Deliver up the said Farm & Premises to the said Saml. Wallis in Good Tenantable Order.

For the True performance of all and Singular the covenants and agreements aforesaid, the said parties bind themselves each unto the other in the Penal sum one Thousand Pounds lawful money of Pennsylvania. Witness our hands and seals this twenty Sixth Day of February in the year of our Lord one Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-five.

The article was signed by the parties thereto, but the corner of the paper containing their signatures is partially torn off, showing that they afterwards concluded not to enter into the partnership, but it is nowhere stated for what reason the contract was broken off. Under the indorsement on the back the word "canceled" is written, showing clearly the conclusion that had been arrived at. The witnesses to the instrument were Jeremiah Lochrey and Cassandra Jacob, and their signatures are still as clear and distinct as if they had been written yesterday.

The article of agreement having failed, Samuel Wallis* continued to reside on his plantation himself, and he farmed on quite an extensive scale for that day. It was not a pleasant pursuit, as Indians lurked in the thickets and pounced upon the defenseless at all times, and many a hardy pioneer was slain and his scalp ruthlessly torn from his head. Of course, Mr. Wallis fled with the other settlers when the "Big Runaway" occurred, and abandoned his improvements to the mercy of the savages. But he returned and proceeded to make other improvements, for among his papers is the draft and specifications for the erection of a grist mill on Carpenter's Run, a short distance east of where he

* Joseph Jacob Wallis was a half brother of Samuel. He married a daughter of John Lukens, Surveyor General of Pennsylvania, and John Lukens Wallis, their son, was the first white male child born west of Muncy Creek. This was in 1773. He grew to manhood and married Mary Cooke, a daughter of Colonel Jacob Cooke, of the Revolution. But three children survived them—Joseph, Jacob C., and Mary Jane, who became Mrs. Shipman. John Lukens Wallis was one of the heirs of John Lukens, who was cut off by the word "propitious." The heirs were but seven in number, and the property was to be divided among them at the most "propitious" time. The property embraced a great deal of land upon which the city of Philadelphia now stands, and was then but tracts of uncultivated land. But the estate became a veritable Jarndyce vs. Jarndyce, and the heirs died before the "propitious" time came for its division.

John Lukens Wallis was a great lover of the chase in his day and made a "happy hunting ground of this earth." He died July 27, 1863, aged 89 years, 8 months and 3 days, and is buried in the cemetery at Hughesville, Lycoming County, Pa.

had built his house. The country was now rapidly filling up and a mill was a necessity in the settlement. The site selected was an eligible one. There was plenty of water in the stream to drive the machinery, when it was carefully husbanded. The site, just below the canal aqueduct, is still pointed out, and a portion of the excavation for the race still remains. The mill was built in 1785, according to the rough draft. It called for a building "20 x 24 feet, with glass windows, two doors 4 x 6½ feet, and a chimney, clear, 5 x 6½ feet 9 inches. Light holes and shutters 2 x 2½ feet. Water house, cog-pit, gate hole, mantle piece and shaft," all clearly specified and indicated by letter on the plan. For the machinery "120 cogs, 3 inches square and 13 inches long, together with 40 round cogs 3 inches in size and 16 inches long. The whole to be of good, tough hickory, well seasoned." The specifications further called for "12 oak boards one inch thick; 17 inch boards and 15 feet long for water wheel buckets; 800 feet of well seasoned pine boards, 6 pieces of pine scantling 4¾ inches square, 16 feet long, well seasoned, if possible." It was also specified "that the mill irons should be sent to the smiths to be repaired and altered according to directions to be given by Mr. Antes." From this statement it is inferred that the irons were second-handed, and that Colonel Antes, who had built a mill previous to this time at the mouth of Antes Creek, was entrusted with the work of getting the new mill under way. The plans and specifications were signed by George W. Hunter. The reader will notice that the mill was a small structure, but it doubtless served its purpose at that day.

The following account of a fatal hunting accident has been found among the Wallis papers, which goes to show that affairs of this kind occurred one hundred and twenty years ago, just as they do to-day:

"John Dallam, of the county of Baltimore, in the Province of Maryland, upon his solemn affirmation did declare, affirm and say, that on the evening of the 18th of September, 1769, being in company with Samuel Wallis, Joseph Jacob Wallis, John Farmer, William Beaver and a negro man, at the house* of Samuel Wallis,

*This affirmation settles two important questions which have been frequently discussed: 1st. That colored men were there at that early day, and were probably slaves. 2d. That the house of Wallis was built early in 1769, or it could not have been occupied by these parties in September of that year.

in the county of Berks, a few miles above the mouth of Muncy Creek, on the West Branch of the river Susquehanna; John Farmer and this affirmant agreed to go the next morning before daylight to hunt bears at the Muncy Creek, about three miles distant. This affirmant got up in the morning before daylight, when it rained, and as it was not suitable weather to go surveying of land, this affirmant called up John Farmer, who had agreed the evening before to go a hunting. John Farmer and this affirmant had their guns ready cleaned and charged the evening before. Joseph Jacob Wallis and William Beaver got up, dressed themselves and went to cleaning and charging their guns, during which time there was the greatest friendship and harmony, as well as at all other times before, between them. Before they set off it was agreed which way they should go, least any of them should shoot one another in a mistake before it was light. John Farmer and this affirmant went out of the door and had set off some distance when William Beaver called Farmer and this affiant back, and said let us understand one another fairly which way each other is to go, least there should be a danger of shooting one another before it is light. Farmer and this affirmant made answer we are going to Muncy Creek, and Joseph Jacob Wallis said I will go up this run* by the house, being a run a few rods below the house, and Beaver said I will go up the other run above the house, upon which this affirmant said to Beaver, so you have aimed to have a chance at Selim (meaning a buck they saw at the head of the run above the house the day before), upon which Beaver answered yes, and so parted, leaving Beaver with the rest of the company at the house. Farmer and this affirmant parted in the woods, when this affirmant came back to the house about 10 o'clock, and meeting Samuel Wallis about twenty rods distance from the house, he informed this affirmant that a sad accident had happened—such an one he had never met with in his life. This affirmant asked what had happened; he said William Beaver was dead; this affirmant replied how did it happen? He said Joseph Jacob Wallis had shot him under a mistake for a bear, and this affirmant went into the house and saw William Beaver's corps laid out, and

*What is now known as Carpenter's Run. The other stream is named after Wallis.

also saw Joseph Jacob Wallis lying on the bed much distressed, and he said to this affirmant what he had done by accident that day he never should get over whilst he lived, and that afternoon Beaver's corps was decently interred."

The place of burial was undoubtedly in what is now known as Hall's Cemetery, where many early settlers were laid to rest, who either died natural deaths or were slain by the Indians. It is one of the oldest burial places in this part of the West Branch Valley.

It is supposed that the house Mr. Wallis erected on the "Muncy Farm" was not entirely destroyed by the Indians at the time of the "Big Runaway," for it is learned from an agreement entered into between Wallis and Thomas Sisk, a plasterer of Philadelphia, that he was to proceed to the Muncy Farm and plaster certain buildings. It is probable that the house was not plastered at the time it was erected, owing to the trouble with the Indians. The contract was made with Sisk the 27th of June, 1787, and he was to receive five shillings per day for his services, and to be allowed two days and a half time while going from Philadelphia to the farm, "with sufficient meat, drink and lodging." And during his absence whatever money was paid to his wife in Philadelphia was to be deducted from his wages. According to the terms of the contract Sisk was to start on or about the 13th of June, "and do the plastering before alluded to without committing any unnecessary delay." The contract was witnessed by Lawrence Ross and Mathew Conroy, and it is supposed that it was carried out, for there is nothing on record to show that it was not. Who Lawrence Ross was is not known, but it is possible that he was the father of Michael Ross, the founder of Williamsport. It is well known that Michael Ross was originally in the employ of Wallis, and through him he got his start in life. Is it not reasonable to conclude, therefore, that Lawrence might have been the progenitor of the man who afterwards founded the city?

Samuel Wallis was of Quaker origin, and was born in Harford County, Maryland, about 1730. He received a good education. Blessed with a large fortune, and possessing great energy and influence, he entered into active business early in life. Among other branches of trade in which he was engaged was that of a shipping merchant. He also studied surveying and became inter-

ested in land speculations when this section of the Province came into market. First we hear of him with the surveyors on the Juniata, as far up as Frankstown, early in 1768, and on the Indian path leading from that place to the Great Island. Having found his way into the beautiful valley of the West Branch, and noting the richness of the land and the beauty of the surrounding scenery, he quickly decided to locate here and engage extensively in land operations.

On the 1st of March, 1770, he married Lydia Hollingsworth,* an estimable and accomplished lady of Philadelphia, and soon afterwards brought his bride to the home he had established on the Susquehanna, at Muncy Farm, where they resided, with occasional interruptions during the Indian troubles,† almost to the close of the seventeenth century. Their home became a haven of rest for weary travelers up and down the valley, and there they dispensed an elegant and liberal hospitality. Mr. Wallis early became a leading man. On the 24th of January, 1776, he was appointed Captain of the Sixth Company of the Second Battalion of the Northumberland Associated Militia, James Potter, Colonel. He represented Northumberland County in the Legislature and filled many minor offices. When Lycoming County was formed, in 1795, Governor Mifflin appointed him one of the associate judges, and he sat upon the bench at the first court, which was held at Jaysburg. Mr. Wallis and wife had the following children :

1. Mary, born April 25, 1771, at Philadelphia. Married William Kent Lathey June 30, 1800. Dr. William Kent Lathey was born in Exeter, England, January 29, 1772, and died at Northumberland July 28, 1809. His grave can still be seen in the old cemetery in rear of the Lutheran church.

* See *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. II., page 301, New Series.

† Mrs. Hannab Miller, a daughter of Samuel Wallis, who died at Muncy in 1858, used to relate the following incident which occurred during one of their flights down the river at night: A number of families were with them on a flat boat. They had placed boxes or chests along the sides, leaving a space in the centre where beds were made for the women and children. While a German woman was engaged in doing something about the boat she had laid her baby on top of one of the boxes. It rolled off and tumbled down among the other children and commenced crying loudly. The other mothers then had a hard time to prevent their babies from crying also and alarming the Indians who might be lurking on the shore. Hannah was small at the time but she remembered it distinctly, and often told it to show their trials at that day.

2. John, born March 20, 1775. Never married. Died September 14, 1810, at Northumberland.

3. Cassandra, born October 6, 1776, at Muncy Farm. Married Daniel Smith, an attorney, who resided at Milton.

4. Sarah, born August 19, 1778, at Elkton, Maryland. Married General Hugh Brady, who died at Detroit in 1851. At this time the Hollingsworth family was living at Elkton, and Mrs. Wallis was on a visit to her mother, when this daughter, who afterwards became the wife of one of the most distinguished soldiers of the Republic, was born.

5. Hannah, born February 21, 1781, at Philadelphia. Married William Miller in 1816, Rev. John Bryson, of Warrior Run church, performing the ceremony. Died February 28, 1859, at Muncy. They had three children who became of age, viz.: Cassandra S., who married J. Roan Barr, of Muncy; Samuel W., now residing at Waverly, N. Y., and Susan H., who married Joseph Stauffer, of Muncy, and died in 1865.

6. Samuel Hollingsworth, born January 18, 1784, at Philadelphia. He studied medicine and became a practicing physician. Married Elizabeth Cowden April 17, 1807. Dr. Wallis died at Dunnstown, Clinton County, April 19, 1832, and was buried in the Friends' burying-ground at Pennsville. He left a son and a daughter, viz.: Mary, who married Philip Shay; and Cowden Smith Wallis. Mrs. Shay left one son, W. Field Shay, Esq., now a well-known attorney of Watsontown, Northumberland County. Cowden S. Wallis died at Muncy, April 24, 1862. He left the following children: Sarah C., Mary M., Elizabeth, Roberta, Samuel H., (died December 15, 1887,) and Howard R., the well-known civil engineer. They all reside at Muncy. Dr. Samuel H. Wallis was the grandfather of these descendants, and Samuel Wallis, the pioneer, was their great-grandfather. He left but two sons, John and Samuel H.

Samuel Wallis died October 14, 1798, at Philadelphia, of yellow fever, which was prevalent at that time, aged 67 years and 8 months. The circumstances were these: He had been called to North Carolina on important land business, in which he was interested with Judge Wilson. On his return he stopped at an

obscure inn for the night. Being very weary he sought his room at once. On entering it he observed that it was in disorder. Bottles of medicine were scattered about, and the bed was not properly made up. He instructed his servant to inquire if he could not have some clean linen on the bed, when he was informed that they had nothing better to offer. Owing to his exhausted condition he retired to rest. In the morning he made some inquiry of the landlord why his room was in the condition he found it, when he admitted that a man had just died in that bed of yellow fever and they had not time to put it in order when he came. This information not only incensed but alarmed Mr. Wallis, and calling his servant, informed him that he feared he would have an attack of yellow fever, and that they would hurry on to Philadelphia. They departed, tradition informs us, without waiting for breakfast.

On reaching Philadelphia his worst anticipations were soon realized. He was stricken down with an attack of the dreaded scourge, and after much suffering finally died. His servant remained until after the burial of his master, when he started for the home of deceased on the West Branch, leading his riderless horse, and bearing the sad intelligence of what had occurred to the wife and children.

After leading such an active life and enduring so many trials and tribulations, his death under such circumstances, and without the knowledge of his family, was peculiarly sad, and the melancholy news cast a deep gloom over the household.

His wife, Lydia, survived him about fourteen years. She died September 4, 1812, at the residence of her daughter, Mrs. Smith, in Milton, aged 68 years and five months, and was buried in the old cemetery at that place. It will be noticed that there was only about one year's difference in their ages.

And thus closed the careers of two of the earliest settlers in the central part of the valley. They bore a conspicuous part in the trials, sufferings and fears which beset the pioneers of those times, and their names are inseparably linked with our early history.

At the time of Mr. Wallis' death he left a very large estate, which consisted almost entirely of lands, and it proved a very difficult one to settle. The following administrators were appointed: John Wallis, Daniel Smith, William Ellis and John

Adlum. They soon afterwards petitioned* the Orphans' Court of Lycoming County, sitting at the April term, 1799, setting forth the condition of the estate as follows: "That according to the debts and credits, which they had been able to learn, and from the value of the personal estate as appraised by persons legally appointed and returned into the office of the clerk of the court, it appeared that the estate of Samuel Wallis was indebted in the sum of £33,798 13s 3½d, and that the debts due the estate amounted to about the sum of £99,904 14s; that the amount of the personal property returned by the appraisers was £2,932 18s 10d." They said furthermore: "The amount of the debts which the estate owed far exceeded the amount of the value of the personal property; that the debts owing the estate were, many of them, against persons supposed not to be able to pay them to their full amount; that none of the said debts could be recovered until suits were brought, and of course could not be collected for some time; that, on the other hand, the debts owing by the estate had many of them been put in suit during the life-time of Samuel Wallis and judgments obtained thereon and executions issued—particularly a judgment at the suit of Charles Bitters, on which about \$20,000 remained due; and one at the suit of Ruth Piret, executrix of Palatiah Webster, on which about \$18,000 remained due. On each of these suits executions had been issued and levies made on the Mansion House and adjoining property, otherwise than by a sale or mortgage of part of the lands. They therefore prayed the court to make an order authorizing them to mortgage any lands for a sum not exceeding one-third of the value thereof, or sell the lands of deceased bought by him at sheriff's sale in August, 1798, in Luzerne County, for which lands a sheriff's deed had been executed to the administrators in trust for the heirs, in order to pay off the executions."

On the 2d of May, 1799, the court, which consisted of Honorable William Hepburn, James Davidson and Samuel Harris, granted the petition of the administrators, and further directed them to give four weeks' notice of the sale in the *Gazette* of Luzerne County, and in one of the gazettes in Philadelphia.

*A copy of the petition, in the beautiful round hand of John Kidd, first prothonotary of Lycoming County, is still in existence, in the hands of H. R. Wallis, of Muncy, a great-grandson.

Mr. Wallis' business was much complicated. He had served as the agent for the Holland Land Company for a long time, and in order to raise money to carry on the business he had mortgaged his farm. His landed operations were vast, but his estate was heavily encumbered. When the Land Company commenced winding up its business it was abundantly able to pay all its debts. Judge James Wilson was an agent for the company also, and for some cause not clearly known at this day, Mr. Wallis allowed him to assume the debt owed him by the Land Company. And through an amicable settlement, as appears from the records, a mortgage was executed by James Wilson, of Philadelphia, to Samuel Wallis for 220,000 acres of land, being an undivided part of 300,000 acres in Lycoming County, which was one part of one million acres of land which are more particularly mentioned in certain articles of agreement dated December 25, 1792, between James Wilson and Herman LeRoy and William Bayard, of the city of New York, agents or trustees for Wilhelm Willinck, Nicholas Van Staphorst, Christian Van Elghon, Hendrick Vollenhoven and Rutger Jan Schimmelpennick, of the city of Amsterdam, known as the Holland Land Company.

This was subject to a mortgage given by the said James Wilson to John Adlum February 7, 1798, securing \$60,000. On February 8, 1773, the application of Joseph Schute for 300 acres of land was conveyed to Samuel Wallis, and on May 8, 1776, was by him conveyed to Michael Ross for five shillings and other valuable considerations. Also the application of Samuel Richards for 300 acres of land above the mouth of Toby's Creek, dated April 3, 1769, was conveyed to Samuel Wallis, and on May 18, 1796, was by him conveyed to Michael Ross for five shillings and other valuable considerations. The Toby's Creek here mentioned is supposed to be what is now known as Grafius Run, which passes through the central part of Williamsport.

A long time elapsed before Wallis could get a final settlement with Wilson. An elaborate statement of the account was recently found among his old papers now in the possession of Howard R. Wallis, of Muncy. All the items are given in detail, and the venerable document, now gray with age, fills six large folio pages. An examination of the statement shows that the first article of

agreement between James Wilson and Samuel Wallis was dated April 14, 1793, and the second April 1, 1795.

The account was audited by referees—Joseph Thomas, attorney for James Wilson, and T. Duncan, Jr., for Samuel Wallis, who signed the same July 6, 1797. The report provides an allowance of twenty days for filing exceptions. The account as stated showed a debt of £116,077 17s 2½d and a credit of £27,577 1s, leaving a balance in favor of Mr. Wallis of £88,500 16s 2½d. This shows how vast his business was for that period. An affirmation on the back of the statement made before Isaac Howell, an alderman of Philadelphia, August 16, 1797, sets forth that on July 21, 1797, at Burlington, N. J., Samuel Wallis delivered a copy of the account to the "Hon. James Wilson," in the presence of William Johnson, who made the copy from the original, and up to that date he had not been served with any written objections thereto. The notations by the auditors appear on the margin, and they are written in a neat and delicate hand. The statement bears the following indorsement on the back: "On the 21st day of last July I received a copy of this account. James Wilson, 1st September, 1797." The signature of Mr. Wilson is clear and distinct. Mr. Wallis also wrote a fine business hand, indicating firmness of character.

Among other things the account recites the items of expense for securing titles, locations, surveys, court costs, traveling expenses, interest on money advanced, etc., for James Wilson and the Holland Land Company, between the Second Fork of Sinnemahoning and Boston; on locations west of the Allegheny River and Conewango Creek; on the Mahopeny and Bowman's Creek, in "Westmoreland County;" on Sugar Creek, Luzerne County; on Loyalsock Creek; in Huntingdon County, besides several transactions with John Adlum at Fort Franklin. His land operations, it will be perceived, were immense and covered a wide territory.

At the final meeting between Wallis and Wilson, tradition informs us, the latter said that he did not have money enough to wipe out all his indebtedness, but he could pay one-half in cash, or furnish him (Wallis) with wild lands for the whole debt. It does not appear that any papers were signed at that time, but they

separated, evidently expecting to meet again soon and close up their business. This last meeting is supposed to have been at Burlington, N. J.

And here comes the mysterious part of this affair. Soon afterwards Mr. Wilson crossed the Delaware into Pennsylvania, and after putting up at a farm house, retired, took a large draught of laudanum, and was found dead next morning! The mystery of the suicide has never been explained, but it was the beginning of trouble for Mr. Wallis, which culminated in the sacrifice of a magnificent landed estate after his death. The most charitable construction that can be placed on the suicide of Wilson is that he was bankrupt, and being goaded by Wallis, who was a resolute and positive man, to settle, he became discouraged, and seeing no way out of his trouble, suddenly resolved to end his life!

Creditors commenced pushing their claims for settlement, and finally a writ of *Pluries Venditioni Exponas* was issued by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, directed to Henry Vanderslice, sheriff of Northumberland County, and that officer seized "a part of that valuable body of land commonly called the Muncy Farm," and advertised it for sale, at Williamsport, on the 3d of May, 1802. The sale bill, a copy of which is still in existence, says that the tract contained about 3,900 acres, and extended for five miles along the river between Loyalsock and Muncy Creek, and also comprised an island in the river called Spring Island. The land was sold in tracts for the convenience of purchasers, and the conditions were "one-half part of the purchase money to be paid to the sheriff at the time and place of sale, otherwise the premises to be immediately re-sold, etc., and the remaining part of the purchase money to be paid to the sheriff on the return day of the writ, to wit, the first Monday of September next, at the Court House, in the city of Philadelphia." The sale bill was printed at Sunbury by Jacob E. Breyfogel, and it presents an antique appearance when compared with similar bills of to-day.

The Muncy Farm tracts were numbered from one to eight, and those in Bald Eagle Township from nine to fourteen. Number eight was the tract on which the Mansion House was situated, together with "barn, stables and outhouses," and contained about 700 acres.

The sale took place according to announcement, and among the Wallis papers of to-day is a bill of sale, which is copied here-with in full:

Charles Bitters for the use of Mahlon Hutchinson versus Samuel Wallis, Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

Acct. of the sales of the real property of S. Wallis made by Henry Vanderslice at Williamsport on the 3d and 4th days of May, 1802, in pursuance of his advertisement, dated at Sunbury, 17th of April, 1802.

Sales made on the 3d of May, 1802, viz:

No. 9	containing	310	acres.	Sold to	Thos. Grant, Esq.,	for	\$882.67
" 10	"	321	"	"	"	"	353.00
" 11	"	310	"	"	"	"	631.00
" 12	"	338	"	"	"	"	100.00
" 13	"	313	156 p.	"	"	"	50.00
" 1	"	400	acres.	"	"	"	1,803.00
" 2	"	400	"	"	"	"	1,661.00
" 3	"	400	"	"	"	"	1,652.00
" 4	"	500	"	"	"	"	2,012.00
" 5	"	500	"	"	"	"	2,014.00
" 6	"	500	"	"	"	"	1,702.00
" 7	"	500	"	"	"	"	1,525.00

Sales made on 4th May:

No. 13	containing	282	acres.	Sold to	Thos. Grant, Esq.,	for	\$301.00
" 8	"	700	"	"	"	"	4,502.00
Acres	- -	<u>5,766,156</u>					<u>\$19,188.67</u>

Although the above is a true copy of the bill, it will be noticed that the first column adds up eight acres more than the total given, making 5,774. Thomas Grant, who was a resident of Sunbury at that time, and afterwards sheriff of Northumberland County, made the purchase for Henry Drinker, a prominent land speculator of that day. The proceeds of the sale fell far below the indebtedness of the estate.

From a letter written by J. Wallis and D. Smith, two of the administrators, to Henry Drinker, under date of March 10, 1803, it is learned that "the Muncy Farm contained in one connected body 7,561 acres, and the debt and interest due on the mortgage was £4,443 16s 8d." The farm extended to Loyalsock. Spring Island contained about 500 acres. After deducting Grant's purchase at sheriff's sale, 2,300 acres remained unsold. The letter recites at great length the encumbered condition of the estate, and refers by name to the holders of various mortgages, liens, executions, etc., including claims of servants for pay. The letter con-

tinues: "The 2,300 acres, although much inferior to those purchased by Grant, are nevertheless valuable, and depressed as the price of land is, and speaking with our hands on our *hearts*, we solemnly declare that we believe the 3,960 acres purchased by Grant to be worth at a cash valuation \$20 per acre. This estimate is low, and we believe that indifferent persons, good judges of lands, would make the price higher. But further it is to be remarked that the amount of Grant's purchase is \$19,188.67!"

But judging from the tone of a letter written soon afterwards to Robert Coleman by Mr. Drinker, he was not entirely satisfied with his purchase and was anxious to sell. The letter is as follows:

PHILADA. Mo. 9, 1805.

RESPECTED FRIEND:

It has been intimated to me by Daniel Smith, Esq., that the valuable estate formerly possessed by Samuel Wallis, called Muncy Farm, (the title for this property being now vested in me) had in some measure claimed thy attention and that a communication from me on the subject would be acceptable.

My nephew at the Bank of North America also informed me that thou regretted thy not recollecting my person at our late accidental meeting there, that thou then expressed a wish to confer with me, probably on this subject. Inclosed I send thee a map of the Muncy Farm, and also a description of the quality, &c., of the several lots or divisions, as delineated in said map. This account of the Muncy Farm I am assured is just and candid, and in no part over-rated, on which head, however, much need not be said. Presuming persons inclined to purchase will look for themselves. I may own I have been greatly disappointed in my expectations respecting this estate, having for many years entertained an opinion and heard it described as equal if not superior to any farm in this state, and under this impression believed it would invite numerous purchasers, and command a speedy sale; now especially, as it was agreed to offer it at rates much lower than lands, neither equal in quality, or so well situated had been selling for. It is true many applications have been made by persons who wished to be indulged with extended payments for a considerable part of the purchase money; but in my situation, under the pressure of heavy advances made by me to remove and relieve thy estate from every incumbrance, those distant payments could not be assented to. Now my friend, if thou art disposed to treat for this property, on thy signifying the same, I think the terms I shall tempt thee with will be such as can not fail of meeting thy acceptance. Several wealthy farmers have been in treaty with me for a large part of the premises, expecting to form a neighbourhood, some of them having viewed the estate last summer, and lately went a second time as far as Reading, but were discouraged from proceeding by the snow which had fallen, and difficulty of the roads—on this account to hear from thee speedily would be acceptable to thy assured

Friend

HENRY DRINKER.

Robert Coleman, Esq.

The property was finally purchased by Mr. Coleman, of Cornwall, Lebanon County, in 1806, and presented to his daughter Elizabeth, wife of Charles Hall,* who then lived at Sunbury. Other purchases were made from time to time until the estate comprised about 6,000 acres, and it has since been known as "Hall's Farms." After her husband's death, in 1821, Mrs. Hall and her twelve children moved from Sunbury to Muncy Farm, and she built the eastern end of the present mansion. The architect employed by her was the same who had built the State Capitol at Harrisburg.

The wood-work was all dressed at Harrisburg and brought up the river on batteaus. In 1823 Mrs. Hall moved to Lancaster and left the place in charge of her son, Robert Coleman Hall, who married Sarah Ann Watts, daughter of Judge Watts, of Carlisle, Pa. In 1840 she returned to Muncy Farm, and remained there until her death in 1858. Her son James, at her wish, had left Greenwood Furnace, at Lewistown, which he owned, to take control of the Muncy property. At her death the property was divided among her children, the mansion farm going to her son James, who lived there until 1868, when he moved to Philadelphia and died there in 1882, leaving the property to his son, W. Coleman Hall. The farm now comprises about 500 acres and is in a high state of cultivation.

In the division of the property among the children of Mrs. Elizabeth Hall, the upper or western farm, known as Fairfield, fell to the share of Louisa, wife of F. W. Rawle, who soon after built the stone house now in the possession of his son, Hon. Henry Rawle, who was State Treasurer in 1875-6.

Mr. Rawle has recently added to and embellished the building

*Charles Hall, when a young man, was employed as a book-keeper by Mr. Coleman, and he performed his duties so well that he soon became a favorite in the family, and finally secured the heart and hand, by marriage, of his daughter. He studied law and settled in Sunbury, where he became a leading member of the bar. He built and occupied the elegant brick residence fronting the river bank, now owned by Hon. John B. Packer. Mr. Hall died in Philadelphia, January 14, 1821, aged 53 years, 2 months and 12 days. His remains were afterwards removed to the cemetery on Muncy Farm, and a plain slab, with inscriptions, marks his resting place. His wife Elizabeth, born July 22, 1778, died August 5, 1858, aged 80 years and 13 days, lies by his side.

to such an extent as to make it a modern and showy edifice, and it is now one of the most attractive and charming places of resort in summer time.

Among the many old papers in the Wallis collection which have escaped the ravages of time, is one now yellow with age, bearing this indorsement: "Henry Drinker and wife to Robert Coleman." It is dated November 18, 1805, and gives the "courses and distances" of "the several tracts of land in Muncy Township," purchased in "consideration of £11,558 1s 4d." This is the only paper that has been found in the collection which mentions the price paid for the "farms."

Another paper, signed by John Wallis and Daniel Smith, "two of the administrators of S. Wallis, deceased," contains a proposal to Robert Coleman to "sell a quantity of land at a place called the Long Reach, on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, at four dollars per acre." The proposal states that Mr. Coleman "heard a description of the quality of the land when last at Lycoming." This sum they "deemed to be not more than one-third part of its real value," but they "would rather take it than run the risk of an approaching sacrifice." They informed him, furthermore, that they would "have the lands sold on the earliest judgment and bought in, and conveyed to him by the purchaser. There are at least 1,200 acres free from dispute as to title—perhaps something more. It must also be understood that these lands are subject to the purchase money due the Commonwealth. It may be necessary also to state that this sum must be paid in cash, and four thousand eight hundred dollars must be at Williamsport on the 3d of May next." Signed and dated April 27, 1802.

Some uncertainty existed for a long time as to where these lands were located on the "Long Reach." All doubt, however, was removed recently by the discovery of a beautifully executed draft among the Wallis papers, which shows that they were located on the south side of the river, and embraced what is known as the "Upper Bottom," lying opposite the present village of Linden. The line commenced a short distance above the present borough of DuBoistown, and continued up the river for 967 perches, taking in all the rich alluvial lands now embraced in the highly cultivated farms of the Messrs. Gibson and others. There

were five tracts surveyed for Samuel Wallis in the right of sundry persons, April 3, 1769, and a table is given on the draft as follows:

Jacob Heltzheimer,	conveyed to Samuel Wallis by deed dated 5th Oct., 1769,	acres 313
Mary Litton,	“ “ “ “ “ “ “ 6th Oct., 1769,	“ 310
William Lofflin,	“ “ “ “ “ “ “ 12th Mar., 1770,	“ 310
Jacob Steel,	“ “ “ “ “ “ “ 9th Aug., 1769,	“ 338
Ann Stamp,	“ “ “ “ “ “ “ 20th Aug., 1772,	“ 321

Lands belonging to Andrew Culbertson bounded the tracts of Ann Stamp and James Steel on the south, and William Hepburn on the west. These five tracts were sold on the 2d and 3d of May, 1802, in Williamsport, by Sheriff Vanderslice, and purchased by Thomas Grant.

It may seem strange that these rich lands were not held at more than four dollars an acre eighty-six years ago. To-day the best farms in the “Bottom” could not be purchased for \$150 and \$200 an acre. Mr. Coleman certainly missed a royal bargain, for there is nothing to show that he accepted the liberal proposal, and somebody else profited by the “sacrifice.”

The discovery of two other beautifully executed drafts shows that Mr. Wallis also acquired all the lands on the north side of the river from Lycoming Creek to a point on the river above “Level Corner,” where the Pine Creek Railroad cuts through the rocks on the estate of the late John King. These lands were also designated as lying on the “Long Reach.”

The line of the survey of the first tract commenced at a point on Lycoming Creek, on the west side, and ran up near where Bridge No. 1 of the Northern Central Railroad crosses the stream, or as the survey designates it, “opposite the point of the first large hill.” This took in the present residence of George W. Youngman, Esq. The line then turned and followed what appears to be the route of the present public road “to a marked locust on the side of the river a small distance below the mouth of *Quinasha-haque* Run, thence down the river by the several courses to the place of beginning.” The “survey was made on the 22d and 23d days of June, 1773, for Samuel Wallis, in pursuance of seven orders of survey dated the 3d of April, 1769,” and contained 2,328 acres. The names of the seven persons to whom the applications were granted appear on the draft, but they are not familiar names of to-day.

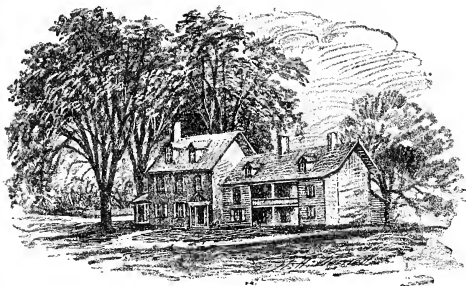
The second survey commenced on the west at the locust tree where the first survey ended, and apparently followed the public road of to-day, "to a post on the bank of the river," and thence down the same to the place of beginning. The survey was made on the 24th and 25th days of June, 1773, "for Samuel Wallis, in pursuance of five orders of survey dated April 3, 1769," to that many different persons, and contained 1,547 acres. The only familiar names mentioned in the orders are Elizabeth Walton and Josiah Hews. A short distance above the western corner, on the river, the great tract containing over 5,000 acres, and extending to Pine Creek, commenced, which has already been described.

From the numerous surveys heretofore noted, although in a disconnected form, on account of the extreme difficulty experienced in gathering the information at this late day, it seems pretty clear that Mr. Wallis at one time controlled, or owned, nearly all the land from Muncy Creek to Pine Creek, embracing the splendid district on the south side of the river known as the "Upper, or Susquehanna Bottom," including the ground on which the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad station known as Nesbit is built. What a magnificent domain! And yet with all his vast possessions, on account of having suddenly died intestate, nothing was left worth speaking of for his descendants on the final settlement of his immense estate.

The mansion is still regarded as a landmark, and as time mellows its walls it grows more stately in its grandeur. The smaller portion of the building, on the right of the illustration, is the part erected by Samuel Wallis in 1769. Being solidly constructed of stone, it has successfully weathered the tempests of nearly 120 years. It is true that it has been overhauled and improved, but the walls, which are three feet thick, are still the same. The figures, "1769," are carved on one of the stones, so that there can be no doubt as to the date of its erection. The original wood-work, which was of Norway spruce, was dressed at some point below and brought up the river and placed in the building.

The two-story structure on the left, with its antique front and dormer windows, is the addition erected by Mrs. Hall in 1821. It was patterned after the style of manor buildings in vogue in England at that time. Its rooms are large, airy and grand, and

the inside is rich and elaborate. The marble mantels, made of stone obtained on the ground, are finely dressed and carved. Everything about the building is rich without being gaudy. The lawn, which is broad and neatly kept, with its sweeping driveway and stately trees, is all that a cultivated taste could desire.



The Hall Manston.

The magnificent elms overhanging the building on the left have a history that is worth repeating in this connection. One tradition is that they were planted under the direction of Mrs. Wallis soon after she came from her Philadelphia home as a bride. Finding that all the trees for some distance around the house had been cut down, she begged of her husband to have a few planted that in time they might have shade. He objected by saying that he had been paying men to fell trees and he did not feel like incurring the expense to have more planted. Undaunted by his objection, Mrs. Wallis set about making arrangements to have young trees planted, and one evening after the working hours of the day were over she secured the services of a colored boy to assist her in planting them, and the labor cost Mr. Wallis nothing.

The other tradition is that the trees were planted by Mr. Wallis and his wife by moonlight, to avoid being disturbed by the Indians, who prowled about in the neighborhood, and she held them erect while he shoveled in the dirt about the roots. Whether the stories

of their planting are true or not is unknown; but there is no doubt of their having been set out where they stand.

Originally there were four, but when they grew to great size they were too much crowded, and one in the foreground was felled to make more room. The others remain, and they are stately and grand in their age. The one in the background, however, has gone into decay and will soon pass away. For a hundred and twenty years they have stood on that lawn and witnessed nearly four generations come and go. The fair woman who superintended their planting has long since returned to dust, but they are still there, and in summer time they are fresh, green and beautiful. What stories could they tell if gifted with speech! What strange and exciting scenes they have witnessed! Warriors, painted and plumed, have rested beneath their inviting shade; lovers have met by moonlight in their shadow to bill and coo; children have gambled around them, and strong men, intent on business or pleasure, have praised their beauty as they have come and gone.

CHAPTER XVI.

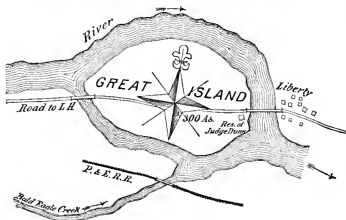
OPENING OF THE YEAR 1770—STORY OF THE GREAT ISLAND—
MUNCY MANOR TROUBLES—NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY ERECTED
—FIRST COURT—PLAN OF THE ORIGINAL SURVEY OF SUNBURY.

THE year 1770 opened with great activity in the West Branch Valley. Settlers commenced pouring in from New Jersey and the lower counties of the Province, attracted by reports of the fertility of the land and the ease of acquiring tracts through the land office at a nominal cost. James Armstrong settled, or rather squatted, on a tract at the upper end of the present borough of Jersey Shore—for that was disputed territory—and commenced making an improvement. Soon afterwards James Alexander ascended Pine Creek and built a cabin on the tract now embraced in the Tomb estate. He disappeared when the Indian troubles commenced and was never heard of again. Two families penetrated as far as the mouth of Youngwoman's Creek and made some improvements. The name of one family was Reed. Simon Cool* settled at the mouth of Larry's Creek, and very likely took possession of the spot occupied by Larry Burt, the Indian trader, who had moved on.

*Simon Cool was an ensign in the Eighth Company of Associators, Captain Henry Antes, January 24, 1776, and Captain of the Sixth Company, Third Battalion, commanded by Colonel Plunkett, March 13, 1776. About two years after the massacre (1778) on the site of the upper part of Williamsport, Cool, William King, his cousin, and James McSweeney, pushed up the river from Northumberland in a canoe to hunt for their winter's meat. They stopped at a cabin which stood at the mouth of Dry Run. The next day they passed up Dougherty's Run and descended Bottle Run to Lycoming Creek. When near the creek they found themselves pursued by three Indians. Cool and McSweeney ran for their lives, and King, who was on the hill-side, escaped. On reaching the creek, McSweeney got over safely, but Cool, being a large man, fell in. On clambering up the bank he found that he could make no headway with his wet clothing, and he took to a tree for protection. His dog gave him some trouble, and while trying to keep it quiet he stooped forward, when an Indian shot him through the breast. He raised up and called to McSweeney to give

From the earliest times the Great Island* was a favorite place with the Indians, and they remained there until the encroachments of the whites compelled them to leave. It was a lovely spot and the soil was exceedingly rich. As late as 1768 Shawana Ben and Newhaleeka resided there. The former was chief of the remnant of the Shawanese and Newhaleeka of the Delawares. They remained there until about 1771, when they bid adieu to the lovely spot and turned their faces westward, never to return.

When the surveyors came to lay off the Allison tract, in 1768, they were accompanied by William Dunn,† a native of York County, who acted in the capacity of hunter to the party and served it with wild game for food. He carried a handsome rifle and other equipments to match, which greatly attracted the attention and admiration of old Newhaleeka, the owner of the island.



Map of the Great Island.

And the more he viewed the gun and accoutrements the more determined he became to possess them. Finally he offered to give Dunn his island for the rifle, trappings and a keg of whisky which the surveyors had with them. Tradition informs us that Dunn made the exchange as proposed by the chief, as he up, as he was mortally wounded, and sank down in death. McSweeney then surrendered and was taken prisoner. Cool was stripped of his clothing and his body left where it fell. The Indians took his gun and left an old musket in its place, and hastily departed with their prisoner. They carried him to Canada and kept him in captivity for some time. He finally got back to Northumberland, and meeting King, explained the mystery of Cool's death. Only a few years ago the rusty irons of the old musket were plowed up by a farmer. Cool was killed near what is now known as Bridge No. 2, on the Northern Central Railroad.

*Situated in the West Branch of the Susquehanna River, Clinton County, about two miles east of Lock Haven.

†William Dunn took an active part in the war of the Revolution, being one of the committee of safety for Northumberland County, of which the island was then a

was satisfied the bargain was a good one. The Indian was delighted and indulged freely in the use of the whisky, but after its exhilarating effects had passed off he began to realize what a foolish thing he had done and proposed to trade back. But Dunn held him fast to his bargain and took possession of the Great Island. Whether the story of its acquisition is true or not is unknown, but we do know that Dunn was the first settler and afterwards obtained a legal title from the State.

The records show that Dunn made application for the island, and that the survey was ordered. If the story of his trade with old Newhaleeka is true, that was not sufficient to give him a full title, but before his patent was granted he had to pay "thirty pounds per hundred acres" to the Proprietaries. The document as recorded in the Land Office is as follows:

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, ss.

WHEREAS, William Dunn of the County of — — hath requested to take up three hundred Acres of Land, including his improvement made about the year 1770 in the great Island in the West branch of Susquehanna, in the County of Northumberland, for which he agrees to pay immediately into the Office of the Receiver General for the use of this State, at the Rate of Thirty Pounds per Hundred Acres, in Gold, Silver, Paper Money of this State, or Certificates agreeable to Acts of Assembly, passed the First Day of April and 21st day of December, 1784.

THESE are therefore to authorize and require you to Survey or cause to be Surveyed. At the time of the "Big Runaway" he was forced, like his neighbors, to leave his house and fly to a place of safety. He found his way to York, which place he had left a few years before, and soon enlisted in the army. He participated in several battles, among others those of Germantown and Trenton. After the latter the Government pressed all teams into the service that were available. Mr. Dunn was surprised one day to see his own horses and wagon brought into camp, and immediately asked permission to take charge of them, which was granted; so he had the satisfaction of driving his own team, if he was a soldier.—*Maynard's Clinton County*, pages 147-8.

Mr. Maynard says that nearly all the valuable and interesting records relating to the early history of the island were unfortunately destroyed by fire several years ago. Therefore it is difficult to give anything like an accurate and complete sketch of its settlement. It is known, however, that previous to its occupation by the whites, it was a rallying point and council ground for the Indians. History records a meeting of representatives of several different tribes on the island in October, 1755. This meeting was held, it seems, to consider the propositions that had just been made to some of the tribes by the French. In May, 1778, Colonel Hunter wrote to the President of the Executive Council of the Province, that he had "ordered some people that lives nigh the Great Island to preserve shad and barrel them up for the use of the militia that will be stationed there this summer."—Page 148.

vayed unto the said William Dunn at the place aforesaid, according to the Method of Townships appointed, the said Quantity of Acres, if not already surveyed or appropriated, and to make Return thereof into the Secretary's Office in order for Confirmation, for which this shall be your Warrant.

IN WITNESS whereof, the Honorable Charles Biddle, Esquire, Vice President of the Supreme Executive Council, bath hereunto set his Hand and caused the less Seal of the said Commonwealth to be affixed the Thirteenth Day of October in the year 1785.

To JOHN LUKENS, Esq., Surveyor General.

Endorsed: 1785, Oct. 13th, Northumberland, 300 acres.

William Dunn, Returned &c., 28 Jan'y, 1796.

The first draft of the island, made in 1785, shows it to have been shaped very differently from what it is to-day. And the contents are given at 267½ acres, with the usual allowances, which were always very liberal. The change in the form of the island has been wrought by the action of the water on its shores. The illustration given above was made twelve or thirteen years ago, and since that time it has changed somewhat in form. The first survey was made by Thomas Tucker, a deputy, under date of October 15, 1785, and it was certified to by John Lukens, Surveyor General.

The records in the Court House, at Lock Haven, now show the famous island to be owned and divided as follows: Estate of William Dunn, 180 acres; R. W. McCormick, 65; Henry McCormick, 45; John Myers' estate, 20; R. H. Dorey, 15. Total, 325 acres.

William Dunn, the first owner of the island, passed it by will to his son, Washington Dunn, who was for many years a leading citizen. He in turn transmitted a portion of the estate to his son, William Dunn, who was born on the island December 1, 1811, and died suddenly at Lock Haven September 7, 1877. Judge Dunn was a man who was highly esteemed, and his death caused great sorrow. He represented his district twice in the Legislature, and was presented for Congress twice, but failed to secure the nomination. In 1871 he was elected an Associate Judge and served out his term with great credit.

In 1772, or early in 1773, Ludwig Derr, a German, settled where Lewisburg stands, and purchased a tract of 320 acres which had been granted to Richard Peters, August 11, 1772. Colonel

John Kelly, a distinguished hero of the Revolution, settled in Buffalo Valley, a year or two earlier than this, or about the time the officers' surveys were being made. About the same time Captain John Brady came with his family from Standing Stone, and located on an officer's tract on the east side of the river from Derr's trading post. This was sometime in 1772, and was the first appearance of this remarkable family in the valley. Captain Brady had preceded them and selected a location. At this time there was but one house where Sunbury was afterwards built, one at Fort Augusta, one on the Grant farm, one on Shamokin Island, one in Northumberland, and but four between that point and where Milton now stands, where there was one. Between Milton and Muncy hills there were about six families and only about eight or ten on the river above. Colonel Hunter, who had command of Fort Augusta, was one of the most prominent of the few who resided at that place at that time. Paul Baldy was one of the earliest settlers at Sunbury. His son, John Baldy, was born April 9, 1783, and died June 22, 1827.

It is learned from a curious old paper covered with drafts of surveys on Lycoming Creek, that "H. and J. Thompson" claimed the applications filed by John James and Richard Cantwell, dated April, 1769. The houses of the Thompsons are indicated on the draft, as well as Eeltown, near by. The tracts warranted by a number of other persons are noted, and the route of the Sheshequin war-path is indicated by a dotted line until it reached the point where it turned off to descend Towanda Creek, passing the "Gooseberry Meadows."

Returning to the Muncy Valley, attention is called to the fact that *the* oldest improvement known to have been made on Muncy Creek, above the mouth of Glade Run, was by Dennis Mullin, in 1760. An old paper, excellently preserved and beautifully written, shows that Mullin had taken up "300 acres adjoining James Alexander, and about two miles south-westward of land claimed by Charles Moore." There seems to have been some dispute about the tract, judging from the following affidavit:

"The fourteenth day of December, 1765, came before me, John Rannells, Esq., one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the county of Cumberland, in the Province of Pennsylvania, Moses

Harlan, and qualified according to law that the improvement on the above located land consists of about four acres of cleared land, about half fenced, and further this deponent saith not." The affidavit is signed by Moses Harlan, and a note below his signature says: "Improved in the year 1760." James Tilghman, Secretary of the Land Office, then appends the following certificate to the above affidavit:

In testimony that the above is a true copy of the original location, and of the affidavit thereunder written, on which a warrant was granted the 1st of August, 1766, to Dennis Mullin, I have hereunto set my hand and seal of the Land Office of Pennsylvania this 12th day of March, 1772.

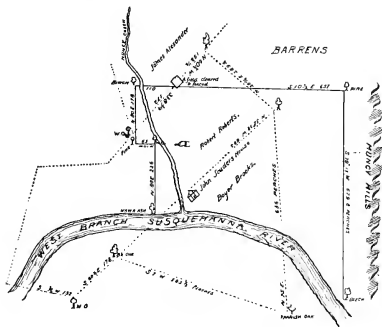
It appears from the deeds of Dennis Mullin, Robert Roberts, James Alexander, Charles Moore and Bowyer Brooks, who had tracts adjoining, that they conveyed them to Samuel Wallis "in consideration of five shillings lawful money of the Province." The surveys were made in August, September and October, 1766. Roberts conveyed 313 acres, Brooks 217, Moore 213 and Alexander 232.

Wallis, it is supposed, had these parties take up the lands in their own names and then convey them to him for a nominal consideration.

A great deal of trouble arose out of the surveys on Muncy Creek, and it is impossible at this day to arrive at all the facts. Jonathan Lodge leaves a paper saying that in the summer of 1769 he was employed as a deputy surveyor by William Scull, who sent him to Muncy Creek, above and adjoining the manor, and in the neighborhood, to make surveys for Robert Guy, John Mourer, Thomas Seaman, James Robb, William Foulk, Mr. Campbell and others, who were with him, in pursuance of orders from the Land Office, dated the 3d of April, 1769. After arriving on the ground he was met by Samuel Harris (June 16th), who informed him that there were older rights to these lands, and forbid him making surveys. Lodge paid no attention to him at first and proceeded to survey, when he soon found a tree marked as a corner, "which appeared to be old marks, on the bank of Wolf Run." He called the attention of those with him to the marks. In a short time he found other marks which showed clearly that surveyors had been there before him. He and his

party then proceeded to the camp of Mr. Harris and informed him what they had discovered. Harris told them that the marked tree was the corner of an old survey, and that he could show all the corners if the party would accompany him. Lodge does not say what he did afterwards, but it is inferred that he stopped work.

There are a number of drafts of Muncy Manor in existence, drawn for the purpose of showing how the lines of these disputed tracts overlapped the manor. They were used in the lawsuits that followed between Wallis and the Proprietaries. One given herewith is interesting, because it shows the location of John Scudder's house. He was an early settler, and this draft is called "Scudder's Complaint:"



Muncy Manor.

The following certificate is appended to the draft:

The above draft represents the Proprietaries Manor of Muncy, and several tracts of land claimed by Samuel Wallis as they interfere with the said Proprietary Manor. The plain lines, together with the river, includes the Manor of Muncy, and the dotted lines represent the lines of the lands claimed by Samuel Wallis.

The white oak corner of the Manor of Muncy, standing near Muncy Creek, stood one perch and a half from where the lines N 80 E & N 10 W would intersect. But in the line N 10 W and distant from the pine only 57½ perches.

Certified by

BENJA. JACOBS.

April 24, 1773.

The dispute between Wallis and the Proprietaries regarding the surveys having waxed warm, the question was finally submitted to Joseph Galloway, Esq., of Philadelphia, for his legal opinion. After a careful examination that gentleman submitted the following, which is still in a good state of preservation:

"The Land Office in Philadelphia did at different times issue warrants and orders of survey to sundry persons for locating and taking up a quantity of vacant land in the County of Cumberland, and Province of Pennsylvania, to wit:

"1. Warrant to Dennis Mullen for 300 acres, dated the 1st day of August, 1766, and situate adjoining James Alexander, and about two miles southward of land claimed by Charles Moore, in Cumberland County.

"2. Order to James Alexander, same date, for 300 acres situate adjoining land of Dennis Mullen, and land of Robert Roberts on the west, and vacant land on the north and southward.

"3. Order to Robert Roberts, same date, for 300 acres situate and adjoining land of James Alexander on the eastward, and westward by land of Bowyer Brooks, and northward by vacant land.

"4. Order to Bowyer Brooks,* same day, for 300 acres, situate adjoining land of Robert Roberts on the east, and by vacant land southward, northward and westward.

"5. Order to Robert Whitehead, dated March 17, 1767, for 200 acres situate and adjoining land surveyed for Bowyer Brooks, northerly, barrens west, and by a large piney hill south and east.

"All of which warrants and orders of survey were purchased from the different granters by Samuel Wallis, as will appear by their deeds of conveyance regularly executed, etc. On the 26th day of October, 1767, and on the 28th day of May, 1768, regular surveys were made in pursuance of the Proprietary warrants and orders upon vacant, unappropriated land, and unpurchased of

*Under date of December 14, 1765, Moses Harlan makes affidavit "before John Rannels, Esq., one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace," for Cumberland County, that in 1761 the improvements on Bowyer Brooks' tract consisted of "about four acres of cleared, half fenced" land. That the improvements on the tract of Robert Roberts, made the same year, consisted of "about three acres cleared, with a dwelling house," and that there were "about four acres cleared and a small dwelling house" on the James Alexander tract.—*Wallis Papers*.

the Indians by the Proprietaries' regular commissioned Deputy Surveyor, or by some person employed by him as a deputy, which surveys were certified and returned into the Surveyor General's office by the said commissioned deputy; and it since appears that they contain within their butts and boundaries a considerable quantity of overplus land.

"On the 25th day of September, 1768, and on the 12th day of April, 1770, Samuel Wallis obtained the Proprietaries' patents for all the lands so surveyed and returned. Immediately after the grand Indian purchase was concluded in November, 1768, the Proprietaries' officers laid out a manor, now called the Muncy Manor,* which interfered with a part of the foregoing patents, and such part of these patents as the manor did not interfere with, the Proprietary's officers granted away upon common orders in what was called the Land Lottery on the 3d day of April following, to different people, who have since obtained surveys and returns, so as to cover the whole of the land so patented by Samuel Wallis. The Proprietary's officers now contest the legality of Samuel Wallis' title, and urge the following reasons, to wit:

"1. That a title to land obtained before it was purchased of the Indians cannot be valid in law, because it is contrary to their common mode of granting.

"2. That they (the superior officers) were deceived, or rather not made acquainted with the true situation of the land, but that the returns of survey were blind and vague, and did not sufficiently describe the place on which they were laid.

"3. That the surveys contain a considerable quantity of overplus land.

"As to any particular, fixed mode of granting away the Proprietaries' lands has been generally understood not to exist, but

*In the warrant to Dennis Mullen, dated August 1, 1766, and signed by John Penn, these words occur: "Provided the land does not lie in or interfere with our Manor of Lowther." This shows that it was intended at one time to call it by another name than Muncy Manor. Possibly it was intended to name it after Sir John Lowther Johnstone, who was a son of Sir George Johnstone, the eldest brother of William Johnstone, who married into the Pulteney family and became known thereafter as Sir William Pulteney. By the death, July 14, 1808, of Henrietta Laura Pulteney, the descent of a large estate was cast in Sir John Lowther Johnstone, her cousin and heir at law. He died December 23, 1811.

that their order was as often altered as it suited their own purposes, and that the granting of lands unpurchased of the Indians is well known to have been frequently done by them. That if the Proprietary's superior officers were deceived, the deception was from their own inferior officers, and not from Samuel Wallis, who, in the obtaining of these lands, did in every respect pursue the common method of negotiating business through each of the respective offices. And as to overplus land, Samuel Wallis can prove that he did as soon as he was made acquainted with it, offer to the Proprietaries' Receiver General to pay him for any overplus which his surveys might contain.

"The question then is whether or not the Proprietaries, by their commissioners of property, have a right to grant lands that are unpurchased of the Indians, and when so granted by letters patent, are they valid in law? or whether they have a right to vacate Samuel Wallis' patents on what is now called the Muncy Manor, by reason of their containing overplus land, when it does not appear that he was privy to, or concerned in any deception or fraud intended against the Proprietaries in obtaining the lands?"

"Upon the facts above stated I am of opinion, in answer to the first question, that under the Royal Grant, the Proprietaries have good right to grant patents for land not purchased of the Indians, and that there is no law depriving them of that right. Of course the above mentioned patents must be valid. And as to the second question, I apprehend the surveys containing a quantity of overplus land are not a sufficient reason for vacating the patent, there being no fraud in the purchase in obtaining such overplus, and more especially as he has offered to satisfy the Proprietaries for it.

"JOSEPH GALLOWAY.

"March 21, 1771."

The dispute between Wallis and the Proprietaries finally waxed so warm that an ejectment suit was brought against him, in which the lessees of the Proprietaries were made plaintiffs. At first an effort was made to settle the dispute by appointing a jury of viewers to meet at Fort Augusta in October, 1772, and proceed to examine the premises. George Nagel, sheriff of Berks County, had selected the jurymen, and some of them had started on the

journey, when word was received from the secretary of the Land Office, that owing to the illness of Mr. Wallis, it was concluded not to go on with the view. The sheriff then dispatched an express to overhaul the viewers who had started and turn them back. And he adds in one of his letters of that day that they were glad to get rid of the journey.

But it appears from the papers still in existence that the difficulty was not amicably settled, and suit was brought in the Supreme Court sitting at Reading on the 7th of April, 1773. A few of the subpœnas have been found, which show the date. Joseph Reed was attorney for Wallis and Edward Biddle for the Proprietaries.

One of the most curious papers in the Wallis collection contains a list of the names of jurymen evidently drawn for that court, with remarks opposite each name, for the guidance of his counsel in challenging. The paper appears to be in the handwriting of Mr. Wallis, and is clear, distinct and business-like. It is given herewith in full:

1. Christopher Shultz. A Dutchman, and when disputes run high was a Proprietary man. A farmer and man of good abilities. A leading man in the county & is thought will act from Judgment. By religion a Swinfielder.
2. John Old. A country Born Englishman; an Industrious & Honest man, & is supposed will act from Judgment, & not from Influence; a very good man and ought not to be struck. An Ironmaster & Land Holder. A Church Man.
3. Abraham Lincoln. A country Born Englishman. An Illiterate man, and apt to be Influenced by the pleadings of Lawyers; apt to be Intoxicated with Drink. A Quaker; is thought to be influenced by James Starr, or Samuel Hughs. A Farmer.
4. Samuel High. Dutchman; a weak, Rich, Miser. Is thought will be influenced by the pleading of Edw'd. Biddle, and ought to be struck. A Rich man, no great wit, but thoughtful and careful in Judging, & I believe free from Byas, and will act from Judgment.
5. James Starr. A Country Born, an Honest Judicious man, a man of Common abillitys, and is supposed will act from Judgment; a Quaker, a Brewer and Considerable Land Holder.
6. Henry Hollar. A Country Born Dutchman; a man of Common abillitys; is Thought will be Influenced by Edw'd Biddle, & ought to be Struck. A Lutharan by Profession. A Tavern Keeper.
7. Thomas Jones, Junr. A Country Born Welch man, an Active man, Midling understanding, acquainted with Business in the County, perhaps not free from Bias, yet seems a conscientious Man. A Baptist. A considerable Land holder, has a little Tract of Land yet to pay for to ye Prop's.
8. Thomas Dundass. A Scotchman, a very sensible Judicious, Honest man, by

profession a Presbyterian, not a Biggot, & ought not by any means to be struck. He is a shop Keeper & will act from Judgment, and not a Land Holder in the Country.

9. A Country Born Englishman, of Common abillitys, but generally Esteemed an Honest man, & will act from Judgment; a Quaker. Ought not to be struck; a Considerable Farmer & Land Holder.

10. John Godfrey. A man, a very weak man & apt to be byased—a Farmer. By Religion a Churchman. Ought to be struck.

11. Benjamin Pearson. A Country Born Englishman, a man of Common abillitys—is supposed will act from Judgment. Will be Likely to be influenced by James Starr, if he desents from his Own Judgment. A House Carpenter & not a Land Holder in the County; a Quaker. Ought not to be struck.

12. Moses Roberts. A Country Born Englishman; generally esteemed a very sensible, Juditious, Honest man, & will act from Judgment. A Farmer and Land Holder. A Quaker Preacher, & ought not to be struck.

13. Valentine Eckers. A Country Born Dutchman; an Illiterate, weak man; will be like to be Influenced by Edw'd Biddle. A Blacksmith, a rich man & Land Holder. Ought to be struck.

14. John Kerlin. A country Born Dutchman; a very weak man; a Superstitious man—will be like to be Influenced by Biddle. Ought to be struck. A Churchman.

15. Jacob Mechlen. A Country Born Dutchman; a weak man; great talker; a Land Holder, & has some connection with one holding a Commission of ye Peace. Strike.

16. Thomas Wright. A good Liver, Independent, no great Judgment, but will use what he has without byas. A Quaker, not to be struck.

17. Sebastian Levan. A Country Born Dutchman, perhaps under influence, tho' Rite. Strike.

18. John Harrison. A Country Born Englishman; a man of Common abillitys; will be like to act from Judgment, and ought not to be Struck; by Profession a Quaker. A Farmer and Land Holder.

19. Owen Hughs. If of Maiden creek, wealthy; rather weak, but will act from Judgment; of Welsh desent. A Quaker. Don't strike.

20. Benjamin Spycker. A Dutchman. Rut; perhaps under Influence; his Brother a Justice & he a Tavern Keeper. Strike.

21. John Scarlott. A Country Born Englishman; a good kind of a man, a Land Holder & Farmer. A Quaker. Don't strike.

22. Jacob Shoemaker. A Dutchman, (Late Sheriff) a very weak man, and is supposed will be enfluenced by Edw'd Biddle. Ought to be struck.

23. Nermer Starr. A very obscure Duchman. Strike.

24. Samuel Hughs. A Country Born Englishman; a man of Tolerable good abillitys; is supposed will act from Judgment. A Farmer & Landholder. A Quaker. Ought not to be struck.

25. Jacob Echberger. Rich but partial & weak. Strike.

26. John Jones, of Carnarvoon. Welsh Desent. Tavern Keeper. Defendant. Strike.

27. Frederick Weiser. A Country Born Dutchman, sotish, under influence. Strike.

28. Peter Yocum. A Country Born Englishman. An Illiterate, weak man, Apt to be hyased by Biddle. A Farmer & Land Holder. A Churchman. Strike.
29. Samuel Lee. A Country Born Englishman. A man of good ability. Is supposed will have influence with the rest of the Jury, and will act from Judgment. A Farmer & Land Holder. A Quaker, & ought by no means to be struck.
30. Benjamin Parks. A Country Born Englishman; a man of weak abillitys; in low circumstance; apt to be influenced; a Carpenter & not a Land Holder. A Quaker. Take if no better to be had.
31. Michael Brucht. A Country Born Dutchman; a weak man & apt to be influenced by Edw'd Biddle. A Tavern Keeper & Land Holder. No Religion. Ought to be Struck.
32. Jacob Lamescus. Very obscure.
33. William Winter. A weak man, subject to Drink & obscure.
34. Richard Penrose. A Country Born Englishman. A man of Common abillitys. Will act from Judgment. A Farmer and Land Holder. A Constable. A Quaker, & ought by no means to be struck.
35. Joseph Grose. A Tavern keeper, a Justices son in Law. Little known. Strike.
36. Valontine Probst. Rich in Lands, &c. A good kind of a Man, tho' weak. Strike.
37. Christian Lauer. A Dutchman, a Leading man among the Dutch; very rich—a man of Better abillitys than Dutchman have in Common—an unprejudiced man. Supposed will act from Judgment. A Considerable Land Holder and Farmer. Religion a Lutharan.
38. Philip Kohl. A Country Born Dutchman; a man of weak abillitys; apt to be Influenced by other People. A Tavern Keeper. A Lutharan in Profession. Ought to be Struck.
39. William Tallman. A Country Born Englishman. A man of weak abillitys. A Rich man. A Farmer and Land Holder. Strike.
40. George Berstler. Very obscure. Strike.
41. Samuel Jackson. A Country Born Englishman; a man of good abillitys—will act from Judgment. A Hatter in Reading & ought not to be struck.
42. Owen Hughs. If Owen Hughs in or near the County Line, a weak young Welshman. Strike.
43. Henry Hohn. A Smith. Subject to strong Byas. Weak. Strike.
44. Jacob Snyder. A Rich independent Dutchman. Sober and thoughtful; rather Irresolute, but perhaps best not to strike.
45. George Hughs. A Country Born Englishman. A man of good abillitys. Will act from Judgment. A Tanner and Farmer. A Quaker & ought not to be struck.
46. Jonathan Davis. Of Welch Desent. A Blue Dnyer in Reading. Rather obscure. Don't strike.
47. George Germandt. A Rich Dutchman, sober, Irresolute, timorous; yet don't strike.
48. John Spohn. A Country Born Dutchman. A young man; a Brewer; a man of Tollarable good ability; a Better man than many other Dutchmen.

Nothing has been found to show the proceedings of the suit, but it is evident that Wallis was the loser, for the Proprietaries afterwards issued an order to divide the manor into five tracts, which were sold to other parties.

There is little doubt that the first settler within what is now the territory of Clinton County was a curious individual named Cleary Campbell.* He squatted on the Charles Glass tract, which was the one immediately north of the officers' tract, in the name of Ensign McMinn, and surveyed by Charles Lukens for William Glass November 9, 1769, and on which the northern portion of Lock Haven is built. In a trial at Sunbury, in 1776, Lukens testifies that when he went up to make the surveys for the officers he found him living on this land with his family.

John Hamilton in his reminiscences says that there must have been something in the character of Campbell that was not generally seen by his neighbors. What should induce him to venture ahead of the first settlers in that remote region was a mystery, for he was regarded as the laziest man to be found. The houses of that day were cabins with one room, that served for parlor, kitchen and bed room. It was invariably the practice of Cleary Campbell, being too lazy to sit up, to throw himself down upon a bed. This habit must have drawn to it universal attention, as the following story will show, whether founded on fact or only as a specimen of the rough wit of backwoods civilization. As the story runs, he entered a neighbor's house one day, and as usual threw himself down, and on a cat that lay asleep on the bed. The cat began to make piteous cries, but there was no help for it. "Poor pussy, I pity you, but I cannot help you," was the only remark of Cleary. He was very frequently assessor of the township, and wrote a very plain, good hand, and the fact that in September, 1792, he took up the most elevated farm in Centre County, on the top of Muncy Mountain, within sight of Bellefonte, seems to indicate that he was not lazy after locations of a high order. He was dispossessed from his place at Lock Haven.

An Irishman named Quinn was the first settler at the mouth of the little stream now called Queen's Run. What induced him to

* According to the best information at hand Campbell was from the Juniata, and died in Howard Township, Centre County, in 1809, at an advanced age.

locate there is unknown. Possibly he was a hunter or trader like Larry Burt, and although he gave his name to the rivulet, it has been corrupted into Queen, because the pronunciation is easier and more high sounding.

William McElhattan* was the first white settler in what is now Wayne† Township, Clinton County, and the stream which passes by the camp-meeting grounds was named after him. He was an Irishman by birth and came to Lancaster in 1760. Hearing of the fine lands on the West Branch, he came with others to prospect, and located about a mile west of where the stream bearing his name falls into the river. He was only a "squatter," as he never obtained a warrant for his land. Richard McCafferty was the second settler, at a point about a mile east of McElhattan Run. He made some improvements on his land, but, dying about 1770, they fell into decay. The first grave for a white man was the one dug for him on his own land. This was the grave-yard started at that point, and it was used for that purpose until it contained about fifty-two graves. Next came Robert Love,‡ who settled near the mouth of the little stream known as Love's Run, a short distance east of Pine Station, on the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad. Love's Gap in the mountain at that place was named after him. He built a mill which did good service for a long time. Robert Love was a celebrated character in his day, and took an active part with the "Fair Play" men of that time. He also participated in the meeting at the mouth of Pine Creek on the 4th

* William McElhattan was a first lieutenant in the Twelfth Regiment, commissioned October 16, 1776. He was wounded by ball and buckshot in the shoulder, and lost the use of his arm; he was transferred to the Sixth Pennsylvania, but, his wound troubling him, he was transferred to the invalid corps July 1, 1779. He was discharged December 3, 1784; removed to Kentucky, where he died April 26, 1807.

† Wayne is one of the original townships of Clinton, when that county was created in 1839. It was taken from Nippenose Township, Northumberland County, in 1795, when Lycoming County was organized, and was named after General Anthony Wayne.

‡ Robert Love was of Scotch-Irish ancestry and came from Chester County. He first settled on the Juniata, and then came to the West Branch, moving part of his family of twelve children overland by the way of Bald Eagle's Nest, in 1773, and part by way of the river in canoes. He first settled on the level plain above Pine Creek, afterwards known as the "Cook Farm." At the time of the Big Runaway tradition informs us that he sold his improvement for £100 and two barrels

of July, 1776, when the famous Declaration of Independence resolutions were passed by the settlers.

According to the best authority the land along the river,* about a mile west of McElhattan, was taken up by three persons. The warrant for the western part, known as the "Monmouth" tract, containing 400 acres, was taken out in 1769 by William Noland. It embraced the McKague, Throne and Strayer farms. The warrant for the central part was taken out by Isaac Webster in 1770, and embraced the Stabley, Montgomery and Gallauher farms. The eastern tract, by warrant of John L. Webster, in 1769, and embraces the Steck, Quiggle and Winchester farms. On this tract was built Harris' fort in 1774-5. It was located on a high bluff a little west of Kurtz's Run, at which place there is a short curve in the river, giving a view of both banks, east and west, for over a mile. The remains of this fortification, which was simply a stockade enclosure, could be seen until the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad was built in 1856-8, when they were destroyed. The land east of Kurtz's Run was taken up by three warrants: that of Robert Love in 1769, containing the lands of Jamison, the Quiggles, and the land on which Pine Station is built; that of Samuel Wallis, 1770, embracing the lands of G. W. Sour and Jacob Stamm; and that of Elizabeth Jarvis, 1769, embracing the land of Thomas Quiggle and others. This tract was first called "Fairview," and was afterwards known as the "Hollingsworth"

of whisky. On his return, when peace was restored, he settled on the south side of the river, at what is known as Love's Gap Farm. Another account, and the correct one, is that he gave the improvement to his daughters, Ann and Jennet, who in turn quitclaimed it to James Dill, of York County, for £20 and two cows. The indenture is dated May 15, 1775, and the sale was acknowledged before John Kidd, Recorder for Lycoming County, November 30, 1803. Surveyor General Lukens certifies that James Dill applied for 300 acres on the north side of the river, including Love's improvement, which he had conveyed to Ann and Jennet, his daughters, and whose right was afterwards vested in Dill. The latter agreed to pay £30 per hundred acres for the tract in 1785. In 1792 this same tract was sold to William Wilson for £200.

Robert Love was a man of prominence in his day, and served as a Justice of the Peace. He died in his 95th year, having been blind for some time. His wife lived to the age of 94. Their daughter Jennet, who married a man named Anesley, lived to the age of 93.

*See *Maynard's Historical View of Clinton County*, pages 218, 219.

tract. The mountain tract of 156 acres west of Noland's was settled upon after the Revolution by Patrick McElhaney, who sold to Jacob Whiteman. The next spring, it is related, Whiteman went to Middletown, and meeting George Fry, represented his land as being good for farming and well adapted for grazing, and that he had a large number of cattle on it, which he would sell with the land for \$600, one-half to be paid down and the balance in the fall, at which time Fry was to go up and see the land. Fry bought without seeing it and paid \$300 down. He came in the fall according to promise, and while walking over the land and being apparently satisfied, asked Whiteman to see the cattle. Presently they came upon a herd of deer, when Whiteman said: "There are the cattle!" Fry was no little surprised, and turning to Whiteman rather fiercely, said: "Take your land and go to the d—l, and I'll go to Middletown!" Fry went home and never returned to see his "farm and pasture lands." Whiteman went west and was never heard from afterwards.

Among the permanent settlers who bought land and improved it were the Quiggles. They were from Hopewell Township, Cumberland County, and settled here about 1788. The Montgomery farm is another fine tract, and has been in the possession of that family for a long time. The Quiggle farm was owned by S. N. Quiggle until a few years ago, when it was bought by Charles S. Gallauher. The last payment on this farm by the Quiggles is acknowledged by the following queer receipt, now in the hands of S. N. Quiggle:

June the 27th 1807—Receipt by the Hand of George Quickle the Sum of Sixty Two Pounts for John Quickle to the Yuse of Adam and George Wilt, I Say Receipt by

HENRY SHEARMAN.

The rich lands lying west of Pine Creek, north of the river, and extending to Dunnsburg, were a tempting bait, and adventurers, in defiance of the orders of Governor Penn, squatted there as early as 1772 and commenced making improvements. John Hamilton,* whose ancestors were among the first settlers, says that a company consisting of John Reed, of Philadelphia, and

* *Maynard's History of Clinton County*, pages 207, 208.

John Bull, Esq., and Thomas Proctor,* Esq., purchased a large tract containing 4,497 acres and allowances. The original deed was from William Penn to George Evans, of Wales, and was dated 1682.† This survey could not be recognized as of any value by the State after independence. The whole extent, for a distance of five miles, was settled upon under claims of three and four hundred acres before it was purchased from the Indians—previous to the Revolution and the Big Runaway in 1778. It was purchased at the treaty of peace in 1784, and most of the warrants were laid in 1785 under the claim of the first settlers, the State honoring and securing their claims on account of the noble stand made by them in defense of the country against Great Britain and her allies the Indians.

The first settlers who got back after the war settled on their improvements and took out warrants. But there is no evidence that Donaldson, who settled on what has gone by the name of the "Duncan Farm," ever returned. Neither did Kinkaid and Alexander Hamilton. The latter was killed by the Indians near Northumberland. His family returned, however, and took out a warrant for his improvement. An eagerness to get possession of land showed itself in strong colors; not only were the best bottom

* Thomas Proctor was captain of the first Continental company of artillery raised in Philadelphia. He was afterward promoted to the position of General, and his brother Francis, who was lieutenant of the same company, became captain. The Proctors at one time had possession of several hundred acres of land on the flats just below the island, but for some reason or other they failed to hold it, probably for want of means with which to make their payments, and it finally passed into the hands of others.—*Maynard's History of Clinton County*, page 149.

† The deed is as follows: By virtue of a deed of lease, dated the 7th of the 5th month, 1682, from the Hon. William Penn, Esq., Proprietor and Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, unto George Evans, of Pembrokeshire, in Wales, 10,000 acres of land in Pennsylvania was surveyed and laid out unto John Bull, Esq., Thomas Proctor, Esq., and John Reed, in right aforesaid, a certain tract or parcel of land lying and being on the north side of the West Branch of the Susquehanna River, and on the west side of Pine Creek, bounded on the south by the Susquehanna, and by Pine Creek on the east; by vacant lands and a ridge of mountains on the north, and lands surveyed to John Reed on the west, containing 4,497 acres, with allowance, &c., &c. Surveyed September the 3d, 4th, 5th, 7th and 9th, 1772, by James Dickinson. Beginning at a post standing on a point on the west side of Pine Creek, and on the north side of the West Branch, running from there up the Pine Creek. Then follow the courses, distances, &c.

lands secured, but surveys were made of the greater portion of the hill lands in 1785. Some hill land was taken up and surveyed in 1792 and 1794.

The first warrants along the river were laid in the names as follows, beginning at Chatham's Run, and down the river: John Chatham, on Chatham's Run. Next below Colonel William Cook, now Condon; then Jane Richard, now Huling and Betts; then McFadden, now McGuire and Brown; then John Jackson, now Ferguson and McKinney; then Hamilton's heirs, now Hamiltons and Shaw; next the Duncan farm, settled on before the war by Alexander Donaldson, now owned chiefly by Crawford and Smith. This was warranted by Benjamin Walker, deeded to Stephen Duncan. Next the Love improvement, afterwards owned by Cook; then the McMasters improvement on the point—the Gallauher farm. Then up the creek further, William Plunkett, now Simmons and Crist; next John Scott, now McKinney; then Barnabas Parsons, 346 acres and allowance. Phelps' Mills were on this tract; next above was Thomas Proctor. These tracts all seem to have been surveyed in 1785.

As the settlements extended up the river great inconvenience was experienced on account of the distance from the county seat, which was at Carlisle, and the people commenced clamoring for the creation of a new county. Cumberland covered an immense territory, and too much time and expense were involved in going to the county seat to transact business by the settlers on the West Branch. Finally the Proprietaries assented to the formation of a new county on the 27th of March, 1772, out of parts of Lancaster, Cumberland, Berks, Northampton and Bedford, to be called Northumberland. The name selected was in honor of the most northerly county of England. Its boundaries were as follows:

Beginning at the mouth of Mahantongo Creek, on the west side of the river Susquehanna, thence up the south side of said creek to the head of Robert Meter's spring; thence west by north to the top of Tussey's Mountain; thence along the summit to the Little Juniata; thence up the east side of the main branch to the head thereof; thence north to the line of Berks County; thence north-west along the same line to the extremity of the Province; thence east along the north boundary to a point due north of the Great Swamp; thence south to the most southern part of the Swamp aforesaid; thence with a straight line to the head of Lehigh, or Mill Creek; thence down the said creek so far, that a line run west south-west will strike the forks

of Mahantongo Creek where Pine Creek falls into the same, at the place called Spread Eagle, on the east side of the Susquehanna; thence down the south side of said creek to the river aforesaid; thence across the river to the beginning.

This line embraced a vast territory. It extended as far west as Lake Erie, the head of Lehigh on the east, taking in what is now Pike County, with the State of New York on the north. Imagine a county of that size to-day. Nearly all the territory at that time was a dense forest, and the Indians held almost undisputed sway.

Fort Augusta was fixed as the place of election and the county was to be entitled to one representative. The Governor was to nominate a competent number of justices, any three of whom could hold the several courts on the fourth Tuesday of February, May, August and November, at Fort Augusta, until a court house should be built. William Maclay, John Lowdon, Samuel Hunter, Joseph J. Wallis and Robert Moodie were appointed trustees to purchase a piece of ground on which the court house was to be erected, subject to the Governor's approval. Thomas Lemmon was made collector of excise. Joshua Elder, James Potter, Jesse Lukens, and William Scull were appointed to run the boundary line.

The celebrated Dr. William Plunkett, Turbutt Francis, Samuel Hunter, James Potter, William Maclay, John Lowdon, Thomas Lemmon, Ellis Hughes and Benjamin Weiser confirmed as justices in Council, and William Maclay, prothonotary and clerk of the several courts, March 24th. The first county commissioners were William Gray, Thomas Hewitt and John Weitzel. On the 23d of November Casper Reed, of Penn's, was sworn in as county commissioner; Alexander Hunter, county treasurer; Walter Clark, Jonathan Lodge, Peter Hosterman, James Harrison, Nicholas Miller, Jacob Heverling and Samuel Weimier, assessors. Thus were the offices of the new county filled and everything arranged for local government.

The first court in Northumberland County was held at Fort Augusta on the 9th of April, 1772. Tradition says that it met in a small log building which stood on the bank of the river a few feet in front of the fort, but its site was long since washed away by the encroachment of the water. The tradition seems to be

well founded. The first court was a private sessions of the peace, and the record is herewith given:

RECORD OF THE FIRST COURT.

At a court of private sessions of the peace held at Fort Augusta for the County of Northumberland on the ninth day of April in the twelfth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, defender of the Faith, and in the year of our Lord God one thousand seven hundred and seventy-two, before William Plunkett, Esq., and his Associate Justices assigned, &c., within the said County of Northumberland, viz:

A Commission from his Honor the Governor, bearing date the 24th day of March anno domini one thousand seven hundred and seventy-two, appointing William Plunkett, Turbutt Francis, Samuel Hunter, James Potter, William Maclay, Caleb Graydon, Benjamin Allison, Robert Moodie, John Lowdon, Thomas Lemon, Ellis Hughes and Benjamin Weiser, Esqrs., Justices of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace and jail delivery for the said County of Northumberland was published in Court.

On motion made, the said County of Northd., or as much of the Extent of the same as is now purchased from the Indians, is divided into the following townships, to be hereafter called and known by the names of Penn's twp.*—Augusta twp.—Turbutt twp.—Buffalo twp.—Bald Eagle twp.—Muncy twp.—and Wyoming twp., each described and bounded as follows:

DESCRIPTION OF BUFFALO TOWNSHIP.

Beginning at the mouth of Penn's creek at the head of the isle of Que, thence up the same to the forks, thence by a north line to the West Branch of Susquehanna, thence down the West Branch of Susquehanna to the forks, thence down Susquehanna to place of beginning.

DESCRIPTION OF BALD EAGLE TOWNSHIP.

Beginning at the forks of Penn's creek, thence by a north line to the West Branch of Susquehanna, thence up the same to where the County line crosses it, thence by the County line south to the head of little Juniata, thence down the same to the end of Tussey's mountain, thence along the top of the same easterly to the place of beginning.

DESCRIPTION OF TURBUTT TOWNSHIP.

Beginning on the east side of Susquehanna at Fort Augusta, thence up the easterly side of the N. E. Branch to the old line formerly run for a division between Berks and Northampton counties, thence by the same line North West to the top of Muncy hill, thence along the top of the same westerly to the West Branch of Susquehanna, and crossing the same to the west side and down the same to the junction of the branches, and crossing Susquehanna to the place of beginning—so as to include the forks and island.

DESCRIPTION OF MUNCY TOWNSHIP.

Beginning on the west side of the West Branch of Susquehanna, opposite the end

*The descriptions of Penn's, Augusta and Wyoming townships are omitted, as not being pertinent to the history of the Valley of the West Branch.

of Muncy hill, thence up the West Branch to opposite the mouth of Lycoming,* thence crossing the branch, up Lycoming to the heads thereof, thence by a south-east line to the Muncy hill, thence along the top of the same to the West Branch, and crossing to beginning.

The names of the constables appointed for these respective townships, on the same occasion, were as follows:

Turbutt Township,	-	-	-	-	WILLIAM McMEIN.
Buffalo Township,	-	-	-	-	ROBERT KING.
Bald Eagle Township,	-	-	-	-	SAMUEL LONG.
Muncy Township,	-	-	-	-	JAMES ROBB.

This appears to have been all the business transacted at this court—which was of a preliminary character—at least nothing else appears upon the record.

The first Court of Common Pleas was held on the fourth Tuesday of May, 1772, before Justices William Plunkett, Samuel Hunter, Caleb Graydon, Thomas Lemmon and Robert Moodie. The commission of William Maclay, prothonotary, was read, and the following members of the Bar were sworn in: James Wilson, of York, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and Associate Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States; Robert Magaw, of Carlisle, afterwards colonel of the Sixth Pennsylvania and defender of Fort Washington; Edward Burd, district attorney; Christian Hucks† and George North. After examination, James Potts, Charles Stedman and Andrew Robinson were also admitted.

The record of the court reads as follows:

At a Court of General Sessions of the Peace, held at fort Augusta for the County of Northd., the fourth Tuesday in August, in the twelfth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, Geo. the Third, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, &c., Before William Plunkett, Esq., and his Associates, Justices assigned, &c., within the said County of Northd., viz:

Upon petition to the Court, Adam Haveling, Marcus Hulings, Jr., Martin Kost, Samuel Weiser, and John Alexander, are recommended to his Honor the Governor for his license to keep public houses where they respectively dwell in this County, they giving bond, &c., agreeable to the laws of this Province in such cases made, &c.

* The reader will observe that Lycoming Creek was the line of the county on the north side of the river, and was supposed to be the Tiadaghton of the Indians.

† Afterwards the Tory, Captain Hucks, of Tarleton's Dragoons, killed in South Carolina in 1780-81.—*Graydon's Memoirs*, page 270.

The first grand jury in the county was empaneled at this court. The names of the jurors are given below:

George Nagel, Esq.,* High Sheriff for the County aforesaid, returned his writ of *venire* to him directed, with the panel annexed, which being called over after proclamation, made the following persons appear, who were accordingly sworn on the grand inquest for our Sovereign Lord the King, for the body of the County:

JOHN BRADY, Foreman,	GEORGE RAN,
GEO. OVERMYER,	AND. HEFFER,
JOHN RHOWICK,	HAWKINS BOONE,
LEONARD PETER,	GEORGE WOLF,
GERHARD FREELAND,	WILLIAM COOK,
JOHN JOST,	JOHN KELLY,
WILLIAM GREY,	JAMES POKE,
LUDWIG DERR,	JOHN WALKER.

The first criminal case was tried at this court, King vs. John Williams, for larceny. Robert Fruit and John Williams were on the jury. He was found guilty and sentenced to pay a fine of £5, to receive twenty-one lashes on his bare back, and to be committed to the magazine of the fort until the sentence was complied with. The magazine was certainly a dark and dreary dungeon, if it was the same that is still in existence.

The number of civil suits brought at this court was thirty-four. The first was James vs. James Garley. Magaw for plaintiff, Wilson for defendant. Hawkins Boone and Thomas Sutherland had suits at this court; also Michael Regor vs. William Blythe. The latter suit was referred to Samuel Maclay, John Brady and George Wolfe to settle.

Owing to the increase of population and business, it was found necessary to provide better facilities for crossing and recrossing the river between Fort Augusta and Northumberland. Accordingly, on the 14th of April, 1772, Thomas and Richard Penn, by letters patent, granted to Robert King, his executors and assigns, the privilege of keeping a ferry† over the main branch of the river. November 30, 1773, King conveyed his right to Adam Heverling, and he to Christopher Getting, April 17, 1775; Getting

*George Nagel was sheriff of Berks-County when Northumberland was organized. He, however, served in Northumberland till William Cook was elected in October, 1772.

†An examination of the records to verify these facts was made by John B. Linn, and he so states them on the 44th page of his *Annals*.

to Abraham Dewitt, October 8, 1779; Eleanor Dewitt, alias Coldern, administratrix of Dewitt, to John Lyon, October 25, 1787, and on the 2d of November, 1787, John Lyon presented a petition to the Assembly for the privilege of keeping the ferry for a term of years, which was granted.

The county of Northumberland having been erected, and the machinery for its government put in operation by the appointment of officers and the opening of the courts, it at once became apparent to the Proprietaries that a town* should be laid out either at Fort Augusta or on the Northumberland side of the river, which should be known as the county seat. As soon as the proposition became known a strife arose between parties on both sides of the river to secure the prize, and according to the records the excitement ran high. It having finally been decided to take the necessary steps towards laying out the town, a meeting was held to consider what course to pursue, and the proceedings as recorded are as follows:

At a Meeting at the Governor's on Tuesday the sixteenth day of June, 1772.

Present—The Governor, The Secretary Mr. Tilghman, The Receiver General Mr. Physick, The Surveyor General Mr. Lukens.

Ordered, that the Surveyor General with all convenient speed repair to Fort Augusta on Sasquehanna, and with the assistance of Mr. William McClay lay out a Town for the County of Northumberland to be called by the name of Sunbury, at the most commodious place between the Fort and the Mouth of Shamokin Creek, into Three Hundred Lotts to be accomodated with Streets, Lanes and Alleys and a Commodious Square in the most convenient place for Publick Buildings. The two Main Streets to be eighty feet wide, the others sixty and the Lanes and Alleys twenty feet. The Lotts to be sixty feet wide in Front and Two hundred and thirty feet deep if the Ground and Situation will conveniently allow that Depth. And it is further ordered that a space of at least one hundred and twenty feet be left between

* The first order for the survey of the manor of Pomfret, issued by the Proprietaries, was in these words: "These are to authorize and require you to survey & lay out for our Use and Right and as part of our tenths the quantity of Five Thousand Acres of Land at Shamokin on the River Sasquehannah to include the old Fort and the Lands about it and make Return thereof into our Secretary's Office for which this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

"Witness John Penn Esqr Lieutenant Governor of the said Province who by virtue of certain powers from the said Proprietaries hath hereunto set his Hand & caused the Seal of the Land Office to be affixed at Philadelphia this twenty-ninth Day of October Ao. Di. One thousand seven hundred & sixty-eight.

"JOHN PENN.

"To JOHN LUKENS, Esqr. Survr. Genl."

the Town line and the Bank of the River. Every other Lott adjoining the Square and fifty Commodious Lotts besides to be reserved for the Proprietaries. After laying out the Town the Surveyor General while he is there and Mr. McClay after the Surveyor leaves the place may receive applications and make Entries to be Returned & Recorded in the Secretaries Office from any person or Persons inclinable to settle & build in the Town, particularly Tradesmen and such as are of ability to improve. No person to be allowed to take up more than one Lott without the Governor's special Licence. And upon making Application the Party applying shall receive a Ticket in the Form following:

The —— day of ——, 177— A. B. applies for and is allowed to take up Lott No. —— in the Town of Sunbury for which he is to take out a Patent within six months from the Time of Application, otherwise the Application to be void and the Lott free for any other applier. A clause to be contained in the Patent that if the said A. B., his Heirs or Assigns do not within three Years from the Time of Application build and Erect on the said Lott a Dwelling House of twenty feet square at least, with a Brick or Stone Chimney the Patent to be void. The Lott to be forfeited to the Proprietaries and they at full and absolute Liberty without Re-entry to Grant and dispose of it to any other Person or Persons whatsoever. The Annual Ground Rent for the said Lott to be Seven Shillings Sterling.

N. B.—The Rent of the Unreserved Lots adjoining the Square to be Ten Shillings Sterling.

A true Copy.

JAMES TILGHMAN,
Sec'y of the Land Office.

This document bears the following indorsement: "The Governor's orders for laying out the town of Sunbury. Executed the 26th, 27th, 29th and 30th of June, the 1st, 2d & 3d of July, 1772." Signed "John Lukens, S. G., William Maclay, D. S."

The preliminary steps having been taken, there was no delay in carrying out the decision of the officers. Mr. Tilghman, Secretary of the Land Office, wrote to William Maclay:

Mr. Lukens goes to lay out the town, agreeably to instructions. You are joined with him in the work. You are to treat with Mr. Lowdon, and if his title be good, and he will take a sum named in the instructions (£200), the town is to be laid out in the Forks (Northumberland); otherwise on the fort side. Wallis and Haines have said they had a right, and they must relinquish it. As Lowdon's application was in his wife's name, she must convey. As putting the town in the forks is a concession against the interest of the Proprietaries to accommodate the people, if the place cannot be clear of claims, the town must be on the other side.

It seems that the terms of the Proprietaries were not complied with, and the claimants in the forks, where the town of Northumberland was afterwards located, lost the county seat, for on the 16th of June, 1772, the Governor and his Council issued an order

to Surveyor General Lukens to repair to Fort Augusta, and, with the assistance of William Maclay, lay out a town for the county of Northumberland, to be called by the name of Sunbury,* at the most commodious place between the forks of the river and the mouth of Shamokin Creek. General Lukens carried out his instructions without delay, for we find among the records the following bill of expenses incurred while engaged in the work:

The Hon'ble Proprietaries of Pennsylvania.

To JOHN LUKENS, Survey'r Gen'l, Dr.

1772.

June 18. To Sundry Disbursements & Services in laying out the town of Sunbury from June 18th to July 20th.

To Cash paid Capt. Hunter, Wm. Wilson & Peter Withington for provisions & liquors for myself & Horse while laying out the town,	£ 37 14 9
To Cash paid Sam'l McClay for 10 days at 7-6 p day,	3 15 0
To Ditto paid Charles Lukens, Judah Bakerr, Wm. Patterson & Jesse Lukens 8 days at 5s a day work,	8 0 0
To Ditto paid Alex'r Grant & James Gay——† for 5 days at 5s p day each,	2 10 0
To Ditto paid Rob't Martin, James Gondy, Jacob Haverling & Adam Haverling 4 days each at 2-6,	2 0 0
To Ditto paid Thomas Brannon, Wm. Murdock, Sam'l Pearson & James Aderson for 3d each at 2-6,	1 10 0
To Ditto pd. David †——ter for Rivets for 20 feet Rods,	1 0
To My Expenses going up & coming down,	8 18 10
To My Services 30 Days,	30 0 0
To Cash paid Tobias Rudolph Horse Hire 30 days at 5s p day,	7 10 0

£101 19 7

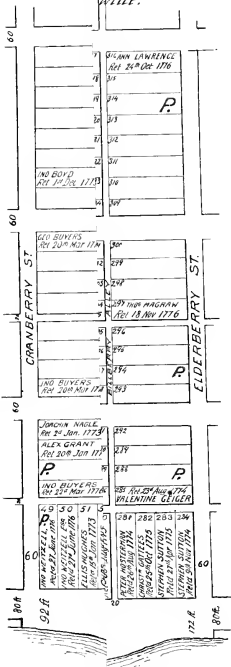
Thus was the town of Sunbury founded, and the cost of making the survey slightly exceeded \$500. A copy of the original survey,‡ given herewith, shows the names of the original lot

* Named after Sunbury, a village on the Thames, England; a parish formed by the union of shires in the County Middlesex, about fifteen miles from London proper. Supposed to have been the place at which the Icend, under Boadicea, were defeated by Suetonius Paulinus, in 61. A church was erected on the site of a more ancient edifice in 1752.

† Obliterated.

‡ This draft or "plan" has a curious history. It is asserted that when it was first made by one of the surveyors employed by John Lukens, he traded it off, for some cause or other, to a party in Philadelphia, and it remained in obscurity for many years. Its existence was finally discovered by an officer of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, who succeeded in purchasing it, and it is now in the archives of that institution. On this account the Land Office has never been able to give a certified copy of the original—it can only certify to a copy.

In town 277 to 284,
 laid 60ft broad
 suancely 170 ft. deep
 Govern 10 ft broad and
 Surv. of Streets & Alleys
 & N 65° W. the Alleys
 wide.



to Surveyor General Lukens to repair to Fort Augusta, and, with the assistance of William Maclay, lay out a town for the county of Northumberland, to be called by the name of Sunbury,* at the most commodious place between the forks of the river and the mouth of Shamokin Creek. General Lukens carried out his instructions without delay, for we find among the records the following bill of expenses incurred while engaged in the work:

The Hon'ble Proprietaries of Pennsylvania.

To JOHN LUKENS, Survey'r Gen'l, Dr.

1772.

June 18. To Sundry Disbursements & Services in laying out the town of Sunbury from June 18th to July 20th.

To Cash paid Capt. Hunter, Wm. Wilson & Peter Withington for provisions & liquors for myself & Horse while laying out the town, -	£ 37 14 9
To Cash paid Sam'l McClay for 10 days at 7-6 p day, - - -	3 15 0
To Ditto paid Charles Lukens, Judah Bakerr, Wm. Patterson & Jesse Lukens 8 days at 5s a day work, - - - - -	8 0 0
To Ditto paid Alex'r Grant & James Gay——† for 5 days at 5s p day each, - - - - -	2 10 0
To Ditto paid Rob't Martin, James Gondy, Jacob Haverling & Adam Haverling 4 days each at 2-6, - - - - -	2 0 0
To Ditto paid Thomas Brannon, Wm. Murdock, Sam'l Pearson & James Aderson for 3d each at 2-6, - - - - -	1 10 0
To Ditto pd. David †——ter for Rivets for 20 feet Rods, - - -	1 0
To My Expenses going up & coming down, - - - - -	8 18 10
To My Services 30 Days, - - - - -	30 0 0
To Cash paid Tobias Rudolph Horse Hire 30 days at 5s p day, - - -	7 10 0

£101 19 7

Thus was the town of Sunbury founded, and the cost of making the survey slightly exceeded \$500. A copy of the original survey,‡ given herewith, shows the names of the original lot

* Named after Sunbury, a village on the Thames, England; a parish formed by the union of shires in the County Middlesex, about fifteen miles from London proper. Supposed to have been the place at which the Icend, under Boadicea, were defeated by Suetonius Paulinus, in 61. A church was erected on the site of a more ancient edifice in 1752.

† Obliterated.

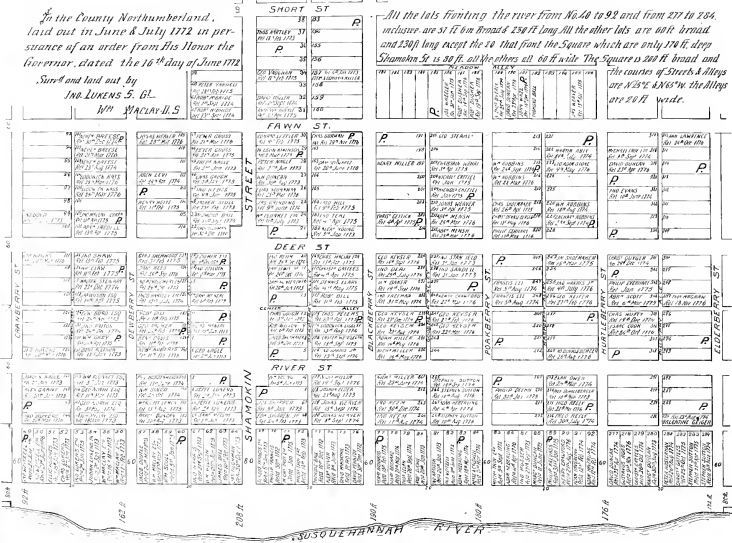
‡ This draft or "plan" has a curious history. It is asserted that when it was first made by one of the surveyors employed by John Lukens, he traded it off, for some cause or other, to a party in Philadelphia, and it remained in obscurity for many years. Its existence was finally discovered by an officer of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, who succeeded in purchasing it, and it is now in the archives of that institution. On this account the Land Office has never been able to give a certified copy of the original—it can only certify to a copy.

A PLAN OF THE TOWN OF SUNBURY.

In the County Northumberland,
laid out in June & July 1772 in per-
formance of an order from His Honor the
Governor, dated the 16th day of June 1772

Surveyed and laid out by
JNO LUKENS S. GL.
W^m MACLAY D.S.

All the lots fronting the river from No. 40 to 92 and from 277 to 284,
inclusive are 51 ft in front & 250 ft long All the other lots are 60 ft broad
and 230 ft long except the 20 that front the Square which are only 170 ft deep
Shamokin St is 30 ft. all the others all 60 ft wide The Square is 200 ft broad and
the courses of Streets & Alleys
are N 25° E & N 65° W the Alleys
are 20 ft wide.



holders and the names of the streets and alleys. The letter "P" stands for Proprietaries, and means that the lots so marked were reserved for those gentlemen. They always were on the lookout for the best locations for their share. And it will be observed that those who were in favor with the Government succeeded in getting the choicest lots. The streets of to-day bear different names from those given on the map. The fine avenue fronting on the river is now known as Broadway or Front Street; River Street is called Second; Deer Street is known as Third, and the Pennsylvania Railroad passes through it. Fawn Street is now called Fourth. The streets running north and south are now named as follows: Elderberry Street is called Spruce; Hurtleberry is named Walnut, and Poakberry is known as Penn—the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad runs through it;—Blackberry Street is named Chestnut, and Shamokin, the principal thoroughfare, is called Market. In the square, intersected by this street, the original court house was built, and stood there for many years. A handsome soldiers' monument now stands south of the railroad track, at the upper end of the public square, surmounted by a life-size statue of Colonel James Cameron, who fell at the first battle of Bull Run. Dewberry Street is now called Arch, and Cranberry is known as Race. It will be noticed as a curious fact that all the streets and alleys running north and south were named after a "berry" of some kind or other, which leads us to infer that the town site, in its pristine condition, yielded a great variety of berries, which caused the surveyors to adopt these names.

It is also a curious study to examine the names of the original holders of the town lots. Among them will be found many who were conspicuous in public affairs at that day, both in civil and military life. And it is interesting to note that the descendants of many of those people still reside in Sunbury, and are classed among the leading and most distinguished citizens; whilst on the other hand some of the most prominent names of that day are no longer known in the town. George Nagel, who was sheriff of Berks County when Northumberland was set off, and aided in the organization of the first court in Sunbury, had the last lot at the foot of the square, on the left of the "plan." How long he held it an examination of the record only will show.

The present building on lot 64, at the foot of Market Street—now occupied by Hon. John B. Packer as an office—was erected by Charles Hall, Esq., who afterwards married Miss Coleman and became the owner of Hall's Farms in Lycoming County. The patent for the lot from "the Hon. Thomas Penn and John Penn, Esqs., true and absolute Proprietaries and Governors in Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania and counties of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, to James Tilghman, Esq., of the city of Philadelphia, was dated the 2d day of January, in the thirteenth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George III., by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, etc., in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-three," and recites: "That the said James Tilghman, in the year 1772, applied for and requested the said Proprietaries to permit him to take up one lot of ground on the east side of the Broadway, in the town of Sunbury, the county of Northumberland, in the said Province, marked in the general plan of the said town No. 64, in order to build thereon one substantial dwelling house of twenty feet square at least, with a good brick or stone chimney and to improve the same within the space of three years then next ensuing, agreeably to the said plan and regulations fixed for building the said town, etc.; and that the said Proprietaries favoring his request did order and direct the said lot of ground to be surveyed and laid out for the said James Tilghman, and by their warrant, bearing date the 21st day of December *last*, under the seal of their land office, having required their Surveyor General to accept and receive the survey so made of the said lot into his office and to make return thereof into their Secretary's office, in order for confirmation to the said James Tilghman, etc., etc. The said Surveyor General hath, in pursuance of said warrant, accordingly made his return of the said lot, etc. The said Proprietaries, at the instance and request of the said James Tilghman, and for and in consideration of the conditions and services to be paid and performed upon the part of the said James Tilghman, they the said Proprietaries, for themselves and their heirs and successors, have given, granted, released and confirmed and by these presents do give, grant, release and confirm unto the said James Tilghman, his heirs, all that the said before described lot of ground, with all houses, etc., whatsoever to

the said lot of ground belonging, etc. To have and to hold the said lot of ground, with the appurtenances, etc., unto the said James Tilghman, his heirs and assigns forever. To be holden of them the said Proprietaries, their heirs and assigns, as of their Manor of Pomfret in the county of Northumberland aforesaid, in free and common socage by fealty only, in lieu of all other services."

James Tilghman and William Tilghman, executors of the last will and testament of James Tilghman, deceased, by their indenture, made the 20th day of May, 1795, conveyed this lot unto Charles Hall, Esq.*

There are other lots on the "plan" which have interesting historical associations connected with them, but space will not warrant a notice of all.

Sunbury should always be a patriotic town, because the return of its survey was made on the 4th of July, 1772, four years before the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed. Its natal anniversary, therefore, always comes on the day most sacred to Americans.

We learn from the old records that the first building—after the town was founded—was erected by John Lukens at the north-west corner of Market Square, although nothing but the letter "P" and a blank space appears on the map. The second house,

*As the note on page 361 is not as definite as it should be, the following is herewith inserted: Charles Hall, whose family lived at Mt. Welcome, (the first brick house built in Cecil County, Maryland, in 1669,) studied law with his uncle, General Hartley, in York, Pa. One day, while in Lancaster on business, he saw two young ladies on the street. He remarked to his companion that if he could find out who one of them was he would marry her. Later in the day he presented a letter of introduction to Mr. Coleman and was invited to dinner. At dinner he was introduced to the young lady he had met on the street, she being Mr. Coleman's daughter, then only seventeen years of age. This led to other visits, and Mr. Hall having settled in Sunbury, and having some means and the prospect of a good practice—which afterwards became very large—he married Miss Coleman and brought her to the house now standing on lot 64, which he had built.

R. M. Coleman, the father of Mrs. Hall, who came from Castle Finn, Ireland, was employed by Mr. Old, then owner of Cornwall, as book-keeper, and married his only daughter, and thereby came into possession of all that property. Mr. Old had acquired the property in the same way by marrying the daughter of Baron Steigel, who lived at Manheim, and owned all the property now forming the great Cornwall estate.

and now the most historic in the town, was built by William Maclay on the lot fronting the river at the foot of Arch Street. An examination of the map will show that the lot was numbered 56, in the name of "Wm. Maclay, Esq., returned 1st February, 1773."

Mr. Maclay had some trouble about the public buildings in Sunbury, particularly a jail in which to incarcerate law-breakers, if we may judge from the following spicy letter which he wrote to J. Tilghman, under date of April 2, 1773:

SIR: I inclose you a Letter from three of the Trustees for the publick Buildings of this County, respecting some measures which we have lately fallen on to rescue us from the scandal of living intirely without any Place of confinement or punishment for Villains; Captain Hunter had address enough to render abortive every attempt that was made last summer, for keeping a regular Jail, even after I had been at considerable expense in fitting up the Magazine, under which there is a small But compleat Dungeon, I am sorry to inform you That he has given our present Measures the most Obstinate Resistance in his power and impeded Us with every embarrassment in the Compass of his Invention, we know nothing of the Footing on which Captain Hunter has possession of these Buildings, and only beg that the County may be accommodated with this old Magazine, with the addition proposed to be made to it, and with the House in which I now live, to hold our courts in: I have repaired the House in which I now live, But expect to have an House ready to remove to in Sunbury, before our November Court. As the present repairs are done intirely by subscription, you will readily guess that Captain Hunter is not among the number of subscribers. As there are many pieces of old Iron, &c., which formerly belonged to the fort, not of any use at present, the Trustees propose using any of them which can be converted to any advantage, for Grates, &c., for our temporary Gaol, unless they receive contrary Directions from Philada. If Hell is justly considered as the rendivous of Rascals, we cannot entertain a doubt of Wioming being the Place. Burn'd Hands, cut Ears, &c., are considered as the certain certificates of superior merit; we have certain Accounts of their having had several meetings lately to chuse a Sovereign and settle the State, &c., for it seems they have not now any Dependance on the Government of Connecticut. The Time of the Descent on the West Branch, Fort Augusta, &c., is now fixed for May next; I have no Doubt but the Desperate Tempers of these People will hurry them into some tragical affair, which will at last rouse our Government, when it may be too late to repair the mischief done by them. At the same time I am told there are some among them, who would willingly become quiet subjects, and are afraid to own their sentiments. Patterson has the other day been offered 1200 0 0, for the same number of acres, not far from your Land. I would not have you sell. Doctor Plunkett goes down in a few days; 'tis likely I may send another long letter by him.

And am with the greatest Esteem,

Sir.

Your most Obedient humble Servant,

WM. MACLAY.

The house alluded to in the above letter, to which he expected to remove before the November court, was built on lot "56,"* and is still standing. Its walls are of limestone obtained from the quarries below town, and they are as solid as when first laid up 116 years ago. It is indeed a historic house, and with care will stand for centuries yet to come. For several years it has been



The Maclay House.

owned and occupied by Hon. S. P. Wolverton. Luxuriant maples surround it, and in summer time it is almost hidden by their foliage. In the accompanying illustration the trees have been left off for the purpose of showing the house and its walls as clearly as possible. Recently Mr. Wolverton has enlarged and modernized the windows, and built an addition to the

rear with the same kind of stone, which is much larger than the original building, and makes the whole present a splendid appearance. Care has been taken to preserve the old mansion in its primitive form as nearly as possible, so that it will always remain as a monument for its original builder. Like the Wallis mansion at Halls, erected some four years earlier, it will be pointed to, as long as it stands, as an object of veneration, and a living evidence of the handiwork of our forefathers. Mr. Wolverton prizes the ancient home of Mr. Maclay and his family highly, and will endeavor to preserve it as long as it remains in his possession with scrupulous care, because it was built and occupied by the first United States Senator from Pennsylvania, 116 years ago.

A brief of the title to this historic property, from the Penns

* During the Revolution a small stockade was erected on the rear of this lot for the better protection of refugees, in case of an attack on the town by the savages.

down to the present time, is appropriate in this connection, and it is given herewith:

Deed, dated January 31, 1785, from John Penn, Jr., and John Penn, Sr., to William Maclay, for 49 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres of the Manor of Pomfret, in Augusta township, North'd Co., Pa.

Will of William Maclay, dated November 3, 1797, devised lot 56 in Sunbury, Pa., unto his daughter Jane Maclay.

(This will is not recorded in North'd County, but is recited in deeds below.)

(Jane Maclay was intermarried with John Lyon.)

Deed, dated March 9, 1809, John Lyon and Jane, his wife, to Joshua Elder for said lot No. 56.

Deed, dated May 6, 1809, Joshua Elder to John Lyon, for lot No. 56.

Deed, dated March 29, 1813, John Lyon to Daniel Lebo, for lot No. 56. Recorded in North'd Co., in Deed Book "S," page 145.

(This deed recites the above deeds.)

Deed, Poll, dated April 20, 1819, William Shannon, sheriff, to John Conrad, for lot No. 56; sold as the property of Daniel Lebo.

Deed, dated January 5, 1822, John Conrad and wife to William Shannon for lot No. 56, recorded in said county in Deed Book "U," page 530.

Deed, June 9, 1847, Thomas Pardoe, administrator of William Shannon, deceased, to Ira T. Clement, for lot No. 56, recorded in said county in Deed Book "FF," page 297.

(This deed contains the following preamble:)

Whereas, on the 7th day of April, 1846, John Bogar, intermarried with one of the daughters of said deceased, presented his petition to the Orphans' Court of said county, praying the court to award an inquisition to make partition among the heirs of said deceased. In pursuance thereof, on the 20th of July, 1846, an inquest was held on the same which at August term, 1846, was confirmed by the said court.

And whereas, on the 11th day of November, 1846, it appearing to the court, that notice had been given to the heirs of said deceased, to appear and accept of said estate at the valuation, and as they did not appear, the said court did order and decree that the same should be sold by the said administrator.

And whereas, in pursuance of said decree the said administrator advertised the said property for sale, but for want of bidders and the obstruction by ice in the river, the same remained unsold, and on the 13th day of January, 1847, the said order was continued by the said court.

And whereas, the said administrator, in pursuance of said order did on the 25th day of February, 1847, expose said lot of ground for sale and sold the same to Ira T. Clement, which said sale was confirmed by the said court on the 5th day of April, 1847, as by the proceedings of said court appear.

Deed, dated August 28, 1848, Ira T. Clement and wife to Solomon Smith and James Murphy, for lot No. 56, recorded in Deed Book No. "GG," page 56, &c.

Deed, dated May 1, 1856, Solomon Smith and wife, and James Murphy and wife to Henry Bartley, for lot No. 56, recorded in Deed Book "MM," page 599, &c.

Deed, dated April 8, 1865, Henry Bartley and wife to Simon P. Wolverton, for lot No. 56, recorded in Deed Book "VV," page 514, &c.

Mr. Maclay was finally gratified to learn that steps had been taken for the erection of a jail at an early date. On the 23d of July, 1774, the Colonial Legislature passed "an act for lending the sum of £800 to the county of Northumberland for building a court house and prison in said county," as may be seen by reference to Vol. X., *Colonial Records*, pages 197 and 198. In March, 1775, Samuel Hunter, William Maclay and Robert Moodie, commissioners, commenced to build the jail. Contracts were made with different parties to do the work. The vouchers show that James Chisnal had the contract to quarry the stone, John Lee to furnish the lime, John Harris, senior, of Paxtang (now Harrisburg), the iron, Frederick Weyman to supply the hinges, hooks, rivets, etc. Joseph McCarrell, Zachariah Robins and Conrad Platner hauled the stone, lime and scaffold poles, and Henry Crawford and Robert Lent laid up the stone-work. John Buyers and John Maclay did the carpenter work. The jail was finished in 1776. It was a stone and brick structure, one part being used for a court house and the other for a prison. The building cost about \$4,000. Although much modernized and enclosed by other buildings, the old structure could still be clearly recognized until recently, and was always pointed to as one of the relics of the town. On the green, in front of the combined prison and temple of justice, the whipping post was erected and there criminals received their quota of "lashes well laid on," in the days of the irascible Judge Plunkett.

The history of our public roads is inseparable from the history of the settlement of this valley by the white race. From time immemorial the unbroken wilderness had been penetrated by narrow, tortuous paths, so dim as to require the sagacity natural to the aborigine, or acquired by the early white hunters and scouts in order to follow them.

When the adventurous pioneer determined upon a permanent settlement, these paths, known as "Indian trails," were made more distinct by a system of "spotting" the trees along the way, and many cases are on record where belated people have patiently groped through the dark forest by feeling the blazes on the trees.

In the course of time, when it became desirable to transport merchandise through the woods, these paths were widened out

and acquired the name of "bridle paths," from the custom of leading the "pack horse" by the rein, as the people slowly toiled along on foot.

Still later on, when families and household goods of the early settlers were to come in, these paths were again widened out, so as to admit the passage of wheeled vehicles, and these from time to time have been changed in location to suit the convenience and comfort of the inhabitants.

It is impossible for the present generation to realize the original surroundings of the early roads. For miles there would be a succession of great chuck holes between the matted and gnarled roots of the great forest trees, over which the vehicles would thump and jerk, at times getting so mired that levers would have to be cut and used to pry the wheels out of the sloughs. After a time the trees were girdled along the road to admit the sunshine, so that they would dry up. In many cases they wound around the high ground far away from the direct course, in order to avoid the miles of impenetrable swamps that covered our valley plains.

As one stands to-day upon the corner of West Fourth and Walnut streets, of Williamsport, with that magnificent Catholic edifice before him, and those elegant mansions on every hand, with dry, paved streets at all seasons of the year, it is hard to believe that less than 80 years ago this same highway was corduroyed for a long distance to make it passable, and that a hundred feet west of Walnut Street stood a log bridge across a rapid stream, from which a citizen of Jaysburg fell and was drowned.*

The first public road in the West Branch Valley was authorized by the court of Northumberland County, and reported on at the October term, 1772. It was to be laid out 33 feet wide, but does not appear to have been opened for some time afterward, for we find that Lieutenant Colonel Henry Antes and others were ap-

*His name was John Murphy, and he settled two and a half miles up Larry's Creek as early as 1788. He was a clock-maker, and it is said that some of his clocks are still in existence. His daughter Sarah, it is claimed, was the first white child born on Larry's Creek, about 1790. J. H. McMinn, in his *Annals of Jaysburg*, shows that he was one of the settlers there when that place aspired to be the county seat of Lycoming. According to tradition he was a little tipsy when he fell off the bridge and was drowned on what is now the driest and most magnificent street in Williamsport.

pointed, at the August session of 1775, "to view, and if they saw cause, to lay out a bridle road from the mouth of Bald Eagle Creek to the town of Sunbury."

This evidently led to the prompt erection of the public road, as provided for three years previously, as we find that wagons loaded with emigrants were caught in that memorable massacre that occurred where Williamsport now stands, on June 10, 1778.

One of the most curious documents that has survived the devastation of the "Big Runaway" and the years following, is the notes of the surveying party which laid out this public road. It is owned by Mr. Howard R. Wallis, of Muncy, and is briefly condensed as follows:

Courses of the new road from Fort Augusta to Laycauming.

Beginning as follows:

Course & Distance of a road viewed and laid out in Pursuance of an order of Court for the same. Begin'g at fort augusta thence n. 56 east to Sergt Grants 160 Perches, thence to a mark Hickery nigh the Bank on the north side of the East Branch, thence N 50 west 90 P to the first street of Northumberland along the man street of sd Town 200 Perches, thence north 56 west 200 perches, and so on by several courses and distances 726 perches "to John Alexanders." Thence by several courses and distances 546 perches "at a fording of Chisquaque." Thence 306 perches "to William Plunkets Esqrs." Thence 836 perches "to John Doughertys." Thence 512 perches "(Marcus Hulings)."

After this time no definite point is mentioned until "The Gap of Muncy Hill" is reached. Three hundred and eighteen perches beyond this point occurs the following clause that has been canceled:

Thence by Northward and Westward by a line of marked trees to Laycauming.

In place of the above the regular courses and distances follow:

"To the fording of Muncy Creek," "to Wolf run," "to Mr. Wallis's Run," "to the run above Wallises." "Across LoyalSock Creek thence N 74 W. to the upper end of Barbers field 100 P." and finally "to Lyeauming."

Signed,

RICHARD MALLONE,
AMARIAH SUTTON,
ALEX'D STEPHENS,
MARCUS HULINGS.

This pioneer highway was doubtless very rude, only room enough being brushed out for the wagons to edge through, as they wound back and forth among the forest trees, very few of which

were cut, so that it soon grew shut again and became undiscernible.

Philip Tome tells us that when he brought his family up to settle in 1791, he traveled by keel boat, there being no other mode of conveyance.

Soon after this time the new county of Lycoming was organized, and we hear of a public road from Sunbury to Newberry, and a few years later the horn of the stage coach driver heralded the dawn of rapid transit in this valley.

In 1772 John Harris made an improvement on the south side of the river opposite the Great Island. It probably included the site of the old Indian town that stood on the point where Beech Creek unites with the river. On the 20th of November, 1774, he conveyed his improvement to William Dunn. The tract contained about 300 acres. He was a son of Samuel Harris, a son of the founder of Harrisburg. His father (Samuel) was a settler in Northumberland County, and took an active part in affairs on the West Branch. He afterwards removed to near Cayuga Lake, where he died August 19, 1825. John Harris was commissioned a captain in the Twelfth Pennsylvania October 14, 1776.

At this time all settlements on the north side of the river and west of Lycoming Creek were made in violation of the laws of the Province, as the land had not yet been purchased from the Indians. Yet the land was so rich and fertile that many adventurers ran all risks and squatted there. The Indians regarded these settlers with suspicion, as they were trenching on their choice hunting grounds. They remonstrated, but their remonstrances did no good. Finally they complained to the Provincial Government so sharply that the Penns became alarmed, and at a meeting of the Council held at Philadelphia, September 18, 1773, reference was made to this matter as follows:

The Governor informed the board that he had received information that several families had lately seated themselves on lands on the north side of the West Branch of Susquehanna, beyond the boundaries of the last purchase made of the Indians at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and it being considered that the making settlements on the Indians' lands would create great uneasiness among them, and if not immediately removed and prevented for the future, might be attended with fatal consequences, it was the opinion of the board that a proclamation, commanding the magistrates and other peace officers to enforce and carry the laws for preventing persons settling on

any of the unpurchased lands in this Province into execution, against all persons who had already made any such settlements, or should hereafter transgress the same law: the secretary was accordingly directed to prepare a draught of a proclamation for that purpose.

In accordance with this decision the proclamation was immediately drawn by the secretary and approved by John Penn, September 20, 1773, when it was proclaimed throughout the Province. It is a formidable document, and recites that any person settling on these lands, making surveys, cutting or marking trees with the intention of appropriating the land, should be apprehended and tried in the Court of Quarter Sessions, and if convicted should pay a fine of £500 and suffer imprisonment for twelve months, "without bail or main prize," and give "surety for good behavior during the space of twelve months* from and after the expiration of the term of such imprisonment."

Notwithstanding the severe terms of the proclamation, no attention seems to have been paid to it, for settlers continued to arrive and settle on the forbidden territory. Neither does it appear that any arrests were made. The proclamation seems to have been generally disregarded.

In 1774 Thomas Ferguson settled a short distance west of Lycoming Creek, on what was afterwards known as the Grier Farm. Another family of Kings—William, Joseph and Reeder—settled near the mouth of the creek. They bore no relationship to the brothers of the same name who had settled at Pine Creek. Edmund Huff located a short distance above the mouth of the creek in the same year. William McMeen settled on the river in 1774, and Henry Dougherty came the following year. The little stream known to-day as Dougherty's Run was named after him. About the same time Andrew Armstrong settled at what was known as the "Big Spring," a short distance east of what is now known as the village of Linden.

John, James and Thomas Hughes, three brothers, settled, in 1774, near what is now known as Pine Run. A portion of the tract taken up by them was in the possession of descendants for over one hundred years. Bratton Caldwell, afterwards a noted "Fair Play" man, also settled on what was a portion of the

* For proclamation in full see *Colonial Records*, Vol. X., page 95.

Hughes estate, in 1774. John Toner had preceded him in that neighborhood one year. The first wedding west of Lycoming Creek is said to have taken place in the winter of 1775. The parties married were Bratton Caldwell* and Miss Elcy Hughes. The wedding took place at a cabin occupied by a justice in Nippenose Bottom, on the south side of the river. The contracting parties and their friends crossed the river on the ice, and tradition informs us that they had quite a jollification after the nuptial knot was tied.

In 1773, Robert King, John and Adam, three brothers, came to the valley from Ireland, and settled on the fine land west of Pine Creek, where they remained about a year. They then became impressed with the idea that the land was not good, when they abandoned their improvement and located below Larry's Creek on the hills. They were greatly mistaken in the quality of the land, and lived long enough to realize it. Robert served as First Lieutenant in the Fourth Company of Associators, commanded by Captain Gillespie, his commission bearing date February 8, 1776. He and his brothers fled during the Big Runaway. On their return they found their cabins burned. Robert died March 29, 1848, aged 94 years, 7 months and 29 days, and was buried in the old cemetery on West Fourth Street, Williamsport. John lived to be about 80, but Adam died at a much younger age. They were buried in the Williamsport Cemetery also.

*They had eight children, three sons and five daughters. The sons were named James, David and John. James died at the family home on Pine Run. The other two went West. Of the daughters, Nancy, the eldest, remained single; Elizabeth married Adam King, and they moved West in 1835 and settled near Indianapolis. Margaret married William Pearson and they settled near Cincinnati. Mary married James Watson, and they took up their residence in Jersey Shore. Mr. Watson was one of the first store-keepers in that place, and at first he hauled his goods from Philadelphia by wagon. Bratton Caldwell, his wife and young daughter, Susan, died about 1810 or 1811, of what was said to be yellow fever, at their home on Pine Run.

CHAPTER XVII.

BISHOP ETTWEIN'S JOURNAL GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THE FLIGHT OF THE MORAVIANS UP THE WEST BRANCH ON THEIR WAY TO OHIO IN 1772—THEIR TRIALS AND SUFFERINGS.

AT this point we note the passage of the last Moravians through the valley. They had made a settlement at Wyalusing, on the North Branch, and founded a town called Friedenshutzen. After the treaty of Fort Stanwix, when the Indians sold the land to Penn,* the Moravians asked the Governor that the country surrounding their mission might be held in trust for them. This he declined to allow, but assured them that they should never be disturbed, and that his surveyors should not come within five miles of their town. But after this assurance had been given, it was only a few months till the surveyors were at work running lines and locating warrants upon the plantations attached to the mission. In addition to this, the controversy between Pennsylvania and the Connecticut people was beginning to assume a serious aspect, and the probabilities were that ere long the whole country would be involved in the conflict.

Not liking the appearance of things, the Moravians decided to break up their settlement and emigrate, and having received an invitation to remove to Ohio, they accepted. The Wyalusing mission at this time numbered 151 souls, of whom 52 were communicants; 72 were baptized non-communicants, and 20 were unbaptized. They had built a church and were living comfortably and happy when this trouble came upon them.

It having been decided to emigrate to Ohio, preparations were at once commenced for the exodus, and on the 11th of June, 1772, the congregation assembled for the last time in their church, when, with thanksgiving to God for His mercies, and prayers for

* See *Egle's History of Pennsylvania*, page 413.

His protection and guidance, they went forth to bid a final adieu to their humble homes, their pleasant hunting grounds, and the graves of their kindred, and took up their march toward the setting sun.

The emigrants were divided into two companies, and each of these was subdivided into several parties. One of these companies marched overland by the Wyalusing path, up Sugar Run, and then through what is now Sullivan County, to the headwaters of Muncy Creek, down which they descended into Muncy Valley. This company was in charge of Bishop John Ettwein,* who, at their request, had been sent to superintend their removal, and had the care of the horses and cattle. The other party was in charge of Roth, and went down the North Branch in canoes to the junction of the West Branch, up which they ascended. The bell was taken down from its place on the church and carried by Anthony in his canoe in the van of the fleet, and was tolled until the squadron rounded the mountain a mile and a half below the church. The doors and windows of the church were nailed up, and the buildings left in charge of Job Chilloway, a friendly Indian. The journey was toilsome, and full of incidents and danger. Bishop Ettwein kept a journal of daily events, which was lately found among the Moravian archives at Bethlehem, and translated and annotated by Mr. John W. Jordan, of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and published in the *Moravian*, a religious journal. It is exceedingly interesting, and such portions of it as relate to the journey up the West Branch are quoted here-with in full:

“During the 8th, 9th and 10th of June, 1772, all was bustle in Friedenshutzen, with preparations for the impending journey, and the pestles of the corn-mortars were plied day and night. The texts of Scripture† allotted for these days: ‘I will make the re-

* Born 1712, in the Schwarzwald, in Germany. In 1754 he emigrated to America, and served the church both in Pennsylvania and North Carolina. In 1764 he became a member of the Mission Board. In 1784 he was consecrated a Bishop, and stood at the head of the church in Pennsylvania until his death in 1802.—*Life of Zeisberger*, page 338.

† Since the year 1731, the Moravian Church has issued annually a collection of “Daily Texts,” consisting of verses from the Bible for each day, with appropriate collects taken from the hymn-book.

jected unto a great people,'—'I will give them to drink of the water-courses in plain paths,'—'Awake, rise and awake, oh Zion,'—were words that brought us comfort, as we in faith applied them all to ourselves.

"*Thursday, June 11.*—Early we met for the last time in the town for divine worship. I remarked on the Scripture portion of the day, to wit: 'They have not possessed themselves of the land by the sword'—in effect, that all our temporal and spiritual welfare depended upon the presence within us of the Lord's Spirit, and of His being well pleased with His people. Then we knelt in prayer, and again thanked Him for the numerous blessings that had been vouchsafed to us in this spot, and for the evidences of His love and patience. Hereupon we commended ourselves to His keeping and guidance on the way, asking Him to provide all our wants, both by land and water.

"At the close of the service the canoes were laden; the bell was taken from its turret, the window-sashes from out of the church, and the dismantled windows nailed shut with boards.

"At 2 P. M. Brother and Sister Roth in their canoe set out, followed by the others, thirty in number. We had divided the voyageurs into six divisions, over each of which were set one or two leaders. Timothy, who carried the bell in his canoe, rang it for some time, as the squadron moved down the stream, never again to ring out its call to the house of prayer, over the waters of the lovely Susquehanna.

"After all had left the town I locked the doors of the chapel and the missionaries' dwelling—took leave of Job Chilloway and commended to him oversight of the houses and improvements—to which he consented, and at the same time made fair promises. He and his wife were the only two who appeared to regret our departure, as they shed tears. All the others manifested satisfaction. With Brother and Sister Roth there went 140 souls; with me by the overland route, 54. Others are to proceed also by land from Sheshequin, so that the entire migration numbers 211 souls.

"A short time before our departure the measles had been brought to Friedenshutzen from Sheshequin, which place had been

infected by a white man. The epidemic soon appeared among the voyageurs, and a maiden of my company was taken down with them on the third day out. Our journey consumed five days, that of the voyageurs ten days, when we met at the mouth of Muncy Creek.*

"As we crossed the river our way led us straightway to the mountain, and after proceeding two miles we entered the great Swamp,† where the undergrowth was so dense that oftentimes it was impossible to see one another at the distance of six feet. The path, too, was frequently invisible, and yet along it sixty head of cattle and fifty horses and colts had to be driven. It needed careful watch to keep them together. We lost but one young cow from the entire herd. Every morning, however, it was necessary to send drivers back as far as ten miles to whip in such as would during the night seek to return.

"At our first night's encampment two of our brethren lost themselves while in search of straying cattle, and several hours elapsed before we could reach them by signal guns and shouts. It was daily a matter of astonishment to me, that any man should presume to traverse this swamp, and follow what he called a path. It is at least sixty miles in diameter, but not as rocky and hilly as the swamp between Bethlehem and Friedenshutten. However, on the highland for the distance of about eight miles, where the Loyalsock‡ and Muncy Creek head, it is excessively rocky and almost impassable. There were indications of abundance of ores here. It might be called with propriety *Ore Mountains*. The timber is principally sugar-maple, tall lindens, ash, oak and white-pine. What told on me the most was that several days it rained incessantly as we penetrated the woods, so that I was wet from head to foot all day. The path led thirty-six times across Muncy

* Called *Ocochpochony* on Scull's map. Zinzendorf with his companions were the first Moravians to cross the creek, in September of 1742.

† The path crossed the river at the Fords at the present Sugar Run Ferry, over the mountains to Lewis' saw mill, on Sugar Run, thence to Well's saw mill, where the swamp begins, following the main branch of the creek up to near its source—to this day continuous swamps and marshes.

‡ Heckewelder states, corrupted from *Lawi-saquick*, signifying the middle creek, i. e., a creek flowing between two others. Zinzendorf visited *Ots-ton-wa-kin*, the residence of Madam Montour, at the mouth of the creek, in October of 1742.

Creek. At intervals there were exceedingly rich bottom-lands, and the noblest timber I have seen in America, excepting the cypresses in South Carolina and Georgia.*

“Trinity Sunday, June 14.—We met for worship for the first time on the journey, as the incessant lowing and noise of the cattle drowned all attempts at discourse and singing.

“Monday, June 15.—We passed from the Swamp into an extensive and beautiful region of plains,† where we encamped, and from which point we sent several brethren to meet the voyageurs. Here the hunters in two days shot fifteen deer, the meat of which was dried at the fires for use on the journey.‡

“Tuesday, June 17.—A man from the Jerseys, who on his return home will pass through Bethlehem, called at our camp. Through him I sent letters home.

“Wednesday, June 18.—We proceeded to the West Branch, to Scoonhoven’s plantation, one mile above Wallis’.§ Here on the 20th the canoes overtook us.

“Brother Roth narrates as follows of his journey: ‘We advanced the first day but eight miles, by reason of a heavy rain that fell, which necessitated us to put up huts, which in two hours’ time were all complete, affording us shelter. The rest refreshed us, and our little Johnny (Roth) slept soundly. During the 12th, because of the high wind, the canoes rocked roughly on the water. Samuel’s daughter was taken ill of the measles. In the evening we had our first meeting, worshipping standing in the woods. It was so cold during the night as to keep us from sleep. On the 13th the wind was still contrary, causing high waves in the river. At noon we passed Lechawachnek. As we passed the

* Ettwein in 1762 itinerated among the German settlers in South Carolina, and in 1765 in Georgia among the Salzburger and Swiss.

† Muncy Valley. This region was settled by Quakers from the counties near Philadelphia, as the names of the townships, Penn, Moreland, Shrewsbury, etc., indicate.

‡ In Wolf Township, Lycoming County.

§ Reading Howell’s map of 1790 notes Wallis’ mill on a run near the West Branch, about four miles above the mouth of Muncy Creek, in Muncy Township. This point is in an air line forty-one miles south-west by west from Friedenschutzen, and over fifty miles by the route traveled.

Fort* we saw it lined with spectators, and a man playing on the violin. We encamped on the stony beach of the river, and were disturbed at night by some drunken fellows.

“On Sunday, the 14th, after we had passed the falls† below Wyomik, I held preaching. We then paddled on, and on the 15th reached Nescopeck‡ (the word signifies “a nasty deep hole”). Here the canoes were worked over the falls, in part by hand, in part by means of ropes, and not without much anxiety. Here the Susquehanna is not wider than the mill-dam at Bethlehem; a mile lower down, however, it grows much broader.

“16th.—The wind continued contrary.

“17th.—On account of Anna Elizabeth being ill we had to lay over.§ Several brethren came from Bro. Ettwein’s camp on Muncy Creek. A number of white settlers also called on us, several of whom attended our evening service. At its close a German, who had years ago frequented the brethren’s meeting in Oley, called on me. I took occasion to address him in reference to his soul’s welfare and he was visibly moved. Next morning he came with his family to bid us farewell.’

“Sunday, June 21.—Bro. Roth preached on the words of Scripture: ‘Hold fast that ye have’ concerning continuing with Christ and Him crucified. In the evening service I discoursed on the text of the day: ‘Where the spirit of the Lord is there is liberty;’ treating of the true liberty enjoyed by believers, and the pseudo-liberty of unbelievers, who dread Christ’s yoke and yet are in bondage to Satan. At noon I preached at Mr. Samuel Wallis’ to from fifty to sixty hearers, all English, some of whom had come from twenty miles distance. I spoke of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

“Monday, June 22.—We had a market-day in camp. Mr. Wallis bought of us fifteen head of young cattle and some canoes.

* Possibly the block-house built by Charles Stewart, Amos Ogden and John Jennings, in 1768.

† Nanticoke Falls.

‡ Corrupted from *Neskhoppeek*, signifying black, deep and still water. (Heckewelder). About twenty miles below Wilkes Barre.

§ Probably above the Chillisquaque, in Northumberland County. Scull’s map locates an Indian village of the same name at the mouth of the creek.

Other persons bought bowls, firkins, buckets, tubs, chains and divers iron-ware. A trader's agent had smuggled some rum into the pur-lieu of the camp. The transgression was soon discovered, and after threatening him to his great anxiety we handed the contraband merchandise to Mr. Wallis for safe-keeping, until the trader should return from the Great Island. Twenty cwt. of flour, which I had purchased with the money presented to our Indians by friends in Philadelphia, were here distributed.*

"*June 23 and 24.*—Broke up camp and moved on. Passed the Loyalsock at the spot where the Sainted Disciple visited thirty years ago,† and Lycoming Creek, which marks the boundary line of lands purchased from the Indians.‡ At both places we found white settlers. Our cattle were driven to grass into the woods, past the site of the old Indian town. One mile above Lycoming stood formerly the town of Quenischaschackki,§ where our Bro. Nathaniel Davis lived for six years, and where Grube and Mack visited.|| Nathaniel Davis related to Bro. Roth that at the time of the two missionaries' sojourn in the town, a couple of Shawanese, who were inimical to the whites, had demanded of him Grube's surrender, in order to murder him, denouncing him as a seducer; that he, Davis, had replied, 'the white man is seated in my house and there no harm shall befall him,' that he did not regard him as a seducer, that he had heard nothing evil from him, observing that Bro. Grube had been so kind to the children that this course had at once prepossessed him in his favor. Finally Davis stated that all the chief enemies of the Word of God and of the whites were now passed away.

* Ettwein brought with him from Bethlehem to Friedensshutten a gift of £100, donated by benevolent friends in Philadelphia.

† Zinzendorf visited the spot in October of 1742.

‡ The great treaty held at Fort Stanwix in November of 1768, between Sir Wm. Johnson, His Majesty's superintendent, and commissioners from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia and the Six Nations.

§ The Delawares had a town of this name on the West Branch, on the site of Linden, Lycoming County, six miles from Jersey Shore. It was repeatedly visited by the Moravian missionaries prior to 1754. Scull's map notes it. The name is preserved in Queneshahaque Creek, a northern tributary, which unites with the West Branch at Linden.

|| In August of 1753. See *Memorial of the Moravian Church*, Vol. I., page 330.

"We encamped above Larry's Creek.* Here Newhaleeka's wife visited our Bro. Joseph. She stated that her husband was ill; otherwise both with their family would have emigrated with us to the West. The old chief told Bro. John that as soon as possible he would take the step, as he was in earnest to be converted.

"*June 25.*—We camped opposite Long Island.† Here rattlesnakes seemed to hold undisputed sway, and they were killed at all points. Not more than a half hour after our arrival a horse was brought in that had been bitten in the nose. His head swelled up frightfully, and as it rained the remedy failed to take the proper effect and the poor animal perished the next day, as we lay in camp at the lower end of Long Island and halted there on the 26th. Here I assembled all the men, told them that we had progressed but thirty miles during the past week, and that if we failed to make more rapid headway our company would come to serious want; that it would be prudent under these circumstances to leave the sick woman, her husband and their friends on the Island (for we expected her release was near at hand); that when Nath'l Davis and his party (which had also remained in the rear on account of sickness) would come up, they could join him, and that we would send men and fresh horses for them from Chinklacamoose. It was furthermore resolved that the strongest of our company should proceed in five canoes with the sisters' baggage as far as Chinklacamoose.‡ The next day (27th), however, on arriving at Mr. Campbell's,§ at the upper end of the island, where we met Mr. Anderson, they dissuaded us from attempting to embark a canoe, stating the water to be too shallow for navigation. Hereupon the canoes and sundry utensils were sold, viz.: The 4 windows for our church, 1 box of glass, 1 keg of nails,

* Larry's Creek empties into the West Branch from the north, in Piatt Township, Lycoming County, two miles east of Jersey Shore.

† Jersey Shore, or rather the island in the river at that place. After the peace of 1783, Jeremiah and Reuben Manning, two brothers from New Jersey, and others from their State, settled below the mouth of Pine Creek and called the settlement Jersey Shore. It was for some time called Waynesburg.

‡ On the site of the county town of Clearfield there stood in olden times the village of Chinklacamoos, written *Chinglecamouche* on Scull's map. It was the central point of the great "Chinklacamoos path."

§ Query—near the mouth of the Bald Eagle Creek.

and another filled with iron we left here in trust, as it was impossible to transport them, and yet everyone was loath to part with what was his. It having rained incessantly for several days, our effects were wet through, and Roths had their clothes and bedding seriously damaged.

"*Sunday, June 28.*—Yesterday I promised, at their request, to preach to the white settlers. Accordingly a goodly audience assembled, English settlers from the Bald Eagle Creek,* and the south shore of the West Branch, to whom I proclaimed the counsels of God respecting their salvation. As no ordained minister of the Gospel was as yet settled in the neighborhood, I was requested to baptize, and accordingly I administered the sacraments to the new-born daughter of a Frenchman, Fourney by name, calling her Conigunda, and to the son of a Catholic, Antoine White, whom I named John.

"Joshua convoked the men and persuaded them, despite their yesterday's deliberation to the contrary, to carry along Elizabeth who was sick, and also to send lame Jonathan with a string of wampum ahead to Langundoutenink, Koskas Kink, and Gekelemekhpeekink.† As they consulted neither me nor Roth in this business, we took no farther notice of it. It proved, however, the beginning of divers perplexities.

"*Monday, June 29.*—My 52d birthday. We set out from the island by land.‡ I and a few of the brethren from this day on lead the caravan. Traveled 14 miles to Beech Creek on the path agreed upon. Beech Creek is a branch of the Bald Eagle. After encamping here the brethren returned with horses to fetch up the baggage. This they did daily, and thus were compelled to travel the road three times.

"*Tuesday, June 30.*—Bro. and Sr. Roth came up from the rear with the others, excepting Elizabeth and her friends, she being

*Called by the Delawares *Wapalanewach-shiee-hanne*, i. e., the stream of the Bald Eagle's nest. It empties into the West Branch from the south-west in Clinton County.

†On the Tuscaroras, in Oxford Township, Tuscarora County, Ohio.

‡Probably here they crossed the West Branch and came to Beech Creek, which empties into the Bald Eagle Creek ten miles south-west by south from Lock Haven. On crossing Beech Creek they left Clinton and entered Centre County. Beech Creek is 19 miles from Jersey Shore.

too ill to allow of her being carried. Thereupon I moved on 9 miles to a salt-lick. As I was in search of Roth's horse (which we had bought on Great Island) to send it back to his camp, I trod upon a fifteen year old rattlesnake. Such was my fright that for days I took every footstep with dread, fancying every rustling leaf to be the movement of a venomous reptile. The 2 Indian brethren with me despatched the reptile. Nath'l Davis and company this day reached Campbell's.*

"*Thursday, July 2.*—Bro. Roth and the others again came to the front.

"*Friday, July 3.*—In company with Cornelius and William, I advanced early in the morning. Up to this time we had passed only through a beautiful and fertile region of country, but now our way lead across mountains.† On reaching a summit, when eight miles along, we saw the bold peaks between the West Branch and the Juniata, like dwarfs, and before us stood giants. We were compelled to encamp on a dry elevation, and to fetch water from the foot of the mountain. A poor little cripple, aged 10 or 11, our sainted Bro. Jonas' son, whom his mother had carried all the way in a basket from one station to another, was very weak to-day, and expressed the wish to be washed from sin in baptism. Bro. Roth administered the sacrament and named him Nathan.

"*Saturday, July 4.*—Early to-day there came two Indians from Kaskasky, en route for Stockbridge. I invited them to breakfast. One of them spoke English fluently. In his childhood he had been taken prisoner by the whites, but since then had turned a complete Indian in his mode of life.

"We proceeded four miles into the mountains. Bro. Roth was from this point summoned to Great Island by an express. Thither Joshua had returned with twelve men to fetch up his sick friend;

* He evidently has reference to Cleary Campbell, who settled on the Charles Glass tract, on the site of Lock Haven, in 1769. See page 380 of this work.

† Thus far, on leaving Lock Haven, they had pushed up the valley of the Bald Eagle, bounded by the Bald Eagle Ridge to the south and Allegheny proper on the north. Now they began the ascent of the latter, which is the back-bone of Howard, Snowshoe, Boggs and Houston townships, Centre County—a tract of broken and wild Alpine region of country.

and when he arrived there she was near her end, which she attained with release from all suffering on the evening of the 5th inst., just an hour prior to Roth's arrival. On the 6th he buried her. She was a daughter of Jo. Peepe's wife, baptized May 6, 1770, at Friedenshutzen by Bro. Schmick, married there to Bro. Mark and bore him two children—one son and a daughter born twelve days ago, prematurely, on the West Branch. It lived but a few days. On the evening of the 6th Bro. Roth rejoined us in camp, where I yesterday held a discourse on the daily words, speaking on the delights of meditating on the Word of God. The appended verses of the hymn applied to our case, as we were weak both physically and spiritually. Oh, patience!

Tuesday, July 7.—Moved on six miles to a spring, where there was excellent pasture. A heavy thunder storm with rain set in.

Wednesday, July 8.—Advanced ten miles to the West Mashanek,* over precipitous and ugly mountains and through two dangerous rocky streams.† In fording the second I fell neck-deep into the water. Had it been at any other season of the year we could not have endured so much wading in streams.

Thursday, July 9.—Advanced but two miles to a run in the swamp. We were almost broken down, and those who carried the baggage could with difficulty climb the mountains.

Friday, July 10.—Lay in camp, as some of our horses had strayed, and I had to send mine back twice to Roth at his camp.

Saturday, July 11.—We found Nathan released from all suffering. He had departed unobserved. The daily word was: 'Remember how miserable and forsaken I was.' How applicable! His emaciated remains were interred along side of the path, and I cut his name into a tree that overshadowed his lonely grave, and then we moved on eight miles to an old beaver-dam. My heart was often at Bethlehem, and I longed to be at the Lord's Supper in the chapel there.

* The Big Moshannon, the boundary between Centre and Clearfield counties and thirty miles west south-west from Lock Haven. Crossed it into Clearfield County and entered the swamp, say in Morris Township.

† The path led along the north side of Marsh Creek, over Indian Grave Hill, through Snowshoe and Moshannon to the West Branch of Moshannon. The two streams forded were an upper branch of Beech Creek and East Branch of Moshannon.

"*Sunday, July 12.*—Brother and Sister Roth came up, and so did others. In the evening we met for worship, and discoursed about prayer to and longing for Jesus. There was a collection of corn and beans taken up for the poor.

"*Monday, July 13.*—Proceeded six miles to a spring in a beautiful, widely expanded mountain-meadow. Scarcely had we encamped when a frightful storm swept over us. The angry clouds like mountains piled themselves up in the heavens, the lightning like snakes of fire leaped in forked flames over the sky, the thunder rolled like siege-artillery, and the rain came down with the sound of many waters or the roaring of a mighty cataract. It was a war of the elements. The tall oaks bowed before the storm, and where the timber failed to do obeisance it was snapped like glass in the grasp of the roaring wind. My companions to my surprise heeded none of this, but cut saplings, collected bark and built huts, which were completed as the storm passed over.

"*Tuesday, July 14.*—Reached Clearfield Creek,* where the buffalos formerly cleared large tracts of undergrowth so as to give them the appearance of cleared fields. Hence the Indians call the creek Clearfield. Here at night and next morning, to the great joy of the hungry, nine deer were shot. Whoever shoots a deer has for his private portion the skins and insides; the meat he must bring into camp and deliver to the distributors. John and Cornelius acted in this capacity in our division. It proved advantageous for us not to keep so closely together as we had at first designed; for if the number of families in a camp be large, one or two deer, when cut up, afford but a scanty meal to each individual. So it happened that scarce a day passed without there being a distribution of venison in the advance, the centre and the rear camp. (On the route there were 150 deer and but three bears shot.) In this way our Heavenly Father provided for us; and I often prayed for our hunters and returned thanks for their success. As there was a growing impatience observable among those who were called on to aid others with their horses, to press on, and not be detained, I here spent a sleepless and anxious night. But on

* Two miles south-east from Clearfield.

"*Thursday, July 16*, after representing the state of our case to the malcontents, I felt reassured, and journeyed on with a few brethren two miles in a pelting rain to the site of Chinklacamoose, where we found but three huts and a few patches of Indian corn. The name signifies 'No one tarries here willingly.' It may perhaps be traced to the circumstance that some thirty years ago an Indian resided here as a hermit upon a rock, who was wont to appear to the Indian hunters in frightful shapes. Some of these too he killed, others he robbed of their skins; and this he did for many years. We moved on four miles, and were obliged to wade the West Branch three times, which is here like the Lehigh at Bethlehem, between the island and the mountain, rapid and full of ripples.

"*Friday, July 17*.—Advanced only four miles to a creek that comes down from the north-west.* Had a narrow and stony spot for our camp.

"*Saturday, July 18*.—Moved on without awaiting Roth and his division, who on account of the rain had remained in camp. To-day Shebosch lost a colt from the bite of a rattlesnake. Here we left the West Branch three miles to north-west up the creek, crossing it five times. Here too the path went precipitously up the mountain, and four or five miles up and up—to the summit—to a spring, the head-waters of the Ohio.† Here I lifted up my heart in prayer, as I looked westward, that the Sun of Grace might rise over the heathen nations that dwell beyond the distant horizon.

"*Sunday, July 19*.—As yesterday but two families kept with me because of the rain, we had a quiet Sunday, but enough to do drying our effects. In the evening all joined me, but we could hold no service, as the ponkis were so excessively annoying that the cattle pressed toward and into our camp to escape their persecutors in the smoke of the fires. This vermin is a plague to

* Anderson's Creek, seven miles south-west from Clearfield, in Pike Township, which they struck at a point near the present Curwinsville, thence into the creek three miles, thence north-westerly to the summit spring.

† Probably the sources of the North Branch of the Mahoning, which rises in Brady Township, Clearfield County, and empties into the Allegheny, in Allegheny County, ten miles above Kittanning.

man and beast, both by day and night. But in the swamp through which we are now passing their name is legion. Hence the Indians call the swamp Ponksutenink, i. e., the 'town of the ponkis.*' The word is equivalent to 'living dust and ashes,' the vermin being so small as not to be seen, and their bite being hot as sparks of fire or hot ashes. The brethren here related an Indian myth, to wit: That the aforesaid Indian hermit and sorcerer, after having been for many years a terror to all Indians, had been killed by one who had burned his bones; but the ashes he blew into the swamp, and they became living things, and hence the ponkis."

The pious emigrants continued on their journey slowly, and finally reached the Moravian settlement in Ohio on the 5th of August, 1772. The good Bishop summed up the incidents of the trip in his journal as follows:

"None received injury to his person, although dangers were without number, especially along the West Branch, where there are rattlesnakes in abundance. I trod on one. Another bit an Indian's stocking while hunting, and so tenaciously that he could hardly rid himself of the reptile. Twice was one discovered in our camp, basking between the fires, after all had lain down to sleep. And yet no one was injured. Once the horse that was ahead of me trod upon the head of a large one, so that it rattled but once more. I know that upwards of fifty were killed. Many laid stretched across the path, and it is a matter of wonder to this moment that none of so large a herd of cattle should have been bitten. The fact that the horned cattle brought up the rear of the companies was in their favor. Among the rocks and the broken timbers we fell countless times. Sister Roth fell from her horse four times—once with her child into a bog, up to her middle, and once into the bushes backwards from her horse with her child, and once she hung on the stirrup. My horse once took a leap down an embankment, on the bank of a creek, throwing me over his head onto my back."

* Kept down the valley of the Mahoning, into Jefferson County. Punxsutawney is a village in Young Township, Jefferson County. The swamp lies in Gaskell and Young townships.

CHAPTER XVIII.

TROUBLES WITH THE CONNECTICUT SETTLERS ON THE WEST BRANCH
—THEIR EXPULSION BY COLONEL PLUNKETT—NORTHUMBERLAND
FOUNDED—FREELAND AND THE VINCENT FAMILY.

AT this late day it is difficult to give a full account of the troubles growing out of the Connecticut settlement at Wyoming, which involved a portion of the West Branch Valley before peace was restored. As early as 1769, says Colonel Franklin in his journal, the Susquehanna Company passed a vote to send on 540 settlers, 300 of whom were to have lands as a gratuity on the West Branch. The settlement was made on the beautiful rolling plain around where Muncy now stands, and was called the "Muncy Settlement." Two townships were surveyed there as early as 1771. One was named Charleston,* and the other Judea. The names of the actual settlers have been lost.

This settlement was not at first included in the limits of Westmoreland, by the Connecticut grant, which extended only fifteen miles beyond the North Branch—not reaching within twenty miles of Muncy. In May, 1775, an act was passed by the Connecticut Council to extend the limits of the town of Westmoreland as far westward as the line fixed upon with the Indians at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1768. This, then, included the settlements on the West Branch, as far up as Lycoming Creek.

A bad feeling was engendered between the Connecticut settlers at Wyoming and those of Pennsylvania. The latter looked upon them as invaders of a territory that did not belong to them. Serious difficulties arose between the two parties, which resulted in a resort to arms. The cause of these troubles may be briefly outlined as follows:

The English having discovered North America from latitude

*See *Miner's History of Wyoming*, pages 166-7-8.

34° to 48° and made entry upon it, assumed a right to it, and divided that territory into two great provinces called South Virginia and North Virginia, or New England. King James I., by patent dated 10th of April, 1606, granted to Thomas Gates *et al.*—called the “London Company”—leave to plant a colony anywhere between 34° and 41° north latitude. Under this charter, and those which grew out of it, Virginia and the Southern states were settled. The same year King James granted to Thomas Hanham *et al.* like leave to plant a colony anywhere between 38° and 45° north latitude. April 20, 1662, King Charles II., by letters patent, granted to John Winthrop *et al.*, incorporating them as a body politic, by the name of “The Governor and Company of the English Colony of Connecticut in New England in America.”

On the strength of this grant a corporation was formed in Connecticut, styled the “Susquehanna Company,” which numbered about half of the inhabitants, who announced their desire to form a new colony west of the Delaware, on a tract of land lying on both sides of the East Branch of the Susquehanna, which they doubtless believed to be the rightful property of Connecticut.

On July 11, 1754, this company obtained a deed from “eighteen chiefs and heads of Five Nations,” in consideration of £2,000, for lands described as follows: “Beginning from the one and fortieth degrees of north latitude at ten miles distance east of Susquehanna River, and from thence, with a northerly line, ten miles east of the river to the forty-second or beginning of the forty-third degree of north latitude, and to extend west two degrees of longitude, one hundred and twenty miles, and from thence south to the beginning of the forty-second degree, and from thence east to the aforementioned bounds, which is ten miles east of the Susquehanna River, together, &c., &c.”

The southern line of this grant enters Pennsylvania near Stroudsburg, passing westward through Conyngham, in Luzerne County, Bloomsburg, Lewisburg and Clearfield, and so on north, running a little east of Smethport to the boundary line between Pennsylvania and New York. This territory includes the principal part of the counties of Luzerne, Lackawanna, Wyoming, Bradford, Columbia, Montour, Clearfield, Elk and McKean, smaller portions

of Susquehanna, Northumberland, Union and Centre, and the whole of Sullivan, Lycoming, Tioga, Potter and Cameron, and has at present a population of half a million people.

The "Susquehanna Company" subsequently applied to the King for a charter of government for the new colony, which was never granted. The Pennsylvania claim to this territory was based upon the charter granted March 4, 1681, to William Penn by Charles II., King of England, for the territory comprising the State of Pennsylvania, very much as it is to-day. As early as 1637 the colonies of Connecticut had sent out settlers upon the Delaware Bay under their claim as part of the Plymouth grant.

In 1755 surveyors were sent out under the Susquehanna Company to lay out their lands along the Lackawaxen and in the Wyoming Valley.

In 1768, after the Penns had completed their purchase of these lands from the Indians at Fort Stanwix, the Pennsylvania settlers began to go into the valley, and then began that "miserable contest known as the First Pennamite and Yankee War."

A bird's-eye view of Pennsylvania in 1783 will show: The Friends possessed of a prosperous and thrifty metropolis, and rich fields in Philadelphia and adjoining counties.

The Germans profitably and industrially settled along the base of the "Blue Hills" from the Delaware to the Susquehanna, holding the rich agricultural country as they hold it yet.

The Scotch-Irish in the Cumberland Valley, and pushing up the Juniata, and winding around the spurs of the Alleghenies into the then counties of Bedford and Westmoreland.

The Yankee seated in the valley of the North Branch of the Susquehanna. The rest of the State, except some of the valleys of the West Branch, was an unbroken wilderness. The total population did not exceed 330,000. Of the Yankee settlers there were probably about 6,000 scattered mainly in the seventeen townships in Luzerne. After the decree of Trenton the inhabitants set about meeting the adverse effects of the decision which resulted in the second Pennamite war.

This conflict at one time threatened to become of serious magnitude, embroiling both Connecticut and Pennsylvania, but through judicious legislation this end was averted, and the

compromise act of 1799 heralded the beginning of the end. It has been well said by the Hon. Henry M. Hoyt, that the controversy one hundred years ago raged with great fierceness, evoked strong partizanship, and was urged on both sides by the highest skill of statesmen and lawyers. In its origin it was a controversy over the political jurisdiction and right of soil in a tract of country containing more than five million acres of land, claimed by Pennsylvania and Connecticut, as embraced, respectively, in their chartered grants.

It involved the lives of hundreds, was the ruin of thousands, and cost the State millions. It wore out one entire generation. It was righteously settled in the end.

When the excitement among the residents of the West Branch was at its height, they went so far as to remonstrate against the Connecticut invasion by sending a petition to Governor Penn.* The petitioners prayed for legal redress. They charged that a large body of armed men had invaded this territory, and intimated that if they were not protected from the invaders by the Government they would resort to arms to defend themselves and their rights. This petition was signed by the magistrates, grand jurors and other principal inhabitants of Northumberland. It was laid before the Board of Council, then in session in Philadelphia, December 9, 1773, by Governor Penn. After receiving careful consideration, it was decided by the Board that it should be laid before the Assembly, accompanied by a message from the Governor. This was done on the 14th of December. The Governor in his message was very emphatic and denounced the Connecticut settlers in these words:

The insolent outrages of a set of men who have long bid defiance to the laws of the country, and have afforded protection to offenders of the most heinous kind, ought not, certainly, in a well regulated society, to be suffered to pass with impunity; but when these men embody themselves, sally forth with arms in their hands, and in a warlike manner attempt to dispossess the peaceable inhabitants of the county lately laid out and established by act of Assembly, within the known bounds of the Province, it is a procedure of so dangerous a tendency as not only to threaten the destruction of that infant county, but strikes at the peace of the whole Province.

* Richard Penn was the acting Lieutenant Governor from October 16, 1771, until July 19, 1773. After August 30th, John Penn, who was confirmed Lieutenant Governor by the King, June 30th, was awarded the title of Governor by the Provincial Council.

He closed by recommending that the invaders be repelled by force. The result was a long correspondence* between Penn and the Governor of Connecticut regarding the difficulty. All propositions to settle proved unavailing, and the Assembly finally instructed the Governor to issue a proclamation † to the magistrates and officers of Northumberland County, to be vigilant in the discharge of their duty, and see that the intruders from Wyoming no longer impose upon the Pennsylvania settlers.

Zebulon Butler, who figured conspicuously in Wyoming affairs, issued a proclamation and distributed it through Northumberland County, announcing that he had been appointed a justice by the authorities of Connecticut. To counteract this document Governor Penn issued a proclamation strictly forbidding the people to pay any attention to this usurper, as he had no right to act in the Province.

The spirit of the contending parties ran high. The Connecticut people were determined to occupy the lands on the West Branch, and the Pennsylvania settlers were determined that they should not. The former insisted that the land belonged to them—the latter that they had no right to it, and they decided to expel them by force of arms if they did not peacefully leave. A crisis was approaching, as the authorities of Northumberland County had received instructions which could not be mistaken.

On the 22d of September, 1775, William Maclay informed J. Shippen, Jr., by letter that the injunction placed on the Connecticut people was no longer binding—that Samuel Wallis had informed him that Vincent, who settled near Milton, claimed to be a magistrate, and was preparing to bring three hundred colonists from Wyoming to the West Branch. And further, certain settlers here were willing to be enlisted in Zebulon Butler's regiment, and he could not understand why they were so determined to possess these lands.

The fears of the authorities at Sunbury of an invasion were soon realized. Dr. Plunkett, who was then serving as Judge of the courts, was apprised of the arrival of an armed force at Free-

*It may be found at length in Vol. X., *Colonial Records*, commencing on page 118.

†See Vol. X., *Colonial Records*, page 153.

land's mill,* on Warrior Run, consisting of three hundred men, and it was supposed to be a detachment from Butler's regiment. The report spread rapidly through the valley, and preparations were made to resist it with force, if necessary. A company of fifty men immediately left Fort Augusta to "meet and demand the reason of this intrusion and hostile appearance."

But the story of the arrival of this large force was never confirmed. It appears to have been an exaggeration. Miner, in his *History of Wyoming*, when alluding to the troubles on the West Branch, does not speak of it, but on the other hand says that the settlements here were comparatively small and unsupported. In the month of September, 1775, Colonel Plunkett, under orders from the Government, detailed a strong force of Northumberland militia and marched to break up the settlements at Charleston and Judea. How much resistance was offered is not stated, but it must have been small, as only one life was lost and several of the Connecticut people were wounded. After burning the buildings and collecting what property he could, Colonel Plunkett returned to Sunbury with a number of prisoners. The women and children were sent to their friends at Wyoming. William Judd and Joseph Sluman, who appear to have acted as leaders, were captured and sent to jail in Philadelphia.

Franklin's account of this affair, as entered in his journal, was undoubtedly exaggerated. He claimed that Plunkett's force was 500 strong, and that the Connecticut side did not have over eighty men. There is no doubt that there was some kind of a skirmish, and that several men were captured and carried to Fort Augusta, but that it rose to the dignity of a battle is highly improbable. But the expedition resulted in breaking up the Connecticut settlement, because it was not heard of again, and the Pennsylvania claimants remained in full possession of the territory.

On the 27th of October, 1775, the Assembly having had the matter under consideration, came to the conclusion that the settlers had performed their duty "in repelling the intruders and preventing the further extension of their settlements."

Much excitement prevailed, and such bitterness of feeling existed that a number of boats belonging to Wyoming, and trading

* See *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. III., page 662.

down the river, were seized as they attempted to pass Fort Augusta, and their cargoes were confiscated. It was about this time that Colonel Plunkett organized an expedition against Wyoming and actually started with a strong force up the river. He arrived in the vicinity of Wyoming about the 20th of December, and on the 23d he met the enemy and was disastrously defeated.* Thus ended the Plunkett invasion. It was certainly ill-timed, rash and injudicious. After the battle Plunkett returned to Sunbury with his forces considerably crest-fallen, and we hear of him no more as a warrior.†

Northumberland, afterwards noted as the place of residence of many distinguished English exiles, and men who had taken a conspicuous part in the Revolution, was always a point of attraction on account of its beautiful location in the forks of the two branches of the Susquehanna. As has been stated, Robert Martin was the first settler where the town now stands. He built a house on the point as early as 1760 and opened an inn, which was a place of much resort. Martin became a man of some prominence. He was a member of the Provincial Conference in 1776, and a member of the State Convention to form the Constitution, and a member of the Legislature in 1778-9.

According to old deeds in the possession of the Priestley family, of Northumberland, the town was laid out upon four tracts of land, two of 300 acres each, and two of 500 acres each, in the forks of the north-east and west branches of the Susquehanna River, called "Sarah's Delight." The indorsements on these deeds are as follows:

Sarah's Delight. Patent July 7, 1770. The Proprietaries to Sarah Loudon, enrolled at Philadelphia. Deed, John Loudon and Sarah, his wife, to William Espy. Recorded at Sunbury in Book C, page 239.

1771, April 23d. Deed, William Espy to John Loudon. Recorded at Sunbury.

1772. Loudon and Patterson lay out the town called Northumberland.

1775, March 20th. Deed, John Loudon to Reuben Haines. Recorded at Sunbury, Book C, page 240.

Essex. 1772. Loudon and Patterson lay out the old town of Northumberland.

1775, January 7th. Patent to Esther Patterson, wife of William Patterson.

* For a full account of the battle see *Miner's History of Wyoming*, page 171.

† The difficulties between the two states, Connecticut and Pennsylvania, after long, intricate and tedious litigation, were ultimately decided in favor of the latter in 1801.

1775, April 6th. Deed, William Patterson and Sarah, his wife, to Reuben Haines. Recorded at Sunbury, Book A, page 248.

Nottingham. 1772, September 14th. Patent to Richard Peters for 500 acres along the north-east branch.

Townside. 1772, September 16th. Patent to Richard Peters for 500 acres along the west branch.

1773, December 17th. Deed, Richard Peters to Reuben Haines, for the above mentioned tracts.

The title to these four tracts being thus in Reuben Haines, he enlarged the town plot and recorded a general plan of Loudon and Patterson's town, with his own additions, at Sunbury, in Book B, page 273, April 24, 1781, which was afterwards recorded by John Boyd, May 10, 1808, in Book C, pages 367-8.

Reuben Haines died and devised his estate by will to his four children—Caspar, Wistar, Reuben* and Catherine Haines. Reuben Haines, Jr., died and devised his estate to his two brothers and sister, who made partition. Caspar W. Haines and Catherine Haines conveyed, among other things in partition, the unsold lots in the town of Northumberland, by deed dated March 24, 1795, recorded at Sunbury in Book C, page 481, to Reuben Haines.

At first the new town made slow progress, as the inhabitants during the dark days of the Indian invasions and the Revolution were frequently obliged to take refuge at Fort Augusta, on the other side of the river, for safety. It was not until 1784 that it was re-occupied, and in 1796 it only numbered about one hundred houses, and in 1847 only about one hundred and sixty. In 1776 the question of independence was an absorbing one, and the feeling became so warm that it was decided to have a public discussion on the subject. A platform was erected on the common for the speakers. Colonels Cooke and Hunter took the side of liberty and independence, and Dr. Plunkett and Charles Cooke championed the side of loyalty to the crown. Considerable warmth was manifested on both sides, but tradition fails to inform us which side was declared the winner.

History informs us that the first fruit trees planted in the town were brought from Lancaster by William Hoffman about the year 1771, and one of these trees, called the "Centennial Pear Tree," was standing a few years ago and still bearing fruit. The first

*Under a plain slab in the old burying-ground in rear of the Lutheran Church, Northumberland, lie the remains of Joseph Haines, one of the sons of Reuben. He was born August 15, 1764, and died May 14, 1795.

white child born in Northumberland, about the year 1772, was Elizabeth, daughter of William Hoffman.

The location of Northumberland is exceedingly charming, and it should have grown into a large and flourishing city years ago. The surrounding scenery is bold, grand and picturesque. The rocky promontory of Blue Hill casts its shadow over the town, and Montour's Ridge forms an exquisite background. On two sides are the rivers which there form a union and then proudly sweep on towards the sea. The town has always been distinguished for its wealth, culture and seclusiveness. At one time in our early history it came within one vote of being selected for the State Capital. This mishap ever afterwards seemed to blight its prospects, notwithstanding its eligible location and magnificent surroundings. But if it failed in this respect, it enjoys the proud distinction of being the home of the illustrious Dr. Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen gas. There he took refuge when he fled from England on account of religious persecution, and there he prosecuted his chemical studies until he was rewarded by making a discovery that places his name by the side of the greatest scientists who ever lived, and his fame will ever remain as refulgent as the stars that shine in the arched dome of heaven. The rude instruments used by him in making the experiments which resulted in the discovery of oxygen were placed in the Smithsonian Institute at Washington a few years ago for preservation. The centennial* of his great discovery was properly celebrated at Northumberland, and the meeting was attended by scientists from all parts of the country.

* Joseph Priestley, D. D., was born at Fieldhead, Yorkshire, England, March 24, 1733. His father was a cloth dresser. At the age of nineteen he had acquired in the schools a good knowledge of Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, Italian and German, and he also learned to read Arabic, Chaldee and Syriac. With these attainments he entered on the study of theology, with a view to the Christian ministry, in 1752. He had been educated in Calvinism, but not being satisfied with that doctrine, he became a Socinian. He traveled extensively in Europe, and had excellent opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge. He became pastor of a church in Birmingham. The doctrine he preached was not popular. At length, when several of his friends celebrated the French revolution, July 14, 1791, a mob assembled and set fire to the church in which he preached, together with several dwelling houses of the Dissenters, as his followers were called. His own house and library were burned, and he was forced to fly to London. He was chosen to succeed a minister at

Warrior Run, Northumberland County, although a small stream, has figured in history from the earliest times. It falls into the river at the lower part of the thrifty borough of Watsontown. The first white settlement made on this stream, where Fort Freeland was afterwards built, was in 1772. The immigrants were from New Jersey, and were named as follows: Jacob Freeland, John Vincent, Cornelius Vincent and Peter Vincent, with their families. In 1773 they were re-inforced by Timothy Williams and Samuel Gould. Both brought their families with them. Freeland settled on Warrior Run, some three or four miles from its mouth, and the Vincents settled one mile below the mouth on the river. This was the nucleus of the first settlement in this part of the valley, around which other settlements were made until there was quite a community. These pioneers built their cabins in the wilderness and commenced to make improvements. They were men and women of nerve, resolution and daring, and soon became used to the hardships they were called upon to endure in a new country.

Levi Vincent, the progenitor of this old family, was born in France during the reign of Charles II., in 1676. He emigrated to New Jersey, and died in Newark Township, in 1763, aged 87 years.

John Vincent, son of Levi, was born January 26, 1709, on the farm where his father died. He married Elizabeth Doremus December 1, 1733. She was born July 12, 1711, and died February 11, 1788, aged 76 years. Mr. Vincent died February 24,

Hockney, and was a lecturer in the Dissenting college at that place, but public aversion to him being strong, and his sons having emigrated to America, he followed them in April, 1794. He settled at Northumberland, where for three winters after his arrival he delivered lectures on the evidences of Christianity. He died in the full vigor of his mind February 6, 1804, in the 71st year of his age, and his remains lie in the beautiful cemetery at that place. A plain marble tablet at the head of his grave simply recites his name and age. There is an entire absence of any show about the grave, and a stranger unacquainted with his history would not suppose for a moment that one of the most distinguished philosophers of the world there lies buried. He was a voluminous writer, and left many books that treated on theology and science behind him. He was not only a chemist, but an eminent metaphysician. He commenced his chemical career in 1772, and in two years discovered oxygen gas, which has made his name immortal. His descendants continued to reside in Northumberland for many years. Very few of them now remain there.

1801, aged 92 years, having survived his wife about thirteen years.

Cornelius Vincent, son of John and Elizabeth, was born on the farm of his father April 15, 1737, and married Phoebe Ward November, 1756. She was born April 8, 1750. Their children were: Isaac, born June 20, 1757; Daniel, born January 17, 1760; Bethuel, born June 3, 1763; Sarah, born July 26, 1765; John, born February 4, 1772; Elizabeth, born June 4, 1774; Rebecca, born October 27, 1776; Mary, born February 10, 1779.

The descendants of this famous family are numerous and widely scattered. Bethuel was married four times. His third wife was Ann Rees. He died May 1, 1837, in the 75th year of his age.

Jacob Freeland, who appears to have been a man of enterprise, commenced to build a small grist mill on Warrior Run in 1773, having brought the necessary irons with him the previous year from New Jersey. The mill was completed, and proved a valuable acquisition to the settlement. The fort was built in 1775, when it became apparent to Freeland and his neighbors that better protection than ordinary cabins afforded was required, as the Indians were daily growing more bold and troublesome. It stood near a spring, on a rising piece of ground, about half a mile north-east of where Warrior Run Church now stands. The site is on the farm of Mr. Everitt, and is marked by a small mound of earth. The spring is there still and is shaded by two or three majestic oaks. The fort, which afterwards became so famous, was a stockade enclosure and ranked as one of the principal fortifications in the valley above Fort Augusta.

Among other settlers who pushed their way up the river was George Morrison, who settled on a tract a short distance west of Jersey Shore in 1774. Francis Clark located on a tract which now adjoins the Jersey Shore Cemetery the same year. Edward McMasters settled on the point on the west side of Pine Creek in 1774. Robert Plunkett also made some improvements there the same year on what are now known as the Crist and Simmons farms. In 1775 McMasters left the settlement to join the American army at Cambridge and never returned.

Michael Seely settled and made some improvements in 1775 on a tract lying about half a mile east of Jersey Shore, on the

river. During the same year Jacob Mattox squatted on the present site of Jersey Shore and made an improvement. What became of him is unknown.

According to Linn the first wedding occurred in Buffalo Valley December, 1772. Peter Swartz married Magdalena, widow of Michael Weyland. They then moved upon the place described as containing 300 acres at Sinking Spring, at Shikellimy's old town, a short distance below Milton, on the Union County side. On the 18th of December Mrs. Swartz took out letters of administration upon her former husband's estate. They were the first issued in Northumberland County. Her account was filed September 8, 1774, in which Peter Swartz adjoins. On the debtor side of the account is an item for a deer skin, accepted for a debt due the estate from Captain John Brady.

Ludwig Derr,* the founder of Lewisburg, appeared early in the valley. When Charles Lukens made the surveys along the river to the mouth of White Deer Creek, in 1769, he speaks of Derr being with him. Derr bought the tract on which Lewisburg

*Ludwig Derr died in Philadelphia November, 1785, where he had gone to sell lots. He left an only son, George Derr. On the 20th of December, 1788, he transferred the town plot, embracing 128 acres, to Peter Borger, excepting seventeen lots, and all lots that his father had sold by deed, or written agreement. January 2, 1789, Borger disposed of the same, with the same reserve, to Carl Ellinckhuysen, of Amsterdam, Holland. On the 8th of May, 1789, Ellinckhuysen, by letter of attorney, authorized Borger to sell lots for him; who, as attorney-in-fact, sold, mortgaged, and disposed of lots, for about eighteen months, when he was superseded by a letter of attorney to the Rev. J. Charles Hilburn, a Catholic priest, dated September 30, 1790. He also sold and mortgaged lots, so that in consequence of mistakes, or something else, many lots now have three or four distinct written titles.

About this time Carl Ellinckhuysen sent his son, Matthias Joseph Ellinckhuysen, to America, and put him under the surveillance of Hilburn, the priest. Being dissipated he ran his course rapidly, and died on the 17th of July, 1792, aged 38 years and 3 months. His widow, Clara Helena Ellinckhuysen, married John Thornburgh, who also soon died. They were both buried in the old grave-yard on Market Street, but their tombstones have entirely disappeared. The widow, who was short of stature and much pock-marked, was an expert skater. She afterwards married a Mr. Moore and removed to Erie, where she probably died. In 1793 the eccentric Flavel Roan, who was sheriff of Northumberland County from 1791 to 1794, wrote the famous deed for Mrs. Ellinckhuysen, conveying a lot in Lewisburg to himself, in consideration of sixteen pounds ten shillings. The deed, which begins with Adam and Eve, is the most remarkable piece of conveyancing on record, and is copied in some of the Form books as a curiosity. Recorded in deed book F, page 280, November, 1793, Sunbury.

stands, in the summer of 1772, from Rev. Richard Peters. The ground was first surveyed by William Maclay February 28, 1769. At the land drawing Derr had applied for a tract near New Columbia, but failed to get it. He then settled on the site of Lewisburg in 1770, and falling in love with the place, bought it from Peters. There is no record of any one having lived there before Derr. Soon after this he opened a trading post and built his famous grist and saw mill, which stood until a few years ago.

As early as 1767 William Patterson patented a tract of 700 acres of land, which now lies in the south-eastern part of Lewis Township, Northumberland County. On account of its handsome appearance he named it "Paradise," a title which it bears to this day. For rural beauty, fertility of soil, and charming surroundings, it is not excelled by any district of similar size in the United States, and the name was worthily bestowed. The country is gently rolling and under a high state of cultivation. Neat farm houses, with capacious barns, abound in all directions; and what adds more particularly to the beauty of the scene are the open groves of oak and other hard woods which dot the landscape. And as these groves are free from underbrush, they present the appearance of well-kept parks, and elicit the admiration of all who pass through the country. In 1771 Mr. Patterson exchanged his Paradise lands with John Montgomery, of Paxtang, for his farm in that settlement, and removed to White Deer Creek to reside with his daughter, Mrs. Hunter.

When Mr. Montgomery came to Paradise he located near a beautiful spring and built a small log house, where he resided with his family until they were driven away by the Indians in 1779. On their return, when peace was restored, they found all their buildings burned. But during the occupancy of the country by Captain Rice and his German soldiers, they built a two-story stone building over the spring, which they had used as a fortification. Mr. Montgomery took possession of the building, and after making some alterations and improvements, used it for a dwelling house. Thus was the Montgomery home founded in Paradise. The family prospered and increased in numbers and wealth until it became one of the best known and most respected in that lovely region, and this distinction it has maintained until the present day.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CHARMING JOURNAL OF REV. FITHIAN, WRITTEN DURING HIS VISIT TO THE WEST BRANCH VALLEY IN 1775—WHOM HE MET, WHERE HE STOPPED AND WHAT HE SAW.

ONE of the most interesting journeys made through the West Branch Valley, over a century ago, was that of Rev. Philip Vicars Fithian, in the summer of 1775. This observant and pious young minister was a graduate of the class of 1772, in the College of New Jersey, a class noted for its ability and for the subsequent prominence of its members—Aaron Burr, William Bradford, William Linn, D. D., and several others.

Mr. Fithian was licensed to preach by the First Presbytery of Philadelphia, November 6, 1774. On the 4th of April, 1775, he received an honorable dismissal from the Presbytery, as there were no vacancies within its boundaries, and was recommended as a candidate in good standing. He left his home at Greenwich, N. J., May 9, 1775, on horseback, for a tour through Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia, in company with Andrew Hunter, also his classmate, taking notes of people and places in journal form, addressed to Miss Elizabeth Beatty, sister of Major John, Dr. Reading and Erkuries Beatty, subsequently prominent officers in the Pennsylvania line. After his return, October 25th, he was married to Miss Beatty, and in the following June accepted the appointment of chaplain to Colonel Newcomb's battalion of New Jersey militia, and died in camp at Fort Washington, of dysentery, October 8, 1776. He kept a journal up to within a few weeks of his death, embracing the battle of Long Island. His last entry was made Sunday, September 22, 1776. This journal is a remarkably interesting contribution to the history of the times in this valley. The simplicity of its style and the charming manner in which the writer relates his journey up the river, noting

whom he met, how he was received and where he preached, makes it read like a romance. After his death it remained in manuscript for over one hundred years, and its existence was only known to his descendants. When Hon. John Blair Linn was Secretary of the Commonwealth he succeeded, through friends in New Jersey, in borrowing the original long enough to have a copy made, and then published it in Dr. W. H. Egle's *Historical Register* in 1883-4, with copious annotations, all of which are given herewith.

Mr. Fithian came through Franklin and Cumberland counties on his horseback journey, and arrived at the house of John Harris, on the Juniata, June 24, 1775. He speaks of his elegant home in these words: "In the parlor where I am sitting are three windows, each with twenty-four lights of large glass."

On the 25th he was at Cedar Springs, where he preached. He speaks of the scene in these beautiful words: "It is now sunset, and I am sitting under a dark tuft of willow and large sycamores, close on the bank of the beautiful Juniata. The river, near two hundred yards broad, is lined with willows, sycamores, walnuts, white oaks, and a fine bank—what are my thoughts? Fair genius of this water, O tell me, will not this, in some future time, be a vast, pleasant, and very populous country? Are not many large towns to be raised on these shady banks? I seem to wish to be transferred forward only one century. Great God, America will surprise* the world!"

"*Monday, June 26, 1775.*—I rose early with the purpose of setting off for Sunbury. I had an invitation to a wedding in the neighborhood, but my business will not permit me. After breakfast I rode to one Mr. Boyle's, a well-disposed, civil, and sensible man. He entertained me kindly and acquainted me largely with the disturbance with Mr. Kennedy. I dined with him and his wife. She looks very much in person and appears in manner like my much-honored and ever dear mamma. Thence I rode onward through a dark bleak path, they call it a 'bridle road,' to one Mr. Eckert's, a Dutchman, [German.] He used me with great civility

* His prophetic vision was realized in the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, in 1876. Could the enthusiastic young minister only have been there to see it!

and politeness. Distance rode to-day, 25 miles; course N. E. I met on the road a tinker, on the way to what is called the 'New Purchase.* He has been to Cohansie.† Knew many there, at Pottsgrove, Deepel, and New England town. He told me that he had been acquainted in seven colonies, but never yet saw any place in which the inhabitants were so sober, uniform in their manners, and every act so religious as at New England town, and Mr. Ramsey was his favorite preacher. He spoke of religious matters with understanding, and I hope with some feeling.

"*Tuesday, June 27.*—Rode from the clever Dutchman's‡ to Sunbury over the Susquehanna, fifteen miles. I think the river is a half a mile over, and so shallow that I forded it; the bottom is hard rock. Sunbury is on the north-east bank. It is yet a small village but seems to be growing rapidly. Then I rode on half a mile to one Hunter's,§ within the walls of Fort Augusta. Then I rode onward to Northumberland about a mile, but on the way crossed the river twice.||

"Here are a number of boatmen employed in going up and down the river to Middletown and back. With these and others from the country, this infant village seems busy and noisy as a Philadelphia ferry-house. I slept in a room with seven of them, and one for a bed-fellow. He was, however, clean and civil, and our bed good and neat. Some of them suspected me of being a clergyman and used me with profound respect. 'Your Reverence,' was the preface of almost every sentence. One of them, a genuine *Quo-he*, coaxed me by persuasion and complaints out of a sixpence as charity.

"*Wednesday, June 28.*—A very wet, rainy morning. About twelve o'clock marched into this town, from the 'Great Island' or 'Indian land' fifty miles up the river, thirty young fellows, all ex-

* Valleys of the North and West Branches of the Susquehanna, purchased in 1768.

† Cohansie, New Jersey.

‡ Echart's tavern was a noted stopping place in Perry Township, now Snyder County, on the road to Richfield, Juniata County.

§ Colonel Samuel Hunter was the commander of Fort Augusta at that time.

|| The old fording crossed by the large island in the North Branch at Northumberland. Island now owned by Hon. John B. Packer.

pert riflemen, with a drum and fife, under Captain Lowdon.* They passed on, however, soon to Sunbury, where they remained until Monday. Brave youth! go, through the kindness of the God of battles, may you prosper and save your country. I made some small acquaintance with Mr. Doheda, a smart agreeable Englishman, and one Mr. Chrystie, a dry, sensible, intelligent Scot.

"*Thursday, June 29.*—I rode up the West Branch, two miles, to Mr. Andrew Gibson's,† on the way crossing the river twice, over a fine, rich island shaded with lofty, smooth beech trees; on one of these I carved my name. After dinner I went down the river with two of the Mr. Gibsons in a small boat, for exercise and recreation. The river is perfectly transparent—so clear that you can see, in the deepest parts, the smallest fish. In the evening came the Philadelphia papers. All things look dark and unsettled. The Irish regiments have arrived. Government is strengthening its forces; the Americans are obstinate in their opposition. The Virginians have differed highly with their Governor, and he has thought it necessary to go on board, with his family, of one of his Majesty's ships. The Continental Congress is sitting in Philadelphia, and recommends Thursday, July 20th, as a day of public humiliation, fasting and prayer.

"*Saturday, July 1.*—I crossed the river and rode into town; my landlady received me kindly. From the room where I write this I have a long, full, and beautiful prospect of Sunbury down the river. Now, going either up or down, are many boats, canoes, &c., plying about. In short, this town in a few years, without doubt, will be grand and busy. I find these two infant villages, like other rivals, are jealous of each other's improvements, and Mr. Haines,‡ who is proprietor of this place, is much annoyed.

"*Sunday, July 2.*—A rainy, damp morning; but little prospects of service. At eleven, some few came in; we have worship in Mr. McCartney's house. After we began, many came in from the town, and they gave me good attention. Between sermons sev-

*This was Captain Lowdon's company on its way to Boston; see *Linn's Annals of Buffalo Valley* for a roll of this company, enlisted along the West Branch.

†Andrew Gibson lived about a mile below Dr. Rooke's furnace, in now Union County.

‡Reuben Haines, brewer, of Philadelphia.

eral gentlemen kindly invited me to visit them; Mr. Cooke, the high sheriff,* Mr. Martin, a gentleman who came lately from Jersey, (Robert Martin); Mr. Barker,† a young gentleman, a lawyer from Ireland last fall. After one hour and a half intermission we had service again; many more were present than in the morning. Mr. Scull, the Surveyor General's [Deputy Surveyor, as John Lukens was then Surveyor General] agreeable mate, was present at both sermons; Mrs. Hunter, Capt. Hunter's lady, who lives on the other side of the water at Fort Augusta, and is burghess [lieutenant] for his county, and is with Mr. Scull now, down at Philadelphia, was also present at both sermons, with her two small, neat daughters, and a beautiful young lady—her niece.‡ I was invited by Mrs. Scull to coffee. Present: Mrs. Hunter and the young ladies, Mrs. McCartney and her sister, and Mr. Barker. While we were at coffee the post came into town; we have in the papers accounts of the battle of Bunker Hill, near Boston, where the Provincials were worsted; accounts of General Washington and his aid-de-camp, Mr. Mifflin, leaving Philadelphia for the North American camp. Mrs. Scull very kindly invited me to make her house my home while I shall stay in town. She has a pleasant and valuable garden, the best by far in the town; it has a neat and well-designed summer-house. She has a well-finished parlor, with many pieces of good painting; four, in special, which struck me much; large heads from ancient marbles of Hypocrates, Tully, Socrates, and Galen.

"*Monday, July 3.*—No paper to be had in town and I have only five sheets. Mr. McCartney gave me £1. 5s. 9d. for the supply, for which he demanded a receipt, a custom here. Breakfasted with Mrs. Scull. I dined with Mr. Martin, in West-way street, on

* Afterward Colonel William Cooke of the 12th Pennsylvania. See Dr. Egle's sketches of members of the convention of 1776 for notice of Colonel Cooke.—*Penn'a Mag.*, Vol. III., page 320.

† John Barker, Esq., joined the Revolutionary army in September, 1776. His further history cannot be traced.

‡ Colonel Samuel Hunter's wife was a sister of Abram Scott. Their two daughters referred to were Mary, who married Samuel Scott, and Nancy, who married Alexander Hunter, her cousin. The niece was Mary Scott, who married General William Wilson, of Chillisquaque Mills, grandfather of Mrs. John B. Linn, of Bellefonte.

the river. After dinner, Mr. Haines, the proprietor of the town, took me to see a lot he is about to give to the Presbyterian Society. It is a fine high spot on the North-way street, and near the river; also near it is a fine spring of good water. A number of the town gentlemen proposed, if my appointments will allow, to preach in this town on the day of the Continental fast.

"*Tuesday, July 4.*—Mrs. Scull entertained me with many good, agreeable songs. She moved my head toward my charming Laura when she sang the following:

CONSTANCY.

Oh! lovely Delia, virtuous, fair,
Believe me now thy only dear,
I'd not exchange my happy state
For all the wealth of all the great, &c., &c.

"A rainy afternoon; I spent it with Mr. Barker in doors. I was introduced to one Mr. Freeman, a young gentleman who has been a trader at Fort Pitt. He beats the drum, and we had a good fifer, so we spent the evening in martial amusement.

"*Wednesday, July 5.*—A very wet morning. Last Sunday some Northumberland saint stole my surtout from my saddle. It was hid, for security, in a wood-pile in the neighborhood, where it was found the next morning, advertised, and this day returned. If this be the "New Purchase"* manners, I had rather chosen to own some other kind of impudence. I agreed to-day to preach in this town on the day of the public fast, and began my sermon for that purpose. I had some proposals made me for staying in this town, but I cannot yet answer them. I dined with the kind and entertaining Mrs. Scull. She took me, with Mr. Barker, into Mr. Scull's library. It is charming to see books in the infancy of this remote land. I borrowed, for my amusement, the following from her: 'The Critical Review, No. 44.' Our evening spent nightly tete-a-tete in honor and friendship; in bed by three—much too late.

"*Thursday, July 6.*—I opened my eyes, by the continued mercy of our bountiful overseer, at half an hour after eight, when a most

* The country along the West and North Branches, purchased from the Indians in 1768, went by the name of the "New Purchase" until after the next purchase of 1784.

serene, lovely morning, more so after so much dark and unharvestable weather. I was called in to see Mrs. Boyd, to visit and pray with a sick young man, Mr. Thompson. I found him lying very ill with an intermittent fever and a great uneasiness of mind. I conversed with him as well as my abilities would allow, and commended him to God in prayer and withdrew. Breakfasted with Mrs. Scull and Mr. Barker, and with great reluctance I took my leave of both. The young gentleman who has been preaching in the English church at Salem, N. J., is this Mr. Barker's brother. By ten I left town. The road lies along the river, and after leaving the town about a mile, such a fertile, level, goodly country I have perhaps never seen. Wheat and rye, thick and very tall. Oats I saw in many places, yet green, and full as high in general through the field as a six-railed fence. Polks and elders, higher than my head as I sat upon my horse, and the country is thickly inhabited and grows to be a little open. All this pine tract on the north side of the West Branch belongs, I am told, to Colonel Francis,* and is now leased for a term of years. After riding eight miles on the bank of the river I crossed over. The river is near a half mile broad, and since the rain it has risen so that I had near been floated. Stopped at Captain Wm. Gray's.

"Mr. Gray received me cordially. He owns here a most excellent farm on the south side and upon the West Branch. I walked out to a neighbor of his, Mr. Allen's.† Mr. Allen was reaping rye. The reapers were merry and civil. We returned through the rich woods. It is a dull calm. The woods are musical; they are harmonious. Bells tinkling from every quarter make a continued and cheering echo. Cows returning home. Sheep and horses grazing through the woods, and these all around in every part make a transporting vesper.

"*Friday, July 7.*—Early to-day, and with diligence, I pursued

* Colonel Turbutt Francis owned the land on the river bank from Northumberland to above Milton. Captain William Gray married Agnes Rutherford, daughter of Thomas (of Paxtang), and became one of the first settlers in Buffalo Valley, Union County, in 1771. He owned and resided, until his death in 1815, on the farm owned by Major Paul Geddes; second farm above Lewisburg, along the river.

† Samuel Allen occurs upon the assessment list of Buffalo Township in 1775. He probably occupied Colonel Slifer's upper farm on the creek.

my preparations for the approaching fast. I wrote in Mr. Gray's barn; his house is hot and thronged. I shall finish one sermon to-day, and enter upon the other. I have been told that the memorable Mr. Whitefield studied the greater part of his sermons upon his knees. Noble man! I revere his abilities. Surely, he was raised above the level of common men. Had he been under the necessity of studying as many hours and with as close application as I, blood and body must have given way. Towards evening I took a pleasant turn upon the river. I wished to leave the boat and swim, but spectators forbid. I drew, with a fife I was playing, the ear of all the swains around. In particular a woman who was washing in the river, on the other side, gave remarkable attention. She seemed to listen with eagerness to the floating notes. Indeed, in so still an evening it is fine.

"*Saturday, July 8.*—Lovely weather for harvest. I apply myself close to study. On the fertile goodly lands of this majestic river, in a small smoky cabin, or under some shady tree, covered with loftiest timber, surrounded with the most luxuriant herbage, very, very charming. Towards evening, I visited a near neighbor who was reaping rye by far the largest I have ever seen. I will record what I am witness to this day: On a single acre, and so through the fields, eight and forty dozen large sheaves of rye.

"*Sunday, July 9.*—The people are building a big meeting-house, up the valley, four miles from the river [Buffalo X Roads.] There is here a numerous society, and it is a growing, promising place. We had a good number to-day. But I was put to my trumps. There is no house. I must preach among the trees. I mounted, therefore, upon a little bench before the people; but it is hard to speak in the air, entirely *sub-Jove*. The assembly was very attentive. I could not avoid smiling at the new appearance to see them peeping at me through the bushes. I am told there is at present, in Philadelphia, an independent number of men called 'The Silk Stocking Company.' I will also call this 'The Silk Gowned Congregation.' I saw here the greatest number and the greatest variety of silk gowns among the ladies that I have yet seen in my course. It is and shall be, therefore, 'The Silk Gowned Congregation.' An Irish gentleman on the other

side of the water, Mr. Plunkett,* kindly invited me to his house while I stay. Mr. Vandyke,† also, from Abington, near Philadelphia, and many others. But on account of the approaching fast, I chose to return to Mr. Gray's. Towards evening I took a solitary walk along the banks of the river. Much my heart teases me about home. This is a happier place. It is silent and peaceful; these sylvan shades do improve contemplation. Every cot is filled with plenty, and simplicity with frugality and kindness. Here I am, so far as I can see, in the very spot allotted to me to labor according to the course of my education; let me, then, be wholly content.

Monday, July 10.—I confine myself close to study. I sit, now, in a small joiner shop near the house and study, amid saws, and planes, and chisels. Before the door of this shop is a rich meadow; in this meadow a great quantity of walnut. The birds are very musical among these trees. Often I break off and, bearing chorus with them, sing some favorite air. I was visited by a young gentleman, Mr. Linn,‡ of Path Valley. We spent two hours in conversation. Appeared to be a modest, sensible, and religious youth. Towards evening there was a most violent thundergust. I walked, just before sunset, up the bank of this water, to Mr. Robert Fruit's,§ half a mile.

"He was reaping. The corn and grass upon his farm are most luxuriant. A poor, unfortunate Dutch [German] woman, this morning, while she was reaping in the harvest field, was bitten by a snake. She lies now in great distress, swelled up into her back and shoulders. They call it a 'copperhead.' I have taken pleas-

* Dr. William Plunkett, who then resided on the other side of the river, a little above the mouth of Chillisquaue Creek, at his place called "Soldiers' Retreat."

† Henry Vandyke, who lived at the late John Rishel's, half a mile east of Buffalo X Roads. The spring went by the name of Vandyke's Spring. His descendants are numerous. Vandykes of Clinton and Centre; Kalamazoo, Michigan; Stephenson County, Illinois, etc.

‡ John Linn, father of the late James F. Linn, Esq., came up to Buffalo Valley in 1775, and settled on part of the tract his father purchased of Colonel Francis, on Buffalo Creek, where he died in 1809.

§ Robert Fruit lived on the Heinly place. He sold this place about 1812, and moved to Columbia County, Pa. Robert Fruit's descendants are prominent and wealthy people in Mercer County, Pa.

ure in rambling among the trees and bushes, but I fear the pleasure's gone.

"*Tuesday, July 11.*—Early I returned to Mr. Gray's, to my study. He reaps to-day. It seems, now, to be the hurry of harvest. Mr. Clark,* a gentleman in the neighborhood, gave me for the supply twenty shillings. He also demanded a receipt. I pored over my sermon in the little shop so closely to-day that I grew quite stupid, as they say, 'so through other,' that I laid it by and went among the reapers. There is one thing here a little remarkable: These damp evenings the mosquitoes are thick and troublesome. But oh! the fleas. Some mornings, at some houses, I rise spotted and bepurpled, like a person in the measles. I had a long confabulation with Mr. Allen on church government. He is an experienced critic.

"*Wednesday, July 12.*—A violent thundergust last night. Soon after breakfast I left Mr. Gray's. Rode to Mr. Fruit's, and *must* breakfast again. Mr. Fruit very civilly gallanted me on my road. We forded the river, and rode up the bank on the north side. The country on both sides of this water very inviting and admirably fertile. Mr. Fruit left me, and I jogged along alone. A narrow bridle road, logs fallen across it, bushes spread over it, but I came at last to Captain Piper's,† at Warrior Run, twelve miles. The Captain was out reaping. Mrs. Piper received me very kindly. She is an amiable woman by character; she appears to be so by trial. At three after dinner the Captain came in. He stood at the door. 'I am,' said he, 'William Piper. Now, sir, in my turn, who are you?' 'My name

* Probably Walter Clark who lived then, 1775, on Colonel Slifer's place. See Dr. Egle's "Members of the Convention of 1776," (*Pennsylvania Magazine*, 1879.)

† Captain William Piper of Second Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment, commissioned July 20, 1763; served under Colonel Bouquet in the campaign of 1764, and received for his services three tracts of land—one of which contained 609 acres, "including the mouth of Delaware Run" (in Northumberland County), was surveyed May 23, 1769. To this tract he removed from his residence near Shippensburg soon afterwards, and made his home where the village of Dewart now stands. He had but one child, Peggy, mentioned in the Journal; she married James Irwin, of Mercersburg, Pa. The tract is patented to James Irwin, May 31, 1794, and Roan in his Journal (*Annals of Buffalo Valley*) speaks frequently of James Irwin stopping at Clingan's on his way up to see his lands on Warrior Run.

is Fithian, sir.' 'What is it?' 'Fithian, sir.' 'Oh,' says he, 'Fiffen.' 'No, it is Fithian.' 'What, Pithin? Damn the name, let me have it in black and white. But who are you? Are you a regular orderly preacher? We are often imposed upon and curse the man who imposes on us next.' 'I come, sir, by the appointment of Donegal Presbytery from an order of Synod.' 'Then God bless you, you are welcome to Warrior Run—You are welcome to my house. But can you reap?' He was full 'half seas over.' He spoke to his wife: 'Come, Sally, be kind and make a bowl of toddy.' Poor, unhappy, hard-conditioned, patient woman! Like us neglected and forsaken 'Sons of Levi,' you should fix on a state of happiness beyond this world. I was in the evening introduced to Captain Hayes,* a gentleman of civility and seriousness. He begged me to preach a week-day lecture before I leave the neighborhood. At Mr. Hayes' I saw a large gourd; it held nine gallons. I saw in the bottom near the bank of the river a sycamore or buttonwood tree, which measured, eighteen inches from the ground, fifteen feet in circumference.

"*Thursday, July 13.*—'There is not one in this society but my little wain,' said the Captain to me quite full of whiskey, 'not one

*Lieutenant James Hays, First Pennsylvania Battalion, commissioned November 29, 1763, (*Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Vol. II., page 612.) His location, 334 acres, was surveyed immediately above Captian Piper's on the river. Subsequent to the Revolution he removed to his tract at the mouth of Beech Creek, in Clinton County, where the house he originally built and occupied by him is still standing on the north side of Bald Eagle Creek, opposite Beech Creek Station of the Lock Haven and Tyrone Railroad. From the windows of the cars can be seen the Hays Cemetery, originally a private burying ground on the place. His tombstone bears the following inscription: "James Hays, born February 29, 1740, died February 14, 1817; his wife Sarah, born February 15, 1745, died May 5, 1823." They have many well-known descendants in Clinton County.

Concerning the first land owners in this part of the valley, A. J. Guffey, the well-known surveyor of Watson town says:

1. Colonel Turbutt Francis' application, No. 6, was for 2,775 acres. His tract extended from about one mile below Milton to about one mile above the present borough, including the site upon which it stands.

2. Ensign Stein, 246 acres, included the mouth of Muddy Run.

3. Captain Samuel Hunter included the mouth of Warrior Run.

4. Captain Housegger, 609 acres, included the site of Watson town.

5. Lieutenant Hunsicker, 334 acres, extended to near the mouth of Delaware Run.

6. Captain William Piper, 609 acres, and Lieutenant Hays, came next in order.

of them all but my little wain that can tell you what is effectual calling.' Indeed, his 'wain' is a lovely girl. She is an only child just now ten years old. She seems to be remarkably intelligent, reads very clear, attends well to the quantity of words, has a sweet, nervous quo-he accent. Indeed, I have not lately been so highly pleased as with this rosy-cheeked Miss Peggy Piper. Mrs. Piper keeps a clean house; well-fixed beds. Here I have not seen a bug or a flea.

"*Friday, July 14.*—Last evening after sunset I walked with Mrs. Piper to four neighbors' houses, all within a half a mile. She was looking for harvest hands, while her ill-conditioned husband was asleep perspiring off the fumes of whiskey. It is now seven o'clock. There are two reapers. Miss Piper is out carrying drink to the reapers. Her father is yet asleep. Tim is about the house as a kind of waiting man. There is also a close-set young Irish widow who, on her passage, lost her husband and two children at sea. She came in Captain McCulloch's ship with six hundred passengers, of which one hundred and five died at sea, and many more on landing. Mrs. Piper is taken this morning after breakfast with a violent fever and palpitation of the heart, which continues very threatening. The young Irish widow is lame with a cold in her shoulder and has this morning scalded her hand most sorely. Dear Peggy went out early and is overheated, so that she is laid up with the headache. The Captain himself is *ut semper* full of whiskey. A house full of impotence. We are relieved, however, by a young woman of the neighborhood. Dr. Sprigg, a gentleman in the practice who is settling in this neighborhood, by accident came in, and made some application of some medicine to Mrs. Piper. Towards evening I took a ramble with Peggy to find and bring in the cows. She showed me their sugar tree bottom, out of which Mrs. Piper says she makes plenty of sugar for her family use. I am charmed with each calm evening. The people here are all cordial and inveterate enemies of the Yankees, who are settling about in this province on the land in dispute between Connecticut* and Pennsylvania. It is said they are in-

*The forty-first parallel of latitude to which the Susquehanna Company at Hartford, Conn., claimed, runs seven or eight miles south of the neighborhood known as the "Paradise Country," from its proverbial beauty and fertility—where Mr. Fithian

tending to come down into this neighborhood and fix down upon the unsettled land, which exasperates the people generally.

"*Saturday, July 15.*—I had my horse belled to-day and put in a proper lawn. I would rather call it a park. He wears the bell, contrary to my expectation, with perfect resignation. To-day Mrs. Piper is better, and walks the house. There came ten reapers before breakfast; the Captain was in bed, *supinus stertiens*. It was something remarkable—after he awaked he would drink no more, and before evening was perfectly sober. I am told he is always sober and devout on Sabbath. There came on a great rain before ten, and reaping was done. I took a walk after the rain on the bank of the river. My wonder ceases that the Indians fought for this happy valley.

"*Sunday, July 16.*—Warrior Run.*—This meeting-house is on the bank of the river, eighteen miles from Northumberland. It is not yet covered; a large assembly gathered. I preached from a wagon, the only one present. The people sat upon a rising ground before me. It looked odd to see the people sitting among the bushes. All were attentive, and there were many present. I spoke the loudest and with more ease than I have ever done any day before. After service I rode down to Mr. Fruit's and spent the evening reading and examining Mr. Lusk's piece against the Seceders.

"*Monday, July 17.*—After breakfast and prayer I took my leave, crossed over the river and rode down to town. The day was bright and very hot. The inhabitants yet busy with their harvest.

"Northumberland.—In town by eleven, much fatigued. I spoke with Mr. Barker. He was busy, but soon came in, and we spent

was sojourning. As early as 1772, the company had advanced its pickets to the border "to hold possession." In deeds of that year a special covenant was commonly inserted "against the claim of the inhabitants of New England."

* John L. Watson, Esq., whose father owned the site, says that the old church of Warrior Run stood at the lower end of Watstown, where the old grave-yard is still partly visible within the limits of Mr. Ario Pardee's large lumber manufacturing works. It was probably burned by the Indians at the time of the Big Runaway. When peace was restored the congregation erected a new church some three miles up Warrior Run, thinking the location more secure and convenient, where the church of to-day stands.

an hour very pleasantly. I walked down to Mr. Martin's* to see the newspapers. Dr. Plunkett† and three other gentlemen were in the next room. Mr. Carmichael's‡ sermon, preached lately before the Carlisle company, was in contemplation. 'Damn the sermons, Smith's, and all,' said one of them. 'Gunpowder and lead shall form text and sermon both.' The Doctor, however, gave him a severe reproof. The Honorable Conference is yet sitting, and have published to the world reasons for our taking up arms. By a letter lately from Princeton to a gentleman here, I am told that James Armstrong and John Witherspoon§ have gone to Boston with General Washington. I am told that Mr. Smith,|| our tutor, was lately married to Miss Ann Witherspoon. Probably in this conflict I may be called to the field, and such a connection would make me less willing to answer so responsible a call. I will not therefore marry until our American glory be fixed on a permanent foundation, or is taken entirely from us.¶ An alarming report; eight horse loads of powder went up the country this day, carried by a number of Indians. It is shrewdly guessed they have in view some infernal stratagem.

"*Tuesday, July 18.*—I rose by seven, studying at my sermon for the fast. There is a rupture in the other town (Sunbury); they have two men in prison who were seized on suspicion of selling what they call the Yankee rights of land. They are ap-

* Robert Martin kept the first tavern at Northumberland, having settled there prior to the purchase of 1768. Robert Martin was the grandfather of the late Lewis Martin, Esq., of Williamsport. Mrs. Grant was a daughter of Robert Martin.

† Dr. William Plunkett was the first presiding justice of Northumberland County.

‡ Rev. John Carmichael, graduate of Princeton College, 1759, afterwards pastor of the Presbyterian Church at the "Forks of the Brandywine." He was an earnest, uncompromising friend of American liberty. (See *Futhey and Cope's History of Chester County*, page 493.) The sermon alluded to was preached to Captain William Hendricks' company which left Carlisle for Boston a week previous.

§ James Armstrong and John Witherspoon graduated at Princeton in 1773, in the class succeeding that of Fithian, 1772. Armstrong died in 1816. Witherspoon in 1795.

|| Samuel Stanhope Smith, afterward President of Hampden and Sidney College, Virginia, died in 1819.

¶ Mr. Fithian changed his mind. He married Miss Betsy Beatty, October 25, 1775, and died while serving as a chaplain in the army on New York Island, October 8, 1776.

prehensive of a mob who may rise to release them, and keep every night a strict guard. Mr. Scull,* who is captain for this town, goes with a party for a guard from hence to-night. I am invited to a party this afternoon. South of this town the bank of the river is a high stony precipice, three hundred and fifty feet at least, and almost perpendicular. There is a way, by going a small distance up the river, of ascending to the top, which is level and covered with shrubby pines. Here I am invited by a number of ladies to gather huckleberries. The call of women is invincible and I must gallant them over the river. Perhaps my Eliza is in the same exercise in the back-parts of Deerfield (Cumberland County, N. J.) We dined and walked down to Mr. Martin's on the Westway street.† Ladies: Mrs. Boyd, a matron, Mrs. Martin, Mrs. McCartney, Miss Carothers, Miss Martin, Miss Lusk, and a strange young woman, Miss Manning, and myself. Horrible, fearful! It is so high and so steep.‡ Look at yon man in his small canoe; how diminutive he seems groveling down there, paddling a tottering boat! The water itself looks to be very remote, just as I have often seen the sky in a still, clear brook.

“*Wednesday, July 19.*—Mr. Barker called on me this morning to walk. We strolled up the North Branch of the river two miles. Good land but less cultivated. I cannot but much esteem this young gentleman. He is not forward in conversation, not by any means dull, makes many just and pleasant remarks on the state of America. Two wagons, with goods, cattle, women, tools, &c., went through the town to-day from East Jersey, on their way to Fishing Creek, up the river, where they are to settle. Rapid, most rapid, is the growth of this country.

* William Scull, sheriff of Northumberland County, October, 1775.

† In a plot of the town which Mr. Fithian makes in his Journal, he represents a row of houses along the North Branch and a row along West Branch—none in the centre. By Westway street he meant the one running from the Point up the West Branch. Of the ladies belonging to the huckleberry party: Mrs. Sarah Boyd, the matron, was the mother of Lieutenant William Boyd, killed at Brandywine, September 11, 1777, of Lieutenant Thomas Boyd, killed by the Indians, September 12, 1779, in Sullivan's campaign, and of Captain John Boyd, so many years justice of the peace at Northumberland. Miss Carothers was a sister of Lieutenant John Carothers, Twelfth Pennsylvania, killed at Germantown, October 10, 1777.

‡ Mr. Fithian was looking from the summit of Blue Hill. The view from this elevation is very fine.

FORT AUGUSTA.

"At the invitation of Mr. Scull and Mr. Barker I went, after dinner, over the river to Captain Hunter's.* I was formally introduced by these gentlemen to him. He talks but little, yet with great authority. I felt little in his presence from a consciousness of inferiority. We drank with him one bowl of toddy and passed on to

SUNBURY.

"The town lies near a half mile below the fort, on the north side of the main branch. It may contain an hundred houses. All the buildings are of logs but Mr. Maclay's,† which is of stone and large and elegant. The ground is low and level, and on the back part moorish. Northumberland at the point has a good appearance from this town. The inhabitants were mustering arms—blood and death, how these go in a file! As we were returning in our slim canoes, I could not help thinking with myself how the savage tribes, while they were in possession of these enchanting wilds, have floated over this very spot. My heart feels for the wandering natives. I make no doubt but multitudes of them, when they were forced away, left these long-possessed and delightful banks with swimming eyes. Evening, between 9 and 10, came into Mr. McCartney's, Dr. Allison, Dr. Kearsley,‡ Mr. Barker and Mr. Freeman. 'I am the very man, and no other,' said Dr. Allison,§ 'who was appointed to carry on the building of our meeting-house here, and I am for having it done with brick. Let us at once make a convenient place for worship, and an ornament to the town.'

* Captain Samuel Hunter, County Lieutenant of Northumberland County during the Revolution, and member of the Council of Censors, 1783, died on the site of Fort Augusta, which he owned, April 10, 1784, aged 52. He was a native of Donegal, Ireland, and was commissioned captain November 10, 1763, serving in the Bouquet campaign of 1764.

† Hon. William Maclay's house is still standing, owned by Senator Wolverton. See page 397 of this work.

‡ Dr. Jonathan Kearsley emigrated from Dublin, Ireland, to Shippensburg; was afterwards Deputy Surveyor of Cumberland and Franklin. Died April 8, 1796.

§ Dr. Francis Allison, Surgeon of Colonel Cooke's Twelfth Pennsylvania. Appointed October 14, 1776.

THE SOLEMN CONTINENTAL FAST.

"*Thursday, July 20.*—I rose by six; the town quiet; all seems dull and mournful; stores shut and all business laid aside. By ten many were in town from the country. Half after eleven we began. I preached in Mr. Chatham's house, in the North-way street. It is a new house, just covered, without partitions. It was thronged. Many were in the chamber; many in the cellar; many were without the house. There were two Jews present—Mrs. Levy* and her nephew. I spoke in great fear and dread. I was never before so nice an audience; I never spoke on so solemn a day. In spite of all my fortitude and practice, when I began my lips quivered; my flesh shrank; my hair rose up; my knees trembled. I was wholly confused until I had almost closed my sermon. Perhaps this feeling was caused by entirely fasting, as I had taken nothing. I was to-day, by Mr. Barker, introduced to Mr. Chambers,† a young gentleman of Sunbury—a lawyer. He appears to be serious, civil, and sociable. I was also introduced to Mr. James Hunter, of Philadelphia. In the afternoon service felt much better, but was under the necessity of reading both sermons. Several in the neighborhood gave me warm invitations to call and see them, but I must now away up this long river, sixty miles higher, among quarrelsome Yankees, insidious Indians, and, at best, lonely wilds. Mrs. Boyd, an aged, motherly, religious, chatty neighbor, Mr. Barker's landlady, drank coffee with us; Miss Nellie Carothers, also, and several strangers. Evening, two villains—runaways and thieves—were bro't into town and committed to prison. One of them took my coat the other day. Justice, do thy office!

*Wife of Aaron Levy, a great land speculator, who laid out the town of Aaronsburg, Centre County.

†Stephen Chambers, Esq., who went out in Colonel Cooke's Twelfth Pennsylvania regiment as First Lieutenant, and was promoted Captain. He was one of the Council of Censors, 1783, delegate to the Federal Convention, December 12, 1787, and was wounded in a duel with Dr. Jacob Rieger, Monday, May 11, 1789, and died on Saturday, 16, at Lancaster. The records show that Stephen Chambers was the first Worshipful Master of Lodge No. 22, A. Y. M., at Northumberland, December 27, 1779. On that day he produced and presented to the lodge, at his own proper cost and charges, the warrant for the lodge, and was then re-elected Master. His sister was the wife of Judge John Joseph Henry.

Friday, July 21.—The weather these two days is extraordinary, so that I have slept under a sheet, blankets, coarse rug, and in my own clothes, and I am to-day wishing for a thicker coat than this sieve-like crape. I dined with Dr. Allison and Mr. Barker, at Mr. Scull's. Oh! we have had a most agreeable afternoon. It has been an entertainment worthy of royalty. If this pompous declaration is thought strange and a secret, too, I will explain its meaning. I have been in the company of gentlemen where there is no reserve. Books and literary improvement were the subjects. Every sentence was a sentiment. Mr. Chambers and Sheriff Cooke joined us. The gloomy, heavy thoughts of war were awhile suspended.

Saturday, July 22.—I slept but little last night; a sick Irish girl in the next room, by her continual moaning, kept me awake. Indeed, the poor Irish maid was extremely ill. I am to take my leave of acquaintances and soon leave this town. It is probable I shall never see it again. I wish, however, it may thrive and prosper in all its interests. I left the town and took a long, narrow bridle road to Mr. James Morrow's [Murray's] at Chillisquaque. He lives on the creek, five miles from the mouth. I was more bewildered in finding this road—which for more than six miles, at least, was nothing more than a dull, brush-covered hog-road, with a log across it almost every rod—than I have been before. I received of Mr. Gibson for my Fast-day supply, 7s. 6d. He lives in a small log hamlet; is, himself, a man of business. He was in the last war, and is very garrulous, and, indeed, intelligent, on military subjects. On the bank of this creek I walked among the white walnuts, ash, buttonwood, birch, hazels, &c., rambling along. At last I stopped, stripped off my stockings, and waded up and down. One thing here I don't like. In almost all these rural cots I am under the necessity of sleeping in the same room with all the family. It seems indelicate, at least, for men to strip surrounded by different ages and sexes, and rise in the morning, in the blaze of day, with the eyes of at least one blushing Irish female searching out subjects for remark.

CHILLISQUAQUE.

Sunday, July 23.—We have a still, dark, rainy morning. The people met at Mr. Morrow's [Murray.] His little house was filled.

Many came from a funeral, in all probably sixty. Three days ago, when one of the neighbors was carting in his rye, his young and only child, not yet four years old, drew into its mouth one of the beards. It stopped in his throat, fixed, and soon inflamed, and yesterday, in spite of all help, about noon he died.

Monday, July 24.—One of the elders gave me for yesterday's supply 15s. 3d. Yesterday and this morning we breakfasted on tea. It is boiled in a common dinner pot of ten or fifteen gallons, and poured out in tin cups. We have with it boiled potatoes and huckleberry pie, all in love, peace, and great welcome. My horse, however, now feeds upon the fat of the earth. He is in a large field of fine grass, generally timothy, high as his head. He has not fared so well since we left Mr. Gray's on the Juniata. Mrs. Morrow wears three golden rings, two on her second finger of the left hand and one on the middle finger of the right. They are all plain. Her daughter Jenny, or as they call her, Jency, wears only two. Jency is a name most common here. Mr. Fruit, Mr. Allen of Buffalo, Mr. Hayes of Warrior Run, and the women here all have daughters whom they call Jency. Salt here is a great price, the best selling at 10s., and 10s. 6d., and the lowest 8s. Half after nine I left Mr. Morrow's and rode to Mr. McCandlish's* on the river. Here I fed my horse with a sheaf of wheat. Thence to Freland's mill, thence over Muncy's hills and Muncy's beautiful creek to Mr. Crownover's† on the bank of the river. This gentleman came from Stonybrook, near Princeton in Jersey, and is intimately acquainted with many there. He has here a large and most excellent farm, is yet busy with his harvest, seems to be a moderate, pleasant person, and which I shall always after this voyage admire, he has a clever, neat woman for his wife. Opposite to this farm is a very high hill on the opposite side of the river under which the river runs without any level country.

Tuesday, July 25.—I slept soundly and fine without being disturbed by either a bug or a flea. And the house is as poor and as much surrounded with woods and brush as other houses,

*George McCandlish kept a tavern on the site of the town of Milton.

†On Loyalsock Creek, site of present town of Montoursville. Albert Crownover, or Covenhoven ordinarily written, father of Robert Covenhoven, lived at Loyalsock Creek.

where, through entire carelessness, I am surrounded by numberless numbers of these insects. A very foggy morning, I drenched myself with a most stinging bitter, and left Mr. Crownover's by eight, expenses 3s. 8d. I rode up the river, course west and to the southward of west, over several fine creeks and rich lands to Lacomine [Lycoming] creek, all the way a good wagon-beaten road. Here the Pennsylvania 'New Purchase' ends and the 'Indian land' begins. On I rode, however, on a worn path, over the enemy's country, with much reverence, and am now at one Ferguson's,* on the very bank of the river, and am now scribbling this while my horse, who is now my only agreeable companion, eats a sheaf of wheat. Since I left Muncy there is on the other side of the river, and to the very edge, a high ridge of hills, which makes that side uninhabitable. I rode on to Pine Creek, on both sides of which is a large, long clearing, said to be anciently Indian towns, clear, level, and unbroken, without even a stump or hillock, only high, thick grass. On this common I saw many cattle and droves of horses, all very fat, wantonly grazing. In passing over this creek I met an Indian trader with his retinue. Himself first on horseback, armed with a bright rifle and apparatus, then a horse with packs, last his men with luggage. Meeting these in the dark part of a lonely road startled me at first. On I rode over a part of the river onto the Great Island, and thence over the other branch to Esquire Fleming's.† He was out, but his daughter, Miss Betsey, was at home. She was milking. She is chatable, and I was soon entered upon useful business.

"*Wednesday, July 26.*—A most excellent spot of clear, level land, sixty-five miles computed, I call it seventy miles from Sunbury. It is a spot of land which once was an Indian town. There is more than a hundred acres that has been long cleared, so

* Thomas Ferguson, one of the original Fair Play men.

† John Fleming, Esq., lived then on the site of the city of Lock Haven, his house standing close to the south abutment of the dam in the river. He owned what is known as the Dr. Francis Allison survey, containing 1,620 acres, on which the city is principally located. John Fleming died in 1777, and his daughter "Betsey" married John McCormick, and has numerous descendants. Mrs. Helen Mayer (wife of Hon. Charles A. Mayer, President Judge of the XXVth Judicial District, composed of Clinton, Cameron and Elk counties,) is a granddaughter of the Betsey of whom Mr. Fithian speaks so kindly.

long that every stump is washed all away. The natural situation of this estate of the 'Squire's is much similar to the spot on which Northumberland is building. On two accounts it is different. This is a most fertile soil, that is sandy and in parts piney. The rivers here make an acute angle, there they widen at once to a right one. It is something remarkable that they have not finished taking down their harvest, and many have their grass yet in the field. I saw to-day two Indians, young fellows about eighteen. They had neat, clean rifles, and are going downward with their skins. At any rate, I cannot bring myself to a pleasant feeling when I look upon, or even think of these heathenish savages. The 'Squire's house stands on the bank of the Susquehanna two miles above the mouth of the Bald Eagle Creek. He tells me it stands nearly in the centre of his land, and he owns all between these rivers this far up.

"Indeed, he will be able to settle all his sons and his fair daughter Betsey on the fat of the earth. He took me to-day a long and wearisome round down the Susquehanna and to the other side up the Bald Eagle many miles. I gathered in my hand a garland of wild flowers; when I got home I counted thirty different distinct kinds, and most of them beautiful and many fragrant. Mr. Fleming tells me this settlement is yet small, but few families, yet he thinks it growing fast, and will soon form a society. We dined near the point with a brother of the 'Squire's. He lives well and is busy reaping. He has two fair daughters, one of them reaping. I did nothing to-day but ramble and stroll about.

"*Thursday, July 27.*—A very rainy morning. I slept until seven. I kept house until after dinner and reviewed the 'Squire's library. After some perusal I fixed on the Farmer's memorable letters.* We have this morning a great and general fog. There is, along the whole course of this river, but chiefly between these branches, the main river, and the Bald Eagle Creek, every morning great fogs. These seldom go off until the sun has been up two hours. Another inconvenience is the want of cool water.

*"Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer," published in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* in 1767, written by John Dickinson, which had such a wonderful effect in forming and controlling the opinions of the people in opposition to the acts of the British ministry.

All the water they drink in summer is brought from springs on the other side of the river. The land between these rivers is flat, unbroken, mellow ground, almost without a stone; but along the south side of Bald Eagle Creek and on the north side of the main river is a high ridge of mountains, and they, as I am inclined to think, occasion the fogs. It is certain they contain the fountains of these fine springs. Esquire Fleming has 1,640 acres with the allowance, and all rich and all level. Timber for fencing is scarce; these level bottoms abound most in walnut, ash, and locust. The 'Squire tells me that I am the first 'orderly' preacher, or that has come by appointment, ever to this settlement. Mr. Page, a church clergyman, was here all last month. Mr. Hoge, of Virginia, was once here to view some land, but none ever by appointment of synod or presbytery. Miss Jennie Reed,* a rural lass, lives up the river about half a mile. I will venture to call her a nymph of the waters.

“Saturday, July 29.—I drank coffee last evening at Mr. Reed's. They appear to be a sociable, kind, neat family. Indeed I have not seen domestic affairs adjusted, making allowance for the earth-floored hamlet, anywhere in the Purchase more to my mind. They treated me with a clean dish of fine huckleberries, and with a dish of well-made clean coffee. Before dark I was summoned home to see Mr. Gillespie, who is arrived from Northumberland. Dined with Mr. Waggoner, of Philadelphia; he is going up higher with a surveyor. I had a long walk and entertaining chat with him. He seems to be a young gentleman of ease and pleasantry. Five o'clock afternoon, with Miss Betsey Fleming, Miss Jennie Reed, and Mr. Gillespie, I crossed over the river in a canoe, and went up a very high, steep mountain to gather huckleberries. On the top of this hill we found them in the greatest of plenty; low bushes bending to the ground with their own weight. On our return we had rare diversion. The water is in all parts shallow. Gillespie, the helmsman, he overturned the canoe. I discovered my little water nymph was more fearful in the water and less dexterous in it than I was. Miss Fleming stood, the beautiful current gliding gently by, and squalled and begged like a dis-

* Daughter of William Reed, whose house was known as Reed's Fort during the Indian troubles. Jenny lived to an extreme old age and died unmarried.

tressed female. The water was waist-high, our canoe filled with water. I stood almost spent with laughter, though in a worse case than they. Many were standing on the shore. We lost all our fruit, and with the empty cups the girls drenched and bespattered Gillespie till the poor Irishman, impotent of help, was entirely wetted, and we then waded dripping to the shore.

BALD EAGLE CONGREGATION.

"*Sunday, July 30.*—I rose early and walked, with a Bible and my sermon, down the bank of the river. The morning is cool and very clear. At eleven I began service. We crossed over to the Indian land,* and held worship on the bank of the river opposite the Great Island about a mile and a half below 'Squire Fleming's. There were present about one hundred and forty. I stood at the root of a great tree, the people sitting in the bushes and green grass around me. They gave good attention. I had the eyes of all upon me. I spoke with some force and pretty loud. I recommended to them earnestly the religious observance of God's Sabbath in this remote place, where they seldom have the Gospel preached; that they should attend with carefulness and reverence upon it.

"*Monday, July 31.*—A fine, clear, cool morning. I have company to the end of this day's ride. Mr. Gillespie is going up Bald Eagle Creek as far as the Nest. Farewell, Susquehanna. Farewell, these level farms. Farewell, good, sensible 'Squire Fleming. Farewell, Betsey and Jennie. Now I am bending towards home, having arrived at the full end of my appointment. The 'Squire paid me for my supply £1. At seven we took our leave. We rode through a wild wilderness up Bald Eagle Creek twenty miles without the sight of a single house. We saw many Indian camps—small crotched sticks covered with thick bark. Some of these were lately left. On the bank of a brook, which ran into the creek, we came to a fire. Some Indians or others had encamped there last night. Near the fire over the very road hung half a deer; the two hind quarters of which were yet warm. Mr. Gillespie alighted and wrapped them with some green bushes

*That part of Clinton County north of the river was not purchased from the Indians until October 23, 1784.

in his surtout. I was fearful that it belonged to some Indians, who were lying in ambush to shoot us when we disturbed their property. We rode with our venison a little further. Whoop! Whoop! cry two Indians. I was very much terrified. They were lying in tents; we must ride up to them. Brother! and brother! passed between them and Mr. Gillespie. They were very kind. We left them and rode through the brush to

BALD EAGLE'S NEST.*

“Mr. Andrew Boggs lives here, twenty-five miles from Esq. Fleming's. We dined on fish—suckers and chubs—and on venison. It is a level, rich, pleasant spot, the broad creek running by the door. Many of the trees on this road are cut by the Indians in strange figures—diamonds, death-heads, crowned heads, initial letters, whole names, dates of years, and blazes. Soon after we had dined two Indian boys bolted in (they never knock or speak at the door) with seven large fish—one would weigh two pounds. In return Mrs. Boggs gave them bread and a piece of our venison. Down they sat in the ashes before the fire, stirred up the coals, and laid on their flesh. When it was roasted they eat in great mouthfuls and devoured it with the greatest rapacity. When they were gone Gillespie threw himself on a blanket and is now asleep. I sat me down upon a three-legged stool to writing. This house looks and smells like a shambles—raw flesh and blood, fish and deer in every part—mangled, wasting flesh on every shelf. Hounds licking up the blood from the floor; an open-hearted landlady, naked Indians and children. Ten hundred thousand flies. Oh, I fear there are as many fleas. Seize me soon, kind sleep, lock me in thy sweet embrace. Oh, so soon as I lay me down let me rest in thy bosom and lose my senses! Stop! oh, stop! sleep to-night is gone. Four Indians came droving in, each with a large knife and tomahawk. Bless me, too, they are strapping fellows. I am sick of my station. All standing dumb before us, Gillespie chatters to them. I am glad to keep bent at my writing.

* Site of Milesburg, Centre County. Andrew Boggs, the first settler within the bounds of Centre County, with his wife, Margery Boggs, nee Harris, came to the Nest in 1769. Parents of Robert Boggs, one of the first associate judges of the county—1800. Andrew Boggs died in 1776, and his wife in 1809.

For all this settlement I would not live here—for two such settlements—not for five hundred a year.

"Tuesday, August 1.—At prayers this morning we had these Indians. They sat motionless during the exercise. One irreverent hunter, too, a white man, lay all the time of prayers on a deer skin on the floor. We had a room full of one and another, all were quiet. Mr. Boggs tells me he knows of no families westward of these and but one higher up the creek.* Some of the Indians here have the outside rim of their ears slitted and it hangs dangling strangely. Some have rings and others drops of silver in their noses and ears; ruffled shirts, but many of these very greasy. On the trees near their camps are painted with red and black colors many wild and ferocious animals in their most furious gestures. It is only eight miles distance to the foot of the Allegheny, but it rises gradually and long. In this neighborhood (if I may be allowed to call it so) is a large quantity of spruce pine; the bark is black and fine; it is a straight, tall tree; the leaves are thinner, longer and of a deeper green than other pine. It makes an excellent ingredient in table beer. After ten I took my leave, crossed a gap of Muncy Ridge † and rode eighteen miles through wild barren woods without any trace of an habitation or road other than the blind, unfrequented path which I tracked at times with much difficulty. Two or three forsaken Indian camps I saw on the creek's bank, and a little before sunset I arrived at Captain James Potter's ‡ at the head of Penn's Valley. This ride I found very uncomfortable, my horse lame, with but one shoe, a stony road. I lost my way in the gap of the mountains, but was easily righted. More than ten miles of the way I must go, and my poor horse without water. I let him feed, however, in the woods where there is plenty of good, wild grass. I fed myself, too, on huckleberries. In these woods are very beautiful flowers and in a

* This was Thomas Parsons, who lived on the creek seven miles above the "Nest," near where the line between Huston and Union townships crosses the creek.

† Gap in Muncy Mountain, between Milesburg and Bellefonte.

‡ Mr. Fithian's route was across Nittany Valley and over Nittany Mountain by what is now known as McBride's Gap, where he lost his way, then down Penn's Valley to Captain (afterwards General) James Potter's, who lived then near the present "Old Fort" tavern, in Potter Township, Centre County. By the present direct road the distance would be about twelve miles.

great quantity, especially large orange-colored lily, spotted with black spots. I saw here the first aloe; it grows on a small bush like the hazel, ripens in the winter, and is now like a heart cherry. In these woods are great plenty of wild cherries, growing on low spray bushes, which are just now ripening.

“Wednesday, August 2.—How pleasant is rest to the wearied body! How balmy is peace to an agitated mind! In the gracious bosom of both of these I retired when I laid myself down in bed last night. An elegant supper; a neat home—all expressions of welcome. Not a flea; not a chinch, as I know of, within eighteen miles, so that this morning, by God’s mercy, I rise in part recruited from the ruins of many days’ distress. Captain Potter* took me walking over his farm. He owns here many thousand acres of fine land. Some, indeed, I saw in most fertile walnut bottom. One great inconvenience, however, attends this place—the want of water. Some few springs there are of good water and in plenty, but there ought to be many never-failing brooks. Oats and flax here are not yet ripe, and it is now the greatest hurry in getting in the wheat and rye. Afternoon I rode down the valley five miles to a smith; † he would not charge me anything for shoeing my horse. The people seem to be kind and extremely civil. Indians are here, too. It was evening before the Captain and I returned. We must pass by their camp. Ten sturdy and able-limbed fellows were sitting and lying around a large fire, helling, and in frantic screams, not less fearful than inebriated demons, howling until we were out of hearing.

“Thursday, August 3.—I miss here the shady, pleasant banks of the Susquehanna. It is forty-two miles to Northumberland and Sunbury; eight miles to the nearest place where Penn’s Creek is navigable with canoes; almost surrounded with hills and mountains; on a few, and some of these few, temporary springs. The low bottoms now have scarce water sufficient to moisten a hog,

* General James Potter, at his death, November 27, 1789, owned 6,000 acres of land in the heart of Penn’s Valley. The road from Spring Mills to Boalsburg ran seven miles, without an intervening owner, through one portion of his possessions, all good farms still.

† Daniel Long, a blacksmith, then lived near Penn Hall, on the place now owned by S. J. Herring, Esq., where many cinders mark the site of Long’s shop.

which in winter are continually flooded. Captain Potter has tasted, in times past, some streams of the Pierian Spring. He has here a number of books—Justice Blackstone's celebrated Commentaries, Pope's writings, Hervey's Meditations, many theological tracts, &c. Over these I am rambling to-day with a very bad headache and oppression in my breast, the effects of a deep-rooted cold which I have taken some nights past when I was fighting with the fleas.

"Friday, August 4.—I am less pleased with the valley and my stay is more irksome, though I am as well and better treated, indeed, (more genteelly and from better ability) than in most of the places where I have been. Perhaps the weather makes me dull; it is now, and has been for some time past, cloudy; aguish or melancholy, or the want of company; not a house is there within three miles.

"Saturday, August 5.—Yet cloudy and dull. It is muster day; the Captain goes off early. I am not pleased with the Captain's plan of farming; he has too extensive a scope of business—four men-servants; two boys; more than two hundred acres of ground now cleared; much more cutting down; two plows going in a tough rye stubble, one pair of oxen in one, two horses in the other, both too weak. A large field of oats is ripe, some flax too ripe, and not yet pulled. But it is difficult to be nice in so rough a country."

From the hospitable residence of Captain Potter Mr. Fithian passed over the mountains into Kishacoquillas Valley, greatly admiring the beautiful scenery by the way. He stopped at the house of William Brown, who had settled on the site of Reedsville as early as 1760. His visit was a very pleasant one. He preached several times to the people, and enjoyed himself very much. From here he continued his journey and in due time reached his New Jersey home, much improved and edified by his tour through the new country.

CHAPTER XX.

FINAL DISPOSAL OF MUNCY MANOR TO SETTLERS—WHO THEY WERE
—THE FAIR PLAY SYSTEM AND HOW IT OPERATED—DECLARATION
OF INDEPENDENCE AT PINE CREEK IN 1776.

THE ejectment suits brought against Samuel Wallis by the Proprietaries to dispossess him of the lands lying within the limits of Muncy Manor, which he claimed under certain surveys, and which have been referred to heretofore, were evidently won by the Penns, because we are informed that on the 15th of May, 1776, they gave orders to have the Manor divided into farms or lots and sold. The original draft, a copy of which is printed on page 326 of this work, shows the lines as they were first run, and the draft on page 373 shows how the Wallis lines overlapped. Owing to the lawsuits of that day a number of drafts were made, which are still in existence, but the two referred to above will give the reader a correct idea of the situation.

The survey was made in accordance with the orders of the Proprietaries, and a copy of the report of the surveyors is given herewith, showing the size of the tracts and who had occupied and improved them. The report is as follows:

No. 1.—Containing three hundred acres and 139 perches and an allowance of six per cent., &c. Settled on and improved by Mordecai McKinney.

No. 2.—Containing two hundred and ninety-nine acres and a half and allowance, &c. Settled on and improved by Peter Smith and Paulus Sheep.

No. 3.—Containing three hundred acres and seventy-six perches and allowance as aforesaid. Settled on and improved by John Brady.

No. 4.—Containing three hundred acres and 61 perches and allowance, &c. Settled on and improved by Caleb Knapp.

No. 5.—Containing three hundred and one acres and 105 perches and allowance, &c. Settled on and improved by John Scudder, who is displeased with the manner in which it is laid out, alleging there is not timber sufficient on it for fencing, &c., and desires his lot may be laid out agreeably to the red lines, (which contains two hundred and fifty-four acres and 74 perches and allowance, &c.,) which would greatly lessen the value of the lot Brady possesses. The S 30 E line runs through of

Brady's improvement, and takes near all the rail timber from Brady's lot, that is on the south side of the Glade Run, so that upon the whole we judge it most convenient, and to the general advantage of the plantations that the black line should remain as the boundary between Brady and Scudder. We have therefore laid down Scudder's complaint that it may be judged of by his honor the Governor.

It is by no means convenient that any of the plantations should cross the creek, as the banks on the north side are high, and the creek in time of freshets flows so very considerable that it is thereby rendered impassable for several days. It is settled on and improved by Jerome Vanest and John Young, as described in the draft, &c.,—in Young's improvement thirty acres, and in Vanest's sixty-seven acres.

Signed,

JO. J. WALLIS,
JNO. HENDERSON.

To John Lukens, Esqr., Surveyor General.

Mordecai McKinney came from Middlesex County, New Jersey, in the spring of 1775. He served as a member of the Committee of Safety for six months from August 13, 1776. In 1778, or the subsequent year, he was appointed a justice of the peace for Northumberland County. At the time of the Big Runaway Mordecai McKinney and family fled to Harrisburg, where he remained the balance of his life. What disposition he made of his improvement on the Manor is unknown.

He had three sons: First, John, who became a major in the Continental army, and is said to have been living at Alexandria, Va., in 1803; Mordecai, Jr., became a merchant and lived at Middletown, Columbia and Newport. He was the father of Judge McKinney, of Harrisburg, author of McKinney's digest of the laws of Pennsylvania. His son, John C., was engaged upon the first geological survey of Pennsylvania, and afterwards served as geologist for the Iron Dale Company at Bloomsburg. He finally removed to Indianapolis.

Jacob, the third son of Mordecai, removed to the state of New York previous to 1810, and settled near Ovid.

Mordecai McKinney had brothers and quite an extensive relationship among the early settlers in the West Branch Valley. One of Rev. Asa Dunham's wives was a niece. John Buckalow*

*The facts relating to Mordecai McKinney and his son-in-law, John Buckalow, were furnished the compiler by Captain John M. Buckalew, of Fishing Creek, Columbia County, Pa., who is a descendant of the pioneer. Captain Buckalew has many of his old papers and leases in his possession, which he treasures highly as mementoes of his ancestor.

married a daughter of Mr. McKinney October 21, 1773, and removed with him to the vicinity of Muncy. He served as a member of the Committee of Safety six months from February 8, 1776.

John Buckalow leased a grist and saw mill from John Hinds, of Muncy Township, for four years, and carried on the business until compelled to stop by the savages. He was one of the party that assisted in carrying in Captain John Brady when he was killed by the Indians.

Soon after this he removed with his father-in-law, McKinney, to Harrisburg and from thence to Maryland, where, on September 11, 1779, he leased a grist mill of Jacob Giles on Rock Creek, Harford County, for two years. He ground grain for the Continental army per order of Congress, at a stipulated price per bushel, for which he never received payment, having at his death, in 1833, an account of several hundred pounds unsettled. About 1784 or 1785 he returned and settled on Chillisquaque Creek, a mile or two below the present village of Washingtonville. In 1796 he settled on Little Fishing Creek, below Eyer's Grove, where he built a grist mill, which he run until age rendered him unable to continue the business, when he sold his property and removed to Fishing Creek Township. He died there in 1833, aged nearly 91 years. He left two sons, from whom are descended all of the name residing in that region.

Catharine, another daughter of Mordecai McKinney, married Cornelius Low and moved to New York as early as 1810. She afterwards, with a daughter, settled at St. Louis.

Nancy married Nicholas Elder and lived at Middletown a long time. Her husband was a merchant.

Number three, which is also within the present borough of Muncy, is the tract on which Captain John Brady erected his stockade, afterwards known as "Brady's Fort," although it was not classed among the regular fortifications in the valley. His family were occupying it at the time he was shot by the Indians within half a mile of the fort. To-day (1889) Mrs. Dr. William Hayes owns the ground—a well cultivated field—on which Fort Brady* stood,

*The enclosure was protected by stockades, but its size is unknown. That there were at least two houses within the enclosure there seems to be no doubt. This is verified by the deposition of James Patton in the Robert Robb case.—*Linn's Annals*, page 128.

but there is nothing to indicate that the patriot and his family once dwelt there.

John Scudder, whose name and house appear on the draft, was born in New Jersey, January 29, 1738, and grew to manhood in that state. He was among the first settlers who found their way to Muncy Manor, and was to a certain extent identified with the troubles that followed during the wars. Under date of January 24, 1776, he was appointed first lieutenant in the Sixth Company of the Second Battalion of Northumberland County Associators, commanded by Samuel Wallis; on the 13th of March following he was transferred to the Second Company of the same battalion with the same rank, and commanded by Captain Wallis, who appears to have been transferred also.

John Scudder died February 12, 1786. His wife Susan, also a native of New Jersey, was born June 2, 1746, and died November 19, 1830, having lived to a ripe age. They had three children. William, the first, was born April 4, 1766, in New Jersey, and died April 19, 1825, at Muncy. Mary, whose name has passed into history as the first white female child born north of Muncy Hills, on the Manor, came into the world May 21, 1771, and died at the place of her birth April 14, 1850. Hannah, the second daughter and third child, was born February 1, 1776. She married a man named Bell, but the date of her death is unknown. Mary married Benjamin Shoemaker. They had nine children, viz.: John, Henry, Susannah, Sarah, William, Hannah, Benjamin, Mercy and Mary. Susannah married a Mr. Langdon, Hannah Mr. Steadman, Mercy a Mr. Flack. Mary was accidentally shot when a small child. Little is known of the others.

Peter Smith had a sorrowful experience later on, which will be adverted to at the proper time, but nothing has been learned of his birthplace or age. Nothing is known of Paulus Sheep and Caleb Knapp.

Much has been written about what is called the Fair Play system, which existed in that portion of the valley lying north of the river and west of Lycoming Creek to the Great Island. It had its origin in the fact that the district alluded to was not included in the purchase from the Indians at Fort Stanwix in 1768, and

was, therefore, outside the limits of the Proprietary Government. The Indians, through deception, made the whites believe that Lycoming Creek was the boundary noted in the treaty as Tia-daghton (Pine Creek), when, in reality, it was not. They afterwards admitted that what is known as Pine Creek was the true boundary line.

The lands embraced in this disputed territory were very inviting, and many adventurers ran the risk of losing their scalps by staking out tracts and "squatting" on them. It will also be remembered that the Proprietary Government issued a proclamation, upon complaint of the Indians, forbidding any one to locate on these lands, under pain of arrest and severe punishment. But the hardy pioneers totally ignored the proclamation, and it nowhere appears that any effort was made to enforce it.

These settlers, being classed as outlaws, were compelled to enter into some kind of an organization for their government and protection. This condition of affairs resulted in what was known as the Fair Play system. Tradition informs us that they adopted a regular code of laws for their government, but as it was not preserved, we are left in ignorance of its provisions. The courts of the Fair Play men were often held at a place near what is now known as Chatham's Mill, in Clinton County. But it is doubtful if they had any regular place of meeting, or stated time for the transaction of business. The time of meeting was brought about by the exigencies that might arise. The court could be convened at any place within the territory over which it exercised jurisdiction, and on short notice, to try any case that might be on hand.

It is related that when a squatter refused to abide by the decisions of the court, he was immediately placed in a canoe and rowed to the mouth of Lycoming Creek, the boundary line of civilization, and there sent adrift down the river.

One of the leading Fair Play men of that time was Bratton Caldwell, allusion to whom was made on page 404. On the breaking out of Indian hostilities he took his wife and fled to Lancaster County, where they remained until peace was restored, when they returned. On the 2d of May, 1785, he took out a pre-emption warrant, and had 315 acres of land surveyed on the tract where he first settled.

The Fair Play courts were composed of three commissioners, as they were termed, and after hearing a case and making a decision, there was no appeal. Bratton Caldwell* was one of the commissioners, and according to tradition he rendered good satisfaction.

In the examination of a batch of papers that once belonged to Hon. Charles Huston, at Bellefonte, John Blair Linn discovered a few facts relating to the Fair Play methods, which he published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Vol. VII., page 420. Some of the provisions of the code crop out in the depositions taken in several cases before the court. In the case of Greer versus Tharpe, William King, who came to live in the disputed territory in 1775, says that there was a law among the Fair Play men by which any man who absented himself for the space of six weeks lost his right to his improvement. Bratton Caldwell, in his testimony, says:

"In May, 1774, I was in company with William Greer and James Greer, and helped to build a cabin on William Greer's place (this was one mile north of the river and one-half mile west of Lycoming Creek). Greer went into the army in 1776, and was a wagon-master till the fall of 1778. He wrote to me to sell his cattle. I sold his cattle. In July, 1778, the Runaway, John Martin, had come on the land in his absence. The Fair Play men put Greer in possession. If a man went into the army, the Fair Play men protected his property. Greer was not among the Sherman's valley boys [the witness no doubt refers to the early settlers of what is now Perry County, who were forcibly removed in May, 1750]. Greer came back in 1784."

The summary process of ejectment employed by the Fair Play men is clearly described by William King in a deposition taken March 15, 1801, in *Huff vs. Latcha*, in the Circuit Court of Lycoming County:

"In 1775 I came on the land in question. I was informed that Joseph Haines claimed the land. He asked thirty pounds for it, which I would not give. He said he was going to New Jersey, and would leave it in the care of his nephew, Isaiah Sutton. Some

*For a sketch of Caldwell see Meginess' *Biographical Annals*, page 85.

time after I heard that Sutton was offering it for sale. I had heard much disputing about the Indian land, and thought I would go up to Sutton's neighbors and inquire if he had any right. I first went to Edmund Huff,* then to Thomas Kemplen,† Samuel Dougherty,‡ William McMeans, and Thomas Ferguson, and asked if they would accept me as a neighbor, and whether Isaiah Sutton had any right to the land in question. They told me Joseph Haines had once a right to it but had forfeited his right by the Fair Play law, and advised me to purchase. Huff showed me the consentable line between Haines and him. Huff's land lay above Haines', on the river. I purchased of Sutton, and was to give him nine pounds for the land.

"I did not come to live on the land for some weeks. One night, at a husking of corn, one Thomas Bond told me I was a fine fellow to be at a husking while a man was taking possession of my plantation. I quit the husking, and Bond and I came over to the place, and went into a cave, the only tenement then on the land, except where Sutton lived, and found some trifling articles in the cave, which we threw out. I went to the men who advised me to go on the land, all except Huff and Kemplen: they advised me to go on, turn him off and beat him if I was able. The next morning I got some of my friends and raised a cabin of some logs which I understood Haines and hauled. When we got it up to the square, we heard a noise of people coming. The first person I saw was Edmund Huff foremost with a keg of whiskey, William Paul was next with an axe, and many more. They got on the cabin, raised the Indian yell, and dispossessed me and put William Paul in possession. I and my party went off. Samuel Dougherty followed me and told me to come back and come on terms with Paul, who had money and would not take it from me for nothing. I would not go back, but waited for Dougherty, who went for

* Huff lived within the present limits of Newberry and was credited at one time with having a fort, which stood near the site of Dodge & Co.'s planing mill. His place became a receptacle for stolen goods, which so enraged the neighbors that they removed the women and children and burned the "fort" to the ground.

† Captain Thomas Kemplen and his son were killed by the Indians at the mouth of Muncy Creek, in March, 1781.

‡ Captain Samuel Dougherty fell in the attempt to relieve Fort Freeland, July 28, 1779.

Paul. The whole party came and brought the keg along. After some conversation, William Paul agreed to give me thirteen pounds for my right. He pulled out the money, gave it to Huff to keep until I would assign my right. I afterwards signed the conveyance and got my money.

"William Paul went on the land and finished his cabin. Soon after a party bought Robert Arthur and built a cabin near Paul's, in which Arthur lived. Paul applied to the Fair Play men, who decided in favor of Paul. Arthur would not go off. Paul made a complaint to the company at a muster at Quinashahague* that Arthur still lived on the land and would not go off, although the Fair Play men had decided against him. I was one of the officers at that time and we agreed to come and run him off. The most of the company came down as far as Edmund Huff's, who kept Stills. We got a keg of whiskey and proceeded to Arthur's cabin. He was at home with his rifle in his hand and his wife had a bayonet on a stick, and they threatened death to the first person who would enter the house. The door was shut, and Thomas Kemplen, our captain, made a run at the door, burst it open and instantly seized Arthur by the neck. We pulled down the cabin, threw it into the river, lashed two canoes together and put Arthur and his family and his goods into them and sent them down the river. William Paul then lived undisturbed upon the land until the Indians drove us all away. William Paul was then (1778) from home on a militia tour."

Amariah Sutton testified, July 5, 1800, that he came to the plantation on which he then resided in 1770. [He lived on the east bank of Lycoming Creek, on the border only of Indian land.] That Joseph Haines, who was his relative, came from New Jersey a few years after, and began to improve on the tract of land at the mouth of Lycoming Creek, on the Indian land side, making his home at his, Sutton's, house; that in the course of three years he returned to New Jersey and never came back. "We were all driven off by the Indians in May, 1778."

*Now Linden, in Woodward Township, a few miles west of Williamsport. Quenischaschaki was the name given by the Delawares to the long reach in the river above Williamsport. Hence they called the West Branch Quenischachgek-hanne, which word has been corrupted into Susquehanna.

John Sutton says: "I came to Lycoming Creek in 1772, went to the Indian land in 1773, and have lived there ever since, except during the Runaway. There was a law of the Fair Play men, that if any man left his improvement six weeks without leaving some person to continue his improvement, he lost the right to push his improvement. After the war I was one of the first to come back. I believe that William Tharpe and myself were the two first men who came to the Indian lands. I never understood that William Greer's claim extended as far as where Tharpe now lives [March 13, 1797, date of deposition]; the improvement made by William Greer was near the house in which Greer now lives. A man named Perkins lived on the land in dispute between William Greer and William Tharpe. In the winter of 1775-6, Thomas Kemplen bought out Perkins, and Kemplen sold to James Armstrong, commonly called 'Curly Armstrong.' I saw William King living in the cabin in which Tharpe now lives. I sold my place which adjoined William Tharpe's to John Clark. I came back after the war with the first that came in eighty-three. William Dougherty lived on Tharpe's land, after him Richard Sutton. Sutton lived in the cabin in '84 or '85. I am sure he lived there before Mr. Edmiston came up to survey."

Samuel Edmiston was the deputy surveyor of district No. 17, embracing the Indian land. He made the survey of the William Greer tract, 302 acres, 148 perches, December 4, 1788, on warrant of May 6, 1785. The return of survey calls for John Sutton's land on the east, widow Kemplen and John Clarke's land on the south.

After the purchase of these lands from the Indians it was discovered that trouble was likely to arise with the original squatters. In view of this the Legislature passed the following act, which may be found in Smith's* Laws, Vol. II., page 195:

And whereas divers persons, who have heretofore occupied and cultivated small tracts of lands, without the bounds of the purchase made as aforesaid in the year 1768, and within the purchase made or now to be made, have, by their resolute stand and sufferings during the late war, merited, that those settlers should have the pre-

* Charles Smith was born March 4, 1765, and received his early education under the care of his father at Philadelphia. He graduated at Washington College, Maryland, May 14, 1783; studied law with his elder brother, William Moore Smith, at Easton, Pa., and was admitted to the Bar in Philadelphia, June, 1786. He located

emption of their respective plantations, it is enacted, that all and every person, or persons, and their legal representatives, who has, or have heretofore settled, on the north side of the West Branch of Susquehanna, between Lycomic or Lycoming Creek on the east, and Tyadaghton, or Pine Creek, on the west, as well as other lands within the said residuary purchase from the Indians, of the territory within this State, (excepting always the lands hereinbefore excepted), shall be allowed a right of pre-emption to their respective possessions, at the price aforesaid.

No person was to be entitled to the benefit of this pre-emption act unless he had made an actual settlement before 1780, and no claim was to be admitted for more than 300 acres of land, &c., and the consideration thereof tendered to the Receiver General of the Land Office, on or before the 1st of November, 1785.

Several cases of litigation took place between some of these settlers that were decided under the pre-emption clause. The first was John Hughes against Henry Dougherty, tried in 1791. The plaintiff claimed under a warrant of May 2, 1785, for the premises, and a survey made thereon the 10th of January, 1786. On the 20th of June, 1786, the defendant entered a *caveat* against the claims of the plaintiff, and on the 5th of October following took out a warrant for the land in dispute, on which he was then settled. Both claimed the pre-emption of 1784. The facts given in evidence are as follows:

In 1773, one James Hughes, a brother of the plaintiff, settled on the land in question, and made some small improvements. In the next year he enlarged his improvement, and cut logs to build a house. In the winter following he went to his father's, in Donegal, in Lancaster County, and died there. His elder brother, Thomas, was at that time settled on the Indian land, and one of the Fair Play men, who assembled together and made a resolution, (which they agreed to enforce as the law of the place), that "if any person was absent from his settlement for six weeks, he should forfeit his right."

at Sunbury and entered on the practice of his profession there, and was elected a delegate to the convention which formed the Constitution of 1790. On the 27th of March, 1819, he was appointed President Judge of the district composed of the counties of Cumberland, Franklin and Adams. He was subsequently President Judge of the courts of Lancaster. From there he went to Baltimore, and from that city to Philadelphia, where he died April 18, 1836, and is buried in the yard of the Church of the Epiphany. He married, March 3, 1791, Mary, daughter of the Hon. Jasper Yeates, Associate Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. They had eight children. Mrs. Smith died August 27, 1836. Judge Smith published an edition of the Laws of the State, and a treatise on the Land Laws.—*Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Vol. IV., page 320.

In the spring of 1775 Dougherty came to the settlement, and was advised by the Fair Play men to settle on the premises which Hughes had left. This he did, and built a cabin. The plaintiff soon after came, claiming it in right of his brother, and, aided by Thomas Hughes, took possession of the cabin. But Dougherty collecting his friends, a fight ensued, in which Hughes was beaten off, and he remained in possession. He continued to improve; built a house and stable, and cleared about ten acres. In 1778 he was driven off by the enemy, and went into the army. At the close of the war both parties returned and claimed the land. After hearing the argument, the jury decided in favor of Dougherty.*

The next case was between John Toner and Morgan Sweeny. Toner went upon the Indian land in 1773 and made a settlement; but he exchanged it for another, on which he continued, with a view to make a settlement for his family, till the war broke out, and there was a call for soldiers. He was inclined to enlist, but was afraid of losing his land, and his friends attempted to dissuade him. However, they promised to preserve his settlement for him and he enlisted.

In 1775 Sweeny went up and made a contract with him in which he leased the land, and Toner took possession of the premises. The terms of the lease were that he should make certain improvements on the place for the benefit of Toner. This lease was deposited in the hands of a third person, but Mrs. Sweeny, by a little shrewd practice, got hold of it, and she and her husband determined to destroy it and make the place their own. They continued there till driven off by the Indians. During all this time Toner was absent from the settlement, but in the service of his country. The suit was decided in favor of Toner.

*In after years Dougherty sold 100 acres off his tract to Patrick Lusk, and the big spring, where Hughes located in July, 1773, went with it. Just 100 years afterwards (1873) Nelson E. Wade, a wild, dissolute fellow, murdered John McBride and his wife at the same place for the purpose of robbery, as they were misers and had hoarded a large amount of money. Wade secured considerable money and made away with it. But he did not get all, as several thousand dollars was afterwards found hidden in different parts of the old tumble down house in which they lived. Mrs. McBride was a daughter of Lusk, and inherited a share of the farm. The murder was one of the most atrocious on record, and caused a great excitement at the time. Wade was apprehended, tried, convicted and executed at Williamsport, November 6, 1873.

A great many accounts of amusing cases settled by Fair Play men have been preserved. Joseph Antes, son of Colonel Henry Antes, used to relate the following: A squatter named Francis Clark, who settled a short distance above the present borough of Jersey Shore, got possession of a dog that belonged to an Indian. On learning who had his dog, the Indian complained to the Fair Play men that Clark had stolen the dog. They forthwith ordered his arrest and trial for the theft. He was convicted and sentenced to receive a certain number of lashes, and it was decided by lot who should flog him by placing a grain of corn for each man present, together with one red grain, in a bag and draw them therefrom. The man drawing the red grain was to administer the punishment. It was drawn by Philip Antes, and preparations were at once made to carry the sentence into execution. On seeing that the punishment was about to be inflicted, the Indian, who seems to have been a very magnanimous savage, became sympathetic and made a proposition that if he would abandon the land where he had settled the punishment should be remitted. A few minutes were allowed him for consideration, when he acted upon the suggestion and left. He settled in Nippenose Valley in 1795. He transferred his claim to Andrew Boggs, who afterwards disposed of it to Samuel Campbell, and he conveyed it to James Forster.

An anecdote is handed down which serves to illustrate Fair Play principles. Once upon a time, when Chief Justice McKean was holding court in this district, he inquired, partly from curiosity and partly in reference to the case before him, of a shrewd old Irishman named Peter Rodey, if he could tell him what the provisions of the Fair Play code were. Peter's memory did not exactly serve him as to details, and he could only convey an idea of them by comparison, so, scratching his head, he answered:

"All I can say is, that since your Honor's coorts have come among us, Fair Play has entirely ceased, and law has taken its place."

This sharp rejoinder created a good deal of merriment in court, and the judge was satisfied to ask no more questions reflecting upon the legal tribunal over which Peter had in turn presided.

Another incident of the Fair Play method of administering

justice has been preserved. A minister and school teacher named Kincaid was brought before the tribunal on the charge of abusing his family. He was tried, convicted and sentenced to be ridden on a rail for his offense. A little of the same kind of punishment administered to similar offenders in these modern times might not be out of place any more than it was in the days of squatter sovereignty on the West Branch.

In the summer of 1776 the leading Fair Play men and settlers along the river above and below Pine Creek, received intelligence from Philadelphia that Congress had it in contemplation to declare the Colonies independent of Great Britain. This was good news to these people, who were considered out of the jurisdiction of all civil law, and they at once set about making preparations to indorse the movement by an emphatic expression of their sentiments. Accordingly, on the 4th of July, 1776, they met in convention, in considerable numbers, on the level plain west of Pine Creek. The object of the meeting was stated by one of their leading men, when the proposition was warmly discussed and a number of patriotic speeches made. The subject of Independence was proposed, and when their patriotism warmed up, it was finally decided to indorse the proposition under discussion in Congress by a *formal declaration of independence*. A series of resolutions were drawn up and passed, absolving themselves from all allegiance to Great Britain, and henceforth declaring themselves free and independent!

The most singular thing about this meeting was that it took place about the same time that the Declaration was signed in Philadelphia! It was indeed a remarkable coincidence, that the Continental Congress and the *squatter sovereigns* on the Indian lands of the West Branch should declare for freedom and independence about the same time. More than two hundred miles intervened between them, and neither party had any knowledge of what the other was doing. The coincident stands without a parallel in the history of the world.

The following names of settlers participating in this extraordinary meeting have been preserved: Thomas, Francis and John Clark, Alexander Donaldson, William Campbell, Alexander Hamilton, John Jackson, Adam Carson, Henry McCracken, Adam

Dewitt, Robert Love and Hugh Nichols. There were many others present from below the creek, no doubt, but their names have been lost. This is deeply regretted, as a full record of the names of those in attendance on this patriotic convention, together with the proceedings and resolutions, would make a chapter of deep and thrilling interest.

The years 1775 and 1776 were eventful in several respects. The breaking out of the American Revolution and the Declaration of Independence at Philadelphia and on the Pine Creek plains, as well as the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania, resulted in changing the political government of the State.

In 1775 Catharine Smith, widow of Peter Smith, commenced building a saw and grist mill near the mouth of White Deer Creek. They were primitive affairs, but served an excellent purpose for the infant settlements. Mrs. Smith was undoubtedly a woman of unusual enterprise, or she would never have undertaken the management of such improvements. After their construction a mill for boring gun barrels was added in 1776, and the White Deer Mills became a place of considerable note. Many gun barrels were prepared here for the Continental army, and no doubt did good service in the Revolution. It is sad to reflect, however, that after what this patriotic woman did to help along the cause of freedom, she lost all her property and died in poverty.*

On the 20th of May, 1775, James Potter was returned as an additional member of Assembly. Samuel Hunter and William Plunkett presided in turn over the courts at Sunbury. In July

* In a petition to the Legislature in 1785 Catharine Smith set forth: "That she was left a widow with ten children, with no estate to support this family, except a location of 300 acres of land, including the mouth of White Deer Creek, whereon is a good mill seat; and a grist and saw mill being much wanted in this new country, at that time, she was often solicited to erect said mills. At length, in 1774, she borrowed money, and in June, 1775, completed the mills, which were of great advantage to the country, and the following summer built a boring mill, where a great number of gun barrels were bored, and a hemp mill. The Indian war soon after coming on,—one of her sons, her greatest help, went into the army and never returned,—the said mills soon became a frontier, and in July, 1779, the Indians burned the whole works. She returned to the ruins in 1783, and was again solicited to rebuild the saw and grist mills, which she did with much difficulty; and now ejection suits were brought against her by Claypool and Morris, and she being reduced to such low circumstances as renders her unable to support actions at law, and therefore prays for relief." The

Samuel Maclay, Robert Robb, John Weitzel and Henry Antes were appointed justices of the peace. Alexander Hunter was appointed collector of excise in the place of Thomas Lemmon. On the 12th of October William Scull was commissioned the second sheriff of the county; Casper Reed and William Gray were commissioners. June 25, 1775, John Hancock commissioned John Lowdon* to be captain of a company of riflemen. The company was formed, rendezvoused at Sunbury, and then proceeded to Boston. James Parr, first lieutenant, rose to the rank of major, served brilliantly in command of riflemen under Morgan at Saratoga, and under Sullivan in 1779. William Wilson, second lieutenant, was promoted captain March 2, 1777, and continued in the army to the close of the war in 1783. He died at Chillisquaque Mills in 1813, while serving as an associate judge of Northumberland County. David Hammond rose to the rank of lieutenant. He died April 22, 1801, from the effects of a wound, and is buried in the Chillisquaque grave-yard. He was the father of General R. H. Hammond, of Milton, who died on shipboard while serving as a paymaster during the Mexican war, June 2, 1847, and is buried in the Milton Cemetery.

According to a request of the Continental Congress for each of the states to adopt a constitution, the convention for Pennsylvania met on the 15th of July in Philadelphia, and continued, by adjournments, until the 28th of September, when the first constitution was adopted and signed. Northumberland County was rep-

facts set forth were certified to by William Blythe, Charles Gillespie, Col. John Kelly, James Potter and many other residents of the county. The Legislature could grant no relief under the circumstances and the petition was dismissed, and she lost all, for in 1801 Seth Iredell took possession of the premises as tenant of Claypool and Morris. Her case was a hard one. She is said to have walked to Philadelphia and back thirteen times while her lawsuits were going on. She finally died and was buried near by. Her house, which was built of stone, is still standing. Her bones were disturbed many years ago by digging for a foundation. They were identified by a party who knew her by her peculiar projecting teeth. Many years ago an old man came from Ohio and viewed the place. He said he was a son of Catharine Smith, and if justice had been done her they would still own the place.—*Linn's Annals*, page 240.

*For full information regarding the proceedings at this time, together with the roll of Captain Lowdon's company, see *Linn's Annals of Buffalo Valley*, pages 76 to 84.

resented by William Cooke, James Potter, Robert Martin, Mathew Brown, Walter Clark, John Kelly, James Crawford and John Weitzel. They were chosen at the residence of George McCandlish, who lived in a log house back of the present borough of Milton, on what was afterwards known as the Hepburn farm.

The Constitutional Convention decided that the law-making power should be vested in a House of Representatives, the members of which were to be chosen by ballot on the second Tuesday of October. Other important provisions relating to State officers and members of Congress were adopted. The execution of the laws devolved upon the President and Supreme Executive Council, which consisted of twelve persons. Every member of Council was a justice of the peace for the whole State. The practice of holding the October elections was only discontinued a few years ago.

The convention, by an ordinance dated September 3d, created a new Council of Safety, of which Samuel Hunter and John Weitzel were the members for Northumberland County. The following justices were also appointed: Samuel Hunter, James Potter, William Maclay, Robert Moodie, John Lowdon, Benjamin Weiser, Henry Antes and John Simpson.

On the 28th of November, 1776, the Assembly met in Philadelphia and elected Thomas Wharton, Jr., President and George Bryan Vice-President of the Council and State, and John Jacobs Speaker of the House. With the election of Mr. Wharton* the reign of the Penns ended in Pennsylvania, and Proprietary and royal authority ceased forever.

* Thomas Wharton, Jr., was born in Philadelphia in 1753, and was descended from an old English family. Mr. Wharton was twice married. He died suddenly at Lancaster, May, 22, 1778, and was buried with military honors within the walls of Trinity Church in that city.

CHAPTER XXI.

BEGINNING OF EXCITING TIMES—BRADY UPSETS DERR'S BARREL OF WHISKEY—WHERE THE FORTS WERE LOCATED—MASSACRE ON THE SITE OF WILLIAMSPORT—TERRIBLE SCENES OF BLOOD.

THE year 1776 was noted for the large number of emigrants who reached the valley in search of lands and homes. The majority of them came from New Jersey. Everything betokened peace and prosperity. And as the emigrants expected they would be called on to endure hardships in a new country, they came prepared to clear the ground, sow their fields and reap their crops. The fertility of the land was the principal attraction. These emigrants brought their families to the valley, and where the Indian wigwams* once stood, and the papposes sported under the wide-spreading branches of the oak and the elm, the white children now played and made the forest resound with the melody of their voices. The sound of the axe of the sturdy settler was heard on every hand, and the crash of the falling monarchs of the forest, that had withstood the storms of ages, caused the wild beasts to start from their lairs and plunge deeper into the depths of the wilderness. The aborigine viewed the onward march of civilization with alarm; he plainly saw the mysterious tracings of the hand of Destiny, and he turned aside and

* *Wigwam*, cabin. The spelling adopted by MM. De Gaspe (*Les A. C.*, 166, 199, 250, 263), Frechette (*Pele-Mele*, 126, 120), Lemay (*Les Veng.*, 6, 11; *Pic. Le Maud.*, 138, 220; *Le P. de Ste Anne*, 103). Whether the word, in all its forms, has reached French Canadian from English or not is uncertain. At any rate, the word is of Algonquin origin. Baraga (*Otchipwe*) gives for "house" *wikiwam*; Wilson, *wege-wawam*, and Lacombe (*Cree*) has for "cabane" *mikiwap*. Cuoq (*Alg.*) gives *mikiwam* (house of wood), *wikiwam* (house of bark). In Gallatin's Synopsis we find, Micmac *SigSam*; Mohican, *wekwuwum*; Delaware, *wigoam*; Penobscot, *wigwam*; New England (wood), *wigwam*; Powhattan, *wigwam*. It is probably from the New England, or from the Virginia form, that the word came into English.—*American Notes and Queries*, Vol. II., page 124.

wept over the thought that he must soon bid farewell to the cherished land of his nativity and take his departure towards the setting sun. His lot was a hard one, but in it he saw the decree of fate.

The rush of emigrants continued and the valley filled up rapidly. All was excitement and hope, and the future bore a roscate hue. Contrasting the present with the hard lot in store for many of these enthusiastic emigrants, how appropriate are the beautiful lines of Gray:

Fair laughs the morn, and soft the zephyr blows,
While proudly riding o'er the azure realm
In gallant trim the gilded vessel goes,
Youth on the prow, and pleasure at the helm;
Regardless of the sweeping whirlwind's sway,
That, hushed in grim repose, expects his evening prey.

But the settlers were not to remain long in this happy frame of mind. The war of the Revolution had commenced and the clangor of arms resounded in the East. Soldiers were wanted to fight the battles of liberty and freedom. The whole country was in a state of confusion, which extended to this region and materially affected the settlements. As the colonies were weak, and had a powerful foe to contend with, almost superhuman efforts were made to repel the invaders. It was also feared that they would tamper with the Indians and once more incite them to deeds of violence and bloodshed. This was a fearful anticipation, but hope, the anchor of the soul, still clung to the idea that the dark cloud which was suspended over the frontiers would be rolled back. But the hope was in vain.

At this time the Seneca and Monsey tribes were in considerable force, and Pine and Lycoming Creeks were navigable a long distance north for canoes. Fort Augusta at that time was garrisoned by about fifty men, under Colonel Hunter. They were called "a fearless few."

Captain John Brady suggested to his friends at Fort Augusta the propriety of making a treaty with the Seneca and Monsey tribes, knowing them to be at variance with the Delawares. By doing so it was thought that their friendship and assistance might be secured against the Delawares, should they commence any

inroads upon the settlements. His proposition was approved and petitions were sent to the Council praying that commissioners might be appointed, and Fort Augusta designated as the place of holding the conference. The request was granted and commissioners were appointed. Notice was given to the two tribes by Brady and two others selected for the purpose. They met the chiefs and laid before them the proposition. They appeared to be delighted and listened to the proposal with pleasure. After smoking the pipe of peace, and promising to attend at Fort Augusta on the appointed day, they led them out of their camp, shook hands with them cordially and parted in seeming friendship. Brady feared to trust the friendship so warmly expressed, and took a different route in returning home, to guard against being waylaid and surprised.

On the day appointed for holding the treaty the Indians appeared with their squaws and papposes. The warriors numbered about one hundred, and were dressed in their war costume. Care had been taken to make the fort look as warlike as possible, and every man was at his post.

In former treaties the Indians had received large presents, and were expecting them here; but finding the fort too poor to give anything of value, (and an Indian never trusts), all efforts to form a treaty with them proved abortive. They left the fort, however, apparently in good humor and well satisfied with their treatment, and taking to their canoes proceeded homeward.* The remainder of the day was chiefly spent by the officers and people of the fort in devising means of protection against anticipated attacks of the Indians. Late in the day Brady thought of Derr's trading house, and fearing danger at that point, mounted a small mare he had at the fort, and crossing the North Branch, rode with all possible speed. On his arrival he saw the canoes of the Indians on the bank of the river near Derr's. When near enough to observe, he saw the squaws exerting themselves to the utmost, at their paddles, to work the canoes over to his side of the river; and when

* Soon after this conference the Indians at the Great Island—which appears to have been their headquarters—commenced making preparations to leave the valley. They cut down their corn and destroyed everything that might be of value to the whites, when they fled to the north and prepared to return and murder the settlers.

they landed they made for thickets of sumach, which grew in abundance on his* land to the height of a man's head, and were very thick upon the ground. He was not slow in conjecturing the cause. He rode on to where the squaws were landing, and saw that they were conveying rifles, tomahawks and knives into the sumach thickets and hiding them. He immediately jumped into a canoe and crossed to Derr's trading house, where he found the Indians very drunk. He saw a barrel of rum standing on end before Derr's door with the head out. He instantly upset it and spilled the rum, saying to Derr: "My God, Frederick, what have you donê?" Derr replied: "Dey dells me you gif um no dreet town on de fort, so dinks as I gif um one here, als he go home in bease!"

One of the Indians who saw the rum spilled, but was unable to prevent it, told Brady he would one day punish him for it. Being well acquainted with the Indian character, he knew death was the penalty of his offense, and was constantly on his guard. Next day the Indians started off.

As the Revolution had become general, the most active preparations were made to devise means of defense. Companies of volunteers were raised, and every laudable effort used to induce the patriots of that period to march to the defense of their country. A Committee of Safety for Northumberland County was appointed. Regular meetings were held and a record kept of their proceedings.

From the records it is learned that on the 8th of February, 1776, the following gentlemen, being previously nominated by the respective townships to serve on the committee for the space of six months, met at the house of Richard Malone, at the mouth of Chillisquaque Creek: For Augusta Township, John Weitzel, Alexander Hunter, Thomond Ball; Mahoning Township, William Cooke, Benjamin Alison, Thomas Hewet; Turbutt Township, Captain John Hambright, William McKnight, William Shaw; Muncy Township, Robert Robb, William Watson, John Buckalow; Bald Eagle Township, William Dunn, Thomas Hughes, Alexander Hamilton; Buffalo Township, Walter Clark, William

*When Brady removed his family from Standing Stone he located on a tract of land on the east side of the river, opposite the present borough of Lewisburg.

Irwin, Joseph Green; White Deer Township, Walter Clarke, Matthew Brown, Marcus Hulings.

Captain John Hambright was elected chairman and Thomond Ball clerk. The field officers of the battalion of the lower division of the county were, Samuel Hunter, Colonel; William Cooke, Lieutenant Colonel; Casper Weitzel, First Major; John Lee, Second Major. Those of the upper battalion appear to have been William Plunkett, Colonel; James Murray, Lieutenant Colonel; John Brady, First Major; Cookson Long, Second Major.

Each captain was ordered to return at least forty privates. Each battalion consisted of six companies. The captains of the lower battalion were Nicolas Miller, Charles Gillespie, Hugh White, William Scull, James McMahan, William Clarke, and afterwards Captain John Simpson; and of the upper, or Colonel Plunkett's battalion, Henry Antes, Samuel Wallis, John Robb, William Murray, William McElhatten, Simon Cool, David Berry.

On the 13th of March, 1776, in their dispatch to the Committee of Safety at Philadelphia, they made certain complaints of grievances suffered in their infant settlement, on account of so many recruiting officers sent among them. On the 27th of the same month they sent another petition, in which they remonstrated in stronger terms against being required to furnish so many recruits. The poverty of the people was referred to, many of whom "came bare and naked, and were plundered by a bandette called Yankees." They desired an opportunity to raise crops for the support of their families. They recommended that two or more companies be raised and put under pay for the use of the Province, to be sent wherever their services were needed for the protection of the frontier. The petition was signed by John Hambright, as chairman. It is believed that the Central Committee acceded to the request, as companies were afterwards stationed here.

The committee was changed at the end of six months, and only a part of the former members seem to have been re-elected. The committee often met at the house of Laughlan McCartney, a member for Mahoning Township.

On the 10th of September, 1776, the committee learned that Levy & Ballion had a quantity of salt in their possession, which they refused to sell for cash,—as it seems they had been ordered

so to do by a former resolution of the committee,—whereupon they ordered William Sayers to take possession of the salt and sell it at the rate of fifteen shillings per bushel, and not allow over half a bushel to any one family, and return the money to the committee.

The committee also attended to receiving their share of arms and ammunition from the Central Committee at Philadelphia, and distributed them very carefully among those who were performing military duty.

About this time the committee had some trouble with Robert Robb, a former member, who was charged with being disloyal to the cause of the Colonies, because of certain derogatory remarks he was charged with having made. One of the charges was that he had called Dr. Franklin "a rogue," and said "that he had led the Government into two or three difficulties already." Colonel James Murray was appointed to arrest and confine him. The Colonel, it seems, had full confidence in Robb's patriotism, as he allowed him the freedom of his (Robb's) own house when he put him under arrest, "under promise of good behavior in the future."

A good deal of bad feeling seems to have grown out of this matter, and Robb became much incensed. While at Fort Brady, on Muncy Manor, Robb was approached by Peter Smith, while he was "drinking a half-pint" with a friend, and as he made some remark not very complimentary to Robb, he knocked him down and beat him so badly that he was laid up for some time. The affair was investigated by the committee, and a number of depositions of eye-witnesses taken. The committee then ordered Colonel Murray to take him to Philadelphia, but as he resigned to escape the unpleasant duty, other parties were appointed to remove him. Robb was taken as far as Lancaster, where, after the matter was explained to the authorities, he was honorably acquitted of the charges and returned home. The affair caused considerable excitement at the time, and the records are burdened with the accounts of the difficulty.

From the records of the same committee it appears that a great scarcity of grain prevailed in 1777. In February of the same year they ordered "that no stiller in Bald Eagle Township shall buy any more grain, or still any more than he has by him during

the season." Andrew Culbertson, who had a distillery at his place near the present site of the borough of DuBoistown, Lycoming County, was one of the parties ordered to cease distilling grain.

It appears that the committee were somewhat inclined to morality, too, and exercised their authority to stop "a certain Henry Sterret from profaning the Sabbath in an unchristian and scandalous manner, by causing his servants to maul rails, &c., on that day, and beating and abusing them if they offered to disobey his unlawful demands." Sterret resided on Long Island, opposite Jersey Shore.

The war of the Revolution was now fairly under way and volunteers were in demand from all sections. Young Sam. Brady, destined to become so famous in the annals of border warfare, joined Captain Lowdon's company and marched to Boston. He soon rose to the rank of a lieutenant, and was in all the principal engagements until after the battle of Monmouth. He was then promoted to a captaincy and ordered to the West, under General Broadhead, to perform duty on the frontier. During the same year Captain John Brady, father of Samuel, was appointed a captain in the Twelfth Regiment. He took part in the battle of Brandywine and was wounded. His son James, a mere lad, was with him and greatly distinguished himself. Owing to his wound, and the necessity for his presence on the West Branch, Captain Brady soon returned home.

In 1778 Colonel William Cooke received orders to join General Washington with his regiment, which contained three companies raised in Northumberland County. His regiment was so decimated by arduous service that it had to be disbanded. Colonel Cooke, on account of poor health, asked leave to resign. It was granted, but he was appointed Commissary General for the army of the North and stationed at Northumberland. He held the office to the close of the war, and rendered efficient service.*

*Colonel William Cooke was a native of Donegal Township, Lancaster County. He came to Northumberland at an early day, and being a man who took an active part in affairs, was elected the first sheriff of Northumberland County in October, 1772, and served until 1775, when he was succeeded by William Scull, the noted surveyor. Was made a member of the Committee of Safety for Northumberland County, February 8, 1776; of the Provincial Conference of June 18, 1776; and of

As the struggle for liberty increased, and the infant colonies were straining every nerve, a new danger of a very alarming character began to exhibit itself on the northern and western frontiers. The British had tampered with the Indians, and induced them to take up the hatchet against the whites. A stipulated price was offered for scalps, as an inducement for them to kill and destroy. The West Branch Valley was an exposed and defenseless frontier, at the mercy of the infuriated savages. Great consternation prevailed among the inhabitants, and the Government was petitioned for assistance, but it was almost impossible to respond to these appeals on account of the necessity for men at the front to repel the invaders.

The danger became so great, however, that it was found necessary to construct stockade forts at different points along the West Branch, where small bodies of armed men, mostly volunteers, were stationed to protect the settlements. On a report of Indians being discovered in the neighborhood, the settlers abandoned their homes and fled to these stockades for refuge and protection. Above Fort Augusta, which was military headquarters, these forts were located as follows:

Fort Rice was built on the head-waters of Chillisquaque Creek, about thirteen miles from Sunbury. It was a station of considerable note, and many thrilling and bloody events occurred in its vicinity.

Fort Schwartz* was erected about one mile above Milton. The Constitutional Convention of July 15, 1776. On the last day of the session of the latter body he was chosen and recommended a colonel of the battalion to be raised in the counties of Northampton and Northumberland. This became the Twelfth Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, and being composed of riflemen, was employed upon picket duty, and covered the front of General Washington's army during the year 1777, while detachments were sent from it to General Gates, materially assisting in the capture of Burgoyne. It was so badly cut up at Brandywine and Germantown that it was disbanded, and Colonel Cooke mustered out of service. In 1781 and 1782 he was chosen to the General Assembly. October 3, 1786, he was appointed one of the justices, and January 16, 1796, an associate judge for Northumberland County. Colonel Cooke died in April, 1804.

*A log structure named in honor of Major Christian Godfried Schwartz, of Colonel Weltner's German regiment, a detachment of which under Schwartz garrisoned it at the time Fort Freeland was captured. It stood at the old ferry about a mile above Milton. Small detachments of Weltner's regiment also garrisoned forts Menninger and Rice.

first mention of it occurs in a letter from Colonel Hunter to President Reed. It was built by Peter Schwartz on his farm.

Boone's Fort was erected at the mouth of Muddy Run, two miles above Milton, by Captain Hawkins Boone, a cousin or distant relative of the famous Daniel Boone.

Fort Menninger was located on the west bank of the river, opposite the mouth of Warrior Run. Little is known regarding this place, save that Captain Kemplen was stationed there in November, 1779, after Fort Freeland had been destroyed, with fourteen men.

Next in order came Freeland's Fort, on Warrior Run, about four miles from its mouth. It was built by Jacob Freeland, and bore an important part in the thrilling days of 1779.

Brady's Fort, on Muncy Manor, was a stockade enclosure built for the protection of his family and neighbors. No troops were stationed there at any time.

Fort Muncy was built a few hundred yards north-east of the residence of Samuel Wallis, on Muncy Farms, after which it was named. It was about three miles west of the borough of Muncy and ten miles east of Williamsport. It was erected, at the solicitation of Samuel Wallis and his neighbors, by Colonel Thomas Hartley in 1778. Wallis had built a house here in 1769. Colonel Hartley says that all the women and children had fled, and as Indians were daily seen in the neighborhood, the settlers clamored for protection. General De Hass was with Colonel Hartley, and they made a careful examination of the country to select a location. They found none of the houses properly situated to admit of a stockade fort of any strength. It was designed to be the most important stronghold next to Augusta, and was situated midway between that place and the farthest settlements up the river. It was situated on a rising piece of ground, at the foot of which was a fine spring of water. A large elm tree now hangs over the spring. A covered way from the fort led to this natural fountain as a protection to those who went there for water. When the extension of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad was built to Williamsport, the elevation on which the fort stood was cut through. The excavation is quite deep, and passengers cannot fail to notice it on account of the view of the Hall residence on

the right being suddenly shut off as the train dashes into the cut. Colonel Hartley informs us that the bastions of the fort were built of fascines and clay, and the curtains were protected by stockades, in which quarters for the garrison were placed.

After leaving Wallis' the next fort was found on a high bluff at the mouth of Nippenose Creek. It was built by Colonel Antes in 1776, and was known as Antes Fort.* It became an important rallying point for the settlers. Colonel Antes built a small grist mill at the mouth of the creek, which was largely patronized by the people. Small bodies of militia were stationed here at times and rendered good service. Colonel Antes† had command of the force.

On a high point in the bend of the river, a short distance above the village of Pine, Clinton County, another enclosure was built and called after Samuel Horn. Traces of it could be seen until the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad was constructed, when all vestiges of it were destroyed.

The last fortified post was built on the site of Lock Haven by an adventurous pioneer named William Reed,‡ and called after

* It is related that while the fort was being built coarse flour was manufactured by grinding wheat in a large coffee mill, and the bran was removed by a hair sieve. One person was kept running the mill all the time. This primitive mill was kept until the great flood of 1865, when it was lost.

† Colonel John Henry Antes was born October 8, 1736, near Pottstown, Montgomery County. When quite a young man he came to the West Branch and settled at the mouth of Antes Creek, Nippenose Township, Lycoming County. In July, 1775, he was appointed a justice of the peace, and on the 24th of January, 1776, captain of a company in the Second Battalion, under Colonel Potter. He commanded a company under Colonel Plunkett when he made his famous raid against the Connecticut settlers at Muncy. April, 1776, he was commissioned captain in the Second Battalion of Associators, and lieutenant colonel May, 1777. In 1782 he was elected sheriff of Northumberland County. Soon after locating where he did, and erecting the fort, which was named after him, he built a grist mill, which supplied a great want. Colonel Antes was married twice and had thirteen children. He died May 13, 1820, aged 83 years, 9 months and 5 days, and was buried in the cemetery near his fort. A much fuller sketch of him is given in Meginness' *Biographical Annals*.

‡ The fort, which was built of hewn logs, and surrounded by a stockade, stood very near the present site of the Montour House, Lock Haven. William Reed was born in Donegal, Ireland, in 1730, and died in 1808, on a tract of land which he bought on the opposite side of the river from Lock Haven. Among his daughters was one named Jane, who had a great contempt for Indians. She lived to a good old age.

him. As it was on the extreme western limits of the settlement, it was recognized as a point of some note, and held out until about the beginning of the Big Runaway.

These were the fortifications of the West Branch Valley. Several of them scarcely merited the name, and all at first were destitute of cannon, but they served the purpose at that time. The settlers were obliged to abandon their rude cabins, their little fields of grain, and seek refuge within these enclosures from the scalping knife of the savage. The women and children remained in the forts whilst the men, in armed companies, would venture to their fields and houses and cut their crops. Those who refused to seek the forts generally paid for their rashness with their lives.

The danger grew more alarming from day to day. One fine Sunday morning in June, 1777, Zephaniah Miller, Abel Cady, James Armstrong and Isaac Bouser left Antes Fort with two women and crossed the river into the disputed territory, for the purpose of milking a number of cows that were pasturing on that side. When they landed all the cows were found, but the one that wore the bell was heard some distance back in the bushes. It did not occur to the party that Indians might be lurking in the bushes. They were there, however, and had managed to keep this cow back for the purpose of luring the party on. Cady, Armstrong and Miller started to secure the cow. As soon as they entered the bushes they were fired on by the concealed foe, and two of them fell severely wounded. Miller and Cady were scalped immediately, but Armstrong, who was also injured in the back of the head, succeeded in getting away.

As soon as the firing commenced the women ran with Bouser and secreted themselves in a rye field. The garrison in the fort were alarmed and rushed forth immediately, regardless of the orders of Colonel Antes, who feared it might be a decoy to draw them away from the fort, when it would be assailed from the other side. They paid no attention to his orders, however, and seizing the canoes, crossed the river immediately to the relief of their comrades. They found Miller and Cady where they fell. Cady was not dead. They carried him to the river bank, where his wife met him. On seeing her he reached out his hand and immediately

expired. He had recently returned from the army and was one of the original settlers on the river. Armstrong was taken over to the fort, where he lingered in great agony until Monday night, when he expired.

A party immediately pursued the Indians, and coming up with them at a place called the "Race Ground," they stood and fired, then broke and fled, pursued by the whites. They ran across what is now the upper part of the town of Jersey Shore, and escaped into the swamp. The whites fired upon them several times, and probably did some execution, as marks of blood were visible where they had apparently dragged away their killed or wounded.

In the winter of the same year three men left Horn's Fort and proceeded across the river to the Monseytown flats, above Lockport. They were fired upon by a lurking party of Indians and one man was killed near Sugar Run. The other two fled and were pursued across the ice. One of them, named Dewitt, in the hurry of the flight ran into an air hole. He caught hold of the edge of the ice, however, and managed to keep his head above water. The Indians were afraid to venture too near. They commenced firing at his head, but watching the flash of the gun, he dodged under water like a duck, and eluded the ball. Several shots were fired at him, when, thinking he was dead, they left. Dewitt, in an exhausted state, succeeded in crawling from the water on the ice and escaped to the fort.

The other man having crossed to the south side of the river was pursued by a single Indian, who gained on him rapidly. He had a gun which was supposed to be worthless, but as the Indian neared him he turned and pointed it at him, thinking to intimidate him, but didn't pull the trigger. This he repeated several times, when the savage, thinking it was unloaded, would point his tomahawk at him in derision and exclaim, "Pooh, pooh." The pursuit continued, and the Indian came up close, feeling certain of his victim. As a last resort he instinctively raised his gun and pulled the trigger, when, to his astonishment, it went off and shot the Indian dead. He escaped to the fort in safety.

A party turned out and pursued the Indians as far as Young-woman's Creek. They noticed that they had carried and dragged

the body of the dead Indian all the way with them, from the marks in the snow.

The next attack made by the Indians in the autumn of 1777 was near Loyalsock Creek, on the families of Brown and Benjamin.* Daniel Brown settled at a very early period at this place. He had two daughters married to two brothers named Benjamin. On the alarm of the approaching Indians being given, the Benjamins, with their wives and children, took refuge at the house of Mr. Brown, and made preparations to defend themselves. The enemy came and assaulted the house. A brisk resistance was maintained for some time, during which an Indian was killed by a shot from Benjamin's rifle. Finding they could not dislodge them they set the house on fire. The flames spread rapidly and a horrid death stared the inmates in the face. What was to be done? Remain inside and be burned, or come forth to be dispatched by the tomahawks of the savages? Either alternative was a fearful one.

The Benjamins at length determined to come forth and trust themselves to the mercy of the Indians. Brown refused, and remaining in the burning building with his wife and daughter, was consumed with them, preferring to meet death in this way rather than fall into the hands of the enemy and be tortured in a horrible manner.

When the Benjamins, with their families, came forth, one of them was carrying his youngest child in his arms. The savages received them at the door. A big Indian brandished his tomahawk, and with a fiendish yell buried the glittering steel in his brain. As he fell forward his wife, with a shriek, caught the little child in her arms. His scalp was immediately torn from his head and exultingly shook in her face. The remainder of the survivors

*The Benjamin family lived north-east of Williamsport. Three brothers and a small sister were carried into captivity. Their names were William, Nathan and Ezekiel. The name of the sister is not now remembered. The boys returned in a few years, but the sister remained. She grew up among the Indians and married a chief, and had several children. Years after peace was made William went after her and brought her to Williamsport, where she remained some time, but in a very unhappy state of mind. She was very wild and shunned all society. It was difficult to get a view of her face. On account of her unhappiness she was permitted to return to her Indian comrades.

were carried into captivity. This bloody massacre occurred on what was long known as the Buckley farm, on Loyalsock.

The report of these murders spread terror throughout the settlements along the river. Many of the families fled to the different forts for protection, leaving their houses, fields and cattle to the mercy of the savages.

About the close of the year the Indians killed a man named Saltzman on the Sinnemahoning. At the same time another named Daniel Jones, who owned what the settlers called "the little mill," on a stream this side of Farrandsville, was murdered also, with another man. His wife escaped to the fort. These settlers had been warned to leave, but refused to do so, claiming there was no danger. Their lives paid for their incredulity.

At this time Colonel Cookson Long gathered a company of about twenty men and went up to Youngwoman's Creek to look for Indians. They suddenly espied a number of warriors on the opposite side marching along in single file, painted and dressed in war costume. The whites being undiscovered, concealed themselves. The men were very anxious to select each his man and fire upon them, but the Colonel refused. There were not more than twenty or thirty Indians and the whites could undoubtedly have done good execution. The Colonel remained in his concealed position until they had passed, when he returned to the fort and reported that a large body of savages were approaching.

Notwithstanding the utmost vigilance, a man was tomahawked* on the 23d of December, 1777, near the mouth of Pine Creek; and about the 1st of January, 1778, another was killed two miles above the Great Island. Their names are not now remembered.

Petitions having been sent to the Council praying for some plan

* *Tomahawk*, an Indian hatchet. "L'indien jeta de cote son *tomahawk*" (S. C., 1861, p. 282). See also Marmette (F. de Bienville, pp. 26, 174, 241), De Gaspe (Les A. C., p. 132). The spelling of the word seems to indicate that it has been borrowed from English. Lacombe (p. 711) takes it from the Cree "*Otamahuk*, *assommez-le, ou, otamahwaw, il est assomme.*" The origin is better sought in the old Eastern and coast Algonquin dialects. The Micmac form was *tomehagan*; Abenaki, *temahigan*; Mohican, *tumnahecan*; Delaware, *tamahicun*; Pamptico, *tommahick*; Powhatan, *tomahack*; Virginia (Strachey), *tamohake* and *tamahaac*. It is probably from the Virginia region that the word crept into English, whence it passed into French Canada.—*American Notes and Queries*, Vol. II., page 99.

to be devised for the defense of the inhabitants of the valley, instructions were forwarded to Colonel Hunter ordering out the fifth class of the militia of the county. On the 14th of January, 1778, Colonel Hunter writes to President Wharton and informs him what orders he had given. Colonel Antes also came down to Fort Augusta to consult as to what was best to be done, as parties of Indians were constantly prowling around. Three companies of Colonel Long's battalion were ordered to hold themselves in readiness at a moment's warning, subject to the order of Colonel Antes.

The party of Indians that murdered the man about the 1st of January, above the Great Island, were eleven in number. They were pursued by Antes' command, and as a light snow had fallen, were tracked easily. The whites came up with them and succeeded in killing two. The rest fled and could not be overtaken, although they followed them for a long distance.

Arms were very scarce. Colonel Hunter informed President Wharton on the 28th of March, 1778, that he had endeavored to purchase "some good guns" but could get none. Two rifles and sixty ordinary muskets were all the public arms in the county at that time. It is supposed, however, that nearly all the settlers had private arms of their own. All the guns worth repairing were being put in order, and, remarks Colonel Hunter, "I have promised the gunsmiths their pay for so doing."

It appears that the fifth class of militia, as they were called, were only to serve two months. As soon as their term expired the sixth class were ordered to relieve them. The people complained that if no troops were stationed above Muncy they would be obliged to abandon their settlements and go down the river.

On the 5th of May Colonel Hunter writes that he could get no provisions to buy for them. All that could be obtained was some beef and pork that had been purchased by Colonel Hugh White for the Continental stores. Of flour there was a small quantity.

About this time Colonel John Kelly's battalion was ordered to Penn's Valley to perform duty for two months, where Jacob Stanford, his wife and daughter were inhumanly killed and scalped, and his son, a lad of ten years, carried into captivity.

A party of Indians having penetrated into Buffalo Valley and

secured a large amount of plunder, were hotly pursued by Lieutenant Moses Van Campen with a party of men. They came so close upon them that they were obliged to abandon their ill-gotten booty at a large spring back of Jersey Shore. It is stated that several valuable articles, such as silver tankards, &c., were recovered at this place by the pursuing party.

In May the sixth and seventh classes of Colonel Long's battalion were ordered to be consolidated by Colonel Hunter and scout along the frontier until the sixth and seventh classes of Colonel Murray's and Hosterman's battalions should arrive at the Great Island, to cover the frontier there.

Colonel Hunter writes to Mr. Wharton, President of Council, under date of May 14, 1778, as follows, concerning these detachments:

These last Classes would have marched before this time only for want of Provisions, as for meat there is very little to be had in this County, and that very dear; Bacon sells at 4s 6d 7/8 pound, and flower at three pounds ten shillings 7/8 Hundred wt. I have ordered some People that lives nigh the Great Island to preserve Shad and Barrel them up for the use of the Militia that will be stationed there this summer.

Colonel William Cooke will undertake to provide Provisions for the Militia of this County, in case he was supplied with Cash at this present time, as he would go to some other County to purchase some meat, for I am certain it will be Very much wanted, in case the Savages Commence a war with the frontiers, all must turn out to prevent if possible, such a Crual Enemy from makeing inroads into our part of the Country. We are scarce of Guns, not more than one half of the Militia is provided with Arms, and a number of them Very Ordinary; Our Powder is Exceeding Bad, and not fit for Rifles in any shape. And as for Flints we can get none to Buy; all this I think proper to acquaint the Council with, &c.

On the 16th of May, near the mouth of Bald Eagle Creek, three men who were at work putting in a small field of corn were attacked by a party of Indians, killed and scalped. Two days following, near Pine Creek, a man, woman and child were taken prisoners, probably by the same party, and carried off.

On the 20th of the same month two men and seven women and children were taken from one house, near Lycoming Creek. They were all carried away as prisoners.

About the same time three families, consisting of sixteen in number, were killed and carried away from Loyalsock. A party that went up from Wallis' only found two dead bodies, from which they supposed the remainder were taken prisoners. Their houses

were all reduced to ashes. It is very much regretted that the names of all those mentioned above who were killed or carried into captivity were not preserved.

About this time Andrew Armstrong, who settled at the "big spring," below where Linden now stands, was visited by a party of Indians. They came very suddenly. On the alarm being given Mrs. Armstrong, who was *enciente*, slipped under the bed. The Indians entered the house, and seizing Armstrong, his little son and a woman named Nancy Bunday, made preparations to carry them away. Armstrong told his wife to lay still, which she did, and escaped. They were in a great hurry on account of a small body of men being stationed a short distance below, and did not take time to fire the building. They turned up the creek with their prisoners. Mrs. Armstrong crawled from her hiding place, and looking out of the window beheld her husband and little son disappear in the forest with them. Years rolled away and no tidings were had from Andrew Armstrong. No doubt they had cruelly murdered him. The little son was also given up for lost, and the mother had ceased to mourn and became resigned to her hard lot.

Many years after peace had been restored and the settlers had returned to their homes, an aged Indian with a young man by his side, bearing unmistakable signs of having white blood in his veins, knocked at the cottage door of the widow Armstrong one pleasant autumn afternoon. He alleged that this was her son who had been carried off years ago, when a mere child. But he was grown to manhood and partook so much of the character and disposition of an Indian, that she could not recognize him as her long lost son. The scenes of that sorrowful day were brought fresh to her mind, and her heart yearned for the little flaxen-haired boy. Could this noble youth, of athletic form and piercing eye, be he? Could he be so changed? Thus she reasoned. She could not feel positive that he was her son—neither was she certain that he was not. If she was to own him, and he was not hers, she never could extend to him the affections of a mother; and if she turned him away and he was her son, oh! what remorse of conscience would she feel. A terrible conflict was going on in her mind. She never could bring herself, however, to believe that he was in reality her boy. Doubt still lingered in her mind. He remained

about the settlement for some time, but had all the manners and habits of an Indian and never seemed to readily embrace the usages of civilized life. He finally left the neighborhood, on finding that she would not recognize him as her son, and returned to his tawny comrades of the forest. He never came again.

About this time four men, Robert Fleming, Robert Donaldson, James McMichael and John Hamilton, started down the river from Horn's to Antes Fort in canoes, to arrange for crafts to transport their families and effects down the river. Having engaged a flat, they started on their return, and had passed through the Pine Creek ripples, when they pushed over to the south side of the river to rest and wait for their comrades who were following with the flat. As they were about to land they were suddenly fired on by a small party of Indians concealed on the shore. Donaldson jumped out of his canoe, fired, and cried to the others: "Come on, boys." Hamilton saw the Indians rise from behind a small bluff, and at the same time noticed the blood spurting from Donaldson's back as he was trying to reload his gun. Hamilton immediately gave his canoe a shove from the shore, jumped in, fell flat on the bottom, and then by a sudden whirl of his body landed in the water, and holding his canoe with one hand between himself and the Indians, he paddled across the river with the other hand. Several bullets flew around him but he escaped unharmed. When he landed his woolen clothes were so heavy from being saturated with water that his progress was greatly impeded. He therefore stripped himself of everything but his shirt and started on a run up the river. His route was by a path which led through the Gallauher and Cook farms, which were then grown up with bushes. He ran for life, and at the flutter of a bird or other noise he would clear the brush at every bound. In this way he ran for nearly three miles, until he came opposite Horn's fort, which was on the south side of the river, when he was discovered and taken across.

The men in the flat pushed over, landed, and crossed Pine Creek a short distance above the mouth, and hurried up the river to the main party at Horn's. James Jackson, who was with the party on the flat, found a horse pasturing on the Pine Creek clearing, which he caught, mounted and rode to the settlement above.

After the excitement of this tragic affair had subsided a party started down the river and secured the dead bodies of Donaldson, McMichael and Fleming, which they carried to Antes Fort and buried them in the little cemetery which had been started on the hill, near the fort, and which is used for burial purposes to this day. John Hamilton,* who paddled his canoe across the river and then made the great race for his life, was only about sixteen years of age. His escape and flight were regarded as little less than marvelous.

The same day this bloody affair occurred a party of men were driving a lot of cattle down the river from above the Great Island. Crossing the plains near where Liberty now stands, they were fired upon by a party of Indians. The whites immediately returned the fire, when an Indian was observed to fall, and was carried off. A man named Samuel Fleming was shot through the shoulder. The Indians fled very precipitately and abandoned a big lot of plunder, consisting largely of blankets, which fell into the hands of the whites.

As early as 1773 settlers had made improvements at the mouth of Lycoming Creek, on the west side, and also on the opposite side of the river, near where DuBoistown now stands. The New Jersey emigrants came in 1777, when it is probable that Amariah Sutton† built a cabin on the east side of the creek. The next settlements below were the improvements of John Thomson and the Benjamin families, near Miller's Run, at the foot of the hills. Then came the settlement at Loyalsock, by Samuel Harris, where a rude block-house is said to have existed on the west side of the creek. Between these points and Antes Fort there was no protection for the settlers. Some brave spirits, among whom were William King, Robert Covenhoven and James Armstrong, were

* This young man was the oldest brother of Robert Hamilton, the latter of whom became the father of John Hamilton, who was born October 14, 1800, and resides on his farm a short distance above the mouth of Pine Creek. The path he followed in his rapid flight led through what is now the farm of his nephew. Mr. Hamilton, although nearly 89, is an unusually active and vigorous man, and has always been distinguished for his intelligence.

† Sutton was an Englishman by birth and came here with the New Jersey colonists in 1770. He was born January 14, 1730, and died October 17, 1817, and was buried in the old Lycoming grave-yard on his farm. He had four wives and many children.

engaged in building a stockade enclosure at Lycoming, formed of logs, eight or ten feet in length, planted in the ground side by side, with the tops leaning outward, so as not to be easily scaled. It covered, perhaps, half an acre and was located near what is now known as Fourth and Stevens streets, Williamsport. The evacuation of the valley occurred before the completion of this structure, and nothing but tradition remains to tell us of the last feeble effort put forth to save the first citizens of Williamsport from destruction. William King had served as lieutenant in the war with the Connecticut settlers on the North Branch, and also as ensign in the company of his cousin, Captain Cool, in March, 1776. His home at that time was in Northumberland, where he had a wife, Rachel Tharp King, and two children, Sarah and Ruth. He had been up the river before the war—indeed it is claimed that he settled on the site of Jaysburg in 1774, which is quite likely, but he had left his family behind with instructions for them to remain until he came after them.

The rumors of a descent by the Tories and Indians on the North Branch had aroused a fear for the safety of Northumberland, and some of the settlers thought their families would be safer in the new stockade than below; so they went down, loaded up their goods and started back for the new refuge. They requested Mrs. King to accompany them, but she did not wish to disobey her husband's orders and refused. Finally they overcame her scruples by showing her that he would have to travel all the way down in a canoe for her and the children, and take them up the river alone, which would expose them to much more danger than would befall a party traveling together. The long, tedious, rough ride up the river passed drearily until towards the evening of the second or third day, when the man in charge of the team said: "Here is the last stream we will cross before reaching the fort, and we will stop and water." The horses had no sooner halted than unerring rifles cracked and the utmost confusion at once ensued. The following graphic account of the terrible massacre that followed is given in a letter by Colonel Hosterman* to Colonel Winter, from Fort Muncy, under date of June 10, 1778:

On this day Colonel Hosterman, Captain Reynolds and thir-

*See *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. VI., page 589.

teen men set out for Antes mill with ammunition for that place and the Big Island. The same day, remarks the Colonel, Peter Smith, his wife and six children; William King's wife and two children; Michael Smith, Michael Campbell and David Chambers, belonging to Captain Reynolds' company,—and Snodgrass and Hammond,—being six men, two women and eight children, were going with a wagon to Lycoming. When they reached Loyalsock, John Harris (son of Samuel Harris) met them and said that he had heard firing up the creek and desired them to return, as to go forward was dangerous. But Peter Smith said that firing would not stop them. Harris then proceeded to Fort Muncy, and Smith and party continued up the river.

Upon Harris' information a party of fifteen started from the fort in the direction of where the firing had been heard.

When Smith, with his wagon and party, had got within half a mile of Lycoming Creek, the Indians fired on them, and at the first fire Snodgrass fell dead, being shot through the temple. The Indians first fired two guns, when they gave a yell and ran towards the wagon. The men with the wagon, who did not see the Indians until they fired and approached them, immediately took to trees and returned the fire. A little boy and a girl made off about this time and escaped. The Indians closed in on the party and tried to surround them. This caused all the men to flee as fast as possible but Campbell, who was last seen fighting at close quarters with his rifle, and an Indian's gun was afterwards found on the spot broken to pieces. Before they were out of sight of the wagon they saw the Indians attacking the women and children with their tomahawks. The number of Indians Chambers thought to be about twenty.

This bloody affair began just before sundown. The boy who escaped pushed on to Lycoming Creek and informed the men there what had happened. They started immediately, but mistaking the intelligence the boy gave, went to the river to the place where they lived, thinking it was the canoe that was attacked. In the meantime Captain Hepburn, with the party that had started from Fort Muncy, came up and found the dead bodies of Snodgrass and another man, but it being dark they could not distinguish who they were. They continued on to Lycoming, where

they met the other party, and waited until the next day, as it was too late to do anything that night.

On the morning of June 11th they returned and found the bodies of the following persons: Peter Smith's wife, shot through and stabbed, scalped and a knife left by her side; William King's wife, tomahawked and scalped. She was sitting up, and leaned on her husband when he came to her, but expired almost immediately. She was conscious when they came, but could not speak. A little girl was killed and scalped—also a little boy. Snodgrass was found shot through the head, tomahawked and scalped. Campbell was shot in the back, tomahawked, stabbed, scalped and a knife left sticking in his body. They had taken his rifle, but nothing was removed from the wagon but a few trifling articles.

This bloody affair took place* at the point where West Fourth Street, Williamsport, crosses the stream which flows down Cemetery Street. It was a natural thicket of wild plum trees, which yielded fruit of remarkable size and flavor for nearly a century after the massacre. This is testified to by those born and raised near the place, and who are now living beyond the age of eighty years. The road was merely a widening out of the old Indian trail, and was cut through this thicket; the boughs, with the leaves dried upon them, being thrown into the bushes, formed a safe place for the concealment of lurking savages.

When the searching party were about to leave the spot, the boy insisted that Mrs. King must be somewhere in the thicket, as he had heard her scream and say she would not go along with them, when they tried to drag her away, and that he saw her fighting vigorously for her life with a "piggin."† They made another detour through the bushes and found her about 9 o'clock in the morning, near the stream where she had dragged herself, and

* In the first edition of this work, published in 1856, it was stated that the massacre took place on or near the site of Hall's foundry and machine shops. Subsequent research and careful inquiry by J. H. McMinn has established the fact that it occurred in the plum tree thicket, as given above. Mr. McMinn also worked out the history of King, and the rescue of his daughters, Sarah and Ruth, which forms a very pathetic part of this startling narrative.

† Corrupted from pipkin, a small vessel made of staves, with one longer than the rest, which served for a handle. In olden times it was a woman's weapon.

rested with her hand under her head, with her brains oozing through her fingers; soon after which she died, as related in the official narrative.

It is scarcely possible for one at this day to realize or understand the horrors presented by this scene. In the midst of a dense wilderness, almost alone, and bereft of his entire family by an enemy more cruel than the wild beasts of the forest, stood William King, the picture of despair. Sorrowfully indeed did he prepare to join the fleeing settlers to seek a place of safety beyond the dangers from such a merciless and cruel enemy. He returned to Northumberland, and as if to more quickly drown his deep sorrow, he married Martha Reeder on the 25th of May, 1779.

About two years after the massacre William King, Simon Cool, his cousin, and James Sweeny,* pushed up the river in a canoe to hunt for their winter's meat. They went to an old cabin that stood by a spring near the mouth of Dry Run, (Fessler's Mill). A light snow had fallen and they discovered Indian tracks, but boded no danger, and started on a detour up Dougherty's Run and down Bottle Run toward Lycoming Creek, one man taking each side of the ravine, while the third walked down the bottom. After going some distance King heard Sweeny call Simon Cool three times, and soon after he heard the report of a gun. He proceeded warily, but lost track of his companions and went back to the cabin, where he remained all night. As they did not return he became alarmed, and taking his canoe returned home alone. The recital of his story was received with discredit, and it was insinuated that some foul play was involved in this affair. It was intimated that he had shot one of them accidentally and killed the other to cover up his guilt; and so uncharitably was the gossip spread that he felt very miserable indeed on account of the suspicion that rested upon him. This unpleasant state of affairs continued for about seven years, during which time he had settled on Vincent's Island, Milton. One day when he was standing in a

*Lieutenant Sweeny had charge of the rear guard of thirty men under Colonel Hartley in his famous expedition against Tioga Point, and was noticed in his report as "a valuable officer." We find that he bought of Jacob Latcha lot No. 63 on Market Street, Jaysburg, January 12, 1796. He afterwards moved west, where he died. He was first called McSwiney, then McSweeny, and finally plain Sweeny.

tavern at Northumberland, Sweeny suddenly appeared before him. He clasped him in his arms in an ecstasy of joy, for now the great cloud of suspicion which rested upon him could be cleared away. But still further joy awaited him, as will be seen by the story of Sweeny's wanderings after their separation.

He stated that on Bottle Run, after they had parted, three Indians came up behind Simon Cool, whom he saw from the hillside, and called in warning tones to him, whereupon Cool ran for his life, as well as Sweeny. But in crossing the stream, which was high, while Sweeny sprang clear across, Cool, being a heavy man, fell short and dropped into the water. After gaining the bank he found that he could not run with his wet clothing, and they all took to trees for a desperate fight. Cool had a dog with him noted for hunting Indians, which he now scented, and worried Cool, from whom he tried hard to escape; finally he bit him upon the hand, which caused him to lean forward, when one of the Indians shot him through the breast. He raised up and said: "Sweeny, give up; I am a dead man," and sank down in death. Sweeny turned his gun "up end down" and bared his breast for them to fire, but they came up and seizing one article after another of his equipments, said in broken English, "my gun, my coat, &c.," until they had him almost stripped naked. They picked up Cool's rifle and threw down an old musket in its place, stripped his body and let it lie on the ground with the old gun. A few years ago the rusty irons of an old musket were plowed up by a farmer.

Sweeny was then hurried along by his captors, who started up Lycoming Creek. And as day by day his buckskin breeches would get wet, and then hard when they became dry, he would cut them off piece by piece, until his bare feet and legs were so exposed that they would stop occasionally to rub them to warm him up, when they would start again. The march continued in this way until they finally reached Canada, when he was selected to run the gauntlet. Being a very active man he passed between the two lines of savages armed with clubs or other weapons comparatively unharmed, when, as was the custom, an old squaw caught him around the neck and exclaimed: "My son! my son!" and adopted him in the place of a real son she had lost in the wars.

During his captivity he made repeated efforts to escape, but his new mother kept such a close watch over him that he found it impossible to get away. Then he persuaded some of the French to try and buy his freedom; she would partly agree, take the money and look at it, at the same time soliloquizing: "My son no home; my son no cow; my son no dog; me no sell my son," when she would throw the money at them and go away laughing.

After the lapse of two years they got her drunk and then bought him for \$30. When she became sober and realized what she had done she cried bitterly, and endeavored to recover him, but he went away and worked at the carpenter trade to raise money to redeem his ransom. After this he made his way down the St. Lawrence to Quebec, where he shipped for New York, and then walked to his home at Northumberland.

During his imprisonment he would accompany the old Indian squaw to the towns to sell trinkets and pelts, and while there he heard of a young girl who was a prisoner, and whom he discovered to be Sarah King, and that she knew the whereabouts of her sister, about 200 miles down the river. When King learned that his little daughters were still alive he was overjoyed, and determined on making an effort to recover them. Peace had been declared and he could travel with safety, so he started on foot with a knapsack on his terrible journey to hunt up his long lost children. An Indian named "Jake" Orby lived near Milton Island and knew all the paths. King persuaded him to accompany him as a guide to Niagara. His course was by the old Indian path up Lycoming Creek and across the state of New York. On the march they fell in with another Indian who kept them company for a day and a night. The animated conversation between the two Indians so worried King that he could not sleep that night, and at one time he almost determined to kill them and go on alone. About noon the next day the stranger left them and went to a village. After the parting his guide said to him: "Bill, that Injin kill your wife!" King replied: "Why didn't you tell me that before?" His guide replied: "You kill 'em," which was true.

They journeyed on to the Niagara River, which King crossed alone to the fort, where he sought his long lost children. Sarah

King and other prisoners were held there waiting to be claimed. When her father came to the gate, accompanied by two soldiers, she saw and recognized him, and told the others he was her father, but they laughed at her. And when he was told to pick his daughter out he could not do it. Her name was then called, when she stepped forward to him.

Sarah during her captivity had managed to keep track of her little sister, and she gave her father all the information she could respecting her whereabouts. He then left her at the fort and paddled down the great river in a canoe, promising to return for her. In course of time he arrived at the new home of little Ruth. On making his business known at the dwelling of the people with whom she lived, the woman denied all knowledge of a captive child, but the neighbors re-assured him, and when he returned with asserted knowledge and authority of law, she was frightened into admitting that she had a captive child, but denied that it was his; and as she had bought it she would not give it up. Even in the presence of an officer of the law she refused to relinquish possession of the child until he could prove beyond all question that it was his own daughter. It was finally agreed if he could identify her by some natural mark he could take her away. The anxious father was only too glad for an opportunity to refer to a strange natural phenomenon in the form of pierces in the lobe of each ear. The woman confidently produced little "Rosanna," when her ears were found to have the tiny holes which a mother's hand had never made. The woman raised her hands in anguish and exclaimed: "My God! how often have I washed and dressed that child and never saw those marks before!"

The child was then taken away and they returned to Fort Niagara, where Sarah and another Pennsylvania girl, (about fourteen years of age), who had been taken prisoner, and who wanted to get home again, joined them on their long and toilsome journey back to the Susquehanna.

Before they had gone very far the little store of provisions gave out, and they became so nearly famished that one day when they found a skunk that had been killed by the Indians, they dressed and ate it, which supported them until they came to an Indian village, where they obtained enough jerked venison to last them

until they reached the North Branch, where they procured a canoe and paddled down the river to Northumberland, and then up the West Branch to Milton Island.

The children were, respectively, two and four years of age when the massacre occurred on that dreadful evening of the 10th of June, 1778. When torn from their mother, who was stricken down by the tomahawk, they were quickly wrapped together, placed on the back of a horse and hurried away through the woods over what is now Cemetery Street, until they reached the Sheshequin path leading through Blooming Grove until it joined the main trail up Lycoming Creek. At one time little Ruth began to cry, when a young Indian seized her by the legs to dash her brains out against a tree, but an old squaw claimed her for her child, and thus by one of their customs her life was saved.

On reaching Canada she sold her to the wife of an English officer under whom Mr. King had served when he came to America, and before the soldiers fraternized with the Colonists, and were sent home. At that time Mr. King's term of enlistment had not expired, and as he wanted to remain, he exercised his privilege of sending a substitute home. This officer had treated him badly on account of it, and when he found that his child was in his custody his Scotch blood boiled and he became desperate. But his wife was a well-bred and reasonable woman, and the affair was finally settled amicably.

In after years Ruth, then grown to womanhood, went back to her mother's people in New Jersey, where she married a retired mariner and they moved to Genessee, N. Y., where they settled, became well to do, and died there.

Sarah accompanied her father when he returned to Jaysburg in 1789, and resided with him until he died in 1802; she then went with her half-brother, Joseph King, when he lived on the Sutton farm in 1832. At this time she would frequently take her nephew, Charles King, and others, down to the Methodist church that then stood at Fourth and Cemetery streets, where they would gather the wild plums that grew so abundantly, and she would point out the spot and relate the bloody incidents of that dreadful day.

She afterwards removed to the home of John Kelly King, in

Tioga County, where she died September 19, 1850, at the age of 76 years.

She often spoke of one of the prisoners as being a very stout woman, who could not stand the hardships of the march, and when she gave out the Indians, to terrify the others and warn them of the fate that awaited them in case they attempted to escape, formed a ring of the other prisoners they had taken, and placing her in the centre massacred her in the most barbarous manner.

William King was a silk weaver by trade in Edinboro, Scotland, where he was born December 29, 1745. His father died possessed of a considerable estate in the shape of a valuable mill property, but Robert, the eldest son, inherited all. When William found that he would get nothing he went to England and enlisted in the British army, then recruiting for America. His regiment was sent to New Jersey to guard the Colonists. On the breaking out of the Revolution it was feared that the soldiers would fraternize with the people, on account of having been with them for nine years, and they were recalled and new recruits sent out to take their places. When Mr. King bought a substitute to serve for his unexpired term, so that he could remain, it took all his savings. He then went to work on a farm and afterwards married his employer's daughter, Elizabeth Tharp, and moved out to Northumberland County.

He served in various capacities in the defense of the frontier, and on May 21, 1777, was commissioned second lieutenant of a company of foot in the Fourth Battalion of militia of Northumberland County. Before the war he went up the river to where Jaysburg now stands and built a cabin, intending to settle there, but the Fair Play men drove him away, when he returned to Vincent Island (Milton Island). He returned to Lycoming Creek with his family, as before stated. In March, 1787, they landed at the mouth of Dry Run, and took temporary possession of an old and unoccupied cabin at the spot where he had landed seven years before. The air was balmy and clear, but the next morning they found the snow two feet deep. The neighbors had been apprised of their coming and hurried to them with hay for their stock and provisions for the family.

Soon afterward he removed to the site of his original cabin,

where he lived the remainder of his life. After he became paralyzed from falling into the icy waters of Mosquito Run, when returning from the Northumberland post-office by way of the Culbertson path, he would sit in his chair and sing old Scotch songs while he knit seines for the settlers far up and down the river, until the summons came to follow those already gone to join the innumerable caravan, and he was laid to rest in the old Lycoming grave-yard, in Newberry. He died October 2, 1802.*

In September, nearly three months after the bloody massacre just described, William Winters† came up from Berks County with several men to cut hay in a meadow near the mouth of Lycoming Creek, for the purpose of feeding the cattle he proposed to bring up late in the fall. A short distance north of the canal aqueduct over Lycoming Creek of to-day can be seen the old channel of the stream, now a mere back water swale. Upon the high bank we find the somewhat noted Dix Street and a cluster of frame houses. This spot marks the site of "Locust Bottom," of the days of Amariah Sutton, and the native village of aboriginal times. Upon the advent of the whites the flats north of the village were covered with luxuriant grass, and it was here that the party came to cut the grass for their cattle. The settlers had

* His family consisted of the following members: Sarah, daughter of Elizabeth Tharp, his first wife, who was slain in the massacre, born August 22, 1774, died September 19, 1850; Ruth, born May 23, 1776, date of death unknown. Martha Reeder, his second wife, was born February 24, 1763, died May 16, 1817. Her children were: Mary, born February 6, 1781, died June 13, 1782; William, Jr., born August 29, 1783; Joseph, born September 3, 1786, on Milton Island, died July 16, 1870, in Mosquito Valley; Martha, born January 13, 1792; George Washington, born July 14, 1794; John, born June 15, 1797. Their descendants reside in and about Williamsport.

† Winters was a brother-in-law of Amariah Sutton, who took up the last manor survey, comprising 599 acres, on the east side of Lycoming Creek. Sutton being unable to hold the entire tract, Winters obtained the eastern half, which was afterwards known as the "Grier farm." His cabin stood on or near the present site of the residence of S. T. Foresman. The manor was surveyed as Ormes Kirke. Winters was a native of New Jersey. He died June 29, 1794, aged 66 years, three months and two days. One of the early terms of court was held at his place. Tradition says that some of the officers of the court got drunk, and Judge Hepburn slapped an impertinent witness. Winters had two wives and nineteen children, the same number that his neighbor, Judge Hepburn, had. Winters was buried in the old cemetery near his residence.

previously removed their families to Northumberland and other points below, on account of the Indian encroachments. While William Winters, who led the party, was preparing dinner at the cabin he had previously built near the corner of the present Third and Rose streets, Williamsport, William King and others stood their guns against a tree and started in to cut the grass. They had got but two and a half swaths cut when the Indians, who had stealthily crept around between them and their arms, opened fire upon the party, killing three or four at the first round. King quickly ran to the river and swam to the opposite shore, dodging under the water whenever the Indians fired. One man dropped in the grass and laid concealed until dark, when he made his way to the river, raised one of the sunken canoes and quietly paddled to Northumberland, where he reported that all had been killed but himself. While he was relating his sorrowful tale, and the families of the unfortunates were bewailing their loss, King suddenly stepped among them in an almost nude condition, having torn his clothing from his body in his rapid flight over the mountains and through the bushes.

Winters, and those who were with him, on hearing the firing concealed themselves until the Indians had departed, when they went to where their comrades had been killed, gathered their bodies together and covered them with the freshly mown hay, and then hurried down the river.

In the following spring they returned to bury them, and they were surprised to find that the hay had preserved their bodies from decomposition. They were then removed to the barren, sandy ridge, where the public road emerged from the great plum thicket along the little stream that now crosses Fourth Street, Williamsport, at Cemetery Street intersection, where they were laid near the slain of the dreadful massacre that had occurred at that point but a few months previously.

Thus was this spot again hallowed as the place of human sepulture, which in after years prompted Amariah Sutton, the owner of the land, to set it aside in the name of the "Methodist Church Society" as a public burying-ground.

It is a singular fact that an Indian burying-ground had existed near this point from time immemorial, and in the course of time,

when public improvements were made, the graves were opened and skeletons disclosed in a crumbling condition. The remains of the departed red men had been placed in a sitting posture with the knees pressed close against the breast. A small fragment of some domestic utensil was found in one of the graves.

Thus was the old Lycoming grave-yard founded, where, for nearly three-quarters of a century afterwards, many of the old deceased settlers were laid from time to time, and it is still filled with graves. Recently a new Methodist church was built in the corner of the old grave-yard next the street, and in digging the foundation many of the graves of the early dead were disturbed, when the remains were carefully collected and removed to Wild-wood.

Andrew Fleming settled on Pine Creek, in the vicinity of where Matthew McKinney's house stands. On Christmas day, 1778, he took down his rifle and observed to his wife that he would go and kill a deer. He started up the ravine, and had not been gone long before the report of a gun was heard. The day wore away and he did not return. His wife became alarmed at his protracted absence and feared that evil might have befallen him. Proceeding up the ravine to look for him she suddenly perceived three savages skulking in the bushes, and her worst suspicions were at once aroused. Returning hastily she gave the alarm, and a number of neighbors collected and proceeded to search for her husband. They had gone but a short distance when they came to his dead body. Three balls had passed through him, one having entered his eye. The scalp was removed.

Among the New Jersey settlers near the mouth of Loyalsock Creek was Albert Covenhoven. He had three sons, James, Thomas, Robert, and a daughter, Isabella. Robert became distinguished as a guide, spy and Indian killer, and his biography will be given in its proper place. Shortly after coming to the valley Albert Covenhoven lost all his effects by a sudden freshet in the creek, and the family were reduced to great distress. On the breaking out of the Revolution Robert joined the Continental army, but late in 1777 he returned home on account of the expiration of his enlistment and at once took an active part in aiding to protect the frontier.

The danger soon became so great that a panic seized the inhabitants and nearly all of them about Muncy fled to Brady's Fort. Those above, and up to Lycoming Creek, took refuge at Wallis'. All above Lycoming and Pine creeks were at Antes' and Horn's forts. The inhabitants of Penn's Valley gathered to Potter's Fort. Those below the Muncy Hills, to Chillisquaque, were assembled at Freeland's and Boone's forts and Sunbury. Those in White Deer and Buffalo valleys fled to the river and fortified themselves at various points. This took place in the summer of 1778.* Colonel Hunter, in a letter to John Hambright, says that it was very distressing to see the poor settlers flying and leaving their homes. The immigrants from New Jersey, who had come up that spring and winter, set off again as rapidly as they could travel to their old homes.

Colonel Hepburn, afterwards Judge Hepburn, was stationed for awhile at Muncy Fort and commanded it. Colonel Hosterman, Captain Reynolds, Captain Berry and others, were sent up soon after to assist in protecting the frontier.

On the intelligence of the barbarities already described reaching Colonel Hunter, at Fort Augusta, he became greatly alarmed for the safety of those who remained above Fort Muncy, and sent word to Colonel Hepburn to order them to abandon the country and retire below. He did this, he claimed, because there was not a sufficiency of troops to guard the whole frontier, and Congress had taken no action to furnish him with men and supplies. Colonel Hepburn had some trouble to get a messenger to carry the order up to Colonel Antes, so panic-stricken were the people on account of the ravages of the Indians. At length Robert Covenhoven and a young millwright in the employ of Andrew Culbertson volunteered their services and started on the dangerous mission. They crossed the river, ascended Bald Eagle Mountain, and kept along the summit till they came to the gap opposite Antes Fort. They then cautiously descended at the head of Nippenose Bottom and proceeded to the fort. It was in the evening, and as they neared the fort the report of a rifle rang upon their ears. A girl had gone outside to milk a cow, and an

* See page 570 of *Pennsylvania Archives for 1777-8*.

Indian lying in ambush fired upon her. The ball, fortunately, passed through her clothes and she escaped unharmed. The orders were passed on up to Horn's Fort, and preparations made for the flight. Great excitement prevailed among the people. Canoes were collected, rafts hastily constructed, and every available craft that would float was pressed into service, and their wives, children and goods* placed on board to be floated down the river to a place of safety. The men, armed with their trusty rifles, marched on the shores of the river to guard the fleet. It was indeed a sudden as well as an exciting flight. The inhabitants were fleeing from their primitive homes to escape the merciless foe, and leaving their cattle and ripening crops behind. Nothing worthy of note occurred during the passage to Northumberland and Sunbury, as the Indians feared to attack the armed force that marched on the shore. It is related that whenever one of the canoes or flats grounded the women would jump out and aid in pushing them into deep water again. All the settlements from Reed's Fort to Northumberland were abandoned, and the savages had full possession of the country once more.

As soon as possible small bands of armed men cautiously ventured up the river to secure cattle, horses and other effects that had been left behind. They found small bands of Indians engaged in the work of pillage and destruction, and at night the sky was reddened by the lurid glare caused by burning cabins,† barns and outhouses.

*In many instances household utensils and articles of value that could not be removed, on account of the scanty means of transportation, were hurriedly buried by the owners. When they returned a few years afterwards they were generally found in fair condition.

†The cabins of the settlers were rude but substantial buildings. They were generally constructed of hewn logs, and were on an average 24 x 20 feet. Sometimes a wall of stone, a foot or more in height, was raised as a foundation; but in the majority of cases four large stones served as corners, on which the building was raised. The house was covered with clapboards. Such a roof required no rafters or nails. It was called a "poor man's make-shift," and its use was justified by the poverty of the times. The ground logs were cut "saddle-shaped" at the ends; then the cross logs were notched to fit the saddle. When the building was raised as many rounds as it was intended, the ribs were raised, on which a course of clapboards (made by splitting them like staves) was laid, their butts resting on a butting pole. A press pole was laid on the clapboards over the ribs to hold them in place, and the

The first party that reached Robert King's improvement at Level Corner found the remains of his house and barn yet smoking. Passing on to Antes Fort they found the mill, which had contained a quantity of wheat, and the adjacent buildings, reduced to ashes. As the smouldering embers were not yet extinct, the odor of burning grain tainted the atmosphere. The fort stood grim and alone, the enemy having failed to destroy it. The party hastily collected what stock they could and drove them down the river to a place of safety. The upper part of the valley presented a sad and sickening scene of desolation—burned houses and barns, amid ripening fields of golden grain, presented a contrast calculated to sicken the heart.

Thus was this grand and beautiful valley evacuated in the closing days of June, 1778, and the whoop of the Indians again awoke the echoes of the forest. This flight was called by the people of that period the *Big Runaway*, on account of its precipitancy and the excitement and fear that pervaded every heart.

Soon after the runaway the attention of the Indians was attracted to the memorable descent upon Wyoming, which took place the 3d of July, 1778, and they hastened from the valley to be present at the massacre.

Many of the fugitives halted at Sunbury, but the larger number, completely panic-stricken, continued their flight to Paxtang and Donegal before they halted. The whole country was in a state of wild alarm, which was intensified by the news of the butchery at Wyoming.

Something must be done to secure relief. Petitions were at once drawn up and numerously signed, praying the State Government to send troops to the West Branch Valley to protect the settlers whilst they returned to harvest their crops. The grain was ripe, but it could not be gathered without protection.

On the 12th of July Colonel Hunter, commander of Fort _____ pole was kept in place by stay-blocks or a weight at the end. The logs were run up on the building on skids, held in place by wooden forks. The most experienced axemen were placed on the building as "corner men" to notch the logs as they were shoved up to them on the skids. In this way a building was raised and covered in a day without a mason or a pound of nails. The doors and windows were afterwards cut out to suit the fancy of the owner.

Augusta, forwarded the following strong and pathetic appeal to the Executive Council for succor, and as it gives a true insight of affairs at that time, it is given herewith in full:

To His Excellency The President and The Honble The Executive Council of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

The Calamities so long dreaded, and of which ye have been more than once informed must fall upon this County if not assisted by Continental Troop or the Militia of the neighboring Counties, now appear with all the Horrors attendant on an Indian war; at this date the Towns of Sunbury and Northumberland on the Frontiers where a few Virtuous Inhabitants and fugitives seem determined to stand, Tho' doubtful whether To-morrow's sun will rise on them, freemen, Captives or in eternity. Yet relying on that being who never forsakes the virtuous, and the timely assistance of the Government, which they have with Zeal and vigor endeavoured to support, they say they will remain so long as they can without incurring the censure of suicide. The Carnage at Wioming, the devastations and murders upon the West branch of Susquehanna, On Bald Eagle Creek, and in short throughout the whole County to within a few miles of these Towns (the recital of which must be shocking) I suppose must have before now have reached your ears, if not you may figure yourselves men, women, and children, Butchered and scalped, many of them after being promised quarters, and some scalped alive, of which we have miserable Instances amongst us, People in crowds driven from their farms and habitations, many of whom have not money to purchase one day's provisions for their families, which must and has already obliged many of them to Plunder and lay waste the farms as they pass along. These Calamities must if not speedily remedied by a reinforcement of men from below inevitably ruin the frontier, and incumber the interior Counties with such numbers of indigent fugitives unable to support themselves as will like locusts devour all before them. If we are assisted to stand and save our crops, we will have enough for ourselves and to spare, you need be under no apprehension of any troops you send here suffering for want of provisions if they come in time, before the few who yet remain are obliged to give way, with men it will be necessary to send arms and ammunition as we are ill provided with them. Gentlemen, ye must all know that this County cannot be strong in men after the number it has furnished to serve the united states. Their applications to us for men were always complied with to the utmost of our abilities and with the greatest alacrity; should our supplications now be rejected I think the survivors of us, (if any) may safely say that Virtue is not rewarded, I have only to add that A few Hundreds of men well armed and immediately sent to our relief would prevent much bloodshed, confusion and devastation through many Counties of this State, as the appearance of being supported would call back many of our fugitives to save their Harvest for their subsistence, rather than suffer the inconveniences which reason tells me they do down the Country and their with their families return must ease the people below of a heavy and unprofitable Burthen. These opinions I submit to your serious Consideration.

Signed,

SAMUEL HUNTER.

Sunbury, 12th July, 1778.

The appeal was not unheeded. Colonel Broadhead, who had been ordered to the assistance of the settlement at Wyoming, finding on his arrival at Sunbury that he was too late to give any succor in that direction, at once hurried up the river to Fort Muncy and took possession of the deserted country. The presence of an armed force encouraged many of the settlers to return and gather their harvests. The Colonel was very active in scouring the country and in stationing men at various points to protect the harvesters. He dispatched a captain and twenty-five men to take post at Potter's Fort, in Penn's Valley, to protect the reapers in that settlement. This left him 125 men at Fort Muncy, and he kept scouting parties out all the time on the lookout for Indians.*

Samuel Wallis, whose house stood within a few hundred yards of the fort, returned with Colonel Broadhead to look after his crops on the Muncy farm. He wrote to Colonel Matlack on the 24th of July, and complained bitterly of the conduct of Colonel Hunter in causing the panic and flight from the valley. He stated that Hunter, on hearing of the massacre at Wyoming, became so much alarmed that he ordered all the troops off the West Branch. This order resulted in the Big Runaway, as all the inhabitants became panic-stricken immediately, abandoned their homes and fled. Wallis says that when he reached Sunbury with his family he found that Hunter had removed *his* family and effects from Fort Augusta to a point further down the river, and was ready to fly himself on the slightest alarm. And had it not been for the arrival of Colonel Broadhead, Wallis was of the opinion that not ten families would have remained in the county. He was exceedingly anxious to have a few regular troops sent up the river, as he reposed but little confidence in the militia. Concerning them he wrote as follows:

Such confusion has already happened by trusting to the Militia here, that I can & do declare for myself, that I will not stay a single moment longer than I can help after being assured that we are to be protected by them only. We were amused some time ago by a resolve of Congress for raising 100 six months men in this County, & Col. Hunter was pleased to assure the Council that the men would be readily raised, when he at the same time knew, & was pleased to declare, in private conversation,

*On the evening of July 23d an Indian was discovered by one of the sentinels approaching the fort in a skulking manner. He fired on him at the distance of 150 yards, when he quickly disappeared in the bushes.

that it was impossible to raise 100 men amongst People so much confused and alarmed. This kind of Conduct from Col. Hunter, as well as a number of our other leading men, has brought us to the pass you now find us, & unless some speedy Interposition in our behalf, I do again with great Confidence assure you that we shall be no Longer a People in this County, & when the matter will end God only knows.

Such was the plain, outspoken language of Samuel Wallis regarding the situation at that time. From the tenor of his letter it is inferred that he did not have an exalted opinion of either the judgment or bravery of Colonel Hunter, whom he held responsible in a great measure for the terrible state of affairs then prevailing.

General Potter returned to Penn's Valley on the 25th of July, having been absent on military duty, and immediately communicated to the authorities the information that the farmers had pretty generally returned to cut their harvests. The loss to the county by the Big Runaway he estimated at £40,000. The panic, in its horrors and disastrous consequences, is without a parallel in the history of any new country.

The urgent appeals of the people to Congress were not made entirely in vain, for that body at once ordered Colonel Hartley to the West Branch Valley with his regiment. He arrived in the early part of August, and immediately took steps towards strengthening Fort Muncy and putting it in condition to make a stout resistance in case of attack. A body of militia, amounting to 300 men, was ordered out in the county to assist in guarding those who were anxious to gather their crops, now suffering for the sickle. This had the effect of encouraging the people, and they commenced returning to their desolated homes in large numbers.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE NEW JERSEY SETTLERS ON LOYALSOCK—ATROCIOUS MURDER OF A FRIENDLY INDIAN—DEATH OF JOHN THOMSON—HISTORY OF HIS DESCENDANTS—THE WYCKOFF AND OTHER FAMILIES.

ABOUT the beginning of the Revolutionary war several families from Central New Jersey settled in the neighborhood of the Loyalsock. Among these were the Thomsons, Wyckoffs, Covenhovens, Van Camps, Van Nests, &c. All of these, save the first mentioned, were of Hollandish descent.

John Thomson was a Scotchman. His father is said to have borne the Biblical name of Uzal.* When the son came to America he brought with him his little Bible, printed at Edinburgh in 1735. He married in New Jersey and duly recorded in his Bible the dates of birth of himself and his wife, and, afterwards, that of their child.

Their home in New Jersey was at the Drie Hook (Three Corners), so called from a peculiarity of the roads in that vicinity.† The farm extended up the eastern slope of the highest peak of the Cushetunk Mountain, which, however, is less than a thousand feet high. The house stood near the road, upon a rivulet which issues from the mountain to form the "Hollands Brook," so called because, from the living spring which is its source to the spot where it falls into the South Branch near the "Head of the Raritan," its banks were occupied by Hollanders.

More than a century had elapsed since the surrender of the New Netherlands to the British; but the inhabitants still maintained with characteristic steadfastness the customs and usages of their fathers. The language of the law-courts was English, but

* Genesis x. 27; 1 Chronicles i. 21; Ezekiel xxvii. 19, (in the Hebrew).

† This peculiarity has been removed by the extension of one of the roads during the present century, but the ancient name still remains to excite wonder and invite inquiry.

that of social intercourse of the home, and of the church, was still "Low-Dutch."*

The Scotchman must have been ill at ease among a people whose language he understood not, and probably the only reading matter he had in his own tongue was his Bible.

At this time the fertility of "the Shemokem country" was attracting attention. The name designated the region for more than a hundred miles around the site of the ancient Indian town of that name. Considerable numbers of the Scotch-Irish were already in that vicinity, and their fellow-countrymen in the Dutch settlements of New Jersey would not be loth to join them there.†

The family is now represented in that part of New Jersey only by descendants who bear other names. William McKinney, who formerly owned the Forge on Lycoming Creek, and his sons, Dr. McKinney, who died at Jersey Shore, and Judge McKinney, of the United States Court in Florida, were members of this family. So were the late Judge McKinney, of Dauphin County; Mordecai McKinney, of Harrisburg, etc.

* Not *Platt-Deutsch*, nor "Pennsylvania Dutch," nor any form of German. The "Low-Dutch" (Hollanders) must be carefully distinguished from the High-Dutch (Germans), from whom their languages and customs are entirely distinct. The "Low-Dutch" settled New York and New Jersey in the seventeenth century. The High-Dutch came to Pennsylvania in the eighteenth. Descendants of the Dutch settlers in New Jersey are proud of their origin, and still preserve, as sacred relics of a venerated ancestry, books which they are unable to read; heavy folio Dutch Bibles with immense bronze clasps; Dutch testaments with the psalms of David set to music; Dutch discourses on the catechism; the Dutch "Domine" Brakel's sermons, etc.

† Mordecai McKinney had already settled on and improved three hundred acres of Muncy Manor before the survey ordered May 15, 1776. He had married Agnes Bodine, a relative of John Thomson's wife. They all came from the borders of the counties of Hunterdon and Somerset in New Jersey, where McKinney had been a man of prominence. As early as 1754 he owned five hundred acres, extending from the Lamington River to the North Branch of the Raritan, adjoining the possessions of Lord Neil Campbell. In 1774 he was living in Lebanon Township, Hunterdon County, where he held offices of trust. His children were baptized in the Dutch "Church of the North Branch," which stood near the junction of that stream with the South Branch to form the Raritan. The dates of baptism are as follows: John, October 9, 1753; Mareytje, December 27, 1755; Catrina, February 12, 1758; John, March 2, 1760, (he married Elizabeth Wyckoff); Mordecai, April 15, 1764; Augenetje, May 18, 1766; Willem, July 11, 1768; Antje, August 12, 1770.

Many of the Dutch, also, were quite ready to get further away from the encroachments of English manners and customs.

John Thomson* located about a mile west of the Loyalsock on the Sheshequin Path, up Miller's Run, less than a mile north of the place where that path was crossed by the "Path up the river." He built his house on the edge of the upland whose water-shed produced the terrible swamp lying between it and the river. The situation was not unlike that he had left, though the hills north of him were only a little more than one-fourth of the height of the rocky barrier which had shut in his north-western horizon in New Jersey.

It was an excellent situation. The river and the creek furnished shad and salmon as well as fish of inferior fame. The forests abounded with deer and bear, and various kinds of smaller game. But the chief reason for the selection of this precise spot was, doubtless, the few acres of clearing on which the red men of the forest had raised their scanty supplies of Indian corn. The thrifty Scot at once set about enlarging the clearing, by felling the huge pines for timber to build his house and barn. After these were finished he grubbed up the immense stumps and dragged them outside his fields. He plowed his ground, and sowed and reaped the harvest that bountiful nature provided. His cattle and horses grazed on the lowlands, and the rich upland yielded an abundant reward to industry. But this pleasing scene of pastoral simplicity came to a bloody end. The inhabitants of the valley were, for the most part, warm adherents of the Continental Congress, but there were among them also a few Loyalists ready and willing to serve as guides and aids to the enemy. The Indian title to the lands in this region had been extinguished by the treaty of 1768, but there was a misunderstanding respecting the boundary; and, even if there had not been, it is doubtful whether the mixed multitude of Indians on the Susquehanna would have been satisfied, though they all owned allegiance to the Six Nations, with whom the treaty had been negotiated.†

*Henry Lawrence, recently deceased, owned the land on which the Thomson house stood.

†This powerful confederacy consisted at the first of only the Mohawks, the Onondagas and the Senecas. To these were added, (before the settlement of the

Of these confederate tribes the Senecas were the most numerous and the most warlike. The territory guarded by them extended from lakes Ontario and Erie to the western head-waters of the Susquehanna and the Allegheny, or Ohio, as it was still named.* The Delawares, as they were called by the whites, were the remnants of the Lenni-Lenapes who had been finally driven from the Delaware to the Susquehanna in 1742.†

The Monseys were a tribe of the Delawares who had been on the West Branch since 1724. The Delaware chiefs decided to remain neutral in the contest between the Colonies and the crown; but the Monseys resolved to separate from the main body of their people and join the Mingoes, "a gang of thieves and murderers."‡ This resolution, however, they kept secret until they had sent emissaries to the four or five hundred "Christian Indians," mostly Delawares, in their settlements, under the care of the Moravians. The emissaries found a band of apostates ready to relinquish

country by the whites), Cayugas and Oneidas, making "Five Nations." After the Tuscaroras were admitted in 1712 they were known as "The Six Nations." Toward the end of the century the Nanticokes also were admitted, making the seventh nation. The members of the confederacy, as a whole, were called by the French "Iroquois;" by the Southern Indians, "Massowamacs," and by themselves, "Mingoes," or sometimes "Hodenoosaunee," (people of the Long House).

*So late as fifty years ago in Central New Jersey the region immediately west of "the Shemokem country" was known as "The Ohio."

†The Lenni-Lenape confederacy had consisted of five tribes: 1. The Monseys, who dwelt on the upper streams of the Delaware, north of the Lehigh. 2. The Chihohocki, who dwelt south of the Lehigh on the Delaware, (the Indian name of which was Chihohocki). 3. The Wanami, who inhabited the valley of the Raritan in New Jersey. 4. The Mannhattans, whose domain included Manhattan Island, Staten Island, Long Island and the adjacent parts of Connecticut and New York. 5. The Mohicans or River Indians, between the lower Hudson and the upper Delaware. After a disastrous war with the Five Nations of the Mingo Confederacy, the Lenni-Lenapes sued for peace, which was granted them on condition that they should acknowledge themselves subservient to the Mingoes, and never again attempt to make war, but confine themselves to hunting and raising corn for the subsistence of their families. This their conquerors called "making women of them;" and this was their condition at the settlement of Pennsylvania in 1682. See Charles Thomson's Observations in *Jefferson's Notes on Virginia*, pages 269-286.

‡*Brown's History of Missions*, Vol. I., page 448. This "gang" was probably the war colony of sixty which John Dodge, the Indian trader, reported the next year as dwelling upon one of the branches of the Scioto. See *Jefferson's Notes on Virginia*, page 140.

Christianity and re-instate the ancient paganism. Through alliance with these a plot was formed to capture the missionaries, or kill them, since it was believed to be through their influence that the Delaware chiefs were so firm in maintaining peace. The plot failed; but the apostasy of a part of the Christian Indians and their alliance with the Monseys and Mingoes produced its effect. The missionaries withdrew to a safe distance. Capt. John Brady's suggestion to make a treaty with the Senecas and Monseys, while they were yet at variance with the Delawares, had not been carried into effect, and at length the Delawares also, "seduced by the arts of the English," took up arms against the Colonists.

Indeed the Indians generally, with here and there a shining exception, were not loth to undertake an offensive warfare after their own barbaric fashion against those whom they regarded as intruders upon their soil.*

They began to be offensive in 1777, and, during the latter part of that year and the beginning of the next, murders became more and more frequent. In April and May, 1778, larger parties of Indians and Tories hung upon the borders of the settlements, and life and property became more and more insecure.† Most of the able-bodied men of the valley had gone to fight their country's battles on the plains of New Jersey, and their wives and children were unprotected. By and by the danger became so great, and such a panic seized the inhabitants, that nearly all of them betook themselves to the "forts," erected for this purpose at various points along the river. Those about Muncy fled to Brady's Fort. Those above that, up to Lycoming Creek, took refuge at Wallis,' (called also Fort Muncy). All above Lycoming and Pine creeks found safety at Antes' and Horn's forts. The inhabitants of Penn's Valley gathered to Potter's Fort. Those below the Muncy hills, to Chillisquaque, assembled at Freeland's and Boone's forts and

*Twenty years before the Susquehanna Indians had told Rev. John Brainerd that "God made two worlds, one for the white men, the other for the Indians; that the white people had no business to come into the Indian country; * * * * and, though the white people made some pretense of instructing them, yet they had no design of doing them good, but merely to put money into their own pockets." See *Gillies' Historical Collection*, Vol. II., page 448; and compare William Taylor's remarks on page 237.

†See *Stone's Life of Brandt*, Vol. I., page 331.

at Sunbury. Those in White Deer and Buffalo valleys fled to the river, and built such forts as they could at various places.

Others left the country entirely and sought more secure places of abode. On the last day of May Colonel Hunter wrote to John Hambright of "people flying and leaving their all, especially the Jersey people, who came up here last winter and spring. Not one stays," he says, "but sets off to Jersey again.* Those who had been longer on the ground were not so ready to abandon their improvements. But the danger constantly increased. Early in May, according to instructions from Colonel Guy Johnson, the British officers at Fort Niagara had determined to strike a blow at these settlements.† Accordingly, in June, Colonel John Butler descended the Susquehanna with his own Tory Rangers, a detachment of Sir John Johnson's Royal Greens, and a large body of Indians, chiefly Senecas. At the outset they numbered three hundred white men and five hundred Indians, but by the time they reached their destination the number had been augmented by accessions of Loyalists and Indians to nearly or quite four hundred white men and seven hundred Indians.‡

The Indians were led by the celebrated Seneca chief, Giengwatho (who-goes-in-the-smoke). At Knawaholee, called also Newtown, (now Elmira, N. Y.), two hundred Indians were detached from the main body, and this detachment, under the chief, Gucingeracton, "swept the West Branch as with the besom of destruction."§

The inhabitants were not taken by surprise. Job Chilloway had forewarned them of the coming invasion. And now another friendly Indian appeared on the scene, whose name is unfortunately forgotten, though that of his murderer, more malignant than

* See *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. VI., page 570.

† Colonel Guy Johnson's report of September 20, 1778, in *Bancroft's History of the United States*.

‡ See *Pennsylvania Historical Collections*, page 438.

§ The West Branch detachment killed forty-seven persons and captured twenty-one. See *Egle's History of Pennsylvania*, pages 900, 1164; and *Stone's History of Wyoming*, page 193. The main body waited on the south side of Bowman's Creek until the return of the West Branch detachment, after which the entire division marched about twenty miles, and, crossing a wilderness and passing through a gap in the mountain, entered the valley of Wyoming near its northern boundary. The Wyoming massacre occurred July 3, 1778. See *Marshall's Life of Washington*, Vol. I., page 280.

Erostratus, is remembered. Hastening "down Sinnemahoning" he suddenly appeared on the bank of the river where Lockport now stands, and made signs to the garrison at Reed's Fort to come with a canoe and take him over. They feared, however, that he might be a decoy, and refused to venture. Still he insisted, and, to show his good intentions, waded out into the river as far as he could. One of the women (Mrs. Reed herself, as is believed), seeing that none of the men would go, jumped into a canoe, crossed over alone, and brought him to the fort. He had traveled a long distance to give warning of the approach of the force under Gucingeracton. He gave definite information also, especially of a band of twelve Indians near at hand. After delivering his message he was committed to the guard-house for safe keeping, where he lay down to rest, and, being much exhausted by the fatigue of his friendly journey, was soon fast asleep.

A number of men about the fort were amusing themselves by target shooting. Among them was one belonging to a lower garrison, who was slightly intoxicated. His name, DeWitt, indicates that he was of Low-Dutch extraction. As he was loading his gun he observed that he would "make that bullet kill an Indian." Little attention, however, was paid to the remark until he took deliberate aim at the sleeping Indian and *shot him dead!* The garrison were so exasperated at this ungrateful and inhuman act that they threatened to lynch him on the spot. Sobered and alarmed, he fled from the fort and was never heard of more. It is probable that he fell, as he richly deserved, by the tomahawk of the enemy.

The message of the friendly Indian was sent on down the river. John Thomson was at work on his farm. In a few weeks the grain in the fields would be ripe, and there was promise of an abundant harvest. Moreover, his last year's harvest was still in the barn unthreshed, (though why this should be, when provisions were so scarce that flour sold at three pounds ten shillings per hundred weight, does not appear). Taking his wife and child, with such clothing as they could hastily collect, his fire-arms and his Bible, he made his way, apparently on horseback, to Wallis' Fort, seven miles away. Here he found several of his friends and neighbors who had preceded him to this place of refuge. It was

in command of Colonel Hepburn, afterward Judge Hepburn, and Colonel Hosterman, Captain Berry, Captain Reynolds and others who had recently been sent up from Fort Augusta, were there to assist in protecting the frontier.

The weather was rainy, and the scouts sent out could discover no signs of the enemy. The canny Scot began to regret that he had so precipitately abandoned his possessions. He determined to make an effort to bring off his cattle. An opportunity occurred when Captain Berry was sent out with a small company to look after some horses that had been stolen by Indians, and were said to be some distance up the Loyalsock. Two men, who had found refuge at the fort, were willing to assist in the endeavor. One was Peter Shufelt, (whose name indicates that he, too, had come from one of the Low-Dutch settlements nearer the Atlantic coast). The other was William Wyckoff, a lad of sixteen.

These three men were mounted, probably, on Thomson's horses. They separated from the rest at the crossing of the Loyalsock, and went on to "Thomson's." Here they found everything apparently as it had been left, and, tying their horses near the door, went into the house. It was now long past noon, and they were hungry. Accordingly they at once set about preparing their dinner. But suddenly the horses snorted with alarm, and rushing to the door, they saw Indians approaching from the barn, where they had been lying in ambush. The men seized their rifles and ran for the woods; but the Indians rushed upon them with terrific yells, firing as they came, and Peter Shufelt fell mortally wounded. Thomson immediately stopped and returned the fire. But this endeavor to save his friend resulted in the loss of his own life. Some of the Indians had reserved their fire for just this opportunity, and now delivered it with fatal effect. A bullet from this second volley passed through his powder-horn, which burned at his side as he lay a-dying.

William Wyckoff succeeded in reaching the woods, but was severely wounded, and finally captured at the end of a skirmish, which had lasted nearly three-quarters of an hour. The bodies of the dead men were at once thrown out of sight, apparently in hope that others following might fall into the same ambuscade. But this hope was not realized, for a rescue party larger than the

Indians were willing to engage was close at hand; and they did not have time even to burn the house. They fired the barn, however, and then made off with their captive through the woods.

After Captain Berry had started in the morning, Colonel Hosterman, with Captain Reynolds and a party of thirteen men, set out from Fort Muncy for Antes' Mill with ammunition for the forts at that place and the Big Island. They crossed the Loyalsock between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, and as they reached the western shore, heard firing and yells, which they judged to be about three-fourths of a mile up the creek. They hurried up to the place where they thought the firing was, but found nothing. Surmising then that the firing might have been at Thomson's, they pushed on thither as rapidly as they could, across the northern end of the swamp, near the foot of the sand-hills. The rains had made the swamp "very ugly," and it took them nearly a quarter of an hour to cross it. Thus they arrived too late to be of service. They found the barn with its store of grain on fire, and heard in the distance the triumphant shouts of the foe. Two of these shouts they recognized as "Death-Halloos," and one they correctly took to be a "Prisoner-Haloo." From the shouts thus given they supposed the Indians were about fourteen in number. This was a very good guess, for the friendly Indian, shot by DeWitt, had given information "of those *twelve* Indians who did the murder."* And there was also a Tory with the party. Captain Reynold's company saw his shoe tracks, along with the moccasin tracks of the Indians, in the soft ground near the house.†

Under prudent military direction they surrounded the house, and proceeded to search first it and then the adjacent field. Near the house they found Thomson's powder-horn, with the bullet-hole through it, but did not find the men or their bodies. Satisfied that they could be of no service there, they marched on to Lycoming, Colonel Hosterman, at least, returning the same evening to Muncy Farm, where he began to write his report of the events of the day.

The next morning, when the people there and at the fort learned

* Colonel J. Potter to Mr. Stewart, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. VI., page 603.

† See also the family record of John Thomson's death.

that the companies which went out the day before had not returned, they grew uneasy and sent off a search party of between twenty and thirty men under Captain Shaffer. These men, when they came to Thomson's, made a thorough search of the house and premises. At length they found the bodies of the two men lying but a little distance apart outside a field, among some pine grubs. Thomson was shot through the left side, and his jacket was scorched by the burning of the powder, so that they thought he had been shot at very short range. Shufelt was shot through the left shoulder.*

Doubtless the bodies of the dead were buried, but there is no record of the fact, and no monument to tell where they lie.

Juda Thomson

Juda Bodine, the wife of John Thomson, was descended from Jean Bodin, one of the Huguenot settlers of Staten Island, New York.†

* This statement, taken from Colonel Hosterman's report, (*Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. VI. page 589), seems to imply that Shufelt was not scalped. But this is very unlikely, for there was a bounty on scalps. And Colonel Hartley's expedition, in September, discovered the huts where the scalps secured on this raid were dried and prepared for market, so as to secure the largest bounty offered. "This was graded in amount beginning with the robust and able-bodied man, and so down to the child of two years. They were all assorted, and labeled, and baled, as the Indians pack their peltry, and in this way delivered over to the officers of the crown entrusted with this branch of the British service." (*H. B. Wright's History of Plymouth, Pa.*, page 170). Compare page 158. The Pennsylvania tradition of the death of Thomson and Shufelt was given in the first edition of this work, (pages 209-215). It is here supplemented by the New Jersey tradition, and by information derived from the other sources indicated. This sketch of the Thomson family has been furnished by John Bodine Thompson, a native of Readington, N. J., now residing at Berkeley, California.

† He was born in France, at the village of Medis, near the southern shore of Saintonge, along the Gironde, and was naturalized in London, October 14, 1681, along with his second wife, Esther Bridon. He died on Staten Island as early as 1695, leaving a daughter, Marianne, and a son, Jean. Jean Bodine's will, dated January 7, 1707, mentions his brothers, Eleazor and Francis, and his sisters, Esther and Mary. (*Baird's Huguenot Emigration*, Vol. II., pages 38, 39). The original spelling was *Bodin* or *Boudin*. In America it soon began to be spelled *Bodien* and

His descendants crossed over to the Mainland at Perth Amboy, and made their way gradually by the "Road up Raritan" from the mouth of that river to its sources.*

Bodein, and finally Bodine. Jean Bodin was one of the ablest political thinkers of France during the sixteenth century. See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, article, Bodin, John, and *Bayle's Dictionary*, article, Bodinus, Joannes.

* One of these was the John Bodine who in 1727 was living on his plantation west of the North Branch of the Raritan, known as No. 67 in the "Elizabeth Town Bill in Chancery." His son, Abraham, married Mary, daughter of Cornelius Low. They had seven children, five of whom were baptized in the Church of the North Branch, as follows: John, April 15, 1743; Judick, March 31, 1745, (she married Peter Bodine); Mary, — —; Catherine, September 3, 1749; Jane, — —; Sarah, August 10, 1753; Cornelius, November, 1755. These were all living at the date of their father's will, June 14, 1769. The will was proven July 3, 1769. It leaves to his wife "all that money given her by her father," with the use of his "whole estate, real and personal, during her natural life or re-marriage," (*sic*), or until Cornelius should become of age, when he was to inherit the real estate; John was to have fifty pounds, and each of his daughters twenty-five pounds. His wife was to have also his Dutch Bible, a bed and bedding, the best cuphoard, etc. His personal property was to be divided equally among all his children.

Cornelius Bodine served in the Revolutionary war, and was in the battle of Monmouth. (He said that Washington *did* swear in his anger at Lee's retreat). After the birth of his third child in 1785, having lost much of his property by the depreciation of the Continental currency, he went to the borough of Muncy, Pa., where his other children were born. In 1802 he removed thence to Ovid, in Seneca County, N. Y., having built a house there in 1801. He died there June 12, 1820, and his wife November 13, 1824.

Their children were eight:

1. Abraham, baptized September 19, 1779, at Readington, N. J.; died December 23, 1862, near Hughesville, Pa., where his descendants still live.
2. Peter, baptized March 25, 1781, at Readington, N. J.; died in 1843, at Ovid, N. Y., where his descendants still live.
3. John, baptized January 1, 1785, at Readington, N. J.; died in 1846, at Wayne Hotel, Steuben County, N. Y., leaving numerous descendants.
4. Cornelius, born in 1787, in Pennsylvania; died December 23, 1865, at Icelandville, Schuyler County, N. Y., leaving many descendants.
5. Gilbert, born in 1790, in Pennsylvania; died January 20, 1854, near Ovid, N. Y. Most of his descendants live in Iowa.
6. Isaac, born in 1794, in Pennsylvania; died February 24, 1840, at Ovid, N. Y., leaving one child, who has descendants in Illinois and Wisconsin.
7. Charles, died in infancy January 26, 1796, in Pennsylvania.
8. George, born January 8, 1798, in Pennsylvania; died May 15, 1868, at Ovid, N. Y., on the homestead, where his eight children were born, in which vicinity most of his descendants still live.

Cornelius Bodine's oldest son, Abraham, did not remove with his father and

Among them was Abraham Bodine, who married Adriantje Janse.*

Their daughter Judik became the wife of John Thomson. When she was but thirteen years of age her older sister married, and she was left alone to aid in the care of the other children. At eighteen she stood before the church as one of the *Getuygen* (witnesses) at the baptism of her brother Peter's daughter, Elizabeth. † After that she continued doing the work of the household, and alleviating the burdens of her parents. Not until she was no longer needed for this purpose in the home of her youth did she find rest in the house of her husband.

His appreciation of her may be inferred from the fact that he was unwilling to use alike her Dutch name of Judick, the current abbreviation of it to Jude, and the English form of Judith. He called her "Juda." So he wrote her name in his family record, and so she continued to write it after his decease. In this form it continues among her descendants to this day. But his care for her came to an untimely end on that dreadful 10th of June, 1778. Henceforth she was alone in the world, with a young child to care for, and destitute. No wonder if she were at first almost in despair. No wonder that she turned down the leaf of her Bible at the

family to "The Lake Country" of New York, but remained on the West Branch of the Susquehanna. He married, first, Mercy Paxon, by whom he had five children, and secondly, Barbara Cruze, by whom he had but one child. His six children were John, Elizabeth, Charles, Margaret, George and Russell.

*She was a member of one of the Hollandish families to which the Huguenots in New Jersey had become so thoroughly assimilated. They had nine children, eight of whom were baptized in the "Church of the North Branch," and the ninth in the Church of Raritan, (now Somerville, N. J.)

The record is as follows: Catrina, April 14, 1725; Peter, December 12, 1726; John, December 6, 1730; Abraham, April 15, 1733; Judik, April 20, 1735; Isaac, July 10, 1737; Onke, November 18, 1739; Arriantje, November 18, 1741; Maria, June 10, 1744.

Catrina married Llodewyck Hardenbrook. Peter married, first, Mareytje; second, Judick, daughter of Abraham Bodine and Mary Low, and widow of Samuel Willemse. John married Femmetje Voorhees. His descendants are living at Plainfield, N. J., and between Seneca and Cayuga lakes, N. Y.

† This "Betsey Bodine" was born September 18, 1753. December 23, 1779, she became the second wife of Tfolkert Douw, by whom she had seven children. She died November 18, 1825. "Betsy Douw" and her younger sister, "Judy Bodine," were visitors all life long at the residence of their cousin, John Thompson.

passage: "Even to-day is my complaint bitter; my stroke is heavier than my groaning."* It remains still turned down at this place.

Colonel Hosterman's report of the occurrences on the West Branch, finished June 11th, must have reached Fort Augusta the next day. Colonel Hunter immediately issued orders that all the settlers should take refuge at Fort Augusta, his force of fifty men being entirely insufficient to protect any of the points along the West Branch. Robert Covenhoven carried the message to Antes Fort with directions to pass the word on to those further up the river. He himself returned at once to Wallis' Fort and took his family safely to Sunbury.† It is probable that Juda Bodine and her boy went down the river at the same time under his escort, since he was one of her neighbors and a near relative of her friends, the Wyckoffs. How long she remained at Sunbury is not known. But she availed herself of an early opportunity to set her face again toward the home of her youth. Undoubtedly she traveled by the old road, "the first road over the Blue Mountain," which struck the Susquehanna at the Isle of Que.

Her child was too small to make the journey on foot and too large to be carried in arms. The horses had been lost the day of her husband's death. But mother-wit is quick wit, and mother-love a love which overcomes all obstacles. She succeeded in securing a little wagon suitable for the purpose, and in it she placed her child, with the Bible, which had been her husband's, and such slight articles of apparel as she had been able to bring with her. This cart she pulled, through storm and sunshine, the whole two hundred and fifty miles, over the mountains and across the streams, through "The Beech Woods," to Easton, and then over the Jersey hills to her former home.

Her return was like that of Naomi from the Land of Moab. She "went out full" and the Lord brought her "home again empty." The one treasure she still possessed, the only relic rescued from the destruction of her home by the heathen, was her husband's Bible. The family record in this precious book was now increased, (apparently by the hand of some friendly school-

* Job xxiii, 2. The spelling is as above.

† *Pennsylvania Historical Collections*, page 451.

master), as follows: "The 9th day of June, A. D. 1778, John Thomson departed this life; was killed and scalped by ye Tory & Indians at Shamoken."*

The devastations of war had been felt on the Raritan as well as the Susquehanna. Washington's army had crossed the Delaware at Coryell's Ferry (now Lambertville, N. J.), and had met the enemy on that memorable hot Sunday (June 28, 1778,) at Monmouth. Several of her friends and relatives were in the army, and (even if she had been willing to receive it) none of them were in a condition to render her more than a very limited assistance.†

It is true that her child was but six years of age, and that she was forty-three and without means of support, save such as she should find in her own resources of body and of mind. But she

* So the word is spelled according to the custom of the day. Fifty years later, in New Jersey, the pronunciation was uniformly "Shemokem." The date here given, doubtless from memory, is erroneous. Colonel Hosterman's report, dated at "Monsey Farm, June 10, 1778," says that the death of John Thomson occurred "this day."

† During the early part of the Revolutionary war New Jersey was devastated by roving parties of Tories, as well as by Hessians and British, under orders from General Howe, directing that "all salted and meal provisions, which may be judged to exceed the quantity necessary for the subsistence of an ordinary family, shall be considered a magazine of the enemy, and seized for the King, and given to the troops as a saving for the public!" Under such an order the pickling tubs and garners of every Jersey farmer became lawful prize,—the captor being judge of the quantity necessary for the subsistence of the family. (See *Gordon's History of New Jersey*, page 232, note). Among the families thus raided was that of David Schamp, the last in this region of the Colonial land-holders who kept packs of hounds for fox-hunting, and raised horses with which to compete in the Long Island races.

His wife was at home alone with her children, but she was equal to the emergency. When a neighbor rushed in to announce the approach of a band of Tories, she mounted one of the valuable stallions in the stable and galloped away with him to a ravine in the woods, where she hid him securely. The other horse, of equal value, was turned loose in the road, and the raiders were unable to catch him, though they asserted they would do so if they had "to go to hell for him." After their departure he was caught on the mountain and returned to his stable. Having done what she could to save the horses, Mrs. Schamp stationed herself at the entrance to the cellar, with a hay-fork in her hands, to defend her meat-barrels. Threats of all kinds and attempts to pass or seize her were in vain. They were not willing to kill her for what they could more easily get from some other cellar; and so she saved her food for her children. Probably she would not have been so successful if her assailants had known the fact that her husband was in the secret service of the patriot army, in

had inherited the virtues of generations of struggle with adversities, civil and religious. And her life for nearly half a century had been such as to develop her inborn strength of character, and fit her for the future upon which she was now entering. She was named after the Jewish widow whose wisdom and courage had given a future to her people, and the better courage of this Christian widow now rose in like manner to the height of the occasion. She had only her son to live for; but she would live for him in such a way as to make him worthy of his ancestry. And she did.

Accustomed to toil, she became housekeeper for the well-known Jacobus Vanderveer, at his plantation on Hollands Brook, a mile west of Readington church.* Here she made a home for herself and her boy, and sent him to school while she could, the schoolhouse being only three-fourths of a mile away, on the road to the mill and the church. As soon as he was old enough she took care

which he served during the war, with the rank of captain, though he was commonly designated by his rank in the militia as "Colonel." He was personally known to Washington, at whose request he raised the company of scouts which he commanded. On one occasion, at least, the General spent a night at his house. The wing in which he slept is still standing at "The Brookye," (now Pleasant Run, N. J.) The enclosure is of shingles, fastened with wrought nails. While they were at dinner a neighboring child (of the Van Vliet family) slipped into the room to get a glimpse of the great General. Expecting to see a sort of demi-god, she was very much disappointed, and exclaimed aloud in her "Jersey Dutch" vernacular: "*Hy ziet meer zo 's een andere kerel.*" Washington heard her exclamation, and perceiving that it had reference to him, insisted upon knowing its meaning. It was explained to him by the rather mild translation: "*He looks just like any other man;*" to which he replied: "Yes, my child, and a frail one at that."

The next morning, walking up and down the portico while waiting for his horse, a smaller child noticed the end of his sword case dragging on the porch and ventured to lift it in her hand. Receiving a kindly smile for her well-meant endeavor, she held fast the sheath, and walked up and down behind the General, "playing horse" with him.

Colonel Schamp was the nearest neighbor of John Thompson in New Jersey, and the families were connected also by marriage. These anecdotes of Washington have always been well known in the family, and were communicated to the present writer by John Thompson's wife, Elizabeth Morehead, (who received the information directly from Mrs. Schamp), and by Colonel Schamp's grandson, David D. Schamp, still living on the property.

*The farm is now (1889) owned by T. V. M. Cox, Esq.

to have him become familiar with the routine of work on the farm. After that she bound him apprentice to a tailor, that he might become the better able to support himself by his own industry.

When she was no longer needed in this household, she went to service with Dr. Jacob Jennings, then just beginning the practice of medicine in this vicinity. When he refused to pay her her just dues, although the amount in dispute was small, she thought of her boy, and sued him (May 18, 1785,) before Esquire Peter Bruner, recovering the sum of fifteen shillings and sixpence, with costs of suit.*

At a later date she was in the employ of Peter Whorley, who kept the big stone tavern at what is now the village of Raritan, N. J.

Still later she became an inmate of the family of Esquire Jacob De Groot, at Bound Brook, N. J.; and here she ended her self-denying life, and was buried June 17, 1796. The only legacy she left her son, beside the innate ethical courage which had manifested itself in her life, was the Bible which had comforted his parents in the times that tried men's souls.

It was customary in those days for a woman who could write to record her name in her Bible, with the added statement that "God gave her grace," etc. This pious formula of covert self-laudation she turned into a prayer, and wrote:

Juda Thomson, her book;
God *give* her grace therein to look;
Not only to look but to understand!

From this writing on the rough surface of the third page of cover, inside her little Bible, has been made the fac-simile which introduces this sketch of her life.

*See Esquire Bruner's Docket, now in possession of her grandson, Joseph Thompson, of Readington, N. J. Dr. Jacob Jennings was a graduate of Princeton College. His first wife, Maria Kennedy, daughter of the Rev. William Kennedy, of Basking Ridge, N. J., is buried at Readington. After her decease Dr. Jennings removed to Hardy County, Virginia, where he conducted religious services so acceptably that the people of that region urgently requested that he might be ordained to the Gospel ministry, and he was so ordained by the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church in 1789.

John Thompson, the only child of John Thomson and Juda Bodine, was born at the Drie Hook, on the farm now (1889) belonging to the estate of Philip Ditts Lare, not far from White House Depot on the Central Railroad of New Jersey. The removal to the West Branch of the Susquehanna took place too early to make any definite impression upon the mind of the young child. He remembered well, however, his childhood's home in the wilderness. In later years he was wont to tell how, playing one day behind the barn, he found a rare and curious flower, unknown to his father or his neighbors, which proved to be the first specimen of red clover ever seen in "the Shemokem country."

He remembered also how, early on the return journey, the party gathered lettuce from a deserted garden at a place where they camped, and ate so much of it that they were sick. At first they thought the lettuce had been poisoned for them by the Indians. One of the men kept complaining of the "load on his stomach" until his companions grew weary. The joker of the company had disencumbered himself of his vest while at work, and now called to the boy to bring from the pocket of the vest a fish-hook and line. Some one inquired what he wished to do with fishing tackle then and there, and he answered: "Fish the salad off this man's stomach!"

John Thompson's "cyphering book" is still in existence. It was begun before he was eleven years old and finished apparently before he was twelve. It shows that his mathematical studies extended through "the single rule of three" and "practice." In it the teacher wrote the boy's name, and always as his parents wrote it, "Thomson." But the boy evidently had a mind of his own, and he wrote it always "Thompson," a custom to which his descendants (however much they regret the change) now universally adhere.

He was an active lad, and in after years would sometimes speak of his exploits as a farmer's boy in the breaking of colts. He learned his trade with Peter Mazzini, the little Italian tailor. At twenty years of age he became a tailor himself at "The Brookye," five miles away, where he spent the remainder of his life. He was

a bit of a beau, as became a young man of his profession. His silver sleeve buttons and knee-buckles are still in existence. The buttons bear his initials, "I. T."*

His correct deportment and industrious habits commended him to all who knew him, and five months after he attained his majority he married (December 1, 1793,) Hannah Van Syckle.†

Their oldest child was born September 23, 1794, and the next spring (March 25, 1795,) he bought, for three hundred and twenty pounds, "specie money," the farm on which his ten other children were born. It lay mostly on the south side of Campbell's Brook, and contained one hundred and six acres. At that time, he was wont to say, he had, besides his wife and child, only his "goose and five dollars."

Yet he had also both character and reputation. His reputation enabled him to borrow the money to pay for the farm, and his

*The letters "I" and "J" had in those days the same form. John Thompson's son, William, always wrote his name "William I. Thompson," not "William J.," which would have been according to the custom still prevailing in that region. This custom of distinguishing relatives whose names are otherwise alike, by using *the initial of the father's name as a middle letter*, is probably derived from the old Dutch usage of taking the Christian name of the father with the addition of the syllable *son* as a surname. Thus, John, the son of Peter, would be named "John Peterson;" and if this John should have a son Peter, *he* would be known as "Peter Johnson," etc. This ancient usage was, of course, very confusing; but the modification of it, above stated, meets a want of the day, as will be seen on reference to the list of John Thompson's descendants on page 533. He himself was known as "John Thompson, senior," and his son as "John Thompson, junior." But this man's son John was known as "John J." So "John A." and "Peter A." are at once recognized as sons of Andrew; John P. as a son of Peter, &c.

This usage, however, does not always indicate the paternity with definiteness, for "Aaron J." is a son, not of John, but of Joseph. John P. Thompson's son, Joseph, secures greater accuracy of distinction by writing his name "Joseph John," thus reverting more nearly to the original usage, according to which it would be "Joseph Johnson!" It is fast becoming necessary to adopt generally some such usage, by which the first name indicates the *individual*; the second, the *family*, and the third, the *clan*.

†She was born February 29, 1772, and was the daughter of Andries Van Syckle, a member of the family so numerous and so pious in the vicinity that "The Church of the North Branch," after its removal to Hollands Brook in 1738, was known as "The Van Syckle Meeting House." For other relatives see *The Van Syckle Genealogy*, page 175.

character enabled him to earn the money and pay the debt. Most of the amount was realized in small sums from the diligent cultivation of the soil, though he also coined the clay of his poorest field into money, by turning it first into brick. During these years of struggle he worked at his trade in winter enough to pay for the help he hired in summer, and afterward abandoned his trade altogether, save that to the end of his life he always made his own clothes. His industry and economy were well seconded by his wife, who gave him also the wifely sympathy which sweetens labor. The six hundred dollars which she inherited enabled them to double the size of their house, in order to provide accommodations for their rapidly increasing family. The faithful wife and mother died May 18, 1806, leaving to him the care of seven children, all under twelve years of age. A year later he married Elizabeth Morehead.*

She bore him four children, and cared for all as if they had been her own. The thousand dollars she inherited from her father's estate enabled them to enlarge their farm-land and to settle his two eldest sons, when they married, upon the northern end of his plantation, on Campbell's Brook. The nine hundred dollars she inherited, at a later period, from her maiden sister, Sarah, with what else could be saved by the economy of the whole household, afforded them the gratification of educating her second son, William, for the ministry of the Gospel. Her devotion to her husband and his children was equaled only by the devotedness of her piety. Her children and her children's children rise up and call her blessed.†

When her eldest son, Joseph, married, an addition was made to the house at the eastern end, and into this the parents moved, leaving the rooms west of the hall for Joseph and his family.‡

Not long after John Thompson bought a farm a mile further up

*She was the sister of John Morehead, who had married Sarah Van Syckle, the sister of John Thompson's first wife.

†She was born July 25, 1775, and died January 16, 1861.

‡The quaint life in this "long, low, red house" is described in *Snell's History of Hunterdon and Somerset Counties, N. J.*, page 493.

Campbell's Brook, upon which he resided as long as he lived, and left by will to his widow. After his death the old homestead was bought by his son, Aaron, who never left the paternal roof, and, after his mother's death, purchased also the farm, which had been hers.

For more than thirty years John Thompson was justice of the peace and judge of the Hunterdon County Court. During the last part of this time he had the satisfaction of recognizing his son, Joseph, as one of the judges co-ordinate with him on the bench.*

He was accustomed to hold court, usually twice a week, in his own ample hall. Ministers of every name had the free use of this hall also for public worship; and teachers as well as preachers found always a welcome at his hospitable board. He died March 9, 1847, in the bosom of his family.

A list of his descendants, so far as known, will be found on the immediately succeeding pages. They number nearly three hundred and fifty, and are scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and to the Gulf of Mexico.

Children's children are the crown of the old men,
And the glory of children are their fathers.†

After the death of the last member of the family who had lived on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, the historic Bible became the property of his youngest son, Aaron. By him it was in after years given to that one of the descendants of the original owner who bears the names of all three of the residents on the West Branch. Every leaf of this precious book is water-stained, probably by the exposures of the memorable journey from the Susquehanna to the Raritan. The old calf of the binding is worn into holes by long use, and only small pieces of the antique clasps remain, imbedded in one side of the thick cover. The leaf which contains the family record is becoming brittle, and begins to

* Joseph Thompson, after being for fifteen years judge of the Hunterdon County Court, was for another fifteen years judge of the Somerset County Court, his last appointment being made on the nomination by Governor George B. McClellan (of the opposite political party), at the request of every lawyer in the county.

† Proverbs xvii. 6.

crumble at the edges. It is admirably represented, however, by the following fac-simile:

John Thomson is born
 the 15th day of April ~~1730~~¹⁷³⁰
 Juda Bodine the wife
 of John Thomson is born
 the 17th day of March 1735
 my Son John was born
 the 3th Day of July in the
 year of our Lord 1772
 The 9th Day of June. 1778.
 John Thomson Departed
 this life. was killed and
 scalped by y^e Tory & Indians
 at Shomoken.

DESCENDANTS OF JOHN THOMPSON.

Thompsons in Roman; others in *Italics*; surnames (of married women) in SMALL CAPITALS.

"*Kind is but kinned, writ small.*"

I. Andrew, born Sept. 23, 1794; married June 24, 1816; died Oct. 25, 1849.

Hannah CONNET, - -	{	<i>Stephen.</i>	{	<i>Amy Herbert.</i>		
		<i>Susan Elizabeth.</i>		<i>Frederick Nerius.</i>		
		<i>Eleanor Ann</i> POST, - - -		<i>Anna Nerius.</i>		
		<i>Andrew Thompson,</i> - - -		<i>Earle Thompson.</i>		
		<i>Peter Elmer.</i>				
		<i>William,</i> - - - - -		<i>Clara Hannah.</i>		
John A., - - - - -	{	<i>John Lane,</i> - - - - -	{	<i>William.</i>		
		<i>Sarah Louisa</i> HYLER, - - -		<i>John L.</i>		
		<i>Charles Ellis.</i>		<i>Nellie.</i>		
		Susanna DALLEY, - - - - -		<i>Sarah Ann</i> GORDON.		
		Andrew, - - - - -		{		Georgiana.
						John A.
	Walter Optie.					
	Sarah Catharine.					
	Mary Elizabeth.					
John A., - - - - -	{	William ENT, - - - - -	{	Henry Vroom.		
				Peter Schamp.		
		John ENT.	{	David.		
				Caroline.		
				Alice.		
				Anna Maria.		
Henrietta KITCHEN, - -	{		{	<i>Mary Ellen.</i>		
				<i>Susan.</i>		
				<i>Jennie Lavira.</i>		
				<i>Henrietta.</i>		
				<i>Sarah.</i>		
				<i>Carrie.</i>		
Daniel ENT, - - - - -	{		{	<i>Andrew Connet.</i>		
				Sarah Ann.		
				Hannah Maria.		
				Lida.		
				Mary Emma.		
Jacob, - - - - -	{	Andrew J., - - - - -	{	Laura.		
				Florence.		
		John Hardenburgh, - -	{		{	Frank Earle.
						Richard H.
						Mary.
						Grace.
	Rena M.					
William Henry, - - - - -	{		{	Mabel F.		
				Bessie.		
				Jacob H.		
Samuel, - - - - -	{		{	Hardy.		
				Edna.		
Jacob.				Estella Jane.		
Peter A., - - - - -	{	John Henry, - - - - -	{	Manning.		
					Alva.	
		Andrew P., - - - - -	{		{	Peter Cole.
						George Musgrove.
		Ellen Maria Dow, - - -	{		{	Wilhelmina Stont.
						<i>Mary Ellen.</i>
Henrietta ALVORD, - - -	{		{	<i>Marshall.</i>		
				<i>Mina.</i>		
				<i>Laura.</i>		
Caroline Miller Fogg, - -	{		{	<i>Robert.</i>		
				<i>Hervey.</i>		
Edward Anderson.						

	{	William Henry.			
William, - - -	{	Jacob Quick, - - - -	{	Bertha Acca.	
			{	Marion.	
		Isaac Servis, - - - -	{	Sadie May.	
			{	Mabel.	
		Catharine Maria.		Nettle Ann.	
		Mary.			
Eleanor Ann.					
Andrew A., - - -	{	John Lane, - - - -	-	Louis.	
		Mary Ellen.			
		Thomas Johnson.			
Susannah Lane, - -	{	<i>Henrietta.</i>			
		<i>Aaron Lane.</i>			

II. Juda SAXTON, born July 17, 1796; married July 22, 1820; died Jan. 26, 1847.

Sarah Ann LINDSLEY, -	{	Hannah Elizabeth CAMPBELL,	{	<i>Anna Jane.</i>	
			{	<i>Eva May.</i>	
		Juda Ann THOMSON, - -	{	<i>Ira Lindsley.</i>	
			{	<i>Joanna VAN CAMP.</i>	
			{	<i>Laura Belle.</i>	
			{	<i>Catharine Elizabeth.</i>	
			{	<i>John Henry.</i>	

III. John, born Jan. 3, 1798; married May 5, 1821; died April 20, 1846.

John J., - - - -	{	Christopher Brewer Stout, -	{	Anne.	
			{	Jenny.	
		Frederick Frelinghuysen, -	{	Marietta.	
			{	Margaret.	
		David Kline.	{	Katy.	
			{	Stella May Lowry.	
			{	Myrtle.	
Elizabeth J. ROBERTS, -	-	<i>Sarah Elizabeth SIMONS,</i> - -	-	<i>Clara Ellen.</i>	
Andrew J., - - -	{	Sarah Elizabeth SNOW, - -	{	<i>Mary Ellen.</i>	
			{	<i>Andrew Alfred.</i>	
			{	<i>Anna Gertrude.</i>	
			{	<i>Joseph Melville.</i>	
			{	<i>Elmer Irving.</i>	
			{	William Ray.	
			{	Mary Ethel.	
			{	A daughter unnamed.	
			{	Arscott Andrew.	
			{	Charles Edward.	
			{	John Albert.	
		{	William Merriam.		
		{	George P.		
		{	<i>Jennie Elizabeth.</i>		
		{	<i>Hattie Ellen.</i>		
		{	<i>Ada Irene.</i>		
		Georgiana.			
		Jane Louisa.			
		Adaline.			
		Emma.			
Peter J., - - - -	-	Peter B.			
Gilbert Emans, - -	{	Elda TRIMMER, - - -	{	<i>Elmer Alpheus.</i>	
			{	<i>Levi Thompson.</i>	
			{	<i>Anna Lavinia.</i>	
			{	<i>Ella.</i>	
			{	<i>Emma.</i>	
			{	<i>John.</i>	
		Levi, - - - -	{	Margaret May.	
			{	Ella Ray.	
		Sarah Rebecca TRIMMER, -	{	<i>Margaret Ellen.</i>	
			{	<i>Edward.</i>	
		Emma Augusta TRIMMER, -	{	<i>Aurie Thompson.</i>	
			{	<i>Ervin.</i>	
Aaron Saxon.					

IV. Peter, born May 23, 1802; Married Feb. 11, 1830; died Jan. 15, 1845.

David, - - - - -	{	Helen Ross.			
	{	Jessie Davetta STRENG,	-	{	<i>Jennetta.</i>
					<i>John Edward.</i>
					<i>Jessie.</i>
John P., - - - - -	{	Josephine Louisa.			
	{	William.			
	{	Joseph John, - - - - -	-	-	Grace.
	{	Peter.			
	{	Chrysostom.			
	{	Henry.			
Lemuel, - - - - -	{	Lemuel.			
	{	Minerva.			
	{	Jessie.			
	{	Mary.			
	{	Earle.			
	{	Joseph.			
	{	Aaron.			
Mary Hannah CASE, -	{	<i>Marietta.</i>			
	{	<i>Elizabeth Augusta.</i>			
	{	<i>Joanna.</i>			
	{	<i>Jessie Davetta.</i>			
	{	<i>Peter Lemuel.</i>			
William.					
George.					
Augustus.					

V. Hannah LA TOURETTE, born August 1, 1802; married August 19, 1820; died March 27, 1838.

Hannah Maria CARKHUFF	{	<i>Mary Catharine.*</i>			
	{	Jacob Quiek, - - - - -	-	{	<i>Jacob Russel.</i>
					<i>Mary Hannah.</i>
					<i>Mabel.</i>
Andrew Thompson, -	{	Peter.			
	{	John, - - - - -	-	-	<i>Alma Jane.</i>
					<i>A babe unnamed.</i>
		Joseph Stevenson, - - - - -			<i>Clarence.</i>
					<i>Irene.</i>
		George Dalley, - - - - -			<i>Roscoe.</i>
		Ira HALL,			<i>Andrew T.</i>
		Elizabeth Kee.			<i>William B.</i>
Peter, - - - - -	{	Andrew.			
	{	Mary Letitia.			
	{	Caroline.			
		Lucy WYCKOFF, - - - - -			<i>Minnie Atter.</i>
					<i>Stella Ethel.</i>
					<i>Lester.</i>
					<i>Florence Goldie.</i>
		Franklin.			
		Lemuel.			
		Frederick.			
		Flora May.			
		Arthur.			
John, - - - - -	{	Ezekiel.			
	{	Ira, - - - - -	-	-	<i>Gertrude.</i>
	{	Ely.			
	{	Franzenia.			
	{	Naomi.			
	{	Mary.			
Sarah VAN DOREN, -	{	John.			
	{	Susan Maria.			
	{	Hannah Elizabeth CRATE, -	-	-	<i>Bertha.</i>
	{	Margaret Ann WOODRUFF, -	-	-	<i>Anna May.</i>
	{	Henry Augustus.			<i>Alexander.</i>

*Children by Daniel Ent Thompson, grandson of Andrew. See in I. above.

VI. Sarah HUDNUT, born June 6, 1804; married, 1825; died May 4, 1856.

Josiah Austin.

<i>Elizabeth EVERETT,</i>	-	{	<i>John.</i>				
			<i>Sarah.</i>				
			<i>William.</i>				
			<i>Jacob.</i>				
			<i>Ida HOAGLAND,</i>	-	-	-	<i>Katie.</i>
							<i>Ella.</i>
<i>John Thompson,</i>	-	-	<i>Jacob Cole,</i>	-	-	-	<i>Hannah.</i>
							<i>John T.</i>
			<i>Joseph Boss.</i>				
			<i>Anna WAKEFIELD,</i>	-	-	-	<i>Marion F.</i>
			<i>Charles.</i>				
<i>Abraham P.</i>							
<i>Margaret Stout QUIMBY,</i>		{	<i>Stephen De Hart,</i>	-	-	-	<i>Mary.</i>
			<i>John D. Vroom.</i>				
			<i>Elizabeth Holcomb.</i>				
			<i>Sarah Elizabeth.</i>				
			<i>John Thompson.</i>				
			<i>A babe unnamed.</i>				
<i>Peter Thompson,</i>	-	-	<i>William.</i>				
			<i>Frederick.</i>				
			<i>Pearl.</i>				
			<i>Grace.</i>				
			<i>Lovel.</i>				

VII. Mary, born May 18, 1806; died February, 1807.

VIII. Joseph, born Sept. 30, 1808; married Jan. 6, 1830.

<i>John Bodine,</i>	-	-	{	<i>William Reeve.</i>	
<i>Henry Post.</i>				<i>Henry Dallas.</i>	
				<i>Maurice Joseph.</i>	
<i>Abraham,</i>	-	-	-	<i>James Westfall.</i>	
				<i>John Henry.</i>	
				<i>Wayne Hubert.</i>	
<i>William.</i>				<i>Anna de Foreest.</i>	
				<i>Kate Kennedy.</i>	
<i>Aaron J.,</i>	-	-	-	<i>Elias Wortman.</i>	
				<i>Josephine Anderson KERSHAW,</i>	- <i>Raymond Davidson.</i>
<i>Martha Eliza HOFFMAN.</i>					
<i>Luther.</i>					
<i>Emma BOUTSQUET,</i>	-	-	-	<i>Emma Josephine.</i>	

IX. William, born March 8, 1812; married April 2, 1846; died March 19, 1867.

<i>Kate HOPPER.</i>					
<i>Elizabeth HIGGINS,</i>	-	{	<i>Helen Richards.</i>		
<i>John Ward.</i>			<i>Harry Vassar.</i>		

X. Aaron, born Sept. 16, 1814; married Feb. 26, 1846.

<i>Charitree S. HEGEMAN,</i>	-	{	<i>Aaron Thompson.</i>	
			<i>Herman.</i>	
			<i>Aaron Thompson.</i>	
<i>Elizabeth Ann DALLEY,</i>		{	<i>Maria Schamp.</i>	
<i>Sophie.</i>			<i>Ina Thompson.</i>	
			<i>Aaron Thompson.</i>	
<i>Lany KLINE,</i>	-	-	<i>Sophie Maria.</i>	
<i>David Schamp,</i>	-	-	<i>Charitree D.</i>	
<i>John Kee.</i>				
<i>Ina.</i>				

XI. Elizabeth KEE, born Sept. 2, 1817; married Dec. 15, 1845; died Dec. 14, 1881.

Margaret Jane CONKLING, { *Howard Monbray.*
Russel Montfort.
Edward Payson.
Elizabeth Kee.
William Richards.

Eliza Mary RICHARDS.

THE WYCKOFF FAMILY.

One of the Dutch families from New Jersey was that of Peter Wyckoff.*

His home was on Mill Creek, just above the place where it empties into the Loyalsock, about a mile north-easterly from "Thomson's." These families had been equally near neighbors in New Jersey, and they probably came to this region together. Peter Wyckoff was a jurymen in Northumberland County in 1777.

This family was well represented in Captain Berry's company of men that set out from Fort Muncy to look for the stolen horses, June 10, 1778. (Mention has already been made of William Wyckoff, the son of Peter.) It is not certain that Peter Wyckoff himself was in the company, though it is very probable, for he was captured the same day. His brother, William, and his sons, Cornelius and Joseph, were in it. So were their cousins, James and Thomas Covenhoven, and perhaps others of their relatives. Besides these there was a friendly Indian, known as "Captain Sharpshins," a negro, and others to the number of twelve.† For some reason (probably because of information received at the fort after their departure) a messenger was sent out after them to advise an immediate return. This messenger was

* The original spelling of this name was "Wyk-hof." The last syllable appears also in the name "Hoffman" (Hof-man). "Hof" means *court*, and "Hofman" is thus equivalent to the English *Courtier*. "Wyk" denotes a *place of refuge*, and also a *ward* of a city. The primary signification was probably *home* or *dwelling-place*. In form, the word is almost identical with the Creek, *oik-os*, a *house*, and has, undoubtedly, the same origin. Thus "Bruynswyck" (Brunswick) meant originally *Brown's house*. "Wyk-hof-man," shortened to "Wyk-hof" (Wyckoff), must have designated primarily, the *Household Courtier* in distinction from those at a further remove from the chief court of the realm. In like manner "Kerk-hof-man," shortened to "Kerk-hof," and anglicized to "Cark-huff," designated at first one buised in *church courts*, &c.

† See *Pennsylvania Historical Collections*, page 455.

Robert Covenhoven.* But Captain Berry refused to acknowledge Colonel Hepburn's authority, and persisted in going forward. This being the case, and so many of his relatives being in the expedition, Robert Covenhoven determined to go along as guide. The party proceeded cautiously through the Narrows, and so on up the creek, searching in vain for the horses, until they thought they had gone far enough. They then determined to retrace their steps, and accordingly set out again down the creek. Robert Covenhoven believed that there were Indians in the vicinity, and advised a return by a safer, though more difficult, route through the woods, and over the mountain, in order to avoid the danger of an ambuscade. But Captain Berry thought there was no danger, and paid little attention to his warning. He insisted until Berry impatiently said he was needlessly alarmed, and accused him of cowardice. This irritated him, and he insisted no more. He went privately, however, to his brothers and communicated to them his fears that they would be attacked, and that if so they would probably all be killed. He urged them to keep a sharp outlook, and if the flash of a gun was seen, to spring immediately to the protection of some friendly tree.

They traveled on without molestation until they again reached the Narrows, a mile above the present bridge across the Loyalsock, where they were suddenly fired upon by a band of savages in ambush. Most of the party, including the reckless Captain Berry, were shot down. Robert Covenhoven, however, and a few others escaped and returned to the fort to report the fate of the expedi-

*The original form of this name was *Kouwenhoven*. A branch of the family in New Brunswick, N. J., still write their names *Covenhoven*. Colloquially, the "Jersey Dutch" were in the habit of changing final "n" to "r," and pronouncing the word *Kou-wen-ho-ver*, with the accent on the first syllable. From this the transition was easy to *Coucover*, which in Pennsylvania became *Crownover*, and in New Jersey *Conover*, the form now used almost universally in that state. All the branches of this family are descended from *Wolfert Gerrisse Van Kouwenhoven*, who immigrated to the New Netherlands in 1630. His son, Gerrit, was known as *Gerrit Wolfertsen*, and his son, William, as *William Gerritsen*. (Compare note, page 529.) They all lived on Long Island, in the state of New York. William Gerritsen had six sons: William, Peter, Cornelius, Albert, Jacob and John. These all removed to Monmouth County, N. J., except William, whose sons, however, followed their uncles thither; and thence Robert Covenhoven's father came to the West Branch, bringing with him at least his three sons above mentioned, and his daughter, Isabella.

tion. Night was now approaching, but Colonel Hepburn at once set out with a party to rescue any other fugitives who might still be in the neighborhood of the Loyalsock.

Thomas Covenhoven, Peter Wyckoff, his son, Cornelius, and the negro were made prisoners. The negro was afterward burned alive in the presence of the other prisoners, who did not know whether or not they would meet the same fate. But they suffered only the privations and distresses incident to the condition of captives among savages. The greatest suffering was from the lack of *salt*. When their captors stopped to purchase supplies of an Indian trader in the wilderness, the white men eagerly gathered up a few grains of salt, with the dirt, upon which it had been spilled near the sack. Observing this, the proprietor kindly gave them each a small quantity folded in a paper, which they carried in their vest pockets and husbanded very carefully.

Peter Wyckoff was fifty-four years of age when captured, and his head was "white as a pigeon." The Indians, however, dyed his hair black and dressed him like one of themselves, so that he should not be easily recognized by any chance traveler.* Both he and his son, Cornelius, remained in captivity about two years.

Joseph Wyckoff, son of Peter, was also captured by the Indians about the same time. He was a farmer, and was taken while rolling logs in a saw mill.

He was carried off to Canada, near Montreal. Being skilled in the use of the whip-saw, he made use of his knowledge while a captive to earn a little money.

About the time of Joseph's capture Pontiac, with some Indians and Tories, descended upon a little settlement called Boone's Station, in Kentucky, and completely destroyed the place, capturing several persons, among whom was a family named Ford (or Fore). All were taken to Canada. In this family was a young woman named Keziah Ford (or Fore). While in captivity, Joseph Wyckoff fell in love with Keziah, and they were married by Father De Lisle, of Montreal. Their marriage certificate is still in existence.

*This story was magnified by repetition into the statement (*Pennsylvania Historical Collections*, page 455,) that he was bald when captured, and on his return had a fine head of hair!

Joseph Wyckoff took the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania July 30, 1777, in Northumberland County, and was appointed Lieutenant of the Third Company of the Third Battalion of Militia, in the county of Northumberland, April 24, 1785. His commission was issued by the "Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania." It is signed by James Irvine, Vice-President, and John Armstrong, Secretary. In it he is described as "Joseph Wickoff, Gentleman." It is believed that he was a soldier also at the time of his capture.

In the Name and by the Authority of the Freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania,

**The SUPREME EXECUTIVE COUNCIL of the
said Commonwealth,**

To Joseph Wickoff Gentleman

WE reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Patriotism, Valour, Conduct and Fidelity, DO, by these Presents, constitute and appoint you to be *Lieutenant* of the *third* ~~third~~ *company of foot in the third* Battalion of Militia, in the County of *Northumberland*. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of *Lieutenant* by doing and performing all Manner of Things thereunto belonging. And We do strictly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under your Command, to be obedient to your Orders as *Lieutenant*. And you are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions as you shall from Time to Time receive from the Supreme Executive Council of this Commonwealth, or from your superior Officers, according to the Rules and Discipline of War, and in pursuance of the Acts of Assembly of this State. This Commission to continue in Force until your Term, by the Laws of this State, shall of Course expire.

Wick
GIVEN in Council, under the Hand of the *President*, and the lesser Seal of the State, at Philadelphia, this *twenty fourth* Day of *April* — in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and *eighty five*

ATTEST.

John Armstrong, Secy
No. 3.

James Irvine V.P.

Peter Wyckoff's wife, Rebecca Emaus, made her way back to New Jersey (in the same company with the widow of John Thomson) after the capture of her husband and children. She was received into the Dutch Church, at Readington, in 1782. After their release from captivity, Peter Wyckoff and his son, William, returned to New Jersey, and remained there until the cruel war was over. Then they came again to the West Branch and erected a house on the old ground, and the mother and younger children were brought thither again.

William Wyckoff, the brother of Peter Wyckoff, went with him from New Jersey to the West Branch. He was the "old man Wyckoff" who had a rude tannery on the Loyalsock, and made leather for the settlement before the war broke out. One day early in June, 1778, he was at work in his tannery, and his nephews, the Covenhoven brothers, were mowing in the adjacent meadow. A dog suddenly commenced barking, and exhibited great symptoms of alarm. He would run toward the woods, sniff the air, and return. The Covenhovens were confident that Indians were near, and, seizing their rifles, called to the old man to accompany them to some place of greater security. At first he refused, alleging that there was no danger, but at last yielded to their persuasions and went with them. They had not proceeded far when one of them hissed to the dog, which at once bounded into the bushes and seized by the leg an Indian who was hiding there. He jumped up and shot the faithful animal. The whites, who were in all six in number, immediately jumped to trees. The Indians, who had been lying in ambush, did the same, and the firing began. Wyckoff, who was very much humpbacked, got behind a tree that was too small to hide all of his person. Fortunately for him another small tree stood between him and the Indians, and, as they fired at him, their bullets struck this tree, and made the bark fly around Robert Covenhoven, who was near. He yelled at the old man to stand up straight or he would be hit. As he was loading his rifle his ramrod was shot in two, but luckily he had a "wiper," with which he rammed down the bullet. Just at this moment he observed an Indian stealthily creeping round to get a fair shot at old Wyckoff. Watching him closely, till he attempted to crawl over a log, he fired and shot him through

the body. He sprang into the air, gave a tremendous yell, and fell. His comrades rushed up and bore him off, when the whites made away as rapidly as possible. He appeared to be the chief, or commander of the party, and if he had not been shot the whites might have been worsted in the encounter.

Cornelius Wyckoff, the son of Peter, left no children behind him.

John Wyckoff, Peter's second son, always remained in New Jersey. He married Altje Lane, and they kept the "Potterstown Tavern." News traveled slowly in those days, and he believed that one at least of his brothers had been killed by the Indians. This must have been either Joseph or Cornelius. Whichever it was, he was a sort of practical joker, and when he returned to his brother's house, in the dusk of the evening, in his Indian garb, determined to try an experiment upon him. In broken English, after the manner of the Indians, he asked permission to stay all night. The request was refused by the tavern-keeper rather roughly, because of indignation against the whole race of Indians who had, as he supposed, "killed his brother." When the pretended Indian urged and insisted, the landlord became angry, and seizing a club, would have beaten him had he not made himself known.

William Wyckoff, Peter Wyckoff's son, who was captured when John Thomson and Peter Shufelt were killed, (June 10, 1778,) suffered exceedingly during the wilderness journey from the pain of his wound and the exposure to which he was subject, but his youthful vigor triumphed, and eventually he recovered.

On arrival in the Seneca country he was adopted into one of their families, according to the Indian custom, in place of one who had been slain in the war, so that his life among his captors became quite tolerable, and in the autumn of the same year he was exchanged, and returned home.

After the war he married, June 17, 1786, Robert Covenhoven's sister, Isabella, who was then nineteen years of age.* He was nearly twenty-five. They settled near Canandaigua, N. Y., on land whose value he had learned probably during his six months'

*She was born September 11, 1767.

membership of the Seneca family. There he died April 2, 1847, and there his descendants still live.

Some of the Wyckoff family removed from the West Branch to Harper's Ferry, and thence to Kentucky. Others went more directly west, and the name is now common all over the United States. The table on the following page will be of interest.*

* It has been furnished by William F. Wyckoff, Esq., of Woodhaven, N. Y., from whom has been derived also most of the information here given respecting the members of the Wyckoff family.

CHAPTER XXIII.

DEATH OF YOUNG JAMES BRADY—THE SCALPING OF MRS. DURHAM—COLONEL HARTLEY'S FAMOUS EXPEDITION UP LYCOMING CREEK—CAPTAIN JOHN BRADY SHOT—HIS GRAVE AT HALLS.

AFTER the exciting events described in the two preceding chapters, nothing unusual occurred until the 8th of August, 1778, when a party of Indians fell upon a number of reapers and cruelly murdered young James Brady. The circumstances of this tragic affair are as follows:

A corporal and four men belonging to Colonel Hartley's regiment, stationed at Fort Muncy, together with three militiamen, were ordered to proceed to Loyalsock and protect fourteen reapers and cradlers who were assisting Peter Smith,* the unfortunate man who lost his wife and four children in the massacre at the plum tree thicket on the 10th of June. His farm was on Bull Run, nearly three miles east of the present city of Williamsport, and on the north side of the river. It was the custom in those days of peril, when no commissioned officer was present, for the company to select a leader who was called "Captain," and to obey him accordingly. Young Brady, on account of his shrewdness, dash and bravery, was selected to take command of the party.

They arrived at the farm on Friday, and stationing a few sentinels proceeded to work. That night four of the party left and returned to Fort Muncy. Nothing unusual occurred during the

*Peter Smith, who was probably from Hunterdon County, New Jersey, had a farm on the river just above the mouth of Loyalsock Creek. Like other settlers he was loth to leave his home and crops, though he had a wife and six children to care for. It appears that he yielded to their entreaties, and on the fatal 10th of June put them in a wagon and started for the stockade at Lycoming. The wagon is said to have been drawn by four horses. Several men joined it here, it is supposed, on account of being afraid to go down the river to Fort Muncy, some seven miles away. Lycoming was several miles nearer. The firing up the creek was very likely done by the Indians, who afterwards ambuscaded the wagon party.

night, and the next day they commenced work early. The morning was quite foggy, and they had not worked more than an hour before they were suddenly surprised by a band of Indians, who stealthily approached under cover of the fog. The sentinels discharged their rifles and ran toward the reapers. A panic seemed to seize the party and they all fled, with the exception of young Brady, who ran for his rifle, pursued by three Indians. When he was within a few feet of it he was fired at, but falling over a sheaf of grain the shot missed him. He immediately arose, and as he was in the act of grasping his rifle, he was wounded by a shot in the arm from an Indian. He succeeded in getting hold of his gun and shot the first Indian dead. Then he caught up another gun and brought down a second savage, when the party closed around him. Being stout, active and brave, he fought them vigorously for a few minutes. Finally he was struck in the head with a tomahawk and almost immediately afterwards received a thrust from a spear, which so stunned him that he fell. He had no sooner fallen than he was pounced upon and his scalp ruthlessly torn from his head. It was considered a great trophy by the Indians, as he had very long and remarkably red hair. A little Indian was then called and made to strike a tomahawk into his head in four places. The Indians then hurriedly fled.

After recovering consciousness he succeeded, by walking and creeping, in reaching the cabin of an old man named Jerome Vanness,* near the bank of the river, who had been employed to cook for them. On hearing the firing he had concealed himself, but on seeing Brady approaching him in a terribly wounded condition, he immediately went to his assistance. James begged the old man to fly for his own safety, as the Indians would probably soon return and kill him also. He refused to leave him, but proceeded to dress his frightful wounds as best he could. Brady

*This Jerome Vanness was, doubtless, the same man who had settled on and improved sixty seven acres of Muncy Manor before it was surveyed in 1776. He must have been 70 years of age at that time, for he was baptized in the old Dutch Church of the North Branch of the Raritan, in New Jersey, August 6, 1706. His father's name was also Jerome, and his mother's Neelye, or Nelly. His grandfather, Peter Van Nest, was an extensive land-holder on the North Branch of the Raritan; and *his* father, Peter Van Nest, had come from Holland and given his name to the stream yet called "Peter's Brook," near Somerville, New Jersey.

then requested to be assisted down to the river, where he drank large quantities of water. He then begged Vanness to bring him his gun, which he did, when he laid down and appeared to sleep.

As soon as the news of the attack* reached the fort, Captain Andrew Walker mustered a party and hurriedly proceeded to Smith's farm. On approaching the spot where gallant Brady lay weltering in his blood, he heard the noise made by the relief party, and, supposing them to be Indians, immediately jumped to his feet, cocked his rifle and prepared to defend himself. Finding the party to be composed of friends, he requested to be taken to his mother at Sunbury. He was tenderly cared for, placed in a canoe, and a party started with him as rapidly as possible down the river. On the way he constantly thirsted for water and finally became delirious. When they arrived at Sunbury it was nearly midnight, but his mother having a presentiment that something had occurred, met the party at the bank of the landing and assisted to convey her wounded son to the house. He presented a frightful spectacle, and the grief of the mother is said to have been pitiable to behold. The spot where they landed is pointed out to this day in Sunbury.

The young Captain only lived five days, which would make his death as occurring on the 13th of August, 1778. On the day he died his reason returned and he described with great minuteness the bloody scene through which he had passed. Early writers used to state that he declared that the Chief Bald Eagle had scalped him, and that his brother Samuel afterwards avenged his death by shooting Bald Eagle through the heart on the Allegheny. But this afterwards proved to be a mistake, as Bald Eagle had been killed nearly five years before, his body placed in a canoe and sent adrift down the Ohio. The unfortunate young hero was buried near Fort Augusta, and all trace of his grave was lost more than a century ago. He was deeply mourned, for he was a great favorite with all who knew him.

After much careful investigation the exact spot where the tragedy occurred has been located. It was on or about the site

* Colonel Hartley's report of this bloody affair to the Board of War, in which he gives full particulars, may be found on pages 688-9 of Vol. VI., *Pennsylvania Archives*.

now occupied by the saw mill of Mr. Ezra Canfield, a short distance above the mouth of Loyalsock Creek, and near where Bull Run, a tortuous little stream, falls into the river.

James Brady was the second son of Captain John and Mary Brady, and a younger brother of Captain Sam. Brady, the famous scout and Indian killer. He was born in 1758, while his parents yet resided at Shippensburg, Cumberland County, and was in his 21st year at the time of his death. He came with his parents to their stockade home at Muncy in 1769, and was a participant in many of the stormy scenes of that period on the West Branch, and during his short life he had a rough experience.

General Hugh Brady, the youngest of the six sons, said that the boys "all lived to be men in every sense of the term, and at the period when the qualities of men were put to the most severe and enduring tests." Referring to his brother James he says: "James Brady was a remarkable man. Nature had done much for him. His person was fine. He lacked but a quarter of an inch of six feet, and his mind was as well finished as his person. I have ever placed him by the side of Jonathan, son of Saul, for beauty of person and nobleness of soul, and like him he fell by the hands of the Philistines." The names of these six boys were Samuel, James, John, William P., Hugh and Robert, and there was but half an inch difference in their heights—all being about six feet. Hugh, who paid this splendid tribute to his murdered brother, was born at Standing Stone (now Huntingdon) July 27, 1768. He became a distinguished military officer, rose to the rank of a Major General, and died at Detroit, April 15, 1851. He had a twin sister named Jane, who lived and died at Sunbury.

Many anecdotes of the illustrious Brady family have been handed down, and one relating to James is worth noticing in this connection. John Buckalow, the son-in-law of Mordecai McKinney, was one of the early settlers at Muncy. They were all neighbors and friends of the Brady family.

At that time the men wore long hair, plaited, and cued behind the head. James had a remarkably fine head of fiery red hair. "The young captain of the Susquehanna," with several others, was at the house of Mr. Buckalow one afternoon. Mrs. Buckalow

"done up" Brady's hair. He was lively and full of humor at the time. While at work Mrs. Buckalow remarked:

"Ah! Jim, I fear the Indians will get this red scalp of yours yet."

"If they do," he replied, "it will make them a bright light of a dark night!"

In less than a week the noble youth fell beneath the cruel tomahawk and the savages had his scalp!*

On the 20th of August Colonel Hunter writes that in accordance with the resolution of Congress and the instructions of the Council, he had succeeded in raising a company of volunteers to serve six months, and had appointed the officers. The company was now doing duty, and numbered about sixty men. The expense of raising the company was considerable. Each man who had furnished himself with a good rifle and accoutrements was to have eighty dollars. This was the promise on which the company was raised, and the Colonel was anxious that it should be fulfilled. The militia who had served their turn complained loudly about not receiving their pay promptly. Many of them were very poor, on account of having lost their property by the inroads of the savages—particularly those living in the vicinity of Loyalsock.

At this time the records show that 100 men belonging to Colonel Hartley's regiment, 220 militia from Lancaster County, 170 from Berks County, 100 from Northumberland County, and between 60 and 70 of Captain James Murray's company of six months' men, was the entire number of men enrolled in the valley. This made a force of about 700 men, which was deemed sufficient to cope with the enemy. They were stationed at various points by order of Colonel Hartley, and directed to be vigilant.

On the 1st of September Colonel Hartley informed the Executive Council that he considered it highly important to have a small body of horsemen ordered to the valley, and he also wrote

*The number of Indians engaged by England during the war was, according to Campbell, 12,690 warriors. Of this number 1,580 belonged to the Six Nations, 500 Delawares, 300 Shawanese, 150 Monseys, and 60 Mohicans. Of scalps, the Senecas alone, 400 warriors, took 1,052 in three years, 299 being women, and 29 infants. They were sent to the governor of Canada, to be sent as a present to the King of England!

to the Board of War making a similar request. In the same letter he stated that Captain Walker had succeeded in making the necessary repairs to Fort Muncy, and that he had obtained a four pounder cannon from Fort Augusta, which had been mounted on the walls. A better feeling of security prevailed among the people, and some of the farmers had been induced to put in their fall crops.

Indians, however, still lurked about the settlements, and so intent were they on securing scalps on account of the reward offered for them by the British, that they frequently ran great risks. On the last day of August three German militiamen left the fort without orders or arms to dig potatoes; and although they were in sight of the garrison, they were immediately attacked by a small band of savages lying in ambush. The Indians discharged all their guns at once and pounced upon them. One militiaman was killed and scalped, and another was seized by a stout Indian; but after a hard struggle and the arrival of assistance from the fort, his assailant fled and he was saved.

About the same time a man named Gortner was killed near the fort, and Captain Martel was wounded. It was exceedingly dangerous to venture outside of the fort for even a short distance.

When the Fort Freeland settlers returned after the Big Runaway, Jacob Freeland, with the assistance of his neighbors, enclosed half an acre with stout stockades, inside of which the settlers collected at night for safety.

Sometime in the autumn of this year (1778) Mrs. McKnight and Mrs. Margaret Durham, with infants in their arms, started on horseback from Fort Freeland to go to Northumberland. Mrs. Durham's husband and several other men accompanied them on foot. They met with no interruption until they reached a point a short distance below the mouth of Warrior Run, when they were unexpectedly fired upon by a party of Indians lying in concealment. On the discharge of the guns Mrs. McKnight's horse quickly wheeled and galloped back. She came very near losing her child, but caught it by the foot as it was falling and held it firmly dangling by her side until the frightened horse brought her safely back to the fort.

Mrs. Durham was not so fortunate. Her infant was shot dead

in her arms and she fell from her horse. An Indian sprang upon her, tore the scalp from her head and left her for dead lying in the road.

Two young men, sons of Mrs. McKnight, ran when the guns were discharged and tried to secrete themselves under the river bank. They were discovered by the enemy, seized and carried into captivity. James Durham, husband of Margaret Durham, was also taken prisoner at the same time and carried to Canada. He was absent until 1783, when he regained his liberty and returned home.

The Indians, according to their habit, quickly fled with their prisoners and scalps. Soon after the firing Alexander Guffy* and a companion named Williams came upon the ground. On approaching Mrs. Durham, whom they supposed dead, they were greatly surprised to see her rise up and piteously call for water. With the loss of her scalp she presented a horrible appearance. Guffy at once ran to the river and brought enough water in his hat to quench her burning thirst. They bound up her head as best they could, and as she had received no other injuries, started with her for Sunbury. They reached that place in safety, when Dr. Plunkett dressed her head. It was a long time before her wound healed, but she finally recovered and lived to a ripe age.†

*The Guffy family is one of the oldest in Northumberland County. Three brothers came from Scotland about 1754 and stopped near Philadelphia. Alexander, one of the three, then about 19, came to the West Branch in 1772, located a warrant covering the present site of the borough of McEwensville, and soon afterwards married Miss Margaret Scott. They had three sons—John, Andrew and Alexander, and one daughter, Elizabeth. She married Captain Anthony Armstrong. Andrew married Eleanor Armstrong, a sister of Captain Anthony Armstrong. This made their children double cousins, because brother and sister had married brother and sister. Andrew Guffy and wife had three sons and four daughters. The sons are A. J. Guffy, now living in Watstown; James, a resident of Kansas, and Richard A., deceased. The daughters were named Margaret, Eleanor Scott, Clarissa C., and Harriet. All are deceased but Margaret, who is the wife of J. P. Armstrong, of Prince George County, Maryland. Andrew Jackson Guffy, of Watstown, studied law with ex-Governor James Pollock, and was admitted to the bar at Easton in 1849. He has devoted much of his time to surveying and is good authority on land questions in that part of the county.

† Mrs. Durham's maiden name was Wilson, and she was married to James Durham

As the Indians continued to be very troublesome, it soon became apparent to the military authorities that some offensive operations must be undertaken to punish the savage foe, or the inhabitants would be in imminent danger all the time. With this object in view Colonel Hartley, in September, 1778, planned an expedition to Tioga Point, on the head-waters of the North Branch, to destroy some of their villages and break up their places of rendezvous. His expedition was one of the most memorable on record, and proved successful. His line of march was by the great Sheshequin path up Lycoming Creek and thence down Towanda Creek to the North Branch. The path at that time evidently crossed Lycoming Creek as often as the Northern Central Railroad does to-day. The best account of the march is found in his report to Congress, and it is given herewith just as he wrote it:

ADDRESS OF COLONEL HARTLEY TO CONGRESS, 1778.

“With a Frontier from Wioming to Allegany, we were sensible the few regular Troops we had could not defend the necessary posts. We thought (if it were practicable,) it would be best to draw the Principal part of our Force together, as the Inhabitants would be in no great danger during our absence. I made a stroke at some of the nearest Indian towns, especially as we learnt a handsome detachment had been sent into the Enemy’s Country by the way of Cherry Valley. We were in hopes we should drive the Savages to a greater distance.

“With Volunteers and others we reckoned on 400 Rank & File for the expedition, besides 17 Horse, which I mounted from my own Regt., under the command of Mr. Carbery.

“Our Rendezvous was Fort Muncy, on the West Branch, in-

February 8, 1774. Her first child, named John, was born Sunday, February 5, 1775, and was only a little over three and a half years old when shot in her arms. The second, named James, after his father, was born November 15, 1784. Some of his descendants now reside in Watsontown, and J. E. Durham, of Allentown, is a grandson. Mrs. Durham was the mother of seven children, three sons and four daughters. All but one were born after she was scalped. She died September 4, 1829, in the 74th year of her age. James Durham, her husband, died January 24, 1813, in his 67th year. Both are buried in Warrior Run grave-yard.

tending to penetrate, by the Sheshecunnunk Path,* to Tioga, at the Junction of the Cayuga, with the main North-East Branch of Susquehannah, from thence to act as circumstances might require.

* "The Troops met at Muncy the 18 Sept., when we came to count and array our Force for the Expedition, they amounted only to about 200 Rank & File. We thought the number small, but as we presumed the Enemy had no notice of our Designs, we hoped at least to make a good Diversion if no more, whilst the Inhabitants were saving their grain on the Frontier.

"On the morning of the 21st, at four o'clock, we marched from Muncy, with the Force I have mentioned, we carried two Boxes of spare ammunition and Twelve days Provisions.

"In our Rout we met with great Rains & prodigious Swamps,† Mountains, Defiles & Rocks impeded our march, we had to open and clear the way as we passed.

"We waded or swam the River Lycoming upwards of 20 Times. I will not trouble your honourable Body with a tedious Detail, but I cannot help observing that, I imagine, the Difficulties in Crossing the Alps, or passing up Kennebeck, could not have been greater than those our men experienced for the Time. I have the pleasure to say they surmounted them with great Resolution and Fortitude.

"In lonely woods and groves we found the Haunts and Lurking Places of the savage Murderers who had desolated our Frontier. We saw the Huts where they had dressed and dried the scalps of the helpless women & Children who had fell in their hands.

* The Sheshequin path struck up Bonser's Run below Williamsport, passed through the Blooming Grove settlement and intersected the main path up Lycoming Creek a short distance below Cogan Station, on the Northern Central Railroad.

According to Zeisberger *Sheshequin* is derived from *Tschetschequannink*, and means "the place of a rattle." Other authorities give the same definition. Heckewelder gives it *Shechschequon*. Sheshequin Flats is no doubt a corruption of the first Indian name given above, and is said to mean the place where a tributary or vanquished race of people lived. From 1768 to 1772 it was the site of a Moravian Mission.

† The swamp was located west of the limestone ridge below Williamsport, and took in the level scope of country as far west as Miller's Run. It was partially drained by the small rivulet known as Bull Run. A portion of the swamp is there to this day. Originally the territory covered by it embraced more than a square mile, and it extended back to the foot-hills. In those days it was a veritable quagmire.

"On the morning of the 26th our Advance Party of 19 met with an equal Number of Indians on the Path, approaching each other, our People had the first Fire, a very important Indian Chief was killed and scalped, the rest fled. •

"A few Miles further we discovered where upwards of 70 Warriors had lay the night before, on their March towards our Frontiers, the Panick communicated, they fled with their Brethren.

"No Time was lost, we advanced towards Sheshecunnunck, in the Neighborhood of which place we took 15 Prisoners from them, we learnt that a Man had deserted from Capt. Spalding's Company at Wioming, after the Troops had marched from thence, & had given the enemy Notice of our intended Expedition against them.

"We moved with the greatest Dispatch towards Tioga, advancing our Horse, and some Foot in Front, who did their duty very well; a number of the Enemy fled before us with Precipitation, it was near dark when we came to that town, our Troops were much fatigued; it was impossible to proceed further that Night.

"We took another Prisoner, upon the whole Information, we were clear the savages had intelligence of us some days—That the Indians had been towards the German Flats—had taken 8 scalps & brought of 70 oxen intended for the garrison of Fort Stanwix—That on their Return they were to have attacked Wioming and the settlements on the West Branch again—That Colo. Morgan or no other Person had attempted to penetrate into the Enemy's Country, as we had been given to understand, and that the Collected force at Chemung would be upwards of 500, & that they were building a fort there.

"We also were told that young Butler had been at Tioga a few Hours before we came—that he had 300 Men with him, the most of them Tories, dressed in green—that they were returned towards Chemung, 12 Miles off, & that they determined to give us Battle in some of the Defiles near it.

"It was soon resolved we should proceed no further, but if possible, make our way good to Wioming. We burnt Tioga, Queen Hester's Palace* or Town, & all the settlements on this side;

* Robert Covenhoven, who accompanied the expedition, claimed to be the first man to apply the torch to the "palace."

several Canoes were taken and some Plunder, Part of which was destroyed.

“Mr. Carbery with the Horse only, was close on Butler, he was in Possession of the Town of Shawnee, 3 Miles up the Cayuga Branch, but as we did not advance, he returned.

“The Consternation of the Enemy was great, we pushed our good Fortune as far as we dare, nay, it is probable the good countenance we put on saved us from destruction, as we were advanced so far into the Enemy's Country & no return but what we could make with the sword. We came to Sheshecunnunk that night.

“Had we had 500 Regular Troops, and 150 Light Troops, with one or two Pieces of artillery, we probably might have destroyed Chemung, which is now the recepticle of all villainous Indians & Tories from the different Tribes and States. From this they make their Excursions against the Frontiers of N. York and Pennsylvania, Jersey & Wioming, & commit those horrid Murders and Devastations we have heard of. Niagra and Chemung are the assilums of those Tories who cannot get to New York.

“On the Morning of the 28th, we crossed the River and Marched towards Wyalusing, where we arrived that night at eleven o'Clock; our men much worn down—our Whiskey and Flour was gone.

“On the Morning of the 29th we were obliged to stay 'till eleven o'Clock to kill and cooke Beef. This necessary stop gave the Enemy Leasure to approach.

“Seventy of our Men, from real or pretended Lameness, went into the Canoes, others rode on the empty Pack Horses, we had not more than 120 Rank & File to fall in the Line of March.

“Lt. Sweeny, a valuable officer, had the Rear Guard, consisting of 30 Men, besides five active Runners under Mr. Camplen. The advanced guard was to consist of an officer & 15. There were a few Flankers, but from the Difficulty of the ground & Fatigue, they were seldom of use.

“The rest of our Little army was formed into three Divisions, those of my Regmt composed the first, Capt Spalding's the 2d, Capt Murrow's the 3d. The Light Horse was equally divided

between front and rear. The Pack Horses and the Cattle we had collected, were to follow the advance guard.

"In this order we moved from Wyalusing at twelve o'clock, a slight attack was made on our Front from a Hill, half an Hour afterwards a warmer one was made on the same quarter, after ordering the 2d and 3d Divisions to out Flank the Enemy, we soon drove them, but this, as I expected, was only amusement, we lost as Little time as possible with them.

"At two o'clock a very heavy attack was made on our Rear, which obliged the most of the Rear guard to give way, whilst several Indians appeared on our Left Flank. By the weight of the Firing we were soon convinced we had to oppose a Large Body.

"Capt Stoddard commanded in Front, I was in the Centre; I observed some high ground which overlooked the Enemy, orders were immediately given for the first & 3d Division to take Possession of it, whilst Capt Spalding was dispatched to support the Rear Guard. We gained the Heights almost unnoticed by the Barbarians, Capt Stoddert sent a small Party towards the Enemy's Rear; at this critical moment Capts Boone & Brady,* & Lt King, with a few Brave Fellows, landed from the Canoes, joined Mr. Sweeny, and renewed the action there. The War Whoop was given by our People below and communicated round, we advanced on the Enemy on all sides, with great shouting & Noise, the Indians after a brave resistance of some minutes, conceived themselves nearly surrounded, fled with the utmost Haste, by the only passes that remained, & left ten dead on the ground.

"Our Troops wished to do their duty, but they were much overcome with Fatigue, otherwise (as the Indians imagined themselves surrounded), we should drove the Enemy into the River.

"From every account these were a select body of warriors, sent after us, consisting of near 200 Men. Their Confidence and Impetuosity probably gave the victory to us.

"After they had drove our Rear some Distance their Chief was heard to say, in the Indian Language, that which is interpreted

* Captain John Brady, who was killed the following April near his home at Muncy.

thus: *my Brave Warriors we drive them*, be bold and strong, the day is ours, upon this they advanced very quick without sufficiently regarding their Rear.

"We had no alternative but Conquest or Death, they would have murdered us all had they succeeded, but the great God of Battles protected us in the day of Danger.

"We had 4 killed and 10 wounded. The Enemy must have had at least treble the number killed & wounded.

"They received such a Beating as prevented them from giving us any further trouble during our March to Wioming, which is more than 50 Miles from the place of action.

"The officers of my Regiment behaved well to a Man. All the party will acknowledge the greatest merit and Bravery of Capt Stoddert, I cannot say enough in his favor, he deserves the Esteem of his Country.

"Mr. Carbery with his Horse, was very active, and rendered important services, 'till his Horses were fatigued.

"Nearly all the other officers acquitted themselves with Reputation.

"Capt Spalding exerted himself as much as possible.

"Capt Murrow, from his knowledge of Indian affairs, and their Mode of fighting, was serviceable. His Men were Marksmen and were useful.

"The men of my Regt were armed with Muskets & Bayonets, they were no great marksmen, and were awkward at wood Fighting. The Bullet, and three Swan shot in each Piece, made up, in some measure, for the want of skill.

"Tho' we were happy enough to succeed in this Action, yet I am convinced that a number of Lighter Troops, under good officers, are necessary for this Service. On the 3d the Savages killed and scalped 3 men, who had imprudently left the garrison at Wioming to go in search of Potatoes.

"From our observations, we imagine that the same party who had fought us, after taking Care of their *Dead & Wounded*, had come on towards Wyoming, and are now in that Neighborhood.

"I left half of my detachment there with five of my own officers, should they attempt to invest the place when their number is increased, I make no doubt but they will be disappointed.

"Our Garrisons have plenty of Beef & Salt, Tho' Flour is scarce at Wioming.

"I arrived here with the remainder of the detachment on the 5th, we have performed a Circuit of near 300 miles in about two weeks. We brought off near 50 Head of Cattle, 28 Canoes, besides many other articles.

"I would respectfully propose that the Congress would be pleased to send a Connecticut Regiment to Garrison Wyoming as soon as possible, it is but 120 miles from Fish Kills. I have done all I can for the good of the whole. I have given all the support in my Power to the Post, but if Troops are not immediately sent, these Settlements will be destroyed in Detail. In a week or less a Regiment could march from Fish Kills to Wyoming.

"My little Regiment, with two Classes of Lancaster and Berks County Militia, will be scarcely sufficient to preserve the Posts from Nescopake Falls to Muncy, and from thence to the Head of Penn's Valley.

"I am with the greatest Respect,

Your most obedt,

Humble Servt,

THOS. HARTLEY, Col."

"Sunbury, Octr. 8th, 1778."

This very interesting and full report* of the expedition, with its quaint spelling, gave great satisfaction to the authorities and people. The Executive Council unanimously passed a vote of thanks† to Colonel Hartley for his "brave and prudent conduct in covering the north-western frontiers of this State, and repelling the savages and other enemies."

At the same time Colonel Hartley made a request of the Executive Council to send him "300 round bullets for three pounders, 300 cartridges of grape shot for the same bore, 1,000 flints, six barrels of powder, a quantity of twine and port-fire, a ream of cannon cartridge paper" and some other small articles. He said, furthermore, that they had "eight three pounders on the

* See *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. VI., Page 5.

† Vol. XI., page 640, *Colonial Records*.

frontiers," probably at forts Muncy and Antes. There is nothing on record to show positively that small cannon were taken any further up the river than these two forts; and it is even doubtful if any guns were placed on Fort Antes, although there was a tradition that the latter fort had a cannon or two. This tradition was afterwards strengthened by the finding of a few small cannon-balls near where the fort stood.

Colonel Hartley found that the Indians of the North were incited to commit deeds of blood by the Tories, and he had a supreme contempt for these scoundrels. Indeed it seems that they were worse in some respects than the savages, and it is possible that if they had not existed the Indians would not have behaved as badly as they did.

The day before (October 7th) Colonel Hartley wrote his report at Sunbury, two sergeants belonging to his regiment at Fort Muncy ventured a short distance outside. They were immediately set upon by lurking Indians, and one was killed and scalped. As the other could not be found, it was supposed that he was carried into captivity.

As Colonel Hartley had left a portion of his regiment at Wyoming, the force on the West Branch was very much weakened, and it soon became apparent that more force must be obtained to protect the inhabitants. The volunteer company raised for six months' service, and commanded by Captain Murrows, refused to perform further military duty until the sum of \$80 per man, which had been promised by the Government, was paid. In view of this state of affairs, and the urgent necessity for troops to protect the people from the savages, a number of prominent citizens were induced to request Colonel Hartley to send Colonel Antes, Captain Chambers and Mr. Moffit as commissioners to the Executive Council to lay their grievances before that body and solicit military assistance.

The feeling of unrest continued. During the month of November the savages began to show themselves in greater force. They burned and destroyed much property on the North Branch, and on the 9th of November a body of about seventy came to the forks of Chillisquaque Creek and took a number of prisoners.

About the close of the year 1778 Colonel Hartley left the West Branch for another field of duty. His departure was very much regretted by Colonel Hunter and others, as he had done more for the protection of the people during his stay than any other person. Colonel Hunter complained that his lot, as commander of the militia, was a hard one; that the militia of Northumberland were harder to govern than those of any other county, and that they never could be brought under the same degree of discipline as regulars.

He also informed President Reed* that in accordance with the resolution of Congress, and the instructions of Council to raise a company of volunteers to serve for six months, he had appointed the following officers: James Murrows, Captain; Robert Arthur, First Lieutenant; Samuel Fulton, Second Lieutenant; William Reed, Third Lieutenant, and Andrew Donaldson, Ensign. Their term of service was about to expire, and Captain Murrows had gone to the Board of War with the muster roll to receive their pay. Some of his men had paid as high as thirty pounds for a good rifle, and they were naturally anxious that the Government should promptly reimburse them for their outlay. But the Government was hard pressed to raise men and means to resist the British, and however anxious the Board of War might have been to pay the volunteers promptly, it was hard for them to do so without means.

The departure of Colonel Hartley from the valley was greatly regretted by the people, because of his success in fighting the Indians and restoring confidence among the settlers. He was successful through life. It appears from his biography, which may be found on pages 733 and 734 of that excellent work

*General Joseph Reed was elected President December 1, 1778, and George Bryan Vice-President. He was born at Trenton August 27, 1741; became a lawyer and soon built up a good practice. After his marriage in England he settled in Philadelphia. In 1775 he was a delegate to Congress, and in July accompanied Washington to Cambridge as his secretary and aid-de-camp. During the campaign of 1776 he was Adjutant General of the Continental Army. In 1777 he was appointed Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. He served as a volunteer at Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth, was a member of Congress in 1778, and signed the Articles of Confederation. From 1778 to 1781 he was President of Pennsylvania. He died at Philadelphia March 5, 1785.

entitled *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution*, that he was born in Berks County, September 7, 1748. His father, George Hartley, was an early settler in Pennsylvania and a farmer in good circumstances. The son received a good education at Reading, and at the age of eighteen began the study of law at York with Samuel Johnston, a distinguished lawyer and a relative on his mother's side. He was admitted to the bar of York County July 25, 1769, and to that of Philadelphia on the 10th of August following. He rose rapidly to legal distinction and was in a successful career when the war of the Revolution opened. In 1774 he was Vice-President of the Committee of Observation for York County, and again in November, 1775. He was chosen a deputy to the Provincial Conference held at Philadelphia, July 15, 1774, and a delegate to the Provincial Convention of January 23, 1775. In December, 1774, he was First Lieutenant of Captain James Smith's Company of Associators, and in December, 1775, chosen Lieutenant Colonel of the First Battalion of York County. On the 10th of January, 1776, Congress elected him Lieutenant Colonel of the Sixth Battalion of the Pennsylvania Line, and he served in the Canada campaign of that year. On the 27th of December, the same year, General Washington, by authority of Congress, issued commissions and authority to raise two "additional regiments in Pennsylvania," the command of one being given to Colonel Hartley. He commanded the First Pennsylvania Brigade, Wayne's division, in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. In 1778 he was in command of the troops in the West Branch Valley, which the Tories and Indians from the state of New York had invaded. By a resolution of Congress of December 16, 1778, the remains of Patton's and Hartley's regiments, with several detached companies, were organized into what was termed the "New Eleventh" Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, to which he was transferred on the 13th of January, 1779, but resigned the month following, having been chosen to the General Assembly.

In accepting his resignation Congress, deeming his reasons satisfactory, bore testimony of their "high sense of Colonel Hartley's merit and services." He served as a member of the Council of Censors, 1783-84, and as a delegate to the Pennsyl-

vania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787. He was elected by the Constitutionalists on the general ticket for member of Congress in 1788, and continued in that high official position for a period of twelve years. He was one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati, and a trustee of Dickinson College at the beginning of its educational career. In 1799 he laid out the town of Hartleton, Buffalo Valley, Union County, on a tract of 1,000 acres of land purchased by him during the Revolution. Governor McKean commissioned him, April 28, 1800, a Major General in the Pennsylvania militia. After a successful and honorable career General Hartley died at his home in York, December 21, 1800, in the 53d year of his age. His name will be forever perpetuated by the beautiful town he founded in the fertile and lovely valley of Buffalo.

One of the saddest incidents of these troublous times was the assassination of Captain John Brady by a concealed foe on the 11th of April, 1779. He was living with his family at his "fort," as it was termed, at Muncy, and was taking an active part against the Indians. On this fatal day he made a trip up the river to Wallis', for the purpose of procuring supplies. He took a wagon and guard with him, and after securing a quantity of provisions started to return in the afternoon. He was riding a fine mare, and was some distance in the rear of the wagon. Peter Smith,* the same unfortunate man who lost his family in the bloody massacre of the 10th of June, and on whose farm young James Brady was mortally wounded and scalped by the Indians on the 8th of August, was walking by his side. When within a short distance of his home, Brady suggested to Smith the propriety of taking a different route from the one the wagon had gone, as it was shorter. They traveled together until they came to a small stream of water (Wolf Run) where the other road came in. Brady observed: "This would be a good place for Indians to hide." Smith replied in the affirmative, when three rifles instantly cracked and Brady fell from his horse dead! As his frightened mare was about to run past Smith he caught her by the bridle, and springing on her back, was carried to Brady's Fort in a few minutes. The report of the rifles

* After the war was over Smith is reported to have settled in the Genesee country and became prosperous again. His proverbial bad luck seemed to have deserted him.

was plainly heard at the fort, and caused great alarm. Several persons rushed out, Mrs. Brady among them, and seeing Smith coming at full speed, anxiously inquired where Captain Brady was. It is related that Smith, in a high state of excitement, replied: "*In heaven or hell, or on the road to Tioga!*" meaning he was either killed or taken prisoner by the Indians.

The wagon guard and others repaired to the spot at once where the firing had occurred, and there they found the gallant captain lying dead in the road. The Indians were in such haste that they did not scalp him or take any of his equipments. His death caused deep sorrow, and cast a gloom over the settlement, as he was a man on whom all relied for advice and assistance. This was a terrible stroke on Mrs. Brady, who was already bowed down with grief on account of the melancholy death of her beloved son, James, in August of the previous year. Now her husband and protector was cruelly stricken down by the same cruel hands that had slain her son.

The best and most authentic account of the death of Captain Brady was given by his daughter, Mrs. Mary Gray, of Sunbury, who was fifteen years old at the time of the sad occurrence. She had to the last day of her life (December 3, 1850) a vivid recollection of the startling scenes of that exciting day. She said:

My father was riding along the public road beyond Muncy Creek, and about three miles from Fort Brady, and near Wolf Run, accompanied by Peter Smith on foot, when the Indians fired and Captain Brady fell without uttering a word, being shot in the back between the shoulders with two balls. Smith escaped by jumping upon my father's frightened horse. The Indians in their haste did not scalp him, nor plunder him of his gold watch, some money, and his commission, which he carried in a green bag suspended from his neck. His body was brought to the fort and soon after interred in the Muncy burying ground, some four miles from the fort, over Muncy Creek.

It was never positively known what Indians did the shooting, but it was suspected that a small party had stealthily followed him that day for the purpose of murder, as he was a terror to their tribe. The ground on which he was shot afterwards belonged to the farm of Joseph Warner, but is now owned by Charles Robb, Esq., of Pittsburg. The fact that he was neither scalped nor robbed was regarded at the time as a mysterious circumstance, as his slayers, if Indians, had ample time, and his scalp would have

been a great trophy. The only explanation that can be offered is that the Indians, knowing who they had shot, were so alarmed that they precipitately fled to escape pursuit.

The place where he was buried is on the brow of a hill near Hall's, at the junction of the Williamsport and North Branch with the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, ten miles east of Williamsport. At the time of his interment very few burials had been made there, and it is supposed that he was among the first laid to rest in that lovely spot. The cemetery is used to the present day, and it contains the ashes of a large number of pioneers. It is kept in excellent condition and is visited by many persons annually.

After this tragic event Mrs. Brady, whose cup of sorrow was full to overflowing, gathered her younger children together and fled to the home of her parents in Cumberland County, in May, 1779.



Graves of Brady and Lebo at Halls.

The place on the hill-side where Captain Brady's grave was made was a lovely one, but as the years rolled away it was forgotten, and could not be found for a long time, as it had become overgrown with briars and bushes. General Hugh Brady, his youngest son, often sought for it in vain. At last one of his daughters, Mary Lathey Brady,* wife of General Electus Backus, U. S. A., was made acquainted with the spot by Henry Lebo, an

*On page 353 it is shown that General Brady married Sarah Wallis. They had five children: Sarah, Samuel Preston, Mary Lathey, Jane and Cassandra. Mrs. Brady died at Detroit August 25, 1833, eighteen years before her distinguished husband. The last of the five children to pass away was Mary Lathey, who finally discovered her grandfather's grave. She died February 10, 1880. Several descendants of General Brady still live at Detroit.

old comrade and Revolutionary soldier, who was present when her grandfather was buried. He had requested on his death-bed to be laid by the side of the man whom he had loved and honored in his early life.

The highway between Muncy and Williamsport runs by the cemetery, and looking over the picket fence you can see Brady's grave, for it is marked by a plain, heavy tombstone of granite, and bears this simple inscription:

CAPTAIN JOHN BRADY,
Fell in Defense of Our Forefathers
At Wolf Run, April 11, 1779,
Aged 46 Years.

By his side lie the remains of his faithful friend and compatriot. The inscription on his head-stone reads:

In
Memory of
HENRY LEBO,
Died July 4, 1828,
In the 70th year of His Age.

Henry Lebo came from Berks County. It is related of him that one Sunday while he was attending religious services in a German Reformed Church at Reading, the sound of a fife and drum calling for volunteers to fight the British so aroused his patriotism that he jumped through the church window and enlisted. He was in the battle of Germantown and was severely wounded. A sister named Elizabeth walked from Reading to Germantown and found him on the battle field, lying behind a log, suffering from his wound. She took charge of him and nursed him to health again. After the war he came to Muncy, married, and for many years kept a public house, which stood by the roadside on one of the Wallis or Hall farms. He had several sons and daughters. The old hero finally died at the house of a son in Muncy. His wife survived him for nearly a quarter of a century, and drew a widow's pension from the Government. Robert W. Lebo, a well-known citizen of Muncy, is a grandson.

Although it had often been suggested that a monument should be raised in honor of Captain John Brady, a hundred years passed before it was done. At last, through the untiring and patriotic

efforts of Mr. J. M. M. Gerner, enough money was raised by dollar subscriptions to erect a cenotaph to his memory in the cemetery at Muncy, and it was formally dedicated and unveiled on the 15th of October, 1879. There was a large throng of people present, including many descendants of the illustrious dead, and the ceremonies were interesting and impressive. Hon. John Blair Linn, of Bellefonte, delivered the historical oration.



The Brady Cenotaph.

The cenotaph is plain but massive, and is constructed of Maine granite in four handsomely proportioned pieces, consisting of a base, a sub-base, a die, and an obelisk, the whole twenty-seven feet high and weighing about twenty-five tons. It rests on a solid foundation of masonry hidden from sight by a sodded terrace nearly three feet in height, and is in tasteful proportions to the size of the circular lot in the centre of which it stands. The total elevation of the cap of the shaft is about thirty feet. The date, "1779," is cut about the centre of the shaft on the front face, in raised figures; the name of "John Brady" in heavy letters in the die, and the date of erection, "1879," in the centre of the sub-base. On each side of the die is a large polished panel, bordered by a neatly chiseled moulding to correspond with the lines of the die and shaft. The face of the letters and figures are also highly polished, and all other exposed parts of the cenotaph are finely cut. Its artistic proportions are pleasing to the eye, and it is much admired by visitors to the cemetery. It cost about \$1,600.

The Brady markers in the old cemetery at Halls consist of thick slabs, 30 by 21 inches, set on a base 14 by 29; the whole being 44 inches in height. The stones are unpolished, except the fronts on which the inscription given above is carved. The foot-stone is in the same simple style, without lettering. The money required to erect them, about \$70, was also raised by Mr.

Gernerd by an autograph album at 25 cents a signature. There side by side sleep the hero and his friend. Near by stands a lonely pine, through whose branches the wind sighs a requiem over their graves, and notwithstanding their ashes have long since commingled with the soil, many persons still visit the spot and stand with uncovered heads in reverence of their memories.

In closing his oration on the unveiling of the cenotaph at Muncy, Mr. Linn used these eloquent words: "To Captain Brady's descendants, time fails me in paying a proper tribute. When border tales have lost their charm for the evening hour; when oblivion blots from the historic page the glorious record of Pennsylvania in the Revolution of 1776; then, and then only, will Captain Samuel Brady, of the Rangers, be forgotten. In private life, in public office, at the bar, in the Senate of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives of the United States, in the ranks of battle, Captain John Brady's sons and grandsons and great-grandsons have flung far forward into the future the light of their family fame."

No family of pioneers in the West Branch Valley was more conspicuous in our early history than the Bradys. The male members were all distinguished for their prowess, love of adventure and patriotism; and two of the number—father and son—perished at the hands of the merciless savages over one hundred years ago, a few miles east of Williamsport. The trials and privations endured by the family were great, and could their full history be known it would form one of the most thrilling episodes in the events of early times in this section of the State.

Comparatively little is known of the ancestry of the Bradys. Enough, however, has been discovered to show that Hugh Brady, Most Reverend Lord Bishop of Meath, was the fourth son of Sir Dennis O'Grady or Brady, of Fassaghmore, County Clare, Ireland, Knight and Chief of his name, and was directly descended from a long line of ancestors, including several kings of the Province of Munster, and other McBradys who were monarchs of all Ireland, their genealogy having been traced back to King Milesius by Sir William Betham, who was Ulster King of Arms, Dublin. In course of time the "O" and the "Mc" were

dropped, and the name became plain Brady. Hugh Brady, referred to above, was the first Protestant Bishop of Meath County, Ireland, and whose descendants have continued to conform to the Protestant religion.

The Perigal branch was a Huguenot family in France, who sought refuge in England after suffering persecution in France, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and were descended from a Norman family named Sequi, who assumed the name of Perigal in 911. The Arnaud branch was also a Huguenot family.

A few extracts from a "Brady Tree," obtained from London, are given herewith to show the names of a few of the early and prominent members:

John O'Grady, alias O'Brady, Archbishop of Cashel; died in 1332.

John O'Grady, alias O'Brady, Archbishop of Tuam; died 1372.

John O'Brady, of Fassaghmore, County Clare, Bishop of Elphin, died 1417.

John Brady received a patent of land from Queen Elizabeth in 1582.

Nicholas Brady was a Major General in the English army. Date of birth and death not given.

Rev. Nicholas Brady, D. D., versifier of the Psalms and chaplain to King William and Queen Ann. Born October 28, 1659; died May 22, 1726.

Dr. Samuel Brady was Mayor of Portsmouth, England, in 1726. Died March 17, 1747.

Charles James Brady, Lieutenant in the Royal Artillery. Born September 24, 1764; died December 1, 1793. Killed in battle at Toulon.

John Brady, Secretary to Victualing Board, Royal Navy. Born June 15, 1766. Author of the *Clavis Calceadaria*. Died December 14, 1814.

James Brady, Midshipman in H. M. Frigate Guardian, Royal Navy. Born November 27, 1769. Lost at sea December 25, 1787.

The Brady family in England was represented, until recently,

by Sir A. Brady, baronet, London, and by his brother, Captain Edward Brady, who emigrated to Philadelphia, April 9, 1847, and who had intermarried with Mary Ann Sharpe, a descendant of James Sharpe, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Scotland, who was murdered near Edinburgh May 3, 1679. The Sharpe branch in Pennsylvania is represented by Captain A. Brady Sharpe, of Carlisle, Pa.

Another branch of the Brady family in Pennsylvania, who are likewise descended from Bishop Hugh Brady, is that of Captain John Brady, who was shot by the Indians near Muncy, April 11, 1779, and in whose honor a beautiful cenotaph was erected in the cemetery at Muncy in 1879.

Considering that there is such a long and distinguished line of ancestry, it is much regretted that the history of the family was not fully written when the facts could have been more easily obtained than they can be now. But, thanks to Captain A. Brady Sharpe, of Carlisle. Recently he made a very full historical contribution to the *Herald* of that place. His article, which is copied herewith in full, was published in that paper on the 27th of September, 1888, and throws a flood of light on the history of the descendants of Hugh Brady in Pennsylvania. It is as follows:

“The Brady family, prior to the middle of the last century, had settled on the Conodoguinet Creek, in Cumberland County, in that portion of it which now embraces Hopewell Township. The *propositus* was Hugh Brady,* an Enniskilliner, who with Hannah, his wife, were the parents of seven sons and two daughters, whose numerous offspring is scattered through many of the states, and has had all along members of it distinguished in church and state.

“The family is reported to have come into Pennsylvania from Delaware, but this is most likely a mistake. Its settlement here was cotemporaneous with that of the Hemphills, Quigleys, Sharpes, Carnahans, McCunes, McClays, and others who came from the Scotch-Irish settlement at the Forks of the Delaware, and the Bradys, Hemphills, Sharpes, McCunes and McClays were

* Their children were named as follows: Samuel, John, Joseph, William, Hugh, Ebenezer, James, and Mary and Margaret. The date of the death of Hugh, the progenitor, is unknown, but he is believed to have died at Easton.

neighbors in the valley, and connected by marriage at a very early period; some of them, the Sharpes and Hemphills, as early as or possibly prior to their settlement here.

"The Bradys were Presbyterians and members of the Middle Spring Church, neighbors and parishioners of Rev. Robert Grier and Rev. Dr. Cooper, the latter, father of John Cooper, who taught the Latin school that was the *officina Presbyterium*, whence issued Hon. R. C. Grier, of the Supreme Court of the United States; Hon. J. K. Cooper, of Peoria, Illinois, and many other distinguished lay members of this church; and from it came forth also such ministers of the Presbyterian body as the Williamson brothers, Stuart, James, Moses, McKnight and Alexander; the three Nevins, Alfred, Edward H. and D. E. Nevin; Rev. Dr. Alexander Sharpe, Rev. John Kennedy, Rev. Robert Gracey, Rev. David Clark and such members of society as Commodore O'Brien, Hon. Henry M. Watts, Hon. Charles and Hon. William McClure.

"All the sons and daughters of Hugh and Hannah Brady married and had families. Samuel, his eldest son, married Jane Simonton, and they had six children, two sons and four daughters. John, his second son, married Mary, a daughter of James Quigley, and they had six sons and four daughters. Joseph married Mary Carnahan, and they had two sons and four daughters. William married ——— Ferguson, and they shortly after the close of the war of the Revolution emigrated to North Carolina, and from thence to the state of Kentucky. (John Brady, a son of Captain Samuel Brady, met a grandson of Joseph Brady in 1813. He was an officer of the regular army, and marched his command to the relief of General Harrison at Fort Meigs. He stated to John Brady that there was a pretty large connection of them.)

"Hugh Brady married Jane Young, and they had five sons and four daughters. Ebenezer Brady married Jane Irvine, and they had four sons and four daughters. James Brady married Rebecca Young, and they had four sons and three daughters. Mary Brady married Samuel Hanna, and they had two sons and two daughters, and Margaret Brady married Archibald Hanna, and they had also four children, two of them sons and two daughters.

"John Brady, second son of Hugh, married Mary Quigley in

1755, and they had ten children, six of them sons, five of whom became eminent citizens, two of them, Captain Samuel and General Hugh Brady, greatly distinguished in the service of the country. The sixth son was James Brady, of whom his brother, General Hugh, said: 'He was a remarkable man; his person was fine, he lacked but a quarter of an inch of six feet and his mind was as well finished as his person. I have ever placed him by the side of Jonathan, son of Saul, for beauty of person and nobleness of soul, and like him he fell by the hands of the Philistines.' Samuel Brady, their oldest child, was born in Shippensburg in 1756, after which the family removed to Standing Stone (now Huntingdon), and in 1769 to the West Branch of the Susquehanna, opposite the spot on which Lewisburg now stands, and thence to Muncy, where he erected a semi-fortified residence, near which he was shot from his horse and killed by the Indians on the 11th of April, 1779. He was in command of a regiment, and wounded at the battle of Brandywine, and two of his sons, Samuel, his eldest, and John, but a youth of 15 years, were in the same engagement.

"The third son, Joseph Brady, married Mary Carnahan. He was a soldier of the Revolution, and in his will, dated September 7, 1776, and proved June 22, 1787, he speaks of 'being called forth in defense of my country to join the Third Battalion at Amboy, and if it please God that I fall in battle,' directs how his wife shall manage his estate during the minority of their children. One of their children was Mary, who married Colonel Thomas McCune, also a distinguished soldier of the Revolution, and they were the maternal grandparents of Rev. Dr. S. A. Mutchmore. Joseph Brady, a son, became a minister of the Gospel, was a graduate of Dickinson College in the class of 1798, a licentiate as early as 1802, and he subsequently ministered to the churches in Perry County, where he died April 24, 1821, aged 47 years. He married a daughter of Thomas Foster, of Carlisle, and had four sons, Alfred, Joseph, Ernest and Sobieski, and one daughter, Mary, who married Abram Hendel, of Carlisle. Jane, a daughter of Joseph Brady, married Paul Martin, of Newton Township, father of John Brady Martin, of Monmouth, Illinois. They were United Presbyterians, and lived near Roxbury. The parents and

their children were members of the United Presbyterian Church, and worshiped under Rev. Dr. Sharpe, at Newville.

“Hugh Brady, the second, fourth son of Hugh, the progenitor, married Jane Young, and had five sons and four daughters. One of his sons was James Brady, of Greensburg, Westmoreland County, one of the most estimable men of his day. He was the first elder of the Presbyterian Church, in that place, of whom there is any record. He appeared in Presbytery as an elder in 1802. In 1808 he and his pastor were elected delegates to the General Assembly. He frequently represented the church in the meetings of Presbytery, and from the number of committees on which he served in that body, he must have been an active and useful member. He removed from the Cumberland Valley and settled in Ligonier Valley, Westmoreland County, at an early day, but went to Greensburg to assume the duties of sheriff, to which office he was elected in 1795, and continued to reside there as long as he lived. He was a member of the Legislature for a number of years. In 1806 he was Speaker of the Senate, and from May 11, 1821, to May 11, 1824, Secretary of the Land Office. He died in 1839, and served the church as an elder nearly if not quite forty years. His son, John S. Brady, Esq., of Washington, Pa., married the daughter of Parker Campbell, Esq., but they left no issue, and Hugh Brady, his other son, died unmarried; but his daughters, Jane and Hannah, married Jacob and Henry Welty, of Greensburg, and they both had families. Among their descendants are Hon. Welty McCullough, a grandson, and John Welty, Mrs. Rachel Armstrong and Mrs. Ann McCausland, children of Jacob and Jane Welty, and Mrs. Richard Coulter, a daughter of Henry and Hannah Welty. Joseph Brady, another son, also went to Westmoreland County at an early period and lived to a great age. He was possessed of an excellent memory and furnished many facts relating to the older branches of the family to the younger members of it. He was a farmer, and left sons and daughters. Hannah and Rebecca, two of the daughters of Hugh Brady, the second, married Samuel and Hugh McCune, brothers. They continued to reside in the valley and both had large families, that of the former consisting of four sons and five daughters, and the latter of five sons and five daughters, and these

were all Presbyterians, as are their descendants, many of whom have gone to the Western States.

“The children of Samuel, eldest son of Hugh and Hannah Brady, and the descendants of his sons, Ebenezer and James, and of his daughters, Mary and Margaret, married to Samuel and Archibald Hanna, early emigrated to Western Pennsylvania and are now scattered through the Western States, and many of them have attained prominence in church and state.

“What a pity it is that no records have been kept, so that the members of a family so large and so useful, and with so fine a record as this one, could show their relationship to each other.

“Little now is known in Pennsylvania about the families of Samuel, the eldest, and Hugh, the youngest, sons of John Brady, and scarcely anything east of the mountains relative to that of William P. Brady, his third son, who left Northumberland for Indiana County in 1806, who in his day was among the most prominent men in the state, and whose descendants have shown themselves worthy of him.

“The notion that most people have of Captain Samuel Brady is that of one who passed his days as a wandering modern Knight-errant, killing Indians at will. This is entirely erroneous.

“His father and brother both perished at the hands of the savages. His father was the most prominent defender of the north-western frontier until he fell—and his eldest son was then called to take his place.

“He had been cradled among dangers from their inroads, and knew better than any one else how to repel them, and whilst the accounts of his many conflicts and hairbreadth escapes are all well authenticated, there is no evidence that he ever was a cruel foe. A cousin of his, a daughter of Hugh Brady, the second, spoke of him as a gentle and taciturn man, of handsome, lithe, graceful figure, warmly attached to his friends, never boastful nor given to harsh expressions in regard to persons or subjects. He was but nineteen years of age when he volunteered to go to Boston at the outbreak of the war of the Revolution, and behaved so well there that he had a commission as first lieutenant under Washington before he left the East. In 1779 he was breveted captain and ordered to join General Broadhead, who had command at Fort

Pitt. He remained in the service until the army disbanded at the close of the Revolutionary war, and was distinguished for gallantry.

"In the fall of 1785 he married Drusilla, a daughter of Captain Van Swearingen, and settled on the Chartiers Creek, in Washington County. They had two sons—Van Swearingen, born on the 13th of September, 1786, after which he moved to Ohio County, Virginia, and settled near Wellsburg, where John, his second son, was born on the 24th of May, 1790. In 1793 he removed to Short Creek, near West Liberty, where he resided until he died on the 25th of December, 1795. His widow died in January, 1823. Van S., eldest son of Captain Samuel Brady, married Elizabeth, daughter of Captain William Ivess, of Ohio County, Virginia, in 1810, and in 1813 removed to Manchester, Adams County, Ohio, where he died in 1859, leaving a family of eleven children, one of whom, William I. Brady, and perhaps others of the family, reside there still.

"John, the younger son, married Nancy Ridgely, of Ohio County, Virginia, on the 10th of January, 1813, and they had a family of four children. He died on the 12th day of January, 1872, and was buried in the West Liberty Cemetery by the side of his father, and one monument marks the last resting place of both.

"The following is an extract from a letter addressed the writer in his 80th year:

"Now, sir, you ask me to give some account of myself. I was left an orphan at the age of some little over five years without any relative to pity or encourage me in the country; left in the wilds of West Virginia. My mother, little brother and I had to hoe our own row. I scuffled until I became a pretty good looking young man when I married a nice little woman—lived happily with her until she died. Never expected to be anything but a tiller of the soil, but to my astonishment in 1825 I was appointed a member of the County Court of my native county, which position I held for thirty-one years. In the meantime I was appointed Commissioner of the Revenue for the county, the two offices not being incompatible. I held that office for three years. I was carrying on my little farm, was busy at my plough, went to my dinner, picked up the late paper and to my utter astonishment I saw that at a large and respectable meeting convened in the Court House, John Brady, Esq., was unanimously nominated as the candidate for a seat in the House of Delegates.

"I did not accept the nomination until the Saturday previous to the election. There were four candidates and two to be elected. When the poll was counted I was fifty

votes ahead of the foremost of the other three. I was three times elected until I utterly refused to be a candidate. I was also High Sheriff of my county. I have been a very temperate man both in eating and drinking. I am in my Soth year and I know nothing of the feelings of a drunken man. If this little sketch of my life will be of any use you can use it. It is true to the letter, but I give it to you with reluctance.'

"General Hugh Brady was born in 1768, and was among the younger children of John Brady, and when quite young, after the death of his father, was apprenticed to a tanner, when, in 1788, his older brother, Captain Samuel Brady, visited the family. He negotiated with his master, lifted his indentures, and took him with him to Ohio County, Virginia, where he remained until he received a commission in the army in 1792, and joined the command of General Anthony Wayne. After Wayne's treaty with the Indians he, at the instance of his friends, resigned his commission and returned in 1796 to the home of his brother, Samuel, who was dead but a few months. He remained with his widow a short time, and then went to visit his friends at Sunbury, Pa., and shortly after received a commission as captain in the army, raised during the administration of the elder Adams, and remained in service until it was disbanded, when he returned to Northumberland County and married Sarah Wallis. In 1808 he was restored to the army by Mr. Jefferson, and during the war of 1812 attained great eminence, was distinguished for gallantry at Chippewa and the other battles on the northern frontier. Of him General Scott said, 'God never made a better man nor a better soldier.' He remained in the army until his death in 1851. It was accidental. He was driving a team of spirited horses that became entangled in telegraph wires dropped for repairs. They ran away with him and threw him from the carriage and fatally injured him. His pastor, Rev. George Duffield, of Detroit, was with him in his last moments, and it is said that the following colloquy took place:

"'General, you are very ill; my friend, very ill!'

"The General opened his eyes and pressing Mr. Duffield's hand, replied:

"'Yes, yes, sir; I know it—I know it!'

"'But, General, you are badly hurt and very ill!'

"'Oh, yes!' he faintly replied; yes, I know it, Mr. Duffield!'

"A pause—a silence—a few deep sobs—when Mr. Duffield said: 'But, General, you are very ill. I am sorry to tell you, you are just about to die!'

"Instantly raising himself up, straight as in health, his eye flashed under his bandaged forehead, and he firmly spoke out:

"'Mr. Duffield, let the drum beat; my knapsack is slung; I am ready to die,' and sank away in the arms of death.

"This was the parting scene between two distinguished men, both then far advanced in years, and both belonging to two of the oldest families of the Cumberland Valley, Presbyterian in all their branches. The one, the leading divine of the north-western frontier of our country, and the other the commander of the 'North-western Military Department of the United States,' under whose hospitable roof Scott, Worth, Macomb, Wool and other heroes of the old army, and prominent men in the other walks of life—as Bishop Onderdonk, Judge McLean, James Watson Webb, Millard Fillmore and others often gathered."

Captain John Brady, the second son of Hugh, was born in Delaware in 1733. He received a fair education for the time in which he lived and the opportunities he enjoyed. He taught an elementary school in New Jersey before his father and family emigrated to the province of Pennsylvania and settled in Hopewell Township, within five miles of Shippensburg, Cumberland County, some time in 1750. At this time he was quite a young man—scarcely twenty-one. His personal appearance has come down to us by tradition; he was six feet high, well formed, had black hair and hazel eyes, and a dark complexion. An analysis of his character shows that he was fearless, impulsive and warm-hearted to a fault; he went promptly where duty called, and he never flinched in the hour of danger.

In 1755 he married Miss Mary Quigley, who was also of Scotch-Irish origin. Her parents were among the early settlers in that beautiful valley, and the names of two brothers, James and John, appear upon the list of taxables of Hopewell Township for 1751. The Quigley family, of Clinton County, also came of this stock. John and Mary Brady's first son, Samuel, who became so famous as a scout and Indian killer, was born in 1756. At the

time of his birth "the tempestuous waves of trouble were rolling in upon the infant settlements in the wake of Braddock's defeat," and he grew to manhood in the troublous times "that tried men's souls" in this lovely valley.

Soon after the breaking out of the French and Indian war John Brady offered his services as a soldier, and on the 19th of July, 1763, he was commissioned Captain of the Second Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, "commanded by Governor John Penn."

In 1764 he was actively engaged against the savages, who made incursions into Bedford and Cumberland counties, and killed many of the settlers. On the return of his regiment from Fort Pitt, in 1764, and when it reached Bedford, the officers made an agreement with each other in writing to apply to the Proprietaries for a tract of land, sufficiently extensive and conveniently situated, whereon to erect a compact and defensible town, and accommodate them with reasonable and commodious plantations, the same to be divided according to their several ranks. John Brady was one of the officers who signed this agreement.

Meanwhile, urged by the "restless, mysterious impulse that moulds the destiny of the pioneers of civilization," Captain Brady had removed his family to Standing Stone (now Huntingdon) in 1768, and there his children, General Hugh Brady and twin sister, Jennie, were born July 27, 1768. Captain Brady followed the occupation of a surveyor, and was kept busy surveying wild lands.

During the summer of 1769 Captain Brady moved his family from Standing Stone and settled upon a tract selected out of the survey on the West Branch, opposite the present borough of Lewisburg. This explains his emigration to this portion of the Province. Here he set to work and cleared a place directly opposite Derr's mill, which was on the west side of the river.

Not long after the exciting incident of upsetting the whiskey barrel at Derr's, described on page 478, Brady moved his family to Muncy Manor, where, in the spring of 1776, he had erected a semi-fortified residence, which was afterwards known as "Brady's Fort." It was constructed of logs, and was a secure retreat for those who resided within. It is regretted that an accurate description of it cannot be given. The "fort," as it was called, was a

private affair, and was not classed among the provincial fortifications of that day. The ground on which it stood—now in the borough of Muncy—lies west of the main street and is owned by Mrs. Dr. William Hayes. A slight elevation in the field is still pointed out as the spot on which the building stood.

When Northumberland County was organized, Captain John Brady was appointed foreman of the first Grand Jury. About this time the trouble with the Wyoming, or Connecticut, settlers arose. The Connecticut people, who had settled at Wyoming, claimed under their charter the territory of the province of Pennsylvania, as far south as the 41st degree of latitude, which would run about a mile north of Lewisburg, and they were determined to enforce it by adverse occupation. Between the 3d and 7th of July, 1772, a large party of them reached the river where Milton now stands, when Colonel Plunkett, of Sunbury, summoned the Pennamites to arms, and drove the invaders away. The contest, however, was continued, and the Connecticut people advanced to Muncy Valley and made a settlement where the borough is now located. In December, 1775, Captain Brady accompanied Colonel Plunkett's famous expedition to Wyoming, to punish the Connecticut settlers for their audacity in attempting to occupy this portion of the West Branch Valley.

To aid in the cause of liberty two battalions of Associators were organized on the West Branch, one commanded by Colonel Hunter, the other by Colonel Plunkett. In the latter battalion Captain John Brady was commissioned First Major, March 13, 1776. On the 4th of July, 1776, he attended the Convention of Associators of Lancaster, as one of the representatives of Plunkett's battalion, when Daniel Roberdeau and James Ewing were elected Brigadier Generals of the Associators of the Province.

The day of Associators for mutual protection ended with a year and nine months' service. It then became necessary to raise regular regiments, enlisted for the war, if the independence of the State was to be maintained. When Colonel William Cooke's regiment, the Twelfth, was directed to be raised in the counties of Northampton and Northumberland, John Brady was commissioned one of the captains, October 14, 1776, and on the 18th of December, in mid-winter, the regiment left Sunbury in boats

for the battle-fields of New Jersey. The regiment went immediately into active service and participated in several spirited engagements.

When Washington moved his army to the banks of the Brandywine to confront Howe, Brady was present with his company and took part in the engagement. Captain Brady had two sons in this engagement. Samuel, the eldest, was first lieutenant, having been commissioned July 17, 1776, in Captain John Doyle's company, and John, afterwards sheriff of Northumberland County (1795), and then only fifteen years old, who had gone to the army to ride the horses home, was by his father's side with a rifle in his hands. The Twelfth Regiment was in the thickest of the fight, and Lieutenant William Boyd, of Northumberland, fell dead by his captain. Little John was wounded and Captain Brady fell with a wound through his mouth. The day ended with disaster, and the Twelfth sullenly quit the field nearly cut to pieces. Fortunately the wound only loosened some of Captain Brady's teeth, but being disabled by an attack of pleurisy, caused by his exposures—which he never got entirely well of—he was sent home.

On the invasion of Wyoming Valley, in 1778, he retired with his family to Sunbury, and on the 1st of September, 1778, he returned to the army. Meanwhile, under an arrangement of the forces, which took place about the 1st of July, the field officers had been mustered out, and the companies and their officers distributed into the Third and Sixth Pennsylvania regiments. Captain Brady was therefore sent home by General Washington's order, with Captain Boone, Lieutenants Samuel and John Daugherty, to assist Colonel Hartley in protecting the frontiers. He joined Colonel Hartley at Muncy on the 18th of September, and accompanied him on the expedition to Tioga.

On their return Captain Brady and his rangers were kept busy. His headquarters were at his Muncy fort, where he had brought his family on his return from the army. He was one of those of whom Colonel Hartley wrote on the 13th of December, 1778, that said "they would rather die fighting than leave their homes again."

The only autograph writing and signature of Captain John

Brady known to be in existence is in the possession of Dr. George G. Wood, of Muncy. It is a report of the survey of Spring Island—below Loyalsock—and a copy, with *fac-simile* of signature, is appended:

Surveyed on the 2d Day of July in the year one Thousand Seven Hundred & Seventy one, an Island Situate in the West branch of the river Susquehanna, being the Island on which Godfrey Dareinger now lives & known by the name of Spring Island, for the Heirs or assigns of Wm. Frampton, in pursuance of the Honorable Wm. Penn's warrant granted to him on the 12th Day of the 4th mo. 1684.

Beginning at a marked Maple Tree on the lower end of S. Island and running thence up the Easterly side of the same N 50 Degrees East to a maple 51 Perches, Thence by the same N 20 Degrees East to a Post 38 P, thence by the same N 27 E to a Mulberry 40 Perches, thence N 4 Degrees West to a Cherry tree 18 Perches, thence N 42 Degrees East to an Elm 21 Perches, thence N 10 Degrees West to a white walnut at the upper end of the Island 31 Perches. Thence Down the West side of the Island S 40 Degrees West to an Elm 26 Perches, thence S 2 West to a walnut 58 Perches, thence S 10 West to Place of Beginning 96 Perches. Survey'd by

Chained by us.
his
JOSEPH ✕ WILCOX,
mark
MARCUS HULINGS.

The foregoing is but a brief biographical sketch of the distinguished pioneer, soldier and scout, Captain John Brady, but it will suffice to give the younger readers of to-day a faint idea of the vicissitudes the early settlers in this valley were called upon to endure. The space of a small volume would be required to give his history in full, together with that of his wife, sons and daughters. No name of early times is more entitled to honor and reverence than that of Brady.

Mary Quigley, the wife of Captain Brady, came of Irish stock. In O'Hart's *Irish Pedigrees* the Quigleys are mentioned as a very ancient family. The name was anglicized from O'Quigley into Quigley, and it means a "tall hero." Mary, as the sequel will show, was a heroine in every sense of the word. Her trials were many, but she bore them with Christian fortitude and resignation.

When married she was about twenty years of age. The first child born to them was Samuel, while they yet lived at Shippensburg, in 1758. It is truly said of him that he "was born in the midst of the tempestuous waves of trouble that rolled in upon the

settlements in the wake of Braddock's defeat." He grew to manhood, served in the Revolution, became a noted scout and Indian killer, and died on Christmas day, 1795, aged about 39 years.

When her husband was killed she collected her children together and fled to the home of her father in Cumberland County, in May, 1779, where she remained until October of that year. She then returned to the West Branch and settled upon a tract of land her husband had located in Buffalo Valley, now better known as Smoketown. After enduring much suffering and hardship, she died there on the 20th of October, 1783, and was buried in the Old Lutheran grave-yard at Lewisburg. What a noble type of the Roman matron! Many years afterwards, when the new cemetery was opened on the hill-side outside of the town, her remains were carefully taken up, with those of her son John and wife, and tenderly laid in the new burial ground. A time-stained marble slab, yet in a good state of preservation, bears these inscriptions:

MARY,
Widow of Captain John Brady,
(Who fell in the Revolution of '76.)
Departed this Life
Oct. 20th, 1783,
Aged 48 Years.

—
All Tears are Wiped from Her Eyes.

—
JOHN,
Son of
John and Mary Brady,
Departed this Life
Dec. 10th, 1809,
Aged 48 Years.

—
He was a Good Man and a Just One.

—
JANE,
Wife of
John Brady,
Departed this Life
March 4, 1829,
Aged 62 Years.

—
Her trust was in Him who was the
Father of the Fatherless,
And Husband of the Widow.

In all the sketches of John and Mary Brady heretofore published, it is stated that they had ten children—six sons and four daughters. Recent research has shown this to be incorrect. They had thirteen. Dr. R. H. Awl, one of the oldest physicians of Sunbury, who was personally acquainted with several members of the Brady family, made careful inquiry a few months ago among their descendants in that place, when the following names of all their children were discovered:

1. Samuel, born in 1756; died December 25, 1795. The Captain married Drusilla Van Swearingen.
2. James, born in 1758; died at Fort Augusta, August 13, 1778. Killed by Indians.
3. William, born in 1760; died in infancy.
4. John, born March 18, 1762; died December 10, 1809. Elected sheriff of Northumberland County in 1794. Married Jane McCall January 26, 1785.
5. Mary, born April 22, 1764; died at Lancaster December 13, 1850. Married Captain William Gray* of the Revolution, who died July 19, 1804.
6. William Perry, born August 16, 1766; died November 27, 1843, at Brookeville. He married Jane Cooke.
7. Hugh, born July 27, 1768; died at Detroit April 15, 1851. He rose to the rank of a Major General in the United States army. Married Sarah Wallis, of Lycoming County. She died August 25, 1833.

* The following is from the pension record: Captain William Gray having died July 19, 1804, which was before the passage of a law for the service only in the Revolutionary war, therefore there is no statement of his military services other than that by his widow, Mary, when she made her application for a pension dated in July, 1838. She stated that she was living in Sunbury, Penn'a, and was aged 74 years in April last, and was the widow of William Gray, who was a Captain in the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment of the Continental line and served to the close of the war, but gives no dates or further details of his service or incidents connected therewith. Her marriage to William Gray was September 10, 1784. Jane Brady testifies in July, 1838, that she was 70 years old and was present at their marriage. His commission (which is on file) is dated June 28, 1778, signed by John Jay, President of Congress, and authorizes his rank as Captain in the Fourth Regiment of Pennsylvania from June 3, 1777. In June, 1848, she was living in Sunbury.

William M. Gray testified, in 1838, that he copied in 1831, from an old original

8. Jane, twin sister of Hugh, born July 27, 1768; died at Northumberland February 27, 1845. Never married.

9. Robert, born September 12, 1770; died —— in Jefferson County. Married Mary Cooke. She died at Sunbury. Left two sons.

10. Agnes, born February 14, 1773; died November 24, 1773.

11. Hannah, born December 3, 1774; died November 26, 1835, at Sunbury. Married Robert Gray, a nephew of Captain William Gray.

12. Joseph, born August, 1777; died in infancy.

13. Liberty, born August 9, 1778; died July 25, 1851. So named because she was born after independence was declared, and there were thirteen children and thirteen original states. Married William Dewart, of Sunbury. No issue.

Many interesting little incidents in the life of Mary Brady have been handed down, which serve to show the bravery she possessed. When she started on her return to Buffalo Valley she performed the wonderful feat of carrying a young child (Liberty) before her on horseback, and leading a cow all the way from Shippensburg to her new home. The cow was given her by a brother. The journey was long, the roads bad, the times perilous, but her energy and perseverance surmounted all, and she and her cow and children arrived in safety. She was a true woman and loving mother. After her death her younger children—Robert, James, Hannah and Liberty—were taken by their sister, Mrs. William Gray, living at Sunbury, and provided with a comfortable home.

Of the trials and sufferings of Mrs. Brady and her family of

family Bible record made by his father, a list of the births of the children of William and Mary Gray, as follows: 1, Elizabeth, born April 23, 1786; 2, Mary, born September 3, 1789; 3, William M., born December 3, 1792; 4, Jackson, born September 30, 1796. Underneath these names follows this record: Harriet Jane Seely, born January 22, 1811. In an opposite column on same leaf is the following: John Brady, born March 18, 1762; Mary Brady, born April 22, 1764; William P. Brady, born April 1, 1766; Hugh Brady, born July 27, 1768; Jane Brady, born July 27, 1768, (twin to Hugh); Robert Brady, born September 12, 1770; Agnes Brady, born February 14, 1773; Hannah Brady, born December 3, 1774. On the opposite side of the leaf, under the heading of Marriages, as follows: Jackson Gray married to Margaretta Jane Carpenter, September 3, 1827.—*Egle's Notes and Queries.*

younger children, while living in Buffalo Valley, General Hugh, her youngest son, gives this pathetic account:

After the fall of Captain Brady, my mother removed, with her family, to her father's place in Cumberland County, where she arrived in May, 1779, and where she remained till October of that year. She then removed to Buffalo Valley, and settled on one of our own farms. We found the tenant had left our portion of the hay and grain, which was a most fortunate circumstance. The winter—1779-80—was a very severe one, and the depth of snow interdicted all traveling. Neighbors were few, and the settlement scattered—so that the winter was solitary and dreary to a most painful degree. But, whilst the depth of the snow kept us confined at home, it had also the effect to protect us from the inroads of the savages. But, with the opening of the spring the savages returned, and killed some people near our residence. This induced Mrs. Brady to take shelter, with some ten or twelve families, about three miles from our home. Pickets were placed around the houses, and the old men, women and children remained within during the day, while all who could work and carry arms returned to their farms for the purpose of raising something to subsist upon. Many a day have I walked by the side of my brother John while he was plowing, and carried my rifle in one hand and a forked stick in the other to clear the plowshare!

Sometimes my mother would go with us to prepare our dinner. This was contrary to our wishes; but she said that, while she shared the dangers that surrounded us, she was more contented than when left at the fort. Thus we continued till the end of the war, when peace—happy peace—again invited the people to return to their homes.

In 1783 our mother was taken from us. In '84 my brother John married, and soon after my eldest sister followed his example. All the children younger than myself lived with them. I went to the Western country with my brother, Captain Samuel Brady. He had been recently disbanded, and had married a Miss Swearingen, in Washington County, Pa. He took me to his house at that place, and I made it my home until 1792, when I was appointed an ensign in General Wayne's army. Previous to this my brother had moved into Ohio County, Virginia, and settled a short distance above Charlestown. At that day the Indians were continually committing depredations along the frontier.

The death of Captain John Brady cast a pall of gloom over the settlements in the West Branch Valley. His son, "Captain Sam.," as he was usually called, was at Pittsburg when the sad intelligence reached him, and in the first frenzy of his grief he is said to have raised his hand on high and made this fearful vow:

"Aided by Him who formed yonder Sun and Heavens, I will revenge the murder of my father; nor while I live will I ever be at peace with the Indians of any tribe!"

From this time on to the close of the war he never ceased his efforts to avenge the death of his father. He commanded scout-

ing parties, and laid in wait wherever an opportunity offered to kill an Indian. He became a terror to the red skins in that part of the State, and sent many of them to the "happy hunting grounds." He was bold, vigilant and active; no amount of fatigue seemed to cause him to relax in his efforts to wipe out the life of one of his mortal enemies. Thoroughly acquainted with the wiles of Indian warfare, he was constantly on their trail as an avenging spirit, and terribly did he carry out his vow. His daring adventures on the Allegheny and in South-western Pennsylvania would fill a volume.

Mrs. Harriet S. Totten, of New York, a great-granddaughter, writes that her grandmother (Mary Brady Gray) used to relate how Sam. Brady would suddenly appear at Sunbury on a visit from the south-western part of the State. He was somewhat eccentric, and lived much among the Delaware Indians. After making a short visit, "just to see how Polly and the children were getting along," he would disappear as abruptly as he came. He would be attired in semi-Indian fashion, and thought nothing of a tramp of a hundred miles through the wilderness. He never would enter by the front door, but always by the back gate, and he preferred a seat by the kitchen fire. If he remained over night he would insist upon sleeping on the floor. He was kind, affectionate and very pious, and had a wonderful acquaintance with the Bible. Sometimes when he was induced to stay all night he would ask the boys, William and Jackson Gray, to read the Scriptures with him. A chapter would be selected almost anywhere, and the boys would begin. Verse about was his rule, and he would use no book, but when his turn came he would repeat his verse and give the words correctly. This reading usually took place in the kitchen, while Sam. was stretched at full length on the floor.

On the 17th of April Captain Andrew Walker, who then commanded Fort Muncy, wrote to the Executive Council and described the repairs made to the fort and the sufferings endured by the garrison. He said:

On the 2d of Augt, wee ware ordred by Colonel Hartley to build this Fort; wee Immediately begon and Finnish'd by the 18th of Sepr, with these Exceptions— There was but one row of Abbeties round it, wee had built Neither Barrack's Store or Magazine.

On the 20th of Sepr, the Garrason, which Consisted of 1 Capt, 2 Subs, 4 Sergts, & 60 Rank and File, ware drawn out (Except 1 Subn & 18) on an Expedition under the Command of Col. Hartley—on the 9th of Sepr wee Again marched into it; bad weather coming on we began our Barraks Magazine, Storehouse, &c; when this was Finesh'd, wee ware Comfortably Prepared Again the winter; but in the Spring I found the Works much Impaired; I then set the Garrison to Repair the Works, and raised them Eighteen Inches; Then wee put two rowes more of Abberties round the works—this is Just now Finesh'd; it is to be Observ'd that in the Course of this time, one third of our men ware Constantly Employed as Guards to the Inhabitants, and, I may Aferm, in Harvest the one halfe ware Employed the same way, nor can anny man in the County say he ever asked a guard (when he had a Just Occation) and was denied. Dureing this time the Troops were not supplied even with Ration Whiskey, almoste Neaked for want of Blankets and Cloathes, and yet I have the Satisfaction to inform you they done their Duty Cheerfully. I from time to time did promise them some Compensation for their Troble and Industrey. The works are now finished, and, in my oppinion, Tanelle again anny number our Savage Enemy can bring again it; as to my own part, I begg lave to observe That I neither clame Meret or Reward for what I have done—it's enough that I have done my Duty. Yet, Sir, as I have Promised these men a Compensation for there Industry, I begg you will Please to lay before the Hon'ble Councel, the Inclosed Plan, which will Inable them to Judge wheather the Troops deserve a Reward for their labour or not.

The sole cost this fort is to the States is, to building two Roomes for the Officers, Making the gate & two Sentry Boxes.

(Signed)

ANDW. WALKER,
Capt. Com'g Fort Muncy.

Captain Walker deserved much credit for his services at this post of danger, although he claimed neither "Meret or Reward" for what he did. Whether he ever received as much as a vote of thanks does not appear.

On the 26th of the same month a party of Indians, supposed to be thirty or forty in number, suddenly appeared in the vicinity of Fort Freeland, and succeeded in killing and capturing seven men belonging to the Warrior Run settlement. Among those taken prisoners was James McKnight,* one of the Assemblymen for Northumberland County, and probably the husband of Mrs. McKnight, who made such a narrow escape with her child at the time Mrs. Durham was scalped.

The same day a party of thirteen men went in search of their horses about five miles from Fort Muncy. They were waylaid

* Colonel Hunter's letter, giving an account of the troubles of this date, is printed in full on pages 346-7 of Vol. VII. of the *Pennsylvania Archives*. It was carried to Philadelphia by James Hepburn.

and fired upon, probably by the same band of Indians, and all killed or taken prisoners but one man, who made his escape. Captain Walker,* on hearing the firing, immediately turned out with a company of thirty-four men and proceeded to the spot, where he found the dead bodies of four men. They had been scalped.

There was no longer any doubt that great preparations were being made by the Tories and Indians for a descent upon the valley in overwhelming numbers, for the purpose of exterminating the infant settlements at one blow. The impending danger was so great that William Maclay was induced to submit a proposition † to the Supreme Executive Council, to be allowed to employ bloodhounds to hunt the savages. An extract from his letter, written April 27, 1779, reads as follows:

I have sustained some Ridicule for a Scheme which I have long recommended, Viz., that of hunting the Scalping parties of Indians with Horsemen & Dogs. The imminent Services which Dogs have rendered to our People in some late instances, seems to open People's Eyes to a Method of this kind. We know that Dogs will follow them, that they will discover them and even seize them, when hunted on by their Masters.

History informs us That it was in this Manner That the Indians were extirpated out of whole Country's in South America. It may be objected That we have not Proper Dogs. It is true that every new thing must be learned; But we have, even now, Dogs that will follow them, and the arrantest Cur will both follow and fight in Company. I cannot help being of opinion that a Single Troop of Light Horse, attended by Dogs, (and who might occasionally carry a footman behind them, that the pursuit might not be interrupted by Morasses or Mountains,) under honest and active officers, would destroy more Indians than five thousand Men stationed in forts along the Frontiers; I am not altogether singular in this opinion, could not such a Thing be tried?

It nowhere appears how his views were received by the Supreme Executive Council; but it is certain that the "scheme" was never adopted and tried. It might have been a good one; and con-

*It is regretted that nothing of the personal history of this brave officer is known. Captain Walker was originally Lieutenant of Colonel Thomas Hartley's Continental Regiment from Pennsylvania. He was promoted Captain January 23, 1778; transferred to the Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line, January 17, 1781. In a manuscript letter from Hartley to Council, dated June 19, 1784, he says: "Captain Andrew Walker entered the service with me, and on account of his merit was appointed Captain on my request, and whilst under my command he was a punctual, brave and deserving officer, and acquitted himself with the highest reputation."

†For his letter in full see Vol. VII., page 357, *Pennsylvania Archives*.

sidering the atrocious methods of the savages, the people would have been justified in resorting to it for the protection of the lives of their wives and children.

As William Maclay is one of the conspicuous characters in this work, a condensed sketch of his history is appropriate in this connection. He was born* July 20, 1737, in New Garden Township, Chester County, Pa., and died April 16, 1804, at Harrisburg. In 1742 his father removed to what is now Lurgan Township, Franklin County, where his boyhood days were spent on a farm. When the French and Indian war broke out he was attending school in Chester County, and desiring to enter the service of the Province, his teacher gave him a recommendation "as a judicious young man and a scholar," which secured him the appointment of ensign in the Pennsylvania Battalion. Afterwards he was promoted lieutenant in the Third Battalion, by Lieutenant Colonel Hugh Mercer, May 7, 1758. He accompanied General Forbes' expedition that year, and especially distinguished himself at the battle of Loyalhanna. In Bouquet's expedition of 1763 he was in the fight at Bushy Run. In the subsequent campaign of that gallant officer he was stationed, with the greater portion of the Second Pennsylvania, on the line of the stockade forts, on the route to Fort Pitt, as lieutenant commanding the company. For these services he participated in the Provincial grant of land to the officers connected therewith, located on the West Branch, and most of which he assisted in surveying.

Mr. Maclay studied law, and was admitted to the York County Bar April 28, 1760, but he never practiced his profession, the continued Indian war, and his subsequent duties as surveyor, taking up nearly his whole time. From a letter of John Penn, however, it would seem that he was afterwards admitted to the Cumberland County Bar, and acted for the prothonotary of that county.

At the close of the French and Indian war he visited England and had an interview with Thomas Penn, one of the Proprietaries, relative to the surveys in the middle and northern parts of the Province, and was the assistant of Surveyor Lukens on the frontiers.

In 1772, as already stated, he laid out the town of Sunbury,

*See Dr. Egle's *Pennsylvania Genealogies*, pages 355 to 359, for biography of William Maclay, together with a history of his descendants.

and erected for himself a substantial stone house (see page 397), which is still standing and is now owned and occupied by Hon. S. P. Wolverton.

On the organization of the county he was appointed prothonotary and clerk of the courts. He also acted as the representative of the Penn family, and took a prominent part in the troubles with Wyoming.

At the outset of the Revolution, although an officer of the Proprietary Government, William Maclay took a prominent and active part in favor of independence, not only assisting in equipping and forwarding troops to the Continental army, but marched with the Associators, and participated in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. During the Revolution he held the position of assistant commissary of purchases.

In 1781 he was elected to the Assembly, and from that time forward he filled the various offices of member of the Supreme Executive Council, judge of the Courts of Common Pleas, deputy surveyor, and one of the commissioners for carrying into effect the act respecting the navigation of the Susquehanna River. About this time he visited England again in the interest of the Penn family.

In January, 1789, he was elected to the United States Senate, being the first man on whom this great office was conferred by Pennsylvania. On taking his seat he drew the short term, and his position terminated March 3, 1791, his colleague, Robert Morris, securing the long term. His election to this body raised him to a higher plane of political activity. He began to differ with the opinions of President Washington very early in the session. He did not approve of the state and ceremony attendant upon the intercourse of the President with Congress; he flatly objected to the presence of the President in the Senate while business was being transacted, and in the Senate boldly spoke against his policy in the immediate presence of President Washington. The records show that Senator Maclay was the actual founder of the Democratic party,* notwithstanding that honor is

*The New England historians, Hildreth and Goodrich, repute Thomas Jefferson as the "efficient promoter at the beginning and father and founder of the Democratic party." But they are wholly mistaken. The responsibility, or honor, in whatever light it may be regarded, belongs to this distinguished statesman of the Susquehanna.

credited to Thomas Jefferson. Before Mr. Jefferson's return from Europe Senator Maclay had assumed an independent position, and in his short career of two years in the Senate propounded ideas and gathered about him elements to form the opposition, which developed with the meeting of Congress, at Philadelphia, on the 24th of October, 1791, in a division of the people into two great parties, the Federalists and Democrats, when, for the first time, appeared an open and organized opposition to the administration. The funding of the public debt, chartering the United States Bank, and other measures championed necessarily by the administration, whose duty it was to put the wheels of government in motion, engendered opposition. Senator Maclay, to use his own language, "no one else presenting himself," fearlessly took the initiative, and with his blunt common sense (for he was not much of a speaker) and Democratic ideas, took issue with the ablest advocates of the administration. Notwithstanding the prestige of General Washington, and the ability of the defenders of the administration on the floor of the Senate, such was the tact and resolution of Mr. Maclay that when, after his short service, he was retired from the Senate and succeeded by James Ross, of Pittsburg, a pronounced Federalist, their impress was left in the distinctive lines of an opposition party—a party which, taking advantage of the warm feeling of our people towards the French upon the occasion of Jay's treaty with Great Britain, in 1794, and of the unpopularity of the alien and sedition laws, passed under the administration of President John Adams, in 1798, compassed the final overthrow of the Federal party in 1800.

When Mr. Maclay retired from the Senate he resided permanently on his farm near Harrisburg. In 1795 he was elected a member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, and again in 1803. He was a presidential elector in 1796, and, from 1801 to 1803, one of the associate judges of the county of Dauphin. Mr. Harris, who edited his journal, gives us this summary of Mr. Maclay's character: "He was a man of strict integrity, of positive opinions, having implicit confidence in his own honesty and judgment; he was inclined to be suspicious of the integrity of others whose sentiments or action in matters of importance differed from his own, and the journal to which

reference has been made is evidence of the strength of his intellect. In personal appearance Mr. Maclay is said to have been six feet three inches in height, and stout and muscular; his complexion was light, and his hair, in middle age, appears to have been brown, and was worn tied behind or clubbed."

William Maclay married, April 11, 1769, Mary McClure Harris, daughter of John Harris, the founder of Harrisburg. They had nine children, three sons and six daughters. Mary, the fourth child, became the wife of Samuel Awl, and they became the parents of Dr. Robert Harris Awl, now one of the oldest physicians of Sunbury.

When many of the settlers, who had ventured back to secure their crops, got through with this work they retired again, fearing to trust themselves to the roving bands of Indians. And the troops had scarcely been withdrawn when the enemy appeared in increased numbers and commenced the work of murder, pillage and destruction. Sometime in the month of June two men were killed on Lycoming Creek and three taken prisoners. Their names have been lost. Following up their work of destruction the Indians penetrated to the mills of Widow Smith, near the mouth of White Deer Creek, which they burned, and killed one man. These mills, it will be remembered, were of great service, and Mrs. Smith in rebuilding them incurred a debt from which she never recovered.

On the 17th of June the Indians appeared near Fort Brady, killed two men and carried three into captivity. They burned Starret's flouring mill, which stood on the site of what is known as the Muncy Mills of to-day, and nearly all the principal houses in the township. Several families were taken prisoners. Among them was the family of Abraham Webster,* of Muncy Township. Four of his children were attacked. The eldest, a son, was killed and the others, two daughters and a son, were taken captives.

* Abraham Webster came from England at an early day and settled on land where the late Henry Ecroyd's farm now is. His son, Abraham, was killed and Joseph taken into captivity, with his two sisters, one of whom was thrown from a canoe into Seneca Lake and drowned by an enraged squaw. The other was never heard from, but tradition says she married, when she grew up, an Indian chief. Joseph returned after twelve years and married Anna Robb. When Joseph was captured he was twelve years old, and distinctly remembered the route the Indians took in their flight. Mrs. Dr. C. E. Albright, of Muncy, is his granddaughter.

Emboldened by their successes, the enemy pushed on down the valley. They crossed Muncy hills and appeared in the vicinity of Fort Freeland on the 21st and surprised several men at work in a corn-field. A son of Jacob Freeland and Isaac Vincent were killed, and Michael Freeland and Benjamin Vincent were taken prisoners. It is related that when the alarm was given young Freeland ran towards a stone quarry,* but was pursued and speared in the thigh. He fell near the edge of the quarry, when the Indian sprang upon him, but rising with the savage on his shoulders he pitched him over the precipice, and would have escaped but for another Indian, who rushed up and killed him.

There was such an increased feeling of alarm among the remaining inhabitants in the valley that the authorities resolved on making a bold effort to cripple the relentless enemy by marching a large army into his country for the purpose of destroying his villages and corn-fields. By such a bold stroke it was thought the Indians could be so crippled that they could no longer carry on their cruel system of warfare. A great force was organized, and the command given to General Sullivan, with instructions to march up the North Branch. And in order to carry it out successfully all the available troops were collected. General Sullivan withdrew the garrison from Fort Muncy to strengthen his own command. This was the second time this post was evacuated during the Revolutionary war, and all the settlements from Freeland's up the river were left in a defenseless and unprotected condition. The inhabitants, therefore, were at a loss what to do—whether to fly or remain. Savages lurked in every thicket, and it was unsafe for persons to venture any distance from a place of protection. And to increase the feeling of alarm a rumor reached the settlements that a large body of Tories and Indians was making preparations to descend upon the valley from the north while General Sullivan marched up the North Branch, gain his rear, devastate the country, and if possible penetrate as far as Fort Augusta and capture that stronghold.

*The stone quarry, or ledge of rocks, where this affair occurred is still to be seen. Standing on the site of Fort Freeland and looking across the creek, the rocks are plainly visible. The field in which the parties were at work was in rear of the precipice.

CHAPTER XXIV.

INVASION OF THE VALLEY BY THE BRITISH AND INDIANS UNDER
M'DONALD—CAPTURE OF FORT FREELAND—THRILLING SCENES
AND INCIDENTS—SKETCH OF COVENHOVEN, THE SCOUT.

AS the rumors of an approaching body of British, Tories and Indians from the north increased, it was finally determined by Colonel Hepburn to send a man who was well acquainted with the paths and defiles of the mountains to ascertain and report their movements. Robert Covenhoven, the spy and scout, was selected for this dangerous duty. He preferred no company, as he thought he could better elude observation if alone than if accompanied by any one. Avoiding all the Indian paths, he directed his course through the wilderness towards the headwaters of Lycoming Creek, and by traveling at night soon arrived in the vicinity of the enemy's camp, which must have been somewhere in the neighborhood of the present village of Roaring Branch, on the Northern Central Railroad. The difficulty of making such a journey at that time can readily be imagined by those familiar with the route at this day. It lay over rugged hills, through dark and gloomy ravines, and almost impenetrable thickets in many places. Arriving in the vicinity of the camp of the enemy, he secreted himself in a secure position, where he lay during the day. At intervals he heard shots, amounting to several hundred, which led him to believe that they were cleaning their guns and preparing to descend Lycoming Creek by the Sheshequin war path, to attack the settlements. Satisfied that a large body was about to advance, he retraced his steps over the rugged hills and through the thickets, hungry and fatigued. He made as rapid progress as the nature of the country would admit. Striking an Indian path near Loyalsock, it suddenly occurred to him that he might meet Indians if he continued to travel in that direction. He stepped to one side and stopped

behind a large tree to rest for a short time. He had been there but a few minutes when two Indians passed him, humming some kind of a rude melody as they jogged along. Had he remained in the path he would have come in collision with them and might have been killed.

When he reached Fort Muncy he informed Colonel Hepburn of the impending danger, and preparations were at once made to retire, as the approaching force was evidently too strong to resist. What women and children were at the fort were hastily placed in boats and sent down the river to Fort Augusta* in charge of Mr. Covenhoven. Those collected at Fort Menninger were notified of the danger, when they abandoned that post and hastened down the river. Information was sent to Fort Freeland of the apprehended danger, but the settlers assembled there thought Covenhoven was magnifying the danger, and they concluded to remain. The garrison at Boone's fort also remained behind.

In the meantime the enemy, consisting of about 100 British and 200 Indians—the former under command of Captain John McDonald, and the latter under Hiokoto†, a Seneca chief—were rapidly advancing. They entered the valley at Loyalsock and commenced laying the country in waste, but as nearly all the settlers had fled they were rewarded with few scalps. The party advanced rapidly on Fort Muncy, which, much to their chagrin, they found abandoned. It was burned, and everything in the neighborhood destroyed that they could lay their hands on. The stone house of Samuel Wallis, which stood a few hundred yards south of the fort, on the bank of an arm of the river, could not be razed without too much labor, and it was allowed to remain. The force spread over the beautiful Muncy Valley and burned every cabin that could be found. Captain John Brady's fort was destroyed by the advancing enemy. Captain McDonald learned

*While visiting London in the summer of 1888, Hon. William Rockefeller, of Sunbury, called at the British War Office, and upon request was shown the drawing of Fort Augusta made by the Provincial engineers in 1756. It required a search of nearly an hour to find it, and when the clerk brought it forth and laid it before him, he made a request that he would not touch it, as it had belonged to George III.!

†He was the husband of Mary Jemison, the "White Woman," whose strange and thrilling history is related in Chapter IV. of this work.

from his scouts that Fort Freeland* was still occupied, and as the savages under him were thirsting for blood, he hastened forward rapidly, fearing that the garrison might elude his grasp. The Muncy hills were quickly passed, and the force appeared in the vicinity of Fort Freeland before daylight on the morning of July 28, 1779. Keeping well hidden in the timber, the garrison was not aware of the nearness of the red devils and their British colleagues, and rested in fancied security.

About sunrise on that fatal morning, an old man named James Watt left the fort to look for his sheep that had strayed away. He had proceeded but a short distance in the direction of Warrior Run, when an Indian, who was lying in ambush, sprang upon him and tried to drag him away a prisoner. Watt stoutly resisted and cried for assistance, when the savage felled him with his tomahawk, and was about to scalp him, when a shot fired from the fort wounded him in the back and he was forced to desist in his murderous work. Two young men were also outside at the time, but hearing the alarm rushed to the fort. One of them stopped in the gate to look back, when a rifle ball struck him in the forehead. His comrade pulled him inside and closed the gate. In a few minutes the enemy emerged from the timber and the garrison were made aware of the danger that beset them. The moment was one of supreme danger, and many of the inmates of the fort were panic-stricken at the sight of the painted devils as they glided about in the bushes.

The fort only contained twenty-one effective men and a large number of women and children. But there were brave women in the fort, and when apprised of the danger Mary Kirk and Phoebe Vincent commenced to run bullets for the rifles of the men, and continued at this work as long as they had a dish or spoon that would melt.

The savages at once gave a tremendous yell and advanced to the attack under cover of the trees and bushes. The garrison offered a stout resistance and fired vigorously on the advancing foe, but with little effect. After continuing the assault for some

* As early as the 20th of July an advance body of Indians appeared in the neighborhood of Fort Freeland and killed three men. They probably belonged to McDonald's party.

minutes, Captain McDonald found that he could make but little impression upon the works, when he hoisted a white flag and proposed terms of capitulation. Captain Lytle, accompanied by John Vincent, went out and held a conference with McDonald, who seemed anxious to prevent a massacre, which he knew must follow if the fort was taken by storm. Half an hour was given the garrison for deliberation by the British commander. Lytle and Vincent immediately returned to the fort for consultation with their friends. The fortification was poorly constructed, and it covered more space than there were men to man it. The garrison, therefore, believing that there was no possibility of successfully resisting such a large force, and being anxious to save the lives of their women and children, decided to surrender. And at the end of the thirty minutes accorded them for consultation, Captain Lytle and Mr. Vincent returned, when the following articles of capitulation were agreed to and signed:

Articles of capitulation entered into between Captain John McDonald, on his Majesty's part, and John Lytle, on the part of Congress:

1. The men in the garrison to march out and ground their arms on the green in front of the fort, which is to be taken possession of immediately by his Majesty's troops. *Agreed to.*

2. All men bearing arms are to surrender themselves prisoners of war, and to be sent to Niagara. *Agreed to.*

The women and children are not to be stripped of their clothing, nor molested by Indians, and to be at liberty to move down the country where they please.

JOHN McDONALD,
Captain Rangers.
JOHN LYTLE.

While the respective commanders were discussing the terms of surrender the women were not idle in the fort. Every one put on as much clothing as she could possibly wear, taking care also to fill her pockets with every little thing of value that could be secured in this way. William Kirk,* a young man of feminine appearance, was dressed in female costume, by his mother, and escaped with the women.

* Mrs. Etta Kirk Burr, wife of Theodore Burr, of Watsontown, and daughter of John McKinney Kirk, son of William Kirk, is a descendant. Her grandfather, William Kirk, who escaped from Fort Freeland disguised as a girl, died at Charlotte, Monroe County, N. Y., and is buried there.

It was about 9 o'clock in the morning when the articles of capitulation were signed and the garrison marched forth and gave up their arms. As soon as the Indians took possession of the fort the squaws began to display their mischievous and destructive disposition. They ripped open all the feather beds they could find, emptied the contents in a heap, set them on fire and danced around in fiendish glee, at the same time uttering piercing yells of satisfaction. They packed the ticks full of clothes and goods, and then, Vandal-like, destroyed everything that was too heavy to be carried away. One of the squaws, in passing a white girl, snatched a handkerchief from her neck and refused to return it. McDonald, it is said, was so moved by the theft that he gave the poor girl his own handkerchief and then scolded the squaw for her thievish act.

The Indians having rifled the fort of all that was valuable, and having gathered together all the provisions they could find, proceeded to the creek, where they made preparations for a feast. The squaws with their plunder rode away on the side-saddles they had stolen, in mockery of the white women. The savages did not long enjoy their feast in quiet.

News of the attack rapidly spread among the few settlers remaining in the country. The firing was distinctly heard at Boone's Fort, when the brave captain hurriedly collected a party and proceeded to the assistance of those at Freeland's. It consisted of thirty-three as brave men as ever fired a gun, and they rapidly marched to the scene of pillage.

It was about 11 o'clock when they reached the opposite side of the creek, within seventy-five or eighty yards of where the enemy were feasting, without being discovered. Captain Boone cautioned each man in his company to take sure aim, and when all were ready the signal to fire was given, and at least thirty of the savages fell dead. As soon as they could reload they crossed the bridge and moved directly for the fort; but when they had run about half way across the meadow they discovered that the building and sheds within the stockade were on fire and that it had been abandoned. Boone quickly ordered a retreat to the woods, where he felt confident he could better cope with the foe. The Indians, seeing that the white men were few in number, endeavored to cut

off their retreat by throwing themselves before the bridge, but they were unsuccessful. One of Boone's men, named Daugherty, made a dash for the creek, and while endeavoring to cross it got entangled in some vines. While struggling to release himself an Indian called to him to surrender, but he derisively answered that he would not, and taking out his pocket knife cut his way out and reached his companions safely, who welcomed him with a hearty cheer. A brisk fire was kept up across the creek, as Boone tried to work his way around the hill in order to gain the open country in the direction of Montgomery's stockade, a few miles to the east. But he failed, as his men were obliged to fight against nine to one. A party of Indians got in his rear, and stationing themselves in the log building used as a mill, did much execution. The whites maintained a stout resistance until seventeen of their number, including the brave Captain Boone, were killed, when the survivors, seeing the hopelessness of further resistance, gave up the fight and each man did his best to escape. These brave fellows were closely hunted by the savages and several of them barely escaped. A man named Doyle darted into a thicket of hazel bushes close by where he had been fighting and remained concealed until night, although Indians frequently passed within a few feet of him.

During the fight William Hood and Major McMahon crossed the creek to where the women were collected, spoke a few words of encouragement to them and then returned with safety.

During the morning of the fight John Montgomery,* who had settled in Paradise, about four miles east of the fort, heard an unusual amount of firing in the direction of Freeland's. Fearing the worst, he called his sons, John and Robert, and directed them to mount their horses and ride over to the fort and learn what was the cause of the firing. They took the path leading through the timber, and on reaching the brow of the hill overlooking the creek, they discovered the fort on fire and a fight raging in the

*John Montgomery, the fifth son of John and Sarah Montgomery, was born in Ireland and was only four years old when he came to this country. He died in 1792, at the age of 58, from injuries received by a tree falling on him while he was engaged in opening what was called the "Derry Road," leading from Milton to Derry Township. His widow, Christiana, died March 2, 1821, aged 80 years. Both are buried in Warrior Run Church grave-yard.—*History of the Montgomery Family*, pages 6, 7.

timber some distance below where they stood. This was where Captain Boone and his party suddenly came on the Indians as they were feasting on the provisions they had stolen from the fort. The point where they stood and viewed the scene, unobserved by the enemy, is still pointed out. Satisfied that the enemy was in force, the young couriers galloped back and gave the alarm. Mr. Montgomery, on learning the condition of affairs, quickly loaded up his family in a wagon, with what provisions and clothing they could carry, and hurriedly drove across the country to Limestone Run, to the cabin of William Davis. After informing him what was going on, he gathered up his family and proceeded with them to Fort Augusta. In a short time Mr. Montgomery continued his flight to Harris', where he rented a farm of John Harris, and lived there until 1783, when he returned to his old home at the spring.

Samuel Brady, the elder brother of Captain John Brady, who was killed at Wolf Run, and uncle of the celebrated Sam. Brady, of the Rangers, was at Fort Freeland the day of its capture. He was determined not to be carried away a prisoner, and watching an opportunity, suddenly dashed into the hazel bushes and ran for his life. He made his way through the thickets and emerged in an open field, hotly pursued by several Indians. After running a considerable distance he looked back and found two Indians still pursuing him—one a large, dangerous looking fellow, the other of small stature. He increased his speed and was making rapid headway when he made a misstep and fell. The larger Indian was foremost, and now felt secure of his victim. But Brady had fallen with a loaded rifle, and quickly rising shot his pursuer dead. The other fearing to follow him turned and fled. Brady yelled after him—" *You murdering thief, you did not know it was Brady!*" He said afterwards he was determined "to make his eternal escape."

The only one of the band captured was Henry Gilfillen. He was caught the next day in a dilapidated fort—probably Montgomery's, a few miles east of Freeland's—while in the act of trying to milk a cow to obtain some nourishment, which he had not tasted for twenty-four hours. He was tomahawked and scalped.

The names of those killed in the attack on the fort were James Watt,* John McClintock, William McClung, James Miles and Henry Gilfillen. It is regretted that the names of all the killed belonging to Captain Boone's company were not preserved. The following only are given: Captain Boone,† Captain Samuel Daugherty, Jeremiah McGlaghten, Nathaniel Smith, John Jones, Edward Costigan, Ezra Green, Samuel Neel, Mathew McClintock, Hugh McGill and Andrew Woods, making eleven.

William Daugherty, the progenitor of the family bearing this name, was born in the north of Ireland. When he first came to this country he lived for a time in Cumberland County, and then found his way to the West Branch. He married a Miss Means, and they had seven sons—John, Samuel, William, James, Abel, Robert, and one whose name cannot be recalled. There were daughters also. One became the wife of Marcus Hulings, who settled at Milton. He assisted his father-in-law in building the first keel-boat that was used on the river. These seven sons all took part in the Revolution. John, the eldest and most prominent, was a skillful small swordsman, and while the patriot army was in New Jersey he fought and killed, in single combat, a British officer, also noted as a swordsman, for speaking contemptuously of the rebels. Captain John and his young brother, Samuel, formed a part of Captain Hawkins Boone's command, sent to the West Branch. Samuel warned his brother not to take part in the attack on Fort Freeland, as he believed they would surely be defeated. John told him if he was afraid he should go back. Samuel replied: "No Daugherty ever was a coward, and I shall fight as bravely as yourself, but we shall be defeated." McKnight says Hawkins Boone, Samuel Daugherty and fifteen others were killed. In after years George Daugherty, while traveling in New York, met a man named Robinson, who said he

*See Vol. VII., page 610, *Pennsylvania Archives*. Also same page for the names of Boone's killed.

†He was a cousin of the celebrated Daniel Boone, a surveyor and an expert woodsman. A few years before this affair he had settled at the mouth of Muddy Run, built a log mill, and a small, rude defensive work, which the settlers called Fort Boone. The Indians burned them both. The mill was on the site now occupied by Kemerer's mill, two miles above Milton. Nothing more of the brave captain's history is known.

was in the fight at Freeland's. After their repulse he hid himself in the woods while three Indians passed. One of them carried what he recognized as Daugherty's scalp by its light curling hair. His gun was loaded, his finger was on the trigger, and he could have killed one Indian; but there would have been two others to fight, so he was obliged to let them pass. At Freeland's Captain John is said to have amply revenged his brother's death. While the fighting was in progress an old Tory, who was more than suspected of having betrayed the fort to the British, came up to him, and rubbing his hands, said: "That's right, Daugherty; give it to them!" "Yes," said he, "and I can give it to a d—d traitor, too!" He turned, loaded his gun and shot him down as coolly as if he had been shooting a squirrel! After the war Captain John went back to his farm. One day his bound boy did something to displease him, and when he attempted to correct him the boy stabbed him fatally with his knife. The brave man's only lament at dying was that after fighting the British, Hessians and Indians for so many years, he should be killed by a boy! James Daugherty was taken prisoner and carried to Canada. When peace was declared he was returned to Boston. Besides the sons there were daughters who married men who had a share in the great struggle, among them being William McGrady and John Campbell. James married Ann Hammond. Their children were George Hammond, Grace and Sarah. Grace was the grandmother of Daniel Hogue, of Watsontown, and Sarah was the grandmother of the Bowmans, of Towanda. George H. Daugherty, the son, was born in 1794, and his living children are: George H., of Bethlehem; Caroline, now Mrs. Faries, of Ogontz; Ada, Mrs. Ten Brook, of Turbuttsville, and Thomas Daugherty, of Audenried, Carbon County. James was the only one of the seven brothers who died a natural death. The brothers-in-law of James Daugherty were named George, James, William, Joseph and David Hammond. One daughter of James Daugherty married a man named Vandyke, and two of her sons, James and Hammond Vandyke, reside on farms near Ulster, Bradford County, and are prominent citizens. The sisters of these heroes moved, about 1800, to Ohio and have been lost trace of. James Daugherty died and was buried near Monroeton, Bradford County. He and

Alexander Guffy once occupied pew No. 40 in the old Warrior Run Church, for which they paid one pound rent.

The survivors of this Spartan band took an active part in the skirmishes which followed during the closing years of the war. Many of their descendants still reside in Northumberland and other counties, and they are imbued with the same patriotism and love of liberty which distinguished their heroic ancestors.

While the Indians were engaged in the fight with Captain Boone,* the Fort Freeland prisoners were guarded by a portion of the British soldiers under command of McDonald. Fifty-two women and children, and four old men, were permitted to depart for Sunbury. Great consternation prevailed in the country after this battle, and the road leading to Sunbury was filled with terrified women and children, flying for their lives.

John Vincent† was one of the old men allowed to remain. His wife was a cripple and unable to walk. He carried her from the fort to the lower end of the meadow and laid her down, and there they remained until the next morning without shelter or covering of any kind. It rained during the night, which made it very uncomfortable for them. In the morning he caught a horse

*In Judge McMaster's *History of Steuben County, N. Y.*, is a curious statement by Benjamin Patterson. He says that he and his younger brother fought in Captain Boone's party and narrowly escaped. Boone's party advanced cautiously, and succeeded in concealing themselves in a cluster of bushes overlooking the camp of the enemy. Both Tories and Indians were engaged in cooking and eating, while a single sentinel, a fine tall savage, with a blanket drawn over his head, walked slowly to and fro. Boone's men commenced firing by platoons of six. The sentry sprang into the air with a whoop and fell dead. The enemy, yelling frightfully, ran to arms and opened a furious but random fire at their unseen foes. Their bullets rattled through the bushes where Boone's men lay hid, but did no mischief. The slaughter, he says, of Indians and Tories was dreadful. The thirty-two rangers firing rapidly and coolly by sixes, with the unerring aim of frontiersmen, shot down 150 before the enemy broke and fled. Boone's men, with strange indiscretion, rushed from their covert in pursuit, and immediately exposed their weakness. The Indians at once made a circuit and attacked him in the rear, while McDonald turned upon his front. They were surrounded. Seeing this, Boone tried to escape. His rangers broke and fled, and many escaped, but Boone was among the killed. Patterson was one who succeeded in escaping, but his story of 150 of the enemy being killed is very wide of the mark.

†From the date of his birth, given on page 429 of this work, it will be seen that he was in his 80th year at the time of the capture. He lived to the great age of 92. His invalid wife lived until 1788.

which came to them, and making a bridle out of hickory bark, placed his wife on the back of the animal and succeeded in getting her safely to Sunbury.

The enemy ravaged the country in the vicinity of the fort, and burned and destroyed everything they could find. They advanced as far as Milton, where they burned Marcus Hulings' blacksmith shop and dwelling house. They did not venture much further, being afraid of meeting troops from Sunbury. After they had swept over the country it presented a sad scene of desolation, and it remained in this condition for several years, the settlers being afraid to return.

The next day after the capture of the fort McDonald deemed it best to retrace his steps as quickly as possible, and he set his motley column in motion for the north. The prisoners were in charge of a detail of Indians and British, and were treated fairly well. The first night they were confined in a dilapidated house near Muncy. One of them had attempted to escape during the day and he was placed on the second floor of the building for greater security. John Montour, on seeing him, pointed his gun at him as if he intended to shoot, but did not. An old squaw, said to have been a sister of Montour, threatened to scalp him, alleging that he had wounded her in a fight. She waved a tomahawk as if about to hurl it at him, but finally desisted. The prisoner was badly frightened, and expected that he would be tortured, but his tormentors relented and left him.

Much sentimental writing has been indulged in by historians when speaking of McDonald. He has been described as a very humane man, and prevented the Indians on many occasions from committing deeds of atrocity. The facts of history do not bear out such conclusions. Captain Alexander McDonald and his brother John (made captain-lieutenant under Sir John Johnson, June 19, 1777,) were Tory Roman Catholic Scotchmen, living near Johnstown, N. Y., prior to the Revolution. In 1776 they were arrested,* with others of their family, as suspected persons and imprisoned at Albany.

Colonel Stone says that, having been permitted by General

*The McDonalds are still prisoners, except John, who made his escape from Albany last fall and lies concealed somewhere.—Letter, January, 1777, *Col. N. Y. Revolutionary Papers*, Vol. I., page 583.

Schuyler to visit their families, they, in the month of March, 1777, again ran off to Canada, taking with them the residue of the Catholic-Scotch settlers, together with some of the Loyalist Germans, their former neighbors.

In 1778 Alexander McDonald, who appears to have been a man of considerable enterprise and activity, collected a force of 300 Tories and Indians, and fell with great fury upon the frontiers, the Dutch settlements of Scoharie especially feeling "all his barbarity and exterminating rage." One example of his cruelty and blood-thirstiness is given by Sims in his *Trappers of New York*, viz.: "On the morning of October 25, 1781, a large body of the enemy under Major Ross entered Johnstown with several prisoners, and not a little plunder, among which was a number of human scalps, taken the afternoon and night previous in settlements in and adjoining the Mohawk Valley, to which was added the scalp of Hugh McMonts, a constable, who was surprised and killed as they entered Johnstown. In the course of the day the troops from the garrisons near, and the militia from the surrounding country, rallied and, under the active and daring Willett, gave the enemy battle on the Hall farm, in which the latter were finally defeated with loss, and made good their retreat into Canada. Young Scarborough was then in the nine months' service, and while the action was going on himself and one Crosset left the Johnstown fort, where they were on garrison duty, to join in the fight, less than two miles distant. Between the Hall farm and woods they soon found themselves engaged. Crosset, after shooting down one or two, received a bullet through one hand, but binding a handkerchief around it he continued the fight under cover of a hemlock stump. He was shot down and killed there, and his companion surrendered and was made a prisoner by a party of Scotch troops commanded by Captain McDonald. When Scarborough was captured Captain McDonald was not present, but the moment he saw him he ordered his men to shoot him down. Several refused, but three obeyed the dastardly order, and yet he would have survived his wounds had not the miscreant in authority cut him down with his own broadsword. The sword was caught in its first descent, and the valiant captain drew it out, cutting the hand nearly in two."

Colonel Stone says this was the same McDonald who in 1779 figured in the battle of the Chemung, together with Sir John and Guy Johnson* and Walter N. Butler.

These extracts are introduced to show what manner of men the McDonalds were; and although there is nothing on record to couple the name of John McDonald, of Fort Freeland fame, (?) with deeds of atrocity as heartless as those attributed to his brother, yet his associations were such as to show that he was a man undeserving of the praise that has been given him by many writers. The very fact that he led such a motley gang of cut-throats through the wilderness for the purpose of devastating this beautiful valley and taking the scalps of defenseless women and children *for a price*, shows him to have been possessed of but little of the elements of true bravery or the finer sensibilities of honorable manhood. He was simply a bloodthirsty Tory, in whose defense the most liberal charity can credit him with but little that is humane or honorable. And then the fact of his early return † to the valley, after peace was restored, shows that he had a desire to visit and gloat over the scenes of destruction caused by his direction. But the manner in which he was received quickly taught him that he was not a welcome visitor among the people whose relatives and friends had perished at his hands, and whose houses had been burned by his direction, and coward-like he quickly abandoned his horse and fled to escape the punishment he knew he so richly merited. Had he not disappeared when he did he would very likely have been ridden on a rail, if not treated worse; and he showed the instinct of a poltroon by secretly escaping down the river, and the innate sense of guilt by failing to reclaim his property, which was probably stolen from some friend of the cause of liberty.

* W. L. Stone in Sir John Johnson's *Order Book*, page 56.

† Some years after the war Captain McDonald, having business with the American Government, on his way from Canada ventured, from pride or curiosity, to visit the ground of his victory, and tarried part of a night at Northumberland. Alarmed at certain movements, indicating hostility, he hired a servant to take him down the stream in a canoe, before daylight should expose him to his (as he had reason to suppose) excited enemies. His fine horse, after remaining nearly a year with the innkeeper unclaimed, was sold for his keeping.—*Miner's Wyoming*, page 266.

The capture of Fort Freeland,* coming so soon after the bloody massacre at Wyoming, caused an increased feeling of alarm in the country. Colonel Hunter, at Fort Augusta, was informed of the capture of the fort by a courier about noon on the day of the occurrence (July 28th), and he straightway forwarded the news to "Colonel Mathew Smith,† at Paxton," and after speaking of the women and children, and the men at Fort Freeland, he adds: "God knows what has become of them!" He said that the situation was distressing. General Sullivan would send them no assistance. The express messenger informed him that "red coats were seen walking around the fort, or where it had been." He added that he was just preparing to march up the river with a party that he had collected. And then in a postscript to his letter he added: "Rouse ye inhabitants, or we are all ruined here."

On the following day (the 29th) he wrote to William Maclay, at "Paxton," giving him the full particulars of the battle and the killing of Captain Boone. "The regular officer," he added, "that commanded was the name of Captain McDonald," and that he "let the women and children go after having them a considerable time in custody." No doubt he was anxious to carry them into captivity, but feared they would not survive the march through the wilderness.

William Buyers, on the same day, wrote Mr. Maclay, giving him the same information, and stated that not more than eight or ten of the enemy were killed.‡

Application was made to General Sullivan, who was then at Wyoming, for assistance. The General replied,§ under date of July 30th, that it would afford him great pleasure to relieve the distressed, but it was not in his power to do so. His army was ready to move the next day, and he was of the opinion that as soon as he was in motion up the North Branch the attention of the enemy would be drawn to him, and the result would be a relief to the West Branch.

* After the battle Colonel Kelly came up from Fort Augusta with a party and buried the dead. For sketch of Kelly see Meginness' *Biographical Annals*, page 175.

† See Vol. VII., pages 589 and 590, of *Pennsylvania Archives*, for letter in full.

‡ See page 592, Vol. VII., *Pennsylvania Archives*.

§ For correspondence between Sullivan and Hunter see Vol. VII., pages 593-4, *Pennsylvania Archives*.

On the same day William Maclay wrote to Council, informing them that the worst that was feared had happened, and the situation "was most distressing." There was "not a single inhabitant," he continued, "north of Northumberland town." They had "no expectation of relief from General Sullivan," and he closed his letter in these words: "I need not ask you what is to be done. Help, help, or the towns of Sunbury and Northumberland must fall; our whole frontier is laid open and the communication with General Sullivan's army is cut off."

Colonel Hunter informed President Reed, under date of August 4th,* that the enemy, after burning and plundering, had gone over Muncy Hills, and there "were a number of families that were in great distress, having nothing left them to subsist upon." He had ordered rations for them until he heard from Council. General Sullivan, he said, had marched from Wyoming on Saturday.

Enough of the correspondence has been given to show the alarm that existed in the country. Let us turn to the captives and their families.

Of the Vincent family, Bethuel, Cornelius and Daniel were taken prisoners. Benjamin, a lad of only eleven years of age, had been taken at the first attack on the 21st of July. He remained in captivity for five years, when he was liberated and made his way back.

When McDonald started on the return with his prisoners, plunder and scalps, he followed the Sheshequin path up Lycoming Creek, because it was the best route. The command crossed the mountains to Tioga River and thence to the Genesee country, which was the residence of Hiokoto and his Seneca followers. Much of the country through which they passed was a dense wilderness, and they did not see a white man's cabin after leaving the head-waters of Lycoming Creek until they arrived at Fort Niagara. The prisoners had a rough experience on the march. A little fresh meat, without salt, roasted on the end of a stick, was their principal food. At night they slept on the ground under the shade of a friendly hemlock and had to brave all kinds of weather.

* For letter in full see Vol. VII., page 621, *Pennsylvania Archives*.

Daniel Vincent, one of the captives, had been recently married, and after his capture his wife, almost overwhelmed with grief, worked her way back to the home of her parents in New Jersey. Three years rolled away and no tidings came from her captive husband, but she still hoped to see him again. One evening a sleighing party was about leaving a house in the neighborhood where she was staying in New Jersey, to go on a short excursion. Mrs. Vincent had been induced to go along with the party. As they were about starting a neighbor, in company with a roughly dressed man, wearing a heavy beard, drove up. He inquired for Mrs. Vincent, and on her coming forth, he informed her that here was a stranger who could tell her something about her husband. The stranger stepped forward, was introduced, and shook her warmly by the hand and entered into conversation with her. She anxiously inquired about her husband, when, finding that she did not recognize him on account of his changed appearance, he could restrain his pent up feelings no longer, and called her by name and said: "Do you not know your husband; I am he?" With a shriek she bounded into his arms and wept tears of gladness.

Cornelius,* the father of Daniel, returned from captivity about the same time. He had been heavily ironed, while a prisoner, for about eighteen months, and when he died the marks left by the British fetters were still plainly visible on his ankles.

Previous to the return of the captives the wives of several of them had returned to their desolated homes on Warrior Run for the purpose of trying to reclaim something. Among them was the wife of Captain Lytle† and her children. She was accompanied by a single man of good reputation, who was a cropper. After some time this man became attached to Mrs. Lytle and made proposals of marriage, which were rejected with a declaration of her determination never to accept the addresses of any man while in her breast she could cherish fond hopes of the

*The following inscription on a plain monument in Warrior Run Church graveyard, reared by filial hands, briefly tells the story of the life of this pioneer and his wife: "This monument is erected by John Vincent, Esq., to rescue from oblivion the memory of his beloved parents, Cornelius and Phebe Vincent. They were born in Newark, N. J., and died in Milton, Pa. He died July 16, 1812, in his 76th year; she died February 25, 1809, in her 70th year." See pages 428-9 of this history.

†See *Hazard's Register*, Vol. X., page 88.

return of her husband from captivity. To effect his purpose, letters were circulated stating that Captain Lytle was certainly dead; and after giving her time to mourn the death of her husband, the young man resumed his addresses, which were finally accepted and they were married.

At last peace was declared, and Captain Lytle was released from imprisonment. He hastened back to his Warrior Run home to seek his wife and children. But, like Enoch Arden, he found her married to another man. Unlike Enoch, however, he did not retire and leave them alone. Tradition says that he first refused to see her, but through the intercession of friends a reconciliation was brought about, investigation having shown that the letters were forged for the purpose of deceiving her. On becoming convinced that such was the fact he relented, accepted his wife and they dwelt together again in unity and happiness. The neighbors were so incensed at her deceiver that he was obliged to fly to escape the law. Captain Lytle and family resided in Northumberland County to the close of their earthly career. They have been dead for three-quarters of a century.

Preparations were hurriedly made to follow the retreating horde commanded by McDonald for the purpose, if possible, of recovering some of the stock, as they had taken away all the horses and cattle they could find. On the 3d of August Colonel Mathew Smith arrived at Sunbury with a company of sixty Paxton Boys, and several more companies were expected soon from other sections. These detachments were hurried forward by order of the Supreme Executive Council. On the 5th the number reached 500 effective men, a force sufficient to render good service. Colonel Smith* marched immediately up the valley, and in a few days he

* Mathew was the eldest son of Robert Smith, of Paxtang, and was born in 1734. He received the limited education of pioneer times. During the French and Indian wars he was in service in Bouquet's expedition, but he came into prominence by being one of the delegates appointed by the inhabitants on the frontiers to present their memorial of grievances to the Assembly during the Paxtang Boys' attack on the Conestoga Indians in the Lancaster jail. Save as the bearer of that petition he was not connected with the bloody affair.

In June, 1775, the drums of the Revolution called him from his farm, and he enlisted a company of volunteers in Paxtang to march to the siege of Boston. His company included many famous characters, and one of its members, Judge Henry,

reached Fort Muncy, which he found destroyed. The country had been swept as by the besom of destruction. Scarcely a cabin was found, and in some instances the mangled remains of murdered settlers were discovered and buried. Finding that the enemy had retired far into the depths of the wilderness, and he was not prepared to follow them, Colonel Smith was reluctantly compelled to retrace his steps to Fort Augusta.

The best description of Fort Freeland, as it appeared when built, was furnished by the venerable Mrs. Mary Vincent Derickson in a letter written December 17, 1855, to Samuel Hazard, editor of the State *Colonial Records and Archives*, which was published on pages 363-5 of the appendix to that great compilation. And as it is particularly minute in its details, and gives much valuable information regarding the construction of the stockade, it is given herewith in full, together with an illustration:

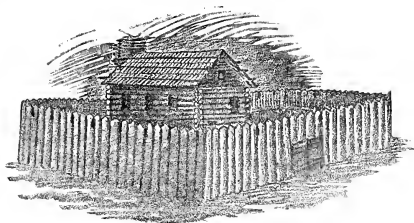
The fort was situated on the Warrior-run Creek about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles above where it empties into the Susquehannah River.

In the year 1772, Jacob Freeland, Samuel Gould, Peter Vincent, John Vincent and his son Cornelius Vincent and Timothy Williams with their respective families cut their way through, and settled within some two miles of where the fort was afterwards built—they were from Essex County, N. J. Jacob Freeland brought the irons for a Grist Mill, and in the years '73 & '4 he built one on the Warrior-run.

There were several more families moved up from the same place, and they lived has preserved a record of their wonderful march, under Arnold, through the wilderness of Maine to Quebec. The attack on Quebec and the capture of Smith's company are graphically told by Judge Henry. Captain Smith was probably exchanged in the spring of 1778, for on the 28th of May, that year, he appeared in the Supreme Executive Council as the member for Lancaster County, in which office he served during the years 1778-9.

On the 3d of August, 1779, he writes from Sunbury that he had arrived there with "sixty Paxtang Boys" to look after the Indians and British, who had captured Fort Freeland on the 28th of July. On the 11th of October, 1779, he was chosen Vice-President of Pennsylvania, but resigned shortly after, owing to the heavy expense connected with that position. On the 4th of February following he was appointed prothonotary, etc., for Northumberland County, filling that office until the 25th of September, 1783. He afterwards removed to Milton, where he resided until his death, which took place July 22, 1794, at the age of sixty years. A company of light infantry, under Major Pratt and Captain James Boyd, marched with the body six miles to Warrior Run burying-ground, where the interment took place. Many tears were shed at the old patriot's burial, and after his remains were deposited three volleys were fired over his grave. Captain Smith was as brave a soldier, as ardent a patriot as ever lived.—*Historical Register*, Vol. I., page 230.

on friendly terms with the Indians, until '77, when they began to be troublesome and to remove their own families in the summer of '78, they had to leave the country and when they returned in the fall they picketed around a large two story log house (which had been built by Jacob Freeland for his family,) inclosing half an acre of ground; the timbers were set close and were about 12 feet high; the gate was fastened with bars inside. Into this fort or house the families of Jacob Freeland, Sen., Jacob Freeland, Jr., John Little, Michael Freeland, John Vincent, Peter Vincent, George Pack, Cornelius Vincent, Moses Kirk, James Durham, Samuel Gould, Isaac Vincent and Daniel Vincent, all gathered and lived that winter. In November, Geo. Pack, son of George Pack, was born, and on the 10th of February, 1779, I was born, my father was Cornelius Vincent, and on the 20th of May, George, son of Isaac Vincent, was born.



FORT FREELAND AS IT APPEARED WHEN BUILT.

In the spring of '79, the men planted corn, but were occasionally surprised by the Indians, but nothing serious occurred until the 21st day of July; as some of them were at work in a cornfield back of the fort, they were attacked by a party of Indians about 9 o'clock A. M., and Isaac Vincent, Elias Freeland and Jacob Freeland, Jr., were killed, and Benjamin Vincent and Michael Freeland were taken prisoners. Daniel Vincent was chased by them, but he out ran them, and escaped by leaping a very high log fence. When the Indians surprised them, Benjamin Vincent (then 10 years of age) hid himself in a furrow, but he thought he would be more secure by climbing a tree, as there was a woods near, but they saw him and took him prisoner; he was ignorant of the fate of the others, until about 2 o'clock P. M., when an Indian thrust a bloody scalp in his face, and he knew it was his (*and my*) brother Isaac's hair.

Nothing again occurred until the morning of the 29th, about daybreak, as Jacob Freeland, Sen., was going out of the gate, he was shot, and fell inside of the gate. The fort was surrounded by about 300 British and Indians, commanded by Capt'n McDonnald; there were but 21 men in the fort, and but little ammunition; Mary Kirk and Phebe Vincent commenced immediately and run all their spoons and plates into bullets; about 9 o'clock there was a flag of truce raised, and John Little and John Vincent went out to capitulate, but could not agree. They had half an hour

given them to consult with those inside; at length they agreed, that all who were able to bear arms should go as prisoners, and the old men and women and children set free, and the fort given up to plunder; they all left the fort by 12 o'clock P. M. Not one of them having eaten a bite that day, and not a child was heard to cry or ask for bread that day. They reached Northumberland, 18 miles distance, that night, and there drew their rations, the first they had to eat that day.

When Mrs. Kirk heard the terms on which they were set free she put females clothes on her son William, a lad of 16, and he escaped with the women.

Mrs. Elizabeth Vincent was a cripple, she could not walk. Her husband John Vincent went to Capt'n McDonnald and told him of her situation, and said if he had the horse that the Indians had taken from his son Peter the week before that she could ride, and about day light the next morning the horse came to them; he had carried his wife to the lower end of the meadow where they lay and saw the fort burned, and it rained so hard that night that she lay mid side in water; when the horse came he striped the bark off a hickory tree and plaited a halter, set his wife on and led it to Northumberland where there were wagons pressed, to take them on down the country.

In the fall of '78, as a company of the settlers were leaving the country on account of the Indians, they were fired at, and Mrs. Durham's infant was killed in her arms; she fell with it, and they came and tomahawked and scalped her, and when the men went to count the dead, she raised up and asked for a drink of water. Elias Williams, one of the men, ran to the river and brought his hat full of water and gave her a drink; they then put her in a canoe and took her to Northumberland, where Dr. Plunket dressed her head, she recovered and lived about 50 years. Her body was afterwards lain in Warrior-run burying ground, about a half mile off where the fort stood.

And now Sir, my task is done; if it gives you any information of which you were not in possession I am glad to have done it.

Very respectfully yours, &c.,

MARY V. DERICKSON.

As Mrs. Derickson* was born in the fort February 10, 1779, and it was captured and burned July 28th of the same year, she was an infant only a little over five months old at the time. Her information, therefore, was derived from her parents and was very likely quite correct.

Any one visiting the ground on which this celebrated stockade was erected, will be favorably impressed with the eligibility of its location and the good judgment shown by its builders. It stood on high ground, which commanded an unobstructed view up and

* Mary V. Derickson, born February 10, 1779, "in Freeland's Fort," died in Delaware Township, Northumberland County, March 12, 1864, aged 85 years, one month and two days. Her husband, David Derickson, died September 11, 1828, aged 77 years, nine months and twenty-nine days. Both lie side by side in Warrior Run Church grave-yard, and a plain tombstone marks their graves.

down Warrior Run for a mile or more, whilst a few hundred yards south rolled the waters of the stream. About fifty yards west of the southern angle of the enclosure was a fine spring of water, which bubbles forth as clear and cool to-day as it did over one hundred years ago. The view from the site of the old fort is indeed enchanting. The country is highly cultivated, and fine houses and barns dot the landscape. A mill half a mile down the stream stands on the same spot where Freeland built his primitive mill in 1772. The illustration accompanying this description is intended to represent the stockade enclosing half an acre, with a log house covered with clapboards. Oak timber abounded in that region, affording excellent material for making clapboards, which were the substitutes for shingles in those days. It is probable there were sheds and perhaps other small log cabins inside the enclosure, as it is not likely the main building afforded room enough for all the families seeking refuge within it.

The only relic of this primitive but famous fortification known to be in existence to-day, is a tomahawk pipe belonging to



Found at Fort Freeland.

Thomas B. Young, of Watsonstown. It was found many years ago on the site of the fort by a relic hunter. The illustration will give the reader a good idea of this ancient aboriginal ceremonial weapon. It is claimed that it still retains the original handle.

The farm on which the fort stood is now owned by Mr. Enoch Everitt, of Watsonstown, and a tenant occupies the premises. The substantial brick house, now somewhat time-stained, was built in 1845 by Daniel Dreisbach.* It stands upon the same spot, ac-

* A good story is related of Dreisbach when he was building the house. He had ordered a keg of nails of R. H. McCormick, Esq., a merchant at McEwensville. But through mistake a keg of brads was sent to him. When he discovered what the keg contained he was greatly incensed, and returned it to the merchant. Driving up to the store, he lifted the keg out of his wagon with one hand, saying to McCormick: "Take him back, or I'll throw him to h—l and d—ation!" He would listen to no explanation, and refusing to take a keg of nails in exchange, drove off in a high state of excitement and purchased another keg at a store in Turbutville.

ording to tradition, that was occupied by the log house shown in the illustration, and is in good enough condition to last for half a century more.

From the consideration of Fort Freeland and its captives, let us turn to another subject, that of biography. And as the name of Robert Covenhoven and his deeds of daring and adventure have frequently been referred to in the preceding pages, the reader will naturally desire to know something of his personal history.



COVENHOVEN AT 90.

Robert Covenhoven* was of Hollandish descent. All the branches of the family came from Wolfert Gerrisse von Kouwenhoven, who immigrated to the New Netherlands in 1630. His son, Gerrit, was known as Gerrit Wolfertsen, and his son, William, as William Gerritsen. They all lived on Long Island, in the state of New York. William Gerritsen had six sons—William, Peter,

* See note on page 538 giving the etymology of the name.

Cornelius, Albert, Jacob and John. These all removed to Monmouth County, New Jersey, except William, whose sons, however, followed their uncles thither.

Robert, who figured so prominently on the West Branch as the scout and spy in the troublous Indian times, was born in Monmouth County, December 7, 1755, but it is not positively known which of the brothers mentioned above was his father, unless it was Albert, who is known to have lived on the Loyalsock, from old papers that once belonged to Samuel Wallis, and to which he signed his name. He grew to manhood in New Jersey, and when so many of the natives of that State emigrated to the West Branch Valley, before the commencement of the Indian troubles, his father was among them, bringing with him at least three sons and two daughters, Isabella and Crecy.

Robert Covenhoven's family, with their relatives, settled near the mouth of the Loyalsock about 1772, and commenced making improvements. At first Robert was employed as a hunter and axeman by the surveyors, who were then busily engaged in surveying the lands which had just come into market. The knowledge thus acquired of the paths of the wilderness afterwards rendered his service eminently useful as a scout and guide to the military parties of the Revolution. It is unnecessary to say that the graduate of such a school was fearless and intrepid, that he was skillful in the wiles of Indian warfare, and possessed an iron constitution.

At the call of his country, in 1776, he joined the campaign under General Washington. He was at the battles of Trenton and Princeton. His younger brother had also enlisted, but his father took his place, and the General, with his characteristic kindness, permitted the boy to return and protect his mother.

In the spring of 1777 Robert returned to his home on the West Branch, where his services were more needed by the defenseless frontier than on the sea coast. He was one of those men who were always put forward when danger and hard work were to be encountered, but forgotten when honors and emoluments were distributed. Nevertheless, he cheerfully sought the post of danger, and never shrunk from duty, although it might be an humble station. Few men in those stirring times passed through more

hairbreadth escapes, few encountered more personal perils in deadly encounters with savages than Mr. Covenhoven.

Mr. Covenhoven married Miss Mercy Kelsey Cutter, February 22, 1778. This was soon after his arrival here, and shortly before the breaking out of the serious Indian troubles which resulted in the flight of the settlers to Sunbury for protection.

His many thrilling adventures have been described in other parts of this work at the time of their occurrence and in the order of their date. He was the principal guide to Colonel Hartley when he made his famous march up Lycoming Creek in September, 1778, for the purpose of destroying Indian towns on the head-waters of the North Branch and its tributaries. At Tioga Point (now Athens) Covenhoven applied the torch to Queen Esther's castle with his own hands. He described it as a long, low edifice, constructed of logs set in the ground at intervals of ten feet, with horizontal hewn plank neatly set into grooves in the posts. It was roofed, or thatched, and had some sort of porch, or other ornament, over the doorway.

The part he bore in the Big Runaway, and his thrilling adventure on the Loyalsock with Captain Berry's party, have all been described in their proper places. In the latter fight one of his brothers was killed and another taken prisoner. After hard fighting Covenhoven was chased some distance along the bank of the creek, dodging up and down the bank alternately, that his savage pursuers might get no aim at him. He escaped and made his way to the fort. Brave as he was, he often spoke in after life of the fluttering of his heart when he was fleeing for his life. The fight occurred on Loyalsock about a mile above the Montoursville bridge.

In the closing years of his life he frequently took pleasure in relating a story about his "sourrounding," in company with Robert King, a party of Indians and refugees, who were working a loaded boat up the North Branch* from the depredations committed at Wyoming. The party in the boat outnumbered them, but the prize was too tempting to be resisted. King remained in the bushes and kept up a prodigious whooping and shouting to

*Very likely he has reference to the incident mentioned in Colonel Hartley's report of the capture of stores as he was descending the river from Tioga.

his imaginary comrades to come on. Covenhoven rushed out with his gun in hand and ordered the party in the boat to surrender, which they did, and permitted themselves to be secured. King made his appearance and the two, forcing the prisoners by threats to assist them, arrived with their prize at Wyoming, where, said Mr. Covenhoven, the officers and soldiers of the Continental army cheated the poor Provincials out of their share of the plunder.

Soon after peace had been restored by the last treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1784, and the disputed territory between Lycoming and Pine creeks had been purchased and brought into market, he commenced looking around for a suitable location to establish a farm. He finally fixed on a tract situated in Level Corner, on the river, three miles east of Jersey Shore and called "Conquest," which he purchased from James Hepburn and Mary, his wife, for £310, 15s, 8d. The deed was made August 11, 1790, and was acknowledged the same day. It may be found recorded in Deed Book E, Vol. V., page 141, Lycoming County, and as it recites some important facts, an extract is given herewith:

WHEREAS, a pre-emption warrant was granted unto the said James Hepburn, dated the 3d day of September, A. D. 1785, for a certain tract or parcel of land situate between Lycoming and Pine creeks; and

WHEREAS, in pursuance of the said warrant and the survey made in consequence thereof, there was granted by the Supreme Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania, a patent, signed by His Excellency, Thomas Mifflin, Esquire, President, and attested by the Secretary for all that certain tract or parcel of land called "Conquest," situate between Lycoming and Pine creeks and on the north side of the West Branch of Susquehanna in the late purchase Northumberland County, as in and by the said patent, reference thereunto being had, may more fully and at large appear.

The same tract, "Conquest," was sold by above recited deed, and mentioned in said deed, as lying between the creeks aforesaid and situate in ——— Township, Northumberland County—courses and distances given. Containing 191 acres, and 67 perches, and the usual allowance of six per cent. for roads, &c.

In 1796 Mr. Williamson, of New York, agent for Sir William Pulteney, opened a rough wagon road from Newberry to Painted Post, and Mr. Covenhoven was chosen to superintend the work.

In 1832 he applied, through James Gamble, Esq., then a young attorney at Jersey Shore, and received a pension from the Government for his arduous services as a soldier and scout during the

Revolution. It amounted to about one hundred dollars per annum.

Mrs. Covenhoven died November 27, 1843, and was buried in the old Williamsport Cemetery on Fourth Street. The inscription on her tombstone reads as follows:

Sacred
 To the Memory of
 MERCY K. CUTTER,
 Wife of
 ROBERT COVENHOVEN,
 Born January 19th, 1755,
 And Departed this Life
 November 27, 1843,
 Aged 88 Years, 10 Months,
 And 8 Days.

A Methodist church, erected in the corner of the cemetery, stands over the spot where her grave was made, and its identity has been entirely lost to view.

Borne down by the weight of years, Mr. Covenhoven did not long survive the death of his wife. He soon afterwards went to reside with his daughter, Mrs. Nancy Pfouts, near Northumberland, where he died in 1843, and was buried in the cemetery of the Presbyterian Church, Northumberland. The cemetery is now a common, but the tombstone of the sturdy old hero still stands erect and firm and bears this inscription:

In
 Memory of
 ROBERT COVENHOVEN,
 Who was Born
 December 7th, 1755,
 And Departed this Life
 October 29th, 1846,
 Aged 90 Years,
 10 Months & 22 Days.
 He was an active
 Partisan Guide of the
 Revolutionary army.

It is regretted that the remains of these two pioneers, who endured so many trials and vicissitudes in this valley, were not gathered together years ago and placed side by side in some suitable place, and an appropriate tablet erected to their memories.

Robert Covenhoven and Mercy Kelsey Cutter left issue as follows:

1. James, born September 9, 1782. When grown to manhood he resided for a time on what is known as the "Knox farm," on Larry's Creek. Afterwards he moved West. Date and place of death unknown.

2. Nancy, born April 29, 1783. Married Leonard Pfouts, who resided in what is known as Pfouts' Valley, across the river from Northumberland. Date of death unknown.

3. Sarah, born May 6, 1786. Date and place of death unknown.

4. John, born February 6, 1790; died February 9, 1808, aged 17 years, 7 months and 3 days. Buried in old cemetery on Fourth Street, Williamsport.

5. William, born January 31, 1792. He married Miss Elizabeth Smith, of Level Corner. She died March 12, 1869, at their residence on the west side of Loyalsock. William died January 21, 1876, at the same place. Both are buried in Wildwood.

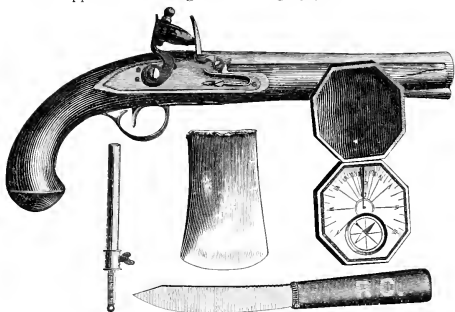
6. Christiana, born October 29, 1795. Married George Crane, of Nippenose Township. Died August 5, 1849, aged 53 years, 9 months and 6 days. Buried in Jersey Shore Cemetery.

7. Mercy, born May 11, 1799; died May 16, 1802, aged 3 years and 5 days. Buried in Fourth Street Cemetery, Williamsport.

8. Maria, born April 4, 1804. She was married three times. First, to Henry Antes, May 16, 1826; second, to M. Crane, October 10, 1831, and third, to E. West, February 26, 1850. Died in Kansas January, 1879, aged 75 years.

George Crane, a son-in-law, and executor of the last will and testament of Robert Covenhoven, which was dated June 12, 1843, sold the homestead to William Covenhoven, March 27, 1847, for \$5,500. The farm was still called "Conquest," and is so described in the deed. A small portion having been previously sold to another party, it was described at this transfer as containing 176 acres and 144 perches. He soon afterwards sold it to William Meginness, and moved to Loyalsock, where he died, as stated above.

An excellent oil painting of Robert Covenhoven, now in the possession of Mr. George L. Sanderson, a great-grandson, and a resident of Williamsport, shows him to have been a man of powerful and well knit frame, with a countenance indicative of firmness of purpose and great personal bravery. The excellent engraving, made from the oil painting, gives the reader a clear idea how the old hero appeared at the age of over eighty years.



COVENHOVEN'S WAR IMPLEMENTS.

Mr. Sanderson also possesses a number of interesting relics which belonged to Mr. Covenhoven, and were carried by him when he was a scout and Indian hunter. They consist of an old-fashioned flint-lock pistol, a beautiful pocket compass, of French manufacture, with sun dial attachment; a hatchet, or tomahawk, minus the handle; a gauge for measuring charges of powder for his rifle and pistol, and lastly a scalping knife. The knife was evidently made from an old file and is a formidable as well as savage looking weapon. It is symmetrical in its proportions, and appears to have been so well tempered that it will bear a keen edge. On the wooden handle are his initials, "R. C." They were formed by carving the letters to some depth in the wood, and then pouring molten lead in the mould thus formed. When it hardened the surface was rubbed down until it became even with the wooden

handle and made quite a neat job. The letters are clearly shown in the illustration.

But the most significant marks on the knife are nine notches on the back, evidently cut by a file. It was the custom of the old hunters, when they dropped a deer or an Indian, to cut a notch on their knife or rifle barrel, to preserve the record of the number killed. It is not known whether these notches represent deer or Indians, but knowing the custom of the hunters and scouts of those times, and remembering the service of Mr. Covenhoven on the frontier as an Indian fighter, the reader can draw his own conclusions.

Soon after the Big Runaway, Marcus Hulings,* who was one of the earliest settlers on the site of Milton, had a narrow escape from a party of Indians. While temporarily living at Northumberland he crossed the river and passed up the Indian path in rear of Blue Hill. He had not been there long until he was discovered and hotly pursued by several Indians. They were so close upon him that he could not return by the path he came, and darted off in the direction of the Blue Hill precipice, with the Indians close upon him. They felt sure of capturing him, as they did not believe he could escape with the hill in front of him, and they yelled savagely. When he reached the edge of the precipice he determined to leap, preferring to be dashed to pieces on the rocks to being tomahawked by his pursuers. Seizing the branch of a tree, he swung himself over the edge of the frightful precipice and landed some ninety feet below on the shelf of a rock unhurt! From this point he jumped forty feet further, and reached the edge of the river with only a dislocated shoulder, when he was seen from Northumberland and brought over in a canoe. The jump was a remarkable one, but it is not likely that it was as great as tradition makes it. The bushes and shrubbery very likely broke his fall and let him down more easily than if there had been no obstruction. On being asked about it he is reported as saying that he "jumped for a great wager—he jumped for his life!" The Indians, doubtless, were amazed at his escape, when they felt sure of capturing him.

*For a sketch of Hulings and other members of his family, see Meginness' *Biographical Annals*, page 143.

CHAPTER XXV.

MORE MURDERS AND CAPTURES—CAPTAIN JAMES THOMPSON AND MARY YOUNG—HER SUFFERINGS IN CAPTIVITY—HISTORY OF THE HAMILTON FAMILY—A REMARKABLE WOMAN.

THE movement of General Sullivan from Wyoming, up the North Branch, with a strong force, had the effect of attracting the attention of the savages, and caused them to withdraw their marauding parties from this valley. They knew very well that his expedition was for the purpose of destroying their towns and forcing them to desist from carrying on their nefarious system of warfare, and they therefore concentrated all the force they could to resist him. He was victorious at every point, and the blow he delivered was so crushing that the savages never recovered from it. The result was that his invasion of their country virtually ended the war, and no extensive raids were afterwards made. Straggling bands occasionally appeared for a year or two afterwards, and a number of murders were committed, but the great danger to be apprehended from savage warfare was virtually over.

In the fall of 1779 a few parties began to return. Henry McHenry, with ten men, came to Loyalsock from Fort Rice to thresh grain on one of the abandoned farms. Possibly the work was to be done on the Peter Smith farm, where young Brady was mortally wounded. Sentinels were posted, McHenry being one, as it was not deemed safe to neglect this duty. He took a position in a thick clump of bushes and watched sharply. He had not been there long until he observed an Indian creeping on his hands and feet to get a shot at the men at work in the barn. At the proper time he fired and shot him through the back. He sprang off a short distance and fell, when his comrades rushed up and quickly bore him away.

During the year 1780 but few depredations were committed. This encouraged the fugitives, and many of them returned and

occupied their ruined homes. On the 14th of July, of this year, however, one man and three children were murdered near the mouth of Buffalo Creek; and on the following day Captain McMahon was taken by an Indian and a Tory, six miles from Northumberland, on the West Branch. But he succeeded in killing the Tory, in the absence of the Indian, who had gone to join his comrades, and escaped. This Tory was named Caldwell, and was a noted villain.

Early in the spring of 1781 Captain Robinson came to the county, and straightway set about raising a company. General Potter also returned about the same time, and soon afterwards he wrote to President Reed informing him that Robinson had succeeded in enlisting forty men, but many of them were so destitute of clothing that they were unfit for duty. Not one of them owned a blanket!

Sometime in the month of March a small band of Indians penetrated into Buffalo Valley and attacked an old man, his son and daughter. The boy was shot and scalped and the girl made a prisoner. The old man had a stick in his hand with which he stoutly defended himself against one of the Indians, who was armed with a tomahawk, and compelled him to drop his weapon. Colonel Kelley* and a few of his neighbors were near at hand, and hearing the alarm came to his assistance. Their sudden appearance caused the Indians to fly so suddenly that they left the young girl, their blankets and the brave old man,† with his stick, behind. Being swift of foot, they outran Colonel Kelley and party and escaped. General Potter neglected to give the name of the man in his letter.

On the 8th of the same month a party of Indians came to the house of a man named Darmes, about five miles from Sunbury. On entering the house they shot Darmes and collected all the

*Colonel John Kelley was born in Lancaster County February, 1744, and settled in Buffalo Valley in 1768. He served in the Revolutionary war, and distinguished himself in the battles of Princeton and Trenton. He rose to the rank of major. On his return home he was made colonel of a regiment of militia, and did good service against the Indians. He endured many hardships and had several narrow escapes. Colonel Kelley died February 18, 1832, was buried at Lewisburg, and a monument erected to his memory.

† He was the father of Captain A. H. McHenry, of Jersey Shore.

plunder they could lay their hands on. There were four women and several children in the house, but they did not disturb them. Plunder seemed to be their object more than anything else. They were pursued the next day, but succeeded in effecting their escape.

Joseph Solomon, who lived about five miles from Northumberland, on the road leading to Danville, was surprised by the same party and made a prisoner. His wife escaped to the woods, and a girl concealed herself in the garret, and was not discovered. According to tradition they traveled with Solomon for four days, when they met another party of Indians and turned him over to them. One of the Indians was called Shenap, and addressing his prisoner he said: "Solly, you shant be hurt." This was encouraging. They soon fell in with a large body of savages, who had a prisoner named Williamson. They were ordered to run the gauntlet. Williamson refused and was beaten to death. Solomon ran rapidly and received but few bruises. When the race was over Shenap came up, shook him by the hand and said: "Solly, you run like debil; you run like hoss!" He was exchanged in a short time and returned to his home in safety. He lived and died on Fishing Creek, leaving a respectable family behind him.

On the 15th of June, 1781, Captain Thomas Robinson wrote a long letter to President Reed, in which he called attention to the present state of his company, and informed him that he had enlisted fifty-two men, but they were so utterly destitute of clothing and supplies that they could render but little service. Lieutenant Grove had raised seventeen men to serve for seven months. Samuel McGredy had secured twenty for the same length of time, and he had been extremely active with them. With the advice of General Potter he had nominated him a "lieutenant to command the detachment." He had raised fourteen men to serve for seven months, but as they had been divided in small detachments it was impossible for "Van Campen and himself to do the necessary duty." He had, therefore, with the advice of Colonel Hunter and the approbation of General Potter, nominated Samuel Quinn* as an ensign, as he had been doing

*Quinn's Run, which empties into the river a few miles west of Lock Haven, took its name from Ensign Quinn. It has been corrupted into "Queen's" Run, and is known by this name to-day.

the duty of an officer since the 1st of May. The Captain admitted that he was entitled to the appointment of lieutenant, if the condition of the country admitted it. He also called attention to the fact that they had no paymaster, and he suggested that Quinn might perform that duty also, if authorized, in connection with his other duties. He considered him worthy and competent. Another fact was also noted. They badly needed a surgeon. There was not one "within forty miles," and he knew of "none that would be willing to come here but Michael Jenneys or Dr. Smith, of Lancaster County." He also considered it of the utmost importance to have posts established, and added that for sometime he had had it in contemplation to rebuild Fort Muncy. General Potter considered the idea a good one, as the post was in many respects the best that could be selected for many reasons.

On the 18th of July Captain Johnson arrived at Sunbury with twenty-six militiamen, to serve the balance of their time in Northumberland County. Fourteen of these men were destitute of arms, and no ammunition could be furnished them. Colonel Hunter said "they had no stores of any kind, *not even provisions!*" Imagine how destitute and distressed the country must have been at that time.

In 1780, or 1781, John Tate resided a few miles above Northumberland on a farm which belonged to Judge McPherson. He was cultivating a large field of flax, as that product was much in demand in those days for manufacturing clothing. It was time for "pulling flax," and he had a number of men at work in the field, which was some distance from the house. A path ran by the field, and a party of Indians stealthily approached and laid in wait to intercept the flax gatherers when they returned from dinner by this path to their work. From some cause or other the workmen did not return that way, and the Indians missed their victims. After waiting for some time they arose and proceeded to the house, where they found a young woman named Catharine Storm, and another, engaged in spinning flax. Miss Storm was knocked down by a tomahawk in the hands of a stalwart savage and scalped. The other girl hid behind the door and escaped. Catharine Storm was not killed by the cruel blow she received—she was only stunned. She finally recovered from her wounds

and lived for many years afterward. The loss of her scalp, of course, caused her much trouble during the balance of her life, and she had to wear a silken covering on her head.

The Assembly having passed a law for furnishing supplies, and the levying of a tax on each county to raise revenue for this purpose, it was found, to the consternation of the few remaining inhabitants, that the quota for Northumberland was greater than could be raised by the sale of all the personal property in the county! And in order to explain the situation, William Clark and William Antes, commissioners, immediately wrote the following letter to President Reed:

Believe us, sir, it is with the utmost pain, and yet greatest truth, that we are obliged to declare our utter inability to Comply with the Demands of that Law. We now know that all the inhabitants in this County are not Equal in number to those of some Townships in the interior Countys. Those who have property sufficient to support themselves are removed and gone. Shall then the Quota of the County be Levied on the miserable few that remain. Their whole personal property, if removed to a place where hard Cash could be had for it, and sold, would not pay the tax. The old returns will not do, as a Rule to lay a Tax on Absentees. The improvements are grown up, burnt or destroyed, the personal property removed and now paying tax in the lower Countys. As to the men for the Supply of the Federal Army, (if those already inlisted are excepted) they are not to be here without taking the heads of Familys, and those we well know, cannot be had, as no money whatever would induce them to abandon their Familys in our Situation. We Sincerely wish to render a Ready Obedience to all Laws of the State, But in our Circumstances, it intirely puts it out of our power. We beg you, Sir, to Consider this as the Language of Genuine Truth, Extorted from us by Distressing Necessity, &c.

This letter, written in a quaint style and with little regard to the rules of orthography, shows the wretched condition to which the inhabitants of this beautiful valley had been reduced by the hands of a ruthless and unrelenting foe. With their improvements and farms laid waste, their homes pillaged and burned, their stock driven away, and three-fourths of the settlers refugees in the lower counties, those who had ventured back at the risk of their lives were not in condition to meet the tax gatherer. It does not appear what action was taken by the authorities, but it is fair to presume that they were moved by the appeal and granted liberal exonerations.

As has been stated in this work, one of the first settlers in what is now Pine Creek Township, Clinton County, was Alexander

Hamilton. He was of Scotch-Irish origin, and came to America when a young man. His first settlement was on the Juniata, where he married Amanda Reed.* They had eight sons and one daughter. Early in 1772 Alexander Hamilton moved his family to the West Branch and marked out for himself a tract of land a mile square, which now includes the farms of Messrs. Ferguson, McKinney, Hamilton, Shaw, Rogers and part of George Crawford's. John Hamilton, his grandson, says in his reminiscences, that he bought the good-will of the Indians with a few presents. Afterwards, thinking the land would be more than he could hold, he gave one-half of it to John Jackson, an emigrant from Orange County, New York. The elder Hamilton was a mechanical genius and combined the trades of carpenter, joiner, wagonmaker and blacksmith. He manufactured a large meal chest, out of walnut boards, which is still in existence and gives evidence of having been an excellent piece of work. Another specimen of his handiwork is a split-bottomed chair, which is still preserved as a relic by his grandson, John Hamilton. When the great Runaway took place, in June, 1778, Alexander Hamilton and family fled with the other settlers. They arrived at Northumberland soon after the massacre at Wyoming, but at the earnest request of Colonel Hunter he stopped at Northumberland, with others, to help hold the place. Several houses in the town were vacant, and he occupied one with his family. Three of his sons, being large enough to perform military duty by serving as sentinels and going with scouting parties, were employed in this way. When not so engaged they assisted in cultivating some neighboring fields to raise provisions for the support of the family. In the fall of 1781 Alexander Hamilton* was killed by the Indians a short distance above Northumberland, on the North Branch. Two of his sons were with him. There had been an Indian murder a few days before. Mr. Hamilton was engaged plowing, and he had been fearful for some time of danger, but that day fear had left him, and he spoke more loudly than usual to his horses. The noise it was thought attracted the attention of the Indians, who were lurking on the hill-side near by. The eldest son started for the house

*After his death his widow married the second time and had two sons, Augustus and Thomas Price

early to prepare dinner. Robert, the next son, unhitched the horses and started for the house. Alexander, the father, instead of going with them, tarried to thresh some flax, and promised to follow soon. The boys had not been very long at the house until they heard a shot, followed by an Indian yell. They knew at once what they had to fear. On going to the place soon afterwards they saw where the Indians had crawled through the fence when they stole upon him. It appeared that their father had succeeded in reaching the edge of the woods before they shot him. The alarm was quickly given and a scouting party started in pursuit, but the Indians effected their escape.

Robert Hamilton,* son of Alexander Hamilton, married Anna Jackson June 13, 1791, and commenced housekeeping in a building which is yet standing, on the river bank, on the highway leading to Lock Haven. The house was built in 1789 or 1790, and is one of the landmarks of the township. When he was married by Rev. John Bryson, June 13, 1791, he moved his bride into the house he had built, and there they lived without change until the close of their lives. They had ten children, five sons and five daughters, as follows:

1. Alexander, born March 10, 1792; died January 28, 1851.
2. Eley, born October 6, 1793; died September 13, 1836. She married Rev. John H. Grier.
3. Elizabeth, born July 15, 1795; died February 15, 1880. Never married.
4. Anna Hannah, born August 5, 1798; died June 12, 1886. Married Abraham Lawshe, of Jersey Shore.
5. John, born October 14, 1800. Married Hannah, daughter of Hon. Isaac Smith,† of Level Corner, who served in Congress

* Mr. Hamilton was born on the Juniata September 12, 1763, and came with his parents to the West Branch in 1772. He died June 2, 1845, very suddenly, of apoplexy, while engaged in the field plowing corn, in the 82d year of his age. He was noted for strict integrity, individuality of character, devotion to the church, the advocacy of the principles of Christianity, and high intellectual attainments, all of which excellent qualities have been transmitted to his descendants in an eminent degree.

† Hon. Isaac Smith died April 4, 1834, aged 73 years and 4 months. His wife, Sarah, died July 23, 1834, aged 76 years. Both are buried in the old Pine Creek Cemetery.

from 1813 to 1815. Hannah was born July 7, 1805, and died June 12, 1868.* Subsequently (about 1870) he married as his second wife Miss Jane, daughter of David Allen, Esq., of Bald Eagle Township, Clinton County. And now, (June, 1889,) although in his 89th year, he is vigorous enough to look after his farming operations, and his mind retains all its strength and brilliancy, which is one of the marked characteristics of the Hamilton family.

6. Mary, born November 5, 1802; died January 3, 1874. Never married.

7. Robert, born January 31, 1805; died November 5, 1885, in Nebraska. He married Anna Worldley, a cousin of Dr. Asher Davidson, of Jersey Shore. He was an extensive surveyor, a musician and a poet.

8. Priscilla, born May 21, 1807; died February 5, 1889. Never married.

9. James J., born June 16, 1809; died February 19, 1886, in Perry County. He became a Presbyterian minister.

10. William, born August 1, 1811, and is now living at Decatur, Nebraska. He studied for the Presbyterian ministry, was ordained at Jersey Shore in 1837 by Rev. John Bryson, and became a distinguished missionary among the Indians.

In 1818 or 1819 Robert Hamilton petitioned the Legislature for compensation for his services during the war. He set forth that he and his brother, John Hamilton,† were stationed at Horn's Fort, a short distance below Lock Haven, which they assisted in defending for a short time after the commencement of the Indian war in 1778. When the Big Runaway took place they fled with

*She left the following issue: Robert, died in infancy; William L., a resident of Lock Haven, and ex-prothonotary of Clinton County; Isaac S., resides on the homestead farm; Alexander; John L., killed at the battle of Petersburg, April 2, 1865, while serving as captain; Charles M., served in the army, rose to the rank of colonel, settled in Florida at the close of the war and was sent to Congress two terms from that State. After a brilliant and distinguished career he died October 22, 1875, and a handsome monument marks his grave in Jersey Shore Cemetery. A sketch of his life and career may be found in Meginness' *Biographical Annals*, page 156. James L. O., the youngest, is a member of the bar and resides in San Francisco.

†See page 492 for account of his narrow escape from the Indians at Pine Creek, and the celebrated run he made to Horn's Fort.

the other settlers to Northumberland to seek a place of safety. When they reached the town they were met by eighteen men, "who, with the most pressing entreaties, urged them to halt at that place and make a stand for its defense." They did so, and in a short time written orders were issued by Colonel Hunter appointing Captain Chatham to the command of the citizens of the town, and Captain Alexander Hamilton* to the command of those who had been driven down the river with him, "directing them to enroll and organize their respective companies, at the same time promising them that they should be allowed the pay and rations then allowed to regular soldiers." The petitioner and his brother John were duly enrolled under their father (Alexander Hamilton), and they were employed and continued to labor themselves and with their team on the fortification (Fort Augusta) until it was put in good condition. They also did guard duty, and went with "scouting parties whenever the alarm was given, danger menaced, or the safety of the inhabitants required it, until September, 1781, when their father was killed, and occasionally afterwards until the close of the war." For these services, the petitioner continued, "neither they, their father, nor a younger brother, who was enrolled at the same time (but since dead), ever received the least compensation." The petitioner therefore prayed, both in behalf of himself and younger brother (John), that the Legislature grant them such compensation as had been granted to others for similar services. The Legislature entertained the appeal of the petitioner favorably, and granted him two hundred dollars, but did not allow his brother anything, because he had removed to another state. Robert † divided the money with him.

Anna, the wife of Robert Hamilton, was one of the most re-

*He was also employed in the boat service in Sullivan's campaign up the North Branch. Captain Hamilton made a boat out of two trees spliced together. As it was clumsy and hard to handle, they found great difficulty in keeping up with the other boats. In attempting to ascend Nanticoke falls their boat took a sheer, was driven broadside against the rocks and broken in two. The goods were saved and placed on other boats, when they reached their destination at Wyoming.

† During the administration of President Buchanan his widow, Anna, made application and was granted a pension of \$1,800, and a warrant for 160 acres of land, in consideration of his services. She gave the warrant to the heirs of her oldest son, Alexander Hamilton, and it was located about fifteen miles west of Omaha, Nebraska.

markable women who lived and died in this valley. She was the daughter of John and Eley Jackson,* and was born in Orange County, N. Y., January 25, 1768. Her parents came from Ireland when quite young, and they were noted for their intelligence, piety and industry. Mrs. Jackson was a sister of General Armstrong, of Revolutionary fame, and she also had another brother who was engaged in the struggle for liberty. Mrs. Hamilton's maternal grandmother was a Latta, and she was noted for her intelligence and ability to discuss theological subjects.

When Anna was only about five years of age, her parents emigrated to the West Branch Valley by way of Towanda, and located in what is now Pine Creek Township, Clinton County, on a tract of land adjoining the farm of Alexander Hamilton. This was about the year 1773. In five years from this time came the Big Runaway, and Mr. Jackson and family fled with the other settlers to Northumberland, where they remained until the danger was over. They then returned and re-occupied the land they had originally taken up. The two families being neighbors and on intimate terms, Robert Hamilton became the friend and admirer of Miss Anna Jackson, and that friendship ripened into love, and the young couple were united in marriage June 13, 1791.

To grace of person, loveliness of disposition and queenly dignity, Mrs. Hamilton united a mind that was strong, clear and practical, and a memory that was phenomenal. She could remember and describe events and incidents with marvelous accuracy and detail, and in a conversational style that was fascinating. The author spent the greater portion of a day with her in June, 1855, in her home on the Susquehanna, and was charmed by her vivid description of the thrilling scenes she had witnessed during the memorable flight of the settlers down the river in 1778. At that time she was little more than a child, but in 1855, seventy-nine years afterwards, and when she was in her 80th year, she remembered and related every incident of that dreadful journey with a minuteness of detail that was as startling as the story was fascinating. In her mature age, with the purple haze of time gently settling on her brow, she retained all the loveliness and queenly dignity of a magnificent womanhood, reminding one of

* They had three sons and four daughters.

the stories of the Roman matrons in the grandest days of the Empire. And when this noble mother in Israel was gathered to her fathers in the 95th year of her age, one of the truest, most pious and respected of women passed to the realms of the blessed.*

Captain James Thompson was an early settler in Buffalo Valley, and during a predatory incursion of savages was taken prisoner and carried into captivity. In 1832 he related the story of his capture to James F. Linn, Esq., who noted it down at the time.

The Captain stated that some time before his capture he had removed his wife and children to Penn's Creek for greater security against the Indians. In March, 1781, he was going from Derrstown (now Lewisburg) to his home for the purpose of making preparations to move his family down the country. On the road he was suddenly surprised by four Indians, who compelled him to accompany them as a prisoner. On coming to a point in the road, near where Colonel Kelley lived, they discovered a fresh track in the soft clay. One of the Indians examined it and immediately exclaimed, "Squaw," when two of the party started on a run, leaving the other two to guard Thompson. They soon heard the scream of a woman, when one of the Indians struck him on the back with his gun, saying "Waugh," run. They started on a run, and on reaching the top of the hill saw the other two Indians having in charge a female prisoner. The party then hurried away with their prisoners.

They crossed the White Deer and other mountains, and taking the Culbertson path struck the river opposite Lycoming Creek. The river was crossed in canoes, and they passed up the creek on the Sheshequin path, bound for Tioga Point. The first night they tied his arms securely behind him and fastened the ends of the cord to stakes in the ground.

One night while encamped on Lycoming Creek, and not being tied very securely, he succeeded in releasing his arms. Two of the Indians laid on one side of the fire with the girl,† and two on

*She died April 16, 1862, aged 94 years, 2 months and 16 days. Her ancestors were all long lived. Her father lived to be 92 and her mother 86. Both of her grandfathers lived to be over 100. For sketch of this remarkable woman see Meginness' *Biographical Annals*, page 148.

†The name of the young woman was Mary Young, the daughter of Matthew Young, who lived on a farm adjoining Captain Thompson's.

the other side with him. He first endeavored to get one of their tomahawks, but he discovered that they were all lying on their arms. He then got a stone, which they had used for crushing corn, and raised on his knees for the purpose of giving one of them a mortal stroke on the temple and then secure his tomahawk. But on account of his head being wrapped in a blanket, he struck too high to effect his object. The Indian gave a yell which awoke the others. He now attempted to run, but the cord with which he was tied, and stretched between two grubs, intercepted him, and as he stepped back to get around it, one of the savages caught him by the collar of his coat and in the struggle tore it to the bottom. He drew his tomahawk to strike him on the head, but desisted, and spoke to the one he had wounded in his own language, and then drew it again, desisted, and spoke to the wounded Indian, and then drew it the third time. He expected to receive the blow this time, and determined to seize the weapon and wrest it from his hand. But the Indians finally decided not to kill him, but to reserve him for a more formal execution. A gourd containing shot was then tied to his waist to indicate that he was to be executed in some savage manner.

After this they tied him so tightly at night that he lost all feeling in his hands and arms. The journey was continued. One day they shot a wild turkey, and taking out the entrails rolled them on a stick, roasted them in the fire and then gave them to the prisoners to eat! Before this they only had a few grains of corn per day, and this change of diet, said Captain Thompson, was highly relished.

When they reached where Towanda now stands the Indians became less vigilant, thinking he would not attempt to escape again. In the evening they made him gather wood for their fire. On one occasion, when engaged in this work, he managed to go further away for each armful, until he got as far away as he thought it was prudent, and watching an opportunity darted off into the woods as fast as he could run, with twenty-two grains of corn in his pocket! He said he could have made his escape on several occasions before, but he could not think of leaving the girl a prisoner. She frequently told him to run away, and not

try to rescue her, as it might result in both of them losing their lives. She was resigned to her fate.

On making his escape he took a different route from the one they came, to deceive the Indians if they should pursue him. In running he stepped on a rotten stick, which parted and made a noise. He was soon startled by the sound made by two trees rubbing together by the wind, which he imagined to be the sound made by Indians in pursuit. Being terribly frightened, he ran into a pond, and hid himself in the brush, with nothing out but his head, where he laid till he was satisfied they were not coming that way. He then proceeded on his journey, keeping along the mountains lest he might meet Indians in the valleys. One night he ran almost into an Indian encampment before seeing it. He went a little higher up the hill, where he could plainly see the Indians pass between him and the fire. At another time he came very near an encampment, when an Indian gave a yell. He supposed he was discovered, but squatted down quickly and remained quiet in the bushes; in a short time one of the Indians commenced chopping wood, when he knew they had not seen him and carefully passed around them.

He struck the West Branch a few rods above where they had crossed it going out, and found one of the canoes on the bank, the river having fallen. Being very weak he was unable to push it into the water, but getting two round sticks under it for rollers, with the aid of a handspike, succeeded in launching it. On getting in he discovered the other canoe sunk, when he went to work and bailed it out, and lashing the two together started with two paddles on his voyage. He rowed to the middle of the river, so that if the Indians should pursue him and shoot they would not be likely to hit him. One of his paddles accidentally dropped out and floated off, which he regretted very much, but, on getting into an eddy, it came floating up to his canoe and was recovered.

When his craft got opposite to where Watsontown now stands he was discovered by some persons on the shore and relieved. He was so weak that he could only wave his hand to them as he laid in the bottom of the canoe. When taken out he was so nearly exhausted that he could not relate his adventures for several days. It was found necessary to nourish him on sweet

milk until he gained sufficient strength to sit up and talk. In a few days he recovered sufficiently to rejoin his family, much to their joy, as they had supposed he was dead. In a short time he removed his family to Chester County, where they remained until the war was over.

The Indians carried Mary Young to their town and set her to hoeing corn with the squaws. An old negro, who was a prisoner also, told her to dig up the beans that were planted with the corn and they would think she was too dumb to learn agriculture and would sell her to the English. She followed his advice and was eventually sold to an English captain, at Montreal, for a servant. Her purchaser's name was Young, and on tracing relationship they found they were cousins. She remained with him until after the war, when she was returned to her relatives in Buffalo Valley. Having been so much exposed during her captivity, her constitution was so greatly shattered that she survived but a short time.* On their way out as a captive she was obliged to wade through deep creeks, and as the weather was very cold her clothes were often frozen into a solid mass.

She informed Captain Thompson that after his escape two Indians pursued him part of two days, and when they returned they seemed to be much chagrined over their loss, as they had intended to torture him.† The Indian he had wounded in the head with a stone left them soon after his escape, and she never saw him again. She thought he had died, as he appeared to have been badly injured.

After the Indian troubles ceased Captain Thompson returned with his family, and he purchased a farm on Spruce Run, in Buffalo. There he resided until 1832, when, having become old and feeble, he went to live with his son-in-law, Boyd Smith, near Jersey Shore. He died February 9, 1837, aged 93 years, 9 months and 9 days, and was buried in the old grave-yard now within the limits of Jersey Shore.

* Linn says in his *Annals of Buffalo Valley*, page 198, that she was living in 1787, when her father died, but he could trace her no further.

† Captain Thompson informed Mr. Linn that he accompanied his step-father from Fort Cumberland, who drove a wagon in Braddock's disastrous campaign. He was then a lad of but ten years of age.

Linn says in his *Annals* that he was a remarkable man in his old age, often walking from Jersey Shore down into Buffalo Valley. He was a welcome guest in every house from Pine to Penn's Creek.

In a letter to General Potter, Colonel Hunter states that Captain Thomas Kempling, as he writes it, and his eldest son, were killed by the Indians at the mouth of Muncy Creek, in March, 1781. In the petition of his widow, who writes her name Mary Campleton, presented to the General Assembly, September 23, 1784, she says: "My husband and son, with others, went on a tour of duty up the West Branch early in the spring of 1781, and lying one night at the mouth of Muncy Creek, in the morning the savages came on them, when my unfortunate husband and son, with one William Cample, fell a sacrifice to all the cruelties and barbarities that savages could inflict, leaving your petitioner and six children. We were driven from house and home, and so reduced that I am unable to return to the place we had improved upon."

Early in the spring of 1782 Captain Robinson was ordered to rebuild Fort Muncy,* as the continued appearance of Indians on the frontiers caused constant alarm. President Reed, in a letter to Colonel Weltner, under date of April 4th, says that the rebuilding of the fort had been deemed a very proper measure, and he requested him to consult with Colonel Hunter, Colonel Antes and others regarding it, and he closed his letter by saying: "And if they concur, let this business be set on foot with as little delay as possible."

Whether the fort was rebuilt as strongly as it was before there is nothing on record to show, but that it was reconstructed in some shape there is little doubt. May 28, 1781, it was suggested by General Potter to President Reed "that Captain Robinson, who has raised a number of men, should be stationed at Muncy."† Colonel Hunter says in one of his letters that it had been in contemplation to order Captain Robinson's company to Muncy to repair the fortification, and in his opinion he thought that "would be the only way to have the most service done by that company."

* See article on Fort Muncy, *Appendix to Pennsylvania Archives*, page 415.

† See Vol. IX., page 185, *Pennsylvania Archives*. Also page 500. *Colonial Records*, Vol. XIII., page 214.

"If Council is determined to order Captain Robinson's company to Fort Muncy," he continued, "it would at least require 100 men to keep proper out scouts and repair the garrison."

On the 6th of March,* 1782, Council ordered "that Captain Robinson's headquarters be at Fort Muncy, and that the County Lieutenant of Northumberland County order the necessary detachments from said county, and that the Vice-President write to Colonel Hunter to have the necessary repairs made at Fort Muncy, having due regard to frugality."

Colonel Hunter replied to Vice-President Potter on the 17th of April, 1782, saying: "Agreeable to your letter, and the resolve of Council, Captain Robinson's headquarters is at Fort Muncy, and I am certain he does all he can in the ranging way for the good of the county; but as for doing much towards the repairing of the fort, it is not in his power at present, as the enemy have made their appearance once more on our frontiers. The 7th instant they took off a woman and four children from Wyoming; and on the 14th instant, a scout of Captain Robinson's men came on fresh tracks of Indians about a mile from Lycoming, and followed them up the creek towards Eel Town."* He then speaks of the expectation of the inhabitants "moving up to Muncy as soon as the ranging company would be stationed there," which he does not believe, and adds, "that whatever is done must be done by the soldiers themselves, in case Mr. Wallis does not come up with a party of Hessians † (as we have been told by some people) to build a fort of stone and lime; this I would like very well if there was a probability of defraying the expense that would accrue by erecting such a fort; but in the meantime, I give Captain Robinson orders to repair the old fort in the best manner he can

*The old Indian chief Newhaleka, who traded the Great Island to William Dunn for a rifle and a keg of whiskey, had several cabins at this place at one time. Eels abounded in Lycoming Creek, which gave rise to the name by the whites. Hepburnville, about six miles from Williamsport, is supposed to occupy the site of Eel town.

† There is a tradition that Hessians were used to rebuild the work, but a careful examination of *Lowell's Hessians in the Revolution* fails to show that they were ever employed for such purpose in this part of the valley. The fact that many Germans were held in servitude to pay for their passage to this country about that time, and that Wallis had such men in his employ, probably gave rise to the story that Hessians rebuilt the fort. It is likely that such Germans assisted in rebuilding it, as it stood near Wallis' residence, and he was anxious to have it as a protection.

at present for his own preservation, as I had no assurance from Council of any such fort being built by Mr. Wallis." "There will be as much frugality as possible used," he continued, "in what will be done to the old fort. The ammunition is not arrived as yet." On the 14th of September, 1782, Council ordered troops from Berks, Cumberland, Northumberland and Lancaster, to rendezvous at Muncy on the 4th of October, and on the 17th of September commissioners were appointed to make purchases of flour, &c., and others to hire pack horses to convey the various articles to Muncy intended for an expedition into the Indian country.

It does not appear that the expedition was ever made, as the last treaty at Fort Stanwix, which was soon afterwards held, probably put a stop to all warlike operations. The records do not show what amount of work Captain Robinson* put on the fort, but that he reconstructed it there seems to be no doubt. After the declaration of peace it soon fell into decay, but its ruins existed for many years. The last trace of the old work, which consisted of a pile of stones, was finally removed by Mr. Hall's farmer during his absence in Philadelphia. He thought he would be doing something to greatly please the owner by removing the debris, and was much surprised to find that Mr. Hall was highly displeased at what he had done. It was the intention of the owner to keep the ruins as long as he could as a historic landmark, and but for the vandalism of his farmer a few relics of the old fort might be in existence to-day.

Sometime in the month of October, 1782, a small body of savages visited the house of John Martin, in the Chillisquaque

*Captain Thomas Robinson was a valuable officer. He was commissioned February 10, 1781. After rebuilding Fort Muncy and conducting other operations on the West Branch, he was placed, in March, 1783, in charge of the fort at Wyoming. He served there until the regular army was discharged, in November, 1783. After the war Captain Robinson settled at Robinson's Island, Pine Creek, about a mile and a half from the mouth, and soon after he engaged in the land business. The tract on which Youngwomantown is situated was surveyed on a warrant in his name October 6, 1786. While on a visit up the North Branch he took sick, and coming down the river in a boat exposed to the sun, his disease was aggravated, and he died at Wyoming in August, 1792. His daughter Mary married John Cook, who owned the beautiful farm on the river a short distance above the mouth of Pine Creek.

settlement, near the residence of Colonel James Murray, and barbarously murdered him and his wife. They also seized two young women, and a little girl aged seven years, whom they carried into captivity.

On the 24th of the same month two men, named respectively Lee and Carothers, were sent out from fort Rice as spies to ascertain if any Indians were lurking in the neighborhood. They were waylaid and fired upon, and Lee was killed. His companion was taken prisoner.

About this time a party of Indians assaulted the house of the Klinesmith family, which stood near the present site of New Berlin. The male members were at work in the field of a neighbor. The Indians plundered the house and carried away two of Klinesmith's daughters—one aged sixteen and the other fourteen. After securing their prisoners and booty the savages retired to a spring near by, where they halted. Not satisfied with the mischief they had done, they left the two girls in charge of the oldest Indian in the party, whilst the others started to the field for the purpose of murdering the men and securing their scalps. The old Indian lighted his pipe, and sat down at the foot of a tree to enjoy a smoke and at the same time watch the girls. In a short time rain began to fall, when Betsey, the eldest girl, intimated to the sentinel that she wished to cut a few branches from a tree to cover a small bag of flour that had been taken from her father's house. Little suspecting her real intention, the Indian permitted her to take one of the hatchets, or tomahawks, to do the cutting. She pretended to be very busily engaged at her work, and managed to get behind him, when she quickly, and with all her strength, buried the hatchet in his head! The main body finding the working party of white men too strong to attack, had started to return, and were near enough to hear the cry of the old Indian as he fell. The girls quickly fled, with the savages in pursuit, who fired on them. The younger girl, as she was in the act of springing over a fallen tree, was struck by a bullet, which entered below the shoulder blade and came out at the breast. She fell, but had presence of mind enough to roll under the log, which was raised a little from the ground. The Indians sprang over the log in pursuit of her sister without observing her. Betsey, being

strong and active, gave them a lively chase, and the firing having alarmed the workmen, they came to her rescue. The Indians, fearing to cope with them, fled. The little girl was found under the fallen tree suffering from her wound and greatly terrified. Her wound, fortunately, was not dangerous, as the ball had passed through her body without touching any vital organ, and it soon healed. She grew to womanhood and married a man named Campbell. Becoming a widow, she married the second time, her husband's name being Chambers. The heroic Betsey also married, and with her husband removed to one of the Western States.

The murder of John Lee* and several members of his family, in August, 1782, ranks among the most cruel in the catalogue of Indian atrocities. They lived at what is now Winfield, on the river, a few miles below Lewisburg.

It was a warm evening. Lee and his family, with one or two neighbors, were taking their supper, little dreaming of the horrible fate that was in store for them. In the midst of their enjoyment a band of Indians suddenly burst upon them. A young woman named Katy Stoner rushed upstairs, and concealing herself behind the chimney remained undiscovered and escaped. Lee was tomahawked and scalped, and an old man named John Walker shared the same fate. Mrs. Boatman† and daughter were also killed. Mrs. Lee, with her small child, and a larger one named Thomas, were led away captives. The savages took the Great Path leading up that side of the valley, crossed the White Deer Mountains, came to the river and crossed over.

One of Lee's sons, named Robert, happening to be absent at the time, escaped the fate of his parents. He was returning,

* A letter directed to Colonel Magraw at Carlisle, found among his papers, from Colonel Butler, dated August 29, 1782, says a party of Indians, supposed to be sixty or seventy in number, killed Lee and family a few miles above Sunbury. Letters of administration were issued to Captain John Lowdon and Thomas Grant on the 31st of August. Lee was assessor in April of that year. *Linn's Annals*, page 210. The Indians hated Lee, because they believed he had cheated them in a trade, and they had long sought an opportunity for revenge.

† Claudius Boatman, her husband, was a Frenchman. In 1786 he took the remainder of his family and settled far up Pine Creek. He had several daughters. One of them married John English. Claudius died about 1802, and was buried at what is now known as the village of Waterville.

however, and came in sight of the house just as the Indians were leaving it, but they did not observe him. Knowing that they were there with evil intentions, he immediately turned and fled to Northumberland, where he gave the alarm. A party of about twenty men* were hastily collected by Colonel Hunter at Fort Augusta and started in pursuit. On arriving at Lee's house they beheld the sufferers writhing in agony. Lee was not dead, and Mrs. Boatman's daughter also survived. Litters were hastily constructed, and they were sent to Fort Augusta, where Lee soon expired in great agony. Miss Boatman finally recovered and lived for many years afterwards.

Colonel Hunter and his party, without delaying to bury the dead, pushed after the savages as rapidly as possible with a view of overtaking them. They came in sight of them above Lycoming Creek.

In crossing the mountains Mrs. Lee was accidentally bitten by a rattlesnake on the ankle, and her leg became so much swollen and pained her so severely that she traveled with great difficulty. Finding themselves pursued they urged her along as fast as possible, but she failed rapidly. When near the mouth of Pine Run, some four miles below Jersey Shore, she gave out and seated herself on the ground. The whites were rapidly approaching, and the Indians were afraid she would fall into their hands. One of them stealthily slipped up behind her, and placing the muzzle of his rifle close to her head, fired. The whole upper portion of her head was blown off! One of the fiends then snatched up her little child by the heels and hastily dashed it against a tree, when they fled with renewed speed, and crossing the river at Smith's fording, at Level Corner, ran up through Nippenose Bottom.

When Colonel Hunter and his men came up to where the body of Mrs. Lee laid it was yet warm. The sight was a horrible one to look upon. The child was but little injured, and was found moaning piteously.

Crossing over the river as rapidly as possible they pursued the Indians up through the Bottom, and were so close on them that when they came to Antes' Gap they separated and ran along both

*Henry McHenry, the father of A. H. McHenry, of Jersey Shore, was in this expedition and gave an account of it to his son.

sides of the mountain into the swamp. Colonel Hunter considered it imprudent to follow them into the interminable thickets of the swamp for fear of an ambuscade, and being much exhausted reluctantly gave up the chase and slowly returned. Passing down they buried the body of Mrs. Lee and cared for her child. When they came to Lee's house they halted and buried the dead there. A hole was dug alongside of Walker and his body rolled into it.

Young Thomas Lee, who was taken prisoner and carried into captivity, was not recovered for many years afterwards. The son who gave the alarm on the day of the murder made arrangements with certain Indians to bring his brother to Tioga Point, where he was delivered to his friends. Such was his love of Indian life, however, on account of having been raised among them, that he was very reluctant to return. They were obliged to tie him and place him on board a canoe. When near Wilkes-Barre they untied him, but as soon as the canoe touched the shore he jumped out and darted off like a deer. It was several hours before they succeeded in taking him again. On arriving at Northumberland he evinced all the sullenness of a captive. Indian boys and girls, near his own age, were made to play about him for several days before he showed any disposition to join with them. At last he began to inquire the names of things, and by degrees became civilized.

CHAPTER XXVI.

VAN CAMPEN AND HIS THRILLING ADVENTURES—REMINISCENCES OF BLACK HOLE VALLEY—WARRIOR RUN CHURCH—THE WALKER TRAGEDY ON PINE CREEK—A TYPICAL HOUSE—THE END.

DURING the closing years of the Indian troubles on the North and West Branches of the Susquehanna a new and daring character suddenly appeared, whose deeds of prowess, and his hairbreadth escapes, are unparalleled in the annals of adventure. This was the famous Moses Van Campen. His father's name was Cornelius Van Campen, and his mother was a Depue, of French extraction. Moses, the son, was born in Hunterdon County, New Jersey, January 21, 1757. Soon after his birth his parents emigrated to Pennsylvania and settled on the Delaware River, in Northampton County, near the Water Gap. Here our hero spent his boyhood days. The family of Mr. and Mrs. Van Campen consisted of six sons and four daughters. Moses was the oldest, and he was named after his maternal grandfather, Moses Depue. In his early days he became a noted hunter and an unerring shot.

When the troubles of 1775 broke out with the Connecticut settlers at Wyoming, a company was raised and sent there to preserve order. Young Van Campen was permitted to join the company, and in this service he gained a knowledge of soldiering. In the meantime his father removed his family from Northampton County, and settled on Fishing Creek, in what is now Columbia County, for the purpose of following an agricultural life.

On the breaking out of the Revolutionary war Moses Van Campen joined Colonel Cook's regiment from Northumberland County, and marched to Boston to join the Continental army, and in 1777 he had fairly entered on the life of a soldier. In 1778 he was appointed lieutenant of a company of six months' men and assigned to the protection of the frontier. He was under Colonel

Hunter, and assisted to build Fort Wheeler, on the North Branch. He also accompanied General Sullivan in his famous expedition up the North Branch.

Lieutenant Van Campen says that his father's house having been burned by a marauding party of Indians in 1778, he soon afterwards requested him to go with him and a younger brother to their farm, about four miles from Fort Wheeler, where the family was staying, to begin preparations for building another house and to make an effort to put in some grain. Little apprehension of Indians were felt. They left the fort about the last of March. Van Campen says: "I was accompanied by my father, uncle and his son, about twelve years old, and Peter Pence. We had been on our farm about four or five days when, on the 30th of March, we were surprised by a party of ten Indians. My father was lunged through with a spear, his throat was cut and he was scalped, while my brother was tomahawked, scalped and thrown into the fire before my eyes. While I was struggling with a warrior, the fellow who had killed my father drew his spear from his body and made a violent thrust at me. I shrunk from the spear, and the savage who had hold of me turned it with his hand, so that it only penetrated my vest and shirt. They were then satisfied with taking me prisoner, as they had the same morning taken my uncle's little son and Pence, though they killed my uncle." Soon after this, at another point, they took a boy named Rogers prisoner and also a man named Pike.

With their captives the Indians then rapidly made their way over the mountains to the North Branch, near the mouth of Tuncannook Creek, and thence toward their concerted rendezvous.

The warriors were ten in number; but Peter Pence and Van Campen were not the kind of men to pale in view of peril, and determined to avail themselves of the first opportunity to strike a blow for freedom. The opportunity came at length, and the blow was struck. One evening, when above the Wyalusing Flats, while the prisoners were being bound for the night, an Indian accidentally dropped his knife close to Van Campen's feet. By a movement that escaped observation it was promptly covered. About midnight, when the warriors were all asleep, Van Campen secured the knife and released Peter Pence, who in turn cut from

the others the bands that held them fast. Cautiously, but quickly, the weapons were secured and a plan for action decided on. The prisoners had been placed in the midst of the warriors—on either side five. Van Campen and Pike were to use the tomahawk on one group, while Peter Pence opened fire on the other with the rifles.

At this juncture a warrior assigned to Pike started from his slumber, and Pike was overcome with fear. In an instant Van Campen buried his tomahawk in the head of the wakeful savage, and then made quick work with the adjoining four, while four of the other group were as speedily dispatched by Peter Pence. Then followed a desperate hand-to-hand contest between Van Campen and the surviving Indian—John, the Mohawk Sachem.

The two were athletes in their way, well matched in skill and strength. Van Campen with his left hand grasped the wrist of the warrior's right, in which his keen-edged knife was held. The Mohawk with his left hand seized Van Campen's right, in which the bloody tomahawk was clutched. Thus grappling, they struggled, fell, and struggling, rose again, each vainly seeking to take advantage of the other's first false movement, while Pence, unable to distinguish the two combatants, dared not fire a shot for fear of killing the wrong man. At length the Mohawk, breaking from Van Campen's grasp, turned to flee. Springing after him, Van Campen, with uplifted tomahawk, aimed a deadly blow straight at the retreating Sachem's crest; but the wary Mohawk, by an agile movement, saved his head, the hooked blade sinking deep in the muscles of his shoulder. With a bound that wrenched the weapon from Van Campen's hand, the Indian dashed into the darkened forest and escaped, bearing the truculent trophy in his quivering flesh.

The liberated captives, after scalping their late captors and securing their plunder, embarked on a hastily constructed raft down the river, and after a series of adventures reached Wyoming in safety, there leaving Pike and young Rogers. Van Campen, with his nephew and Pence, made their way by canoe to Northumberland.

In 1831 Major Van Campen became a resident of Dansville, N. Y., some twenty miles south of Geneseo, and the interchanges

of visits between the old Indian fighter and the old Indian interpreter were occasions of much mutual enjoyment. Their associations with the aborigines had been very unlike, though their early adventures were similar. For the Indians Mr. Jones retained a true liking, and was looked up to by them as a friend. Among those who frequently visited him, and by whom he was greatly beloved, was the Mohawk Sachem, John.

John Mohawk, as he was commonly called, often expressed a desire to see his former antagonist, Moses Van Campen, but hesitated from doubts as to the old Major's good will toward one of his race. At length, persuaded to accompany Mr. Jones to Dansville, the two met and clasped in friendship hands that had once been joined in deadly strife. John showed the Major the great scar in his shoulder, and told him how he had carried off his tomahawk as a trophy, from that battle field above Wyalusing.

Previous to this visit the Mohawk had presented the long cherished tomahawk to Mr. Jones, to be preserved as a keepsake



Van Campen's Tomahawk.

and token of personal esteem. The weapon has ever since been retained in the family as an heirloom, and is now the property of the old interpreter's only surviving son—the youngest but one of sixteen children.

Mr. Charles Jones, now past the age of three-score years and ten, has related to me* many interesting incidents connected with the events here referred to, and in a letter says of this tomahawk: "It was given to my father, Captain Horatio Jones, by John Mohawk, who received it, together with the scar it made in his back, from the hand of old Major Van Campen," and adds: "I have heard my father and Major Van Campen, and my elder brothers (who if now living would be one hundred and five and one hundred and three years old) say this identical instrument was the one that old John *captured in his back* from the hand of

* Rev. A. P. Brush, of Bath, New York, who has seen and examined the famous tomahawk, had it photographed, and furnished the accompanying description.

the Major when Van Campen was in full chase after him, and after he had dispatched five of said John's companions."

"The handle," he writes, "is not the one that was in it during the Revolutionary war, but was put in about sixty years ago."

The tomahawk is $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length; the blade 6 inches long by $1\frac{7}{8}$ inches broad at the widest part. The head, or pole, is a pipe bowl $1\frac{7}{8}$ inches deep and $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch across the top. The handle, a reproduction of the original, is 18 inches long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, where it enters the socket and forms the stem of the pipe.

The old relic must have been, as may be judged from its picture, a formidable weapon in the hands of an intrepid and muscular man like Moses Van Campen.

After his remarkable escape and return, Van Campen was not allowed to remain idle very long. In the latter part of March, just at the opening of the campaign of 1782,* the companies that had been stationed during the winter at Reading were ordered back by Congress to their respective stations. Lieutenant Van Campen marched at the head of Captain Robinson's company to Northumberland, where he was joined by Thomas Chambers, who had recently been commissioned as ensign of the same company. Here he halted for a few days to allow his men rest, after which he was directed to march to Muncy, and there rebuild the fort which had been destroyed by the Indians in the year 1779. Having reached his station he threw up a small block house, in which he placed his stores and immediately commenced rebuilding the fort, being joined shortly after by Captain Robinson, in company with several gentlemen, among whom was Mr. Culbertson, who was anxious to find an escort up the West Branch into the neighborhood of Bald Eagle Creek. Here his brother † had been killed by the Indians sometime before, and being informed that some of his property had been buried and had thus escaped the violence of the enemy, he was desirous of making a search to obtain it.

* See *Life of Van Campen*, by his grandson, Rev. J. N. Hubbard, page 244.

† William Culbertson. Before locating here he had taken up a tract of land on the north side of the river above Lycoming Creek, in 1774, which he sold to Abraham Latcha. Andrew Culbertson, his brother, had made a settlement on the south side of the river, where DuBoistown now stands.

Arrangements were made by which Lieutenant Van Campen was to go with him at the head of a small party of men as a guard; and after he had been permitted to examine his brother's premises, the company was directed to take a circuitous route around the settlements and waylay the Indian paths, since it was about the time when the return of hostilities was expected. In forming this party Van Campen selected his men according to his usual custom, by taking in his hand a small piece of board, on the end of which was a mark of white paper, and standing a few rods in front of his men, who would fire at the mark, as it was held up before them, and every man who hit the paper was permitted to have his name enrolled as one of the scouts. He did not experiment long before he would thus find a sufficient number for his party. Having selected his men, twenty in number, he took with him a supply of provisions and marched along the bank of the river, while Culbertson and four others advanced up the river in a boat, and soon arrived at the Big Island. The boat was pulled on shore and all the party proceeded together by land until they reached Culbertson's farm in the evening, and encamped for the night. It was about the middle of April, and the Indians being expected every hour to pay their annual visit to the settlements, they could not observe too much caution in their movements; and having selected their resting place for the night with wisdom, placed their sentinels to give the first alarm of the enemy.

They were not disturbed, however, during the night, but early the next morning were awakened by the appearance of their foes.

While Van Campen with his company was ascending the river a large party of Indians, not far from eighty-five, were on their way down, paddling along in their little bark canoes, and were intending, when they came into the vicinity of the settlements, to separate themselves into small companies, commit depredations and return home. As they were floating down with the current of the river, they came to where the boat had been drawn on shore. Informed by this of the presence of whites, they secured their canoes and followed the trail of those who had but a short time before left the river.

The Indians crept along the path that had been taken, and by the morning light, concealed by the bushes, approached very near

to the sentries, and burst so unexpectedly upon these that they had only time to run to the camp, crying, "The Indians, the Indians," before the savages were in their midst, with the tomahawk and scalping knife. Van Campen and his men started upon their feet and in a moment were ready for action. The enemy had a warm reception. The combat* was at first from hand-to-hand, and so well sustained was the resistance that the Indians were obliged to retire; but they came up on all sides, and one after another of Van Campen's men were cut down with the rifle. Perceiving that the party of warriors was so large as to offer them no hope of escape, and beholding their number every moment growing smaller, they determined, though reluctantly, to surrender themselves to the enemy, under the belief that their lives would be spared. The Indians were commanded by a Lieutenant Nellis, who was in the British service, and often led the savages in their descent upon the frontier settlements. To him they made their surrender. Nine of their number had been killed, several were wounded, and three in the early part of the action effected their escape.

The Indians, thus becoming masters of the ground, came up and took possession of the prisoners and their arms, after which they began to dispatch those that had been wounded. Two of Van Campen's men—Wallace and Stewart—were killed with the tomahawk immediately before him. Another by the name of Craton was placed on a large stone, and as he sat bending over, half unconscious of what was transpiring around him, was made the mark of four or five savages, who took their position a few rods from him, and all aiming their rifles at his head fired at once.

*The place where Culbertson built his cabin and was killed, and where the battle took place, was near what is now the Bald Eagle dam, about five miles from the confluence of Bald Eagle Creek with the river at the Great Island. The land on the north side of the creek, at this point, is considerably elevated, and at the dam it rises in a rocky bluff from the water's edge. A narrow and rather deep ravine puts into the creek at this point, through which a small stream of water flows. The mouth of the ravine at the creek is quite narrow and deep; but a short distance back from the creek it widens and forms a small level plot of ground, on which the cabin of Culbertson was built, near a fine spring of water, which flows to this day. The distance from the cabin to the creek was about forty rods. The location is near the residence of Mr. John Berry, and about one mile from the village of Flemington.

and with their balls tore the top of his skull from his head. Craton fell over, and his brains rolled out and lay smoking upon the ground!

The blood coursed quick through Van Campen's veins as he saw his brave soldiers treated thus, and it was not the least of his suffering to be obliged to witness the scene without the means in his power of affording them aid. He was obliged to stand as insensible as a rock, for had he shown the least signs of sympathy or disapproval, it would have been at the peril of his life.

Himself and his men that were not wounded were taken into the custody of Indian warriors, and one of them had tied a cord around his arm, and stood holding it, while the executioners were dispatching those that had been hurt in the battle. Near him stood one of his men who had received a shot through his arm when raised in the attitude of firing, the ball having entered his elbow, had passed up his arm, and gone out near his shoulder blade. His name was Burwell. Van Campen seeing him, spoke and said: "Burwell, you are losing blood pretty fast, are you not?" "Yes," said he, "I can't hold out much longer." "Stand as long as you can, my brave fellow. Your wound is such that if they pass you by now they may perhaps spare your life."

Just then an executioner saw that one more remained to finish his duty, and he came up towards Burwell with his tomahawk raised to strike him in the head. Van Campen, perceiving his movements, jerked from the warrior who was holding him by the arm, sprang forward with his right hand clenched, and gave the Indian executioner a blow in the breast which sent him reeling backward until he fell upon the ground like one dead. The warriors then turned with their hatchets upon Van Campen. But a party who had witnessed the scene were highly pleased with the bravery that had been shown by their prisoner, and as the tomahawk was about to descend, they leaped forward over his head to rescue him from death. For a few moments Van Campen could hear nothing but the clashing of tomahawks, as the warriors engaged in a fierce struggle for his life. He was pushed about in the scuffle, a part of the time his body bent over by those who endeavored to shield him from the threatened blow, expecting every moment to have the hatchet enter his head; but at length

the fortune of the contest turned in his favor, the majority being determined to spare his life. When the strife ceased they gathered around him with looks of exultation and delight, and he could discover, from the pleasure which beamed from their every look, that his life would be protected from any further injury. This well-timed blow was the means of sparing Burwell from falling under the hatchet of the executioner, for as they came around Van Campen they repeated one after another: "Brave warrior, brave warrior." They seemed by common consent to yield the life of the one as a tribute to the noble deed of the other.

Immediately after this struggle for Van Campen's life the prisoners were stripped of all their clothing, except pantaloons, and taken a short distance from the battle ground, where they were made to sit down in the form of a circle, while the Indians made a larger one around them, and bringing up five Indians who had been killed during the engagement, laid them down near the prisoners. In their movements they observed the stillness and solemnity of death, and as the captives eyed their motions and beheld the dead warriors stretched out before them, they felt that the ceremonies that were in progress deeply concerned themselves; and though their minds had in a measure become callous to the thoughts of death by familiarity with the field of strife, still the voice of silence whispered even into their ears lessons of the tomb, which they could not help but regard. Under the present circumstances it was very natural for the prisoners to turn from the slaughtered warriors to themselves, and each one began to reflect upon the destiny which should await him. Van Campen anticipated little short of a cruel and lingering death, especially if he was discovered to be the one who had killed so many Indians while effecting his escape in the year 1780.

When everything was arranged, and the warriors were standing in a large circle around the prisoners and the slain, an Indian chief came forward into the ring and commenced making a speech. Every eye was turned upon the speaker, and as he advanced, Van Campen watched the countenances of the Indians, and could see them alternately swell with rage, and with the stern and awful looks of revenge, and then melt away with the voice of the orator into expressions of pity and compassion. He said to his men, in

a low tone of voice, that their fate would probably be decided by the speech of the warrior, and that they had better prepare themselves for the last extremity. Said he: "If the conclusion is unfavorable it can be but death at any rate, and we had better part with our lives as dearly as possible. Let us fix upon the weakest point of their line, and if we are condemned to die, let us run upon it with all our might, snatch their weapons from them and engage from hand-to-hand; it may be that some of us will be able to effect our escape during the struggle." He kept his eye upon the speaker, and carefully watched the effect of his words until he was through, and, happily for them, his conclusion was brightened by a smile, which was the token of mercy. There was left no ill-boding cloud behind to warn them of coming evil.

Directly after the Indians proceeded to bury those who had fallen in battle, which they did by rolling an old log from its place and laying their bodies in the hollow thus made, and then heaping upon them a little earth. They then divided the prisoners among them, according to the number of their fires, Van Campen being placed with the party which encamped with Lieutenant Nellis, who, having the first choice of prisoners, chose him because he was an officer. From him he learned the substance of the warrior's speech, who, as he said, had been consulting the Great Spirit as to what should be done with those that had fallen into their hands. He presented arguments on the one hand to show that the prisoners should be immediately killed, and again he proceeded to remark that they should be treated with lenity. At one time, pointing to the lifeless bodies before him, he exclaimed: "These call for vengeance; the blood of the red man has been spilled, and that of the white man must flow." Yet he represented again that enough blood had been shed, that vengeance had been taken in those of their enemies that had been killed, and that such of their own party as had fallen met only the common fate of war. He suggested finally that the lives of the prisoners should be spared, and they be adopted into the families of those that had been slain.

In accordance with this recommendation the prisoners were unharmed and put in readiness to march with the Indians. Packs were prepared for them, and having shouldered these, they began

to march towards the place where the warriors had first seen the marks which led them in pursuit, and having reached this they entered their bark canoes, rowed across the river, and then sent them adrift down the stream.

The Indians then took up their line of march back to Niagara, proceeding across the valley and its tributary streams. On the morning of the second day of their march, as Van Campen passed by one of their fires, he saw one of his soldiers, named Henderson, seated upon a billet of wood, and two Indians standing by his side. His countenance was sad and pale, indicating the presence of anxious and painful thoughts. He had been wounded by a ball, which struck his left hand as it was raised for the purpose of firing, and cut off four of his fingers. Van Campen, supposing that the fate of this soldier had been decided, beheld him with mingled pity and concern; yet there was no remedy, and he passed on, bearing his mournful countenance before him. He did not go far before he heard a noise like the sound of a tomahawk entering the head, and in a few moments saw the two Indians who had been standing by Henderson run by him, bearing a scalp and carrying a hatchet dripping with blood. The sight filled him with maddening thoughts, yet he did not reveal his emotions by action or look, but continued to march reckless of every event that should befall him.

Their march during the day was continued without provisions until they arrived at Pine Creek, where they halted while the Indian hunters went out in pursuit of game. In a short time they returned, bringing along an elk. This was soon dressed and prepared for roasting. The prisoners were allowed the same liberty that was taken by the warriors themselves. They cut from the animal as much fresh meat as they wished and roasted it on coals, or held it on the end of a sharpened stick to the fire. This made them an excellent supper, and was quite a relief to their keen appetites.

Burwell, whose life had been spared, marched with the Indians as a prisoner; but his wound in a few days became very much inflamed and painful to such a degree that it was with great difficulty he proceeded on his march; and though he promised to give them trouble, they did not seek to rid themselves of his care

in the summary manner in which they generally treated their prisoners, but exercised their skill to restore him to health and soundness. Having collected a parcel of suitable herbs, they boiled them in water, thus making a strong decoction, in which they dipped the feather of a quill and ran it through his wound. Whenever this was done Van Campen, who had been quartered with a different company, was brought to see the attention which was given to his soldiers—a very simple but flattering token of the respect they paid to his bravery. The operation was exceedingly painful, and as Van Campen stood by he encouraged him to bear up bravely under his treatment, saying that he must prove himself a man, and that if he suffered the keenest anguish, he should not manifest it by a single sign. The Indians who were by seemed to understand the instructions that were given, and were highly pleased with them, as well as the manner in which the soldier endured the pain. In a short time the inflammation was removed, and the wound healed under this harsh but salutary treatment.

Burwell lived to enjoy many a pleasant day after the Revolution, yet whenever he told the story of the blow which Van Campen gave to the Indian executioner, whose hatchet was raised to destroy his life, and when he described the fierce and doubtful struggle that followed, it was always with tears in his eyes. Several years afterwards he paid Van Campen a visit at his residence in Angelica, saying that he was about to remove to one of the Southern States, and that he had come to see once more the man who had saved his life at the risk of his own!

Van Campen and his fellow prisoners were marched through the various Indian villages, and some of them were adopted in families to make up for the loss of those killed in the battle on the Bald Eagle. Van Campen passed through all the villages* undis-

*At a place called Pigeon Wood they fell in with a large body of Indians on a hunting expedition, and were received with wild demonstrations of savage glee. The arrival of the war party with their prisoners was followed by a feast. What Van Campen most feared was recognition. While the festivities were at their height, one belonging to the new party approached him, looked at him intently, and speaking in a low tone called him by name, adding that he knew of his escape two years before by killing his captors. Van Campen now thought that he had nothing save torture and death to expect. Great, however, was his surprise when told by the stranger that he himself was a prisoner, held by the Indians to act as an interpreter; assured

covered; neither was it known that he had been a prisoner before and had effected his escape by killing four men and seriously wounding John Mohawk, until he had been turned over to the British at Fort Niagara. As soon as this fact became known among the Indians they were furious, and demanded of the British officer that he should be returned to them. So anxious were they to get him in their power for torture that they offered several prisoners in exchange for him. The commander of the fort, on these appeals being made, sent an officer to examine him. He stated the facts of his killing the party of savages on the North Branch. The officer stated that his case was a grave one, and he did not know whether they could hold him when the Indians demanded his return. Van Campen stated to the officer that he considered himself a prisoner of war to the British, and claimed protection as such; that he believed the British possessed more honor than to hand him over to the savages to be burned at the stake; that if they did they might expect retaliation in case one of their officers fell into the hands of the Americans.

The officer withdrew, but soon afterwards returned and informed him that there was but one condition on which his life could be saved, and that was to abandon the rebel cause and join the British. As a further inducement he was offered the same rank in the British service. The answer of Van Campen was worthy the hero of any age or people, and showed that the courage of the patriot never quailed under the most trying circumstances. It was: "*No, sir, no—my life belongs to my country; give me*

that he would probably remain unrecognized, and put on his guard against revealing his identity until under British protection in Canada. This was Van Campen's memorable meeting with Horatio Jones, the interpreter. Horatio Jones was born in Chester County, Pa., November 19, 1763. At the age of sixteen he enlisted as a volunteer in Captain John Boyd's company, and a year or two later was with Boyd in his disastrous expedition, when captured by the Indians under Nellis. Like his captain, young Jones, after running the gauntlet, escaped death through the intervention of pitying squaws. He was subsequently adopted into an Indian family, and remained in captivity, serving as an interpreter, until after the treaty of 1784. After the war he settled at Geneseo, N. Y., then known as Big Tree, was appointed by Washington as interpreter of the Six Nations, frequently acting as the favorite interpreter of Red Jacket, and rendered invaluable service to the Government in its treaties with late hostile tribes. By his bravery, tact, physical strength and manly traits of character, Horatio Jones acquired great influence over the Indians, and retained their entire confidence through life.

the stake, the tomahawk, or the scalping-knife, before I will dishonor the character of an American officer!"

That settled it. No more dishonorable overtures were made to him, and he was held and protected as a prisoner of war. And sometime in March, 1783, he was exchanged and returned home. He immediately went into service again with his company at Northumberland. Soon afterwards Captain Robinson received orders to march with his company to Wyoming, and Van Campen and Ensign Chambers accompanied him. They remained in the service until November of that year, when the army was discharged, and they retired to private life, poor and penniless, after what they had endured in the service of their country.

Moses Van Campen, some years after his marriage, moved his family to New York, where he resided until the close of his long and eventful life. He died at Angelica October 15, 1849, aged 92 years, 8 months and 24 days. The following is a very good likeness of the old hero as he appeared at the age of 90 years:



MAJOR MOSES VAN CAMPEN.

The following sketch of the family of Major Moses Van Campen, written by Miss Mary Lockhart, of Almond, New York, who is a granddaughter, will prove interesting in this connection. She says:

“Moses Van Campen married Margaret McClure, the daughter of James McClure, a worthy citizen of Bloomsburg, Pa. The location where the town of Bloomsburg now stands was a part of the farm given her by her father. He had no sons to perpetuate his name, but had five daughters, who all were women of unusual refinement of manners and of benevolence of heart. They were born in Pennsylvania (their home then was on the Fishing Creek), with the exception of the youngest daughter, who, I think, was born after their removal to the state of New York.

“Mary Van Campen, the eldest daughter, my dear mother, more closely resembled her father than any of his other children. She married George Lockhart, who was of Scotch-Irish descent, a native of the North of Ireland, emigrating when about nine years of age with his father and the rest of his family to this country. Shortly after his father's arrival he bought about 300 acres of land on the Susquehanna River, below the Wyoming Valley, but the title not proving valid he lost it all, retaining only what was secured by a second payment.

“My father and mother are the parents of eight children, one dying in infancy, seven grown up to adult age, five sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Moses Van Campen Lockhart, died in October of 1887. The second son, James, a merchant in Angelica, died in 1886. The third son, John, served under General Sherman in the war of the Rebellion. He died in 1870, his death doubtless hastened by hardships endured while in the army. The fourth son, Alfred, formerly a merchant of Angelica, is now in the Patent Office in Washington. He entered during the administration of President Arthur. The fifth son, Joseph, lives on the farm my father bought shortly after his marriage, and where he and my mother lived until their decease. My father died in 1854. My mother died in 1864. The sixth child was Elizabeth. She was married to Henry W. Crandall, a merchant of Almond. She died in 1874. Of seven children but three survive, two brothers and myself. Anna, the second daughter of Moses Van Campen,

married Alvin Burr, from Connecticut, for many years one of the most prominent lawyers of Allegany County, N. Y. They had two children, a son, Moses, now living in Angelica. After the removal of my grandfather to Dansville, Mr. Burr went to live in his very pleasant home after he retired from his profession. The daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Burr, Harriet, married John Olmstead, a banker, who lives at Yonkers, on the Hudson. She died in 1885. The third daughter, Priscilla, married Mr. Samuel Mulholland, a farmer, who lived on the shore of the Canisteo River. At their decease they left two daughters, Sarah, the eldest, now Mrs. Frederick W. Landers, who resides in Decorah, Iowa, the other daughter, Mary, now Mrs. Frank Lewis, living in St. Paul, Minnesota.

"The fourth daughter of Moses Van Campen was Elizabeth. She married the Rev. Robert Hubbard, a Presbyterian clergyman, a native of Sherbourne, Mass., a graduate of Williams College, and one of the most exemplary of men. They left one son, now the Rev. J. N. Hubbard, of Tracy, California. He is a graduate of Yale College, author of the *Life of Moses Van Campen*, and of the *Life of Red Jacket*.

"The fifth daughter, Lavinia, married Samuel Southworth, M. D., a prominent physician of Allegany County. She died at the early age of 32 years, leaving two little daughters, one of whom died in girlhood. The other, Margarett, married a Mr. Mills, of Mount Morris, Livingston County, N. Y. She died in September of 1887.

"You will see by this sketch that the descendants of Moses Van Campen are fast passing away. His children, all but the youngest daughter, Mrs. Southworth, lived to the age of three-score years and ten. Of the grandchildren more than the half are gone. Seven are still living. Eight have died within the past few years."

One of the most atrocious murders in 1781 was that of the Stock family, near Selinsgrove. Three of Stock's sons were at work in a field when a party of about thirty Indians appeared. They did not attack the boys, but passed on to the house, which they entered. On the way they found another son plowing in a field, whom they killed. Mrs. Stock and a daughter-in-law were found in the house. The mother, a strong and courageous

woman, defended herself with a canoe pole, as she retreated towards the field where her husband was. She was killed by a tomahawk, however, the house plundered and the young woman carried into the woods near by and killed and scalped. When Stock returned he found his house plundered, his son dead in the field, his wife with a deep wound in her forehead, murdered, and the young woman inhumanly butchered.

The alarm was quickly given, when three experienced Indian fighters, Grove, Pence and Stroh, pursued the savages. They found them encamped on the North Branch, on the side of a hill covered with fern. Grove crept up and discovered that their rifles were stacked around a tree, and that all but three or four were asleep. One of the Indians was narrating in high glee how Mrs. Stock defended herself with the canoe pole. Grove lay quiet until all the Indians fell asleep. He then returned to his comrades, Stroh and Pence, and informed them what he had seen. They decided to attack them when all appeared to be asleep. They crept up close to the camp and dashed among the sleeping savages. Grove plied his tomahawk vigorously on their heads, while Stroh and Pence* seized the guns and fired among the sleepers. Several were killed, when the Indians, thinking they were attacked by a large party, fled. How many were killed is not known, but the white party brought home a number of scalps. A captive white boy was liberated. Collecting the best guns, and destroying the balance, Grove and his companions made their way to the river, built a raft and floated down stream, and reached home in safety.

Sometime in 1781 Captain John Boyd,† of Northumberland, started with a company of about forty men on an expedition to the

*Very little is known of the history of Peter Pence. That he was a daring scout and soldier there is no doubt. In June, 1775, he enlisted in Captain John Lowdon's company and marched to Boston, where he did good service. Pence, according to the fragmentary records, saw much hard service. When peace was restored he settled in Nippenose Valley, Lycoming County, where he died in 1812. He left several sons and daughters. In 1810 the Legislature granted him a pension of \$40 per annum. Robert Hamilton, of Pine Creek Township, Clinton County, was the executor of his estate. He left a will which is recorded in Lycoming County. For a much fuller account of Pence see Meginness' *Historical Journal* for 1887, pages 88 and 155.

† For a sketch of the Boyd family see Meginness' *Biographical Annals*, page 35.

Juniata. Near Raystown they were surprised by a large body of Indians and a sharp fight took place, but the whites were overcome by superior numbers, and, after losing several men, were compelled to fly. Lieutenant John Cooke, of Northumberland, who was with the party, was wounded and taken prisoner. Four Indians took him in charge and started through the wilderness. On the third night of his captivity they began to amuse themselves by burning his legs with firebrands, and as he was much exhausted from loss of blood from his wounds, was scarcely able to move. After traveling through the wilderness for about twenty days, fed on the entrails of wild animals, they brought him to Niagara. He was taken out one day to run the gauntlet, but being unable to run, as his legs were so badly burned, the savages at length took mercy on him and let him off. He was then confined in prison till he was finally exchanged and returned. He is said to have had an exceedingly sharp pair of legs from the knees down, probably occasioned by the burning.

After their defeat Captain Boyd tried to make his escape by running, but was pursued and received three severe gashes in his head with a tomahawk, when he was retaken. The Indians immediately struck across the country and came to the West Branch, near the mouth of Sinnemahoning Creek. They also had another prisoner named Ross, who was wounded very badly. Being unable to travel further, the savages determined to massacre him in a very cruel manner. He was fastened to a stake, his body stuck full of pitch pine splinters, when fire was applied, and they danced around him in fiendish glee, all the time uttering the most hideous yells. His tortures were terrible before death relieved him.

During this time Captain Boyd, faint from the loss of blood, was tied to a small white oak sapling and compelled to be a silent spectator of the diabolical scene. His turn was to come next and he summoned up courage and quietly resigned himself to his fate. While these incarnate fiends were making preparations to torture him to death by inches, he sang a pretty Masonic song, with a plaintive air, which attracted their attention, and they listened to it closely till he was through. At this critical moment an old squaw came up and claimed him as her son. The Indians did not interfere. She immediately dressed his wounds and attended to

him carefully during their journey to Canada. She accompanied him to Quebec, where he was placed in the hospital and attended by an English surgeon and rapidly recovered. He was then turned out into the street without money or friends. As he passed along a large sign, with the letters "Masonic Inn" painted on it, attracted his attention, and observing the landlord standing in the door, he gave him the sign of the Order, which was recognized. He was kindly taken in and cared for till he was exchanged. The wounds on his head caused him ever afterwards to keep up a continual winking.

The old squaw who was the means of preserving his life belonged to the Oneida tribe. Boyd* remembered her kindly as one of his best friends, and frequently sent her presents of money and trinkets. On one occasion he is said to have made a journey north to visit her in her aboriginal home and personally thank her for saving his life. Boyd died at Northumberland February 13, 1831, aged 82 years.

After the murder of Klinessmith Captain Peter Grove, his brother, Michael Grove, Lieutenant Cramer and William Campbell resolved to pursue the Indians and not return until they secured a few scalps, even if they had to follow them to their towns. On their way up they took dinner at the house of James Ellis, near Fort Muncy, and to be on their guard ate with their rifles lying across their knees. In the afternoon of the third day they came in sight of the Indians at a point near Youngwomanstown, when they ascertained that the party consisted of twenty-five or thirty warriors. This was a very large number for four men to pursue, but so intent were they on striking a blow for revenge that they did not shrink from the danger.

The Indians, evidently fearful of pursuit, did not kindle a fire that evening, and the Grove party delayed their attack and awaited a more favorable opportunity. They stealthily pursued them all the next day, keeping well up on the hill-sides to be out of danger. The Indians traveled rapidly, and that evening reached the mouth of a little stream which empties into the Sinnema-

*The story of Boyd's sufferings was related to the author thirty-five years ago by Jacob Cooke, of Muncy, who was a descendant of the Cooke family of Northumberland. For sketch of Cooke see Meginness' *Biographical Annals*, page 77.

honing Creek about twelve miles from its mouth, and fancying themselves secure, kindled a fire for the first time.

Grove's party cautiously followed the paths and trails that led up the river to Cook's Run, which empties into the West Branch about three miles below the mouth of the Sinnemahoning. At this point they took the short route over the mountain, used by the Indians, to the mouth of the First Fork, or east branch of the Sinnemahoning, which joins the main stream twelve miles from its mouth. From the summit of one of the Fork hills of the stream, afterwards called Ellicott's * Run, they discovered the Indian camp fire at the mouth of the stream now called Grove's Run. They were encamped near a fine spring that formed a large pool or pond, and near the river bank. On the bank of the little stream stood a large oak tree about thirty inches in circumference, and some six or seven feet from the ground a large limb, at least eighteen inches in diameter, projected from the tree, on the side next the river and opposite the pond or spring. This limb ran out twelve or fifteen feet, and drooped slightly. In this limb they

*Hon John Brooks, now one of the oldest residents of Sinnemahoning, says: "The stream was named for Mr. Ellicott, the surveyor, who, about 1801, laid out and opened a wagon road up the Sinnemahoning—crossing the creek from flat to flat—and up the Driftwood branch to its head, then down the Tuninquant to the line of the state of New York. Ellicott's name was Joseph, and his brother Andrew was in the employ of the state of Pennsylvania. Under date of April 20, 1795, he writes to Governor Mifflin in relation to the town of La Bœuff, which he had laid out in 1794. Speaking of his compensation he refers incidentally to his brother 'who is in the employ of the Holland Land Company, and who receives \$8 a day and his expenses paid.' See *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. VI., pages 816-17. I have a copy of Jess' Surveying, printed at Wilmington, Del., in 1799. This was the book that Joseph Ellicott had and used when laying out and opening this road for the Holland Land Company; and I have often conversed with Adam Logue, who assisted in hunting and furnishing supplies to Ellicott's corps, and was under his pay. I have also often conversed with Joseph Mason, a surveyor, who was with Ellicott and assisted John Hanna in making the surveys in this section in 1794, and whose sons now have the compass used by Ellicott in the survey of the road, and the book referred to was given to Adam Logue aforesaid, of whom I obtained it, and made my first study in the science of surveying in 1834. This road was laid out prior to 1805 and after 1801. The Holland Land Company owned a large body of land obtained from the State, and the warrants were generally surveyed in 1793 and 1794, and are situated in Cameron, Elk and McKean counties. I believe the State had a loan from the Hollanders to pay the expenses of the war of 1776, and took their pay in land warrants."

stuck their tomahawks,* the marks of which were plainly visible for many years afterwards.

Creeping up stealthily, Peter Grove found the Indians lying under the tree and their guns were standing against the trunk. Having studied the situation, he drew back a short distance, and crouching like a tiger, quietly waited until the Indians were wrapped in sleep before springing upon them. One old Indian annoyed them very much. He was troubled with a severe cough, and frequently rose up and looked around carefully as if apprehensive of danger. At length he fell asleep, when the Grove party silently crept up, intending to use their tomahawks first. One of the party unexpectedly crawled over an Indian who was lying a few feet from the others, and just at this moment the troublesome old man raised his head again. Finding themselves discovered there was no alternative but to rush upon the Indians. Michael Grove, with a powerful stroke of his hatchet, clove the skull of the old man, and striking it into the back of another was unable to withdraw it, when the Indian drew him over the bank of the creek, where he succeeded in killing and scalping him. The others plied their hatchets vigorously and killed several, when they began to use their rifles. One of the party seized several of their guns and threw them into the pond of water. The Indians in the meantime had fled to the other side of the creek, when, finding that the assaulting party was small, and being between them and the light, commenced firing at them. As they had the advantage the whites were obliged to beat a retreat without securing the scalps of all that were killed. They secured two,† however, when they retreated rapidly by wading the Sinnema-

* William Nelson, now living at Huntley, on the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad, four miles above Driftwood, says that his father moved up the fork of the Sinnemahoning in 1822, when he was fourteen or fifteen years old (now 80), and when they arrived his curiosity led him to visit the battle ground, and he counted twelve distinct marks of the tomahawks in the bark of this large limb. This Mr. Nelson considers as proof that the party consisted of twelve Indians, although there was a tradition that there were twenty-five. But it is believed that there was another party encamped six or eight miles up the First Fork.

† In the State Treasurer's account for September 30, 1780, appears this item: "Cash paid Robert Martin for Jacob Creamer, Peter Grove, William Campbell and Michael Grove, for two Indian scalps, £1,875." This shows that they only got two scalps and that the currency of the Province was fearfully depreciated at that time.

honing to its mouth, twelve miles below, and then making tracks along the shore of the river a short distance, as if going down, when they turned and waded up the river a short distance above the mouth of Sinnemahoning Creek, when they left the river on the south side, where the bluffs came down to the water's edge, and then ascended the mountain and made their way over it to Bald Eagle Creek. Here they ascended Bald Eagle Mountain, when they saw the Indians in pursuit the next day in the valley where Monseytown flats are located, a short distance above Lock Haven, on the north side of the river. Grove and party kept along the summit of the mountain, and taking the path which led through Nippenose Valley, returned to their homes in Buffalo Valley in safety. This expedition was one of the most daring on record, and in its results crowned the pursuing party with laurels. The oak tree under which the Indians were sleeping stood until the flood of 1847, when it was washed out by the roots and disappeared. When the pool of water was drained the rusty irons of a gun were found which the Indians had failed to recover. The little stream on which the battle occurred is now known as Grove Run, and it flows through the western end of the village of Sinnemahoning.

All that is known of the ancestors of the Groves is that they were Hollanders, and probably came to Buffalo Valley quite early. Linn says in his *Annals* that there were four brothers—Wendell, Adam, Michael and Peter. Michael died in Nippenose Valley in 1827, aged 70 years, and his body was taken home and buried in the Driesbach grave-yard. He left three children: John, Sarah, and another daughter who married Jacob Smith. Sarah married Samuel Lutz. He seems to have acquired considerable property, as he gave his daughters farms in Nippenose Valley, and he was there visiting when he died. His son John left a son Michael and a daughter Esther. He died on his grandfather's farm in Buffalo Valley. Esther married Enoch Kauffman. Michael's son Peter was living a few years ago in West Buffalo Township, together with other descendants. Adam lived on what was known as the Nesbitt property, which he sold to Thomas Nesbitt in 1822. His son Samuel married a Miss Glass, and is the father of Simon, Joseph, William and Wesley Grove. The

latter was starved to death in a rebel prison. A daughter married Jacob Parks.

Peter Grove, the hero of the Sinnemahoning battle, married Sarah Witmore and settled on the north side of the river at Dunnstown, Clinton County. They had nine children, named as follows: John, Jacob, Peter, George, William, Elizabeth, Pattie, Susan and Fearn.

Peter Grove lost his life by drowning in the year 1802 or 1803. He had gone over the river from Dunnstown to attend a shooting match at Old Town, which stood near the junction of Beech Creek with the river. On the return, in a canoe, and when opposite the tavern of John Myers, the two young men who were with him—one of whom was named Clark—commenced rocking the canoe and it upset. The river was somewhat swollen, but as Grove was known to be a good swimmer they supposed he could easily reach the shore. He had on an overcoat which interfered with his swimming very much, and although he cried for assistance when he found he was sinking, his comrades supposed he was doing it merely to frighten them, and they did not aid him. But the strong man was struggling for his life, and finally drowned in the presence of his friends. Tradition informs us that they had been drinking freely, which may have been the case, and the result was the death of the man who had often braved much greater dangers on land in the presence of the savage foe. The place where his death occurred is a short distance above the Great Island, and about where the ferry now is between Dunnstown and the Lock Haven shore. His body was recovered, and he was buried in the Dunnstown cemetery, near a large oak tree, which stands as a living monument to his memory. His grave is still pointed out, but no stone bears his name to tell the passer-by that the brave Indian fighter lies there. Grove is described as being about five feet seven inches in height, compactly built and very muscular. His descendants are quite numerous, and many of them live in the western part of the State.

The affair which called forth the vengeance of the Groves, with a few other outrages, were the last committed in the valley, and peace, happy peace, soon spread her wings over a land that had been drenched in blood. On the 14th of November, 1782, William

Moore, who had served as Vice-President since 1779, succeeded President Reed, whose term as councilor had expired. General James Potter was chosen at the same time as Vice-President.

On the 12th of March the first news was received of the signing of the treaty of November 30, 1782, acknowledging the independence of the United States. On the 20th of January, 1783, the preliminary treaty of peace was signed, and on the 11th of April Congress issued a proclamation enjoining a cessation of hostilities, and on the 16th of the same month the Supreme Executive Council made public announcement of the happy event. The definitive treaty of peace with England was ratified by Congress, January 14, 1784, and the event was celebrated all over the land as soon as the fact was made known. At the election in November, 1783, John Dickinson was chosen President and General James Ewing Vice-President. On the 18th of October, 1785, Benjamin Franklin, then nearly eighty years of age, was chosen President of the State and Charles Biddle Vice-President.

The last treaty with the Indians, held at Fort Stanwix, October, 1784, was a very important one. Since the year 1768 the north-western boundary of Indian purchases in the State ran from the Susquehanna, on the New York line, to Towanda Creek; thence to the head of Pine Creek; thence to its mouth, and up the West Branch to its source; thence over to Kittanning, and down the Ohio to the west line of the State. The principal feature of this last treaty was in relation to the boundary line embraced by Tiadaghton (Pine) Creek. It had been contended by the Indians that Lycoming Creek was the true line, but the whites claimed that it was Tiadaghton. This dispute had given rise to much contention, out of which grew the Fair Play system. Settlers in the territory lying between Lycoming and Pine creeks were not recognized by the Proprietary Government, and therefore were compelled to shift for themselves.

Burnett's Hills, so frequently alluded to, were called by the Indians the Long Mountains, and they knew them by no other name. At this treaty a purchase was made of the residue of the Indian lands within the limits of Pennsylvania, and the deed was signed by the chiefs of the Six Nations, October 23, 1784. The boundaries were carefully noted in the deed.

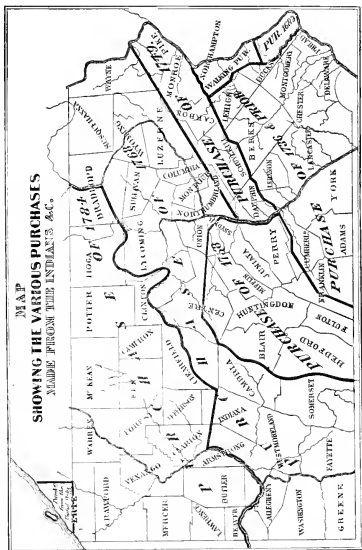
At a treaty held at Fort McIntosh with the Wyandott and Delaware Indians, by the same commissioners, January, 1785, a deed was executed by the representatives of those tribes in the same words, with the same boundaries, and dated January 21, 1785. Both of these deeds, with the proceedings of the conferences, are printed in the appendix to the Journal of the Assembly for February, 1785. Thus, in a period covering about one hundred and two years, was the whole right of the Indians to the soil of Pennsylvania extinguished. The Legislature, at the time of this last treaty, being apprehensive that the instructions given the commissioners to ascertain the precise boundaries of the purchase of 1768 might cause trouble, passed the following act:

That the said directors did not give, nor ought not to be construed to give to the said commissioners, any authority to ascertain, definitely, the boundary lines aforesaid, in the year 1768, striking the line of the West Branch of Susquehanna, at the mouth of *Lycomick* or Lycoming Creek, shall be the boundaries of the same purchase to all legal intents and purposes, until the General Assembly shall otherwise regulate and declare the same.

This last accession of lands was called by the whites the "New Purchase," and when the land office opened, in 1785, settlers rapidly flocked to the territory located on the north side of the river, west of Lycoming Creek, to secure the choice lands lying in that district. Nearly all the original settlers, or squatters, on this land, previous to the Big Runaway, returned to the land on which they had made improvements. As much contention arose about the right of occupancy, the Legislature passed the following act, which may be found in *Smith's Laws*, Vol. II., page 195:

And whereas divers persons, who have heretofore occupied and cultivated small tracts of lands without the bounds of the purchase made as aforesaid in the year 1768, and within the purchase made or now to be made, have by their resolute stand and sufferings during the late war, merited, that those settlers should have the pre-emption of their respective plantations, it is enacted that all and every person or persons, and their legal representatives, who has or have heretofore settled on the north side of the West Branch of Susquehanna, between *Lycomick* or Lycoming Creek on the east, and *Tyadaghton*, or Pine Creek on the west, as well as other lands within the said residuary purchase from the Indians of the territory within this State (excepting always the lands hereinbefore excepted,) shall be allowed a right of pre-emption to their respective possessions, at the price aforesaid.

No person was to be entitled to the benefit of this pre-emption act unless he had made an actual settlement before 1780, and no claim was to be admitted for more than 300 acres of land, and the consideration thereof tendered to the Receiver General of the Land Office on or before the first of November, 1785. Several lawsuits ensued, having their origin in Fair Play times, which lasted for several years.



Among the early settlers in Black Hole* Valley was John Ten Brook.† He was born near Trenton, was a posthumous and only child of Cornelius Ten Brook, and inherited a fair estate for that time and place from his father. He commanded a battalion of New Jersey militia at the battle of Monmouth, with the rank of major. His first wife was a Miss Katie Low, by whom he had two sons and one daughter—Garrett, Katie and John. His second wife was Miss Katie Emmons, also of New Jersey, and by her he had six sons and two daughters, viz.: Andrew, Conrad,‡ Jacob, Abram, William, Peter, Sallie and Jemima. The former married George Irwin, and the latter, when about fifty years old, married a man whose name is not now remembered.

Major Ten Brook sold his farm near Trenton about 1785, and took his pay in Continental money, and in six months from that time he could not have bought a good horse with the money. He also kept what was then called a tavern in connection with his farm. After the battle of Saratoga the Hessian general, Reidesel, and his wife and attendants were assigned to his keeping by General Washington, because Ten Brook and family were Holland Dutch, and could understand the Hessian language. It was the policy to assign Hessian prisoners to the Continental Dutch, with instructions to the latter to convert as many of them as possible. A strong attachment grew up between the General and family and the host and family, and also the Dutch neighbors.

Major Ten Brook, finding himself financially ruined by Continental money, moved his family to Black Hole Valley, in 1786, and took a ten years' lease on the land of an old bachelor named

*The name of this rich agricultural valley, lying in the great bend of the river in Clinton Township, Lycoming County, is said to have originated in this wise: When first seen by the pioneers from Muncy hills, on the east side of the river, it was covered with a heavy growth of pine, and as the dense foliage of the trees gave it a dark and sombre appearance, they named it "Black Hole Valley!" It lies under the shadow of the lofty Bald Eagle range, in the form of a cove; hence it is seen that the name is quite appropriate.

†Of Hollandish origin and spelled Ten Broeck, Ten Brook and Tenbrook. The "ten" being a prefix like "Van" and "de."

‡Grandfather of John T. Campbell, civil engineer, of Rockville, Parke County, Indiana, who contributed these reminiscences of the Ten Brook family and Black Hole Valley.

William Mackey, and at the end of the lease it was renewed for ten more.

In the fall of 1787, early in November, there fell a snow about four feet deep, which laid on the ground till late in April, and a big flood* followed. There were not enough teams in the settle-

* There have been many great floods in the river. The first known to early history occurred in 1744, the second in 1758, the third in 1772, the fourth in 1786, and the fifth in 1800. The Indians had a tradition that a great flood occurred every fourteen years, which seems to have been verified in these five instances. In a memorandum on file at Harrisburg, signed by Robert Martin and John Franklin, they state "that on the 15th of March, 1784, the Susquehanna rose into a flood, exceeding all degrees ever known before; so sudden as to give no time to guard against the mischief; that it swept away 150 houses, with all the provision, furniture and farming tools and cattle of the owners, and gave but little opportunity for the inhabitants to fly for their lives. One thousand persons were left destitute of provisions, clothing and every means of life." This flood was known as "The Ice Flood." The freshet of October, 1786, was called the "Pumpkin Flood," because of the great number of pumpkins that were carried down stream. The next great flood was on the 28th of June, 1829, and again on the 13th of March, 1846. Many bridges were carried away. The great flood of October, 1847, was three or four feet higher than any previous rise. A number of bridges were destroyed and much damage done. July 18th and 19th, 1851, a great storm raged for thirty-two hours, and the flood that followed was still greater than any previous one. The next was the memorable flood of St. Patrick's Day in March, 1865. This freshet was caused by a warm south-west wind and rain rapidly melting the heavy body of snow which covered the ground. The water rose to a great height and caused immense damage to property in the valley. At Williamsport it attained a height of 27½ feet. History shows that for a period of one hundred years there has been a successive increase in the height of floods of between three and four feet every fourteen to eighteen years. In the flood of 1865 all the river bridges between Farrandsville and Northumberland were either carried away or badly damaged. But the greatest flood of all, and the one that will pass into history as the most memorable, occurred June 1, 1889. Rain fell incessantly for nearly forty-eight hours, and the wind blew from the south-west. The water rose rapidly, and at Williamsport attained the unprecedented height of 33 feet one inch, or nearly six feet higher than in 1865. Three fourths of Lock Haven, Jersey Shore, Williamsport and Milton were inundated, the water reaching a depth of from three to ten feet in the houses. With but one exception (Quinn's Run) all the river bridges from Keating to Northumberland were either carried away or partially destroyed. The Williamsport boom broke and 150,000,000 feet of logs were carried away, besides great quantities of manufactured lumber. The losses to the people of the West Branch Valley were enormous, being roughly estimated at from twenty-five to thirty millions of dollars. Great suffering was caused, and a large relief fund had to be raised for the destitute. Upwards of fifty lives were lost in the valley, and the farms and crops in many instances were ruined. Houses, barns and saw mills were carried away, and a scene of desolation that beggars description was left in the track of the mighty torrent.

ment to keep the roads broken, nor could they break them after they became gorged. Nearly all the stock first nearly starved and then froze to death. Men could only get from place to place on snow shoes. The settlers were poor, had but meagre crops, and these were consumed by stock and people till starvation stared them in the face. Game was plenty, but it too starved or was frozen to death. The hunters searched the woods on snow shoes, and sometimes they fell through the crust over deep snow drifts, and they had to "tramp, tramp, tramp" under them till they packed the snow into a stair-way to get out. Major Ten Brook was a good marksman and an expert hunter, and he kept several families in venison through the winter. The snow was sudden, and bent down many small trees and broke down many large ones. These bent and broken trees formed a sheltering place for the deer, where they stood, starved, and froze during the long winter. Major Ten Brook on one occasion killed two deer at one shot under one of these retreats. He had only one mare left in the spring of all his stock. With this animal and a neighbor's yoke of oxen he and they put in and tended their crops.

As soon as the roads could be traveled in the spring Mr. Emmons, the father of Major Ten Brook's second wife, came to the valley with a four-horse wagon loaded with salt, seed wheat, corn and garden vegetable seed. The settlers had eaten up everything they had raised the season before. He also brought a fishing seine six hundred feet long. With this seine the settlers of Black Hole went to the fishery at Lawson's Island, about two miles above the mouth of the creek and opposite the foot of Muncy Hill. At the first and only drag they hauled out on the island, the only good fish landing, 2,500 shad, each weighing from four to eight pounds! The settlers thought it as miraculous as when the net was cast on the other side of the ship in Galilee. The statement was cut into the bark of a soft water maple on Lawson's Island, which could be plainly read more than twenty years afterwards.

In the spring of 1788 Mr. Emmons* and his son brought another four-horse wagon load of salt and other provisions, which

*Great-great-grandfather of John T. Campbell, of Rockville, Indiana.

they distributed around to the needy. They in turn helped him catch, with the big seine at the fishery, a wagon load of shad, which he cleaned, salted and packed into barrels, and started for his home in New Jersey. At night he camped by the roadside and slept in his wagon. One night while sleeping with his son a tree fell across his wagon—whether from wind, or being burned at the root by his camp fire is unknown—and a sharp limb was thrust through his head, killing him instantly. Just where the accident happened, and where the kind-hearted New Jersey farmer was buried, are now unknown, and nothing but this tradition remains to keep his memory green.

As Lawson's Island was the only good fish landing at that point in the river, there was much contention about the right to occupy it. There were always some parties in possession when others arrived, and they were in each other's way. Disputes on such occasions were often settled by "fist and skull." On one such occasion Andrew Ten Brook (son of Major John) and one Dave Macy had a fight about the fishing rights. Macy's party had possession, and Ten Brook and party were making it as best they could on the ripple. Ten Brook, being of Holland descent and association, called out to his party along the seine: "This carrant is taa strang," meaning "current," and "strang" for "strong." Dave Macy was the champion fighter of his locality and ever ready to give a sufficient provocation for a fight to any one that would accept it, and he began mocking Ten Brook's Hollandish pronunciation. It did not take long for each to give the other enough of "back talk" to bring on a fight. They came to the island where Macy was, "peeled and went in." After a long and savage fight Ten Brook won.

Lawson found out that by applying at a certain town in the State the island could be bought, and he slipped off quietly and bought it, and monopolized the fishery. When the canal was afterwards built the riprapping along Muncy Hill so changed the current as to cut away the entire island, and Lawson's heirs were allowed a considerable damage for it. There was an excellent maple sugar camp on the island. It contained from seven to ten acres.

Some years afterwards Major Ten Brook and two of his grown

up sons bought several hundred acres of land in White Deer Valley. There the Major died sometime between 1816 and 1820, aged about eighty years.

His son Conrad married Elizabeth Tate January 5, 1808. They, with their children, started for Ohio in the summer of 1812, but meeting with many disappointments, did not reach their destination till 1816. They first settled in Butler County, Ohio, eighteen miles north of Cincinnati, where they remained about three years.

About 1820 Conrad, Jacob, William and Peter emigrated further west and settled in what is now Parke County, Indiana. Their descendants are numerous, and are scattered from Indiana to the Pacific coast.

Andrew remained in Lycoming County. He had a son, John, who graduated in medicine and settled in Paris, Edgar County, Illinois, and became eminent in his profession, grew wealthy and very influential. He died about 1879, leaving a wife and two daughters. Most of the descendants of Andrew remained in Lycoming County.

Another early and prominent settler on the river, a short distance west of Pine Creek, was Colonel Hugh White. He held a commission* in the army of the Revolution, and acted for some time in the capacity of commissary. Mention is frequently made of him in the *Colonial Records*. He was an active and useful man, and was untiring in his efforts to provide supplies for the army. Mr. White was accomplished in his manners and exceedingly polite. He died in 1822 at the age of 85, from injuries received by being thrown from his horse, leaving behind him ten sons and two daughters. Among the survivors is John White, of Williamsport, and Isabella, the wife of Colonel James S. Allen, of Jersey Shore.

There being no further danger to be apprehended from the savages, settlers commenced pouring into the valley, and improvements were started on every hand. Little bands of Indians, consisting of two or three, occasionally made their appearance in

* His commission, dated April 19, 1776, appointing him captain of a company of foot in the First Battalion of Associators in Northumberland County, is still in existence. It is signed by John Morton, Speaker of the Assembly.

the settlements, but they were friendly, and only came to visit familiar places and the graves of their ancestors, before taking final leave of this lovely valley.

Soon after the return of the Warrior Run settlers, they found that they had no place for public worship. They were largely of the Presbyterian faith, and believed in providing the means for the inculcation of religion into the minds of the young as well as old. The original Warrior Run Church, which had been built on the bank of the river, where Rev. Fithian preached, July 16, 1775, although never finished, was burned by the Indians during the invasion at the time of the Big Runaway.

It having been decided to erect a new building for a place of public worship, a site was selected on Warrior Run, about four miles from its mouth, and half a mile from the ruins of Fort Freeland. A warm friend of the Church now came forward and donated enough land on which to erect the building; and as this sacred spot is among the historic landmarks of the valley, a copy of the original deed* is herewith appended:

DEED POLL.

FROM

Jos. Hutchinson & Unor

TO THE

Warrior Run Congregation.

This Indenture made this Sixth day of March in the year One thousand Seven hundred and Eighty Nine Between Jos. Hutchinson and Margaret his wife of Turbutt Township, Northumberland County, of the one part and the Members of the Warrior Run Presbyterian Congregation of the other part, Witnesseth—That the above named Joseph Hutchinson & Margaret his wife out of the regard of the worship of God & the Establishment of a Christian Society, and other good causes mooving thereto Doth By these presents Gift grant and give all our right & title of in and to the following part of a Tract of land situate on the watters of Warrior Run in the Township & County aforesaid Beginning at a post in a line of Thomas DeArmond from thence West forty perches to a black Oak Grub near a post Corner of said DeArmond & Messer Kirk thence south ten perches to a ——— thence East forty perches to a ——— thence North ten perches to the place of Beginning Containing two acres & a half the above described piece of land is part of a Tract surveyed by virtue of Edward Rairdons application dated April third in the year 1769 No. 713 on which

*This curious old deed is in the possession of Hiram Dunkle, cashier of the Farmer's National Bank, Watson town, who is the custodian of many of the books and papers of the Warrior Run Church. It is still in a good state of preservation, and the writing is in a clear, plain hand.

a warrant & paten issued to Cornelius Atkinson and by said Atkinson sold and Transferred to George Bereau By Deed poll dated the 22d day of Novr. in the year 1783 and sold and Transferred by said Bereau to the above named Joseph Hutchinson By Deed poll dated the 1st day of May in the year 1784 Reference Being had to said Paten and Deed poll will more fully & plainly appear Be it remembered by these presents that the above mentioned Congregation their heirs successors is to Have and to Hold the above described premises and every part thereof forever and to occupy & possess the same Build houses Edifices and erect monuments in Remembrance of the Dead without hindrance Molestation Or Interruption from the aforesaid Joseph Hutchinson his heirs Executors administrators or assigns or any person or persons Claiming or to Claim the whole or any part thereof

And for the better assuring and Confirmation of the above described premises the above named Joseph Hutchinson and Margaret his wife at any time at the cost and request of the members of said Congregation or a majority of them make Execute and acknowledge Or Cause to be done all and every act or deed for the further Confirming the same. In Witness whereof the within named parties have hereunto Set their hand and Seals the day & year first above written.

JOSEPH HUTCHINSON. [Seal.]

her

MARGARET X HUTCHINSON. [Seal.]

mark

Signed sealed and delivered in the presence of

JOHN LYTLE.

ROBT. SMITH.

This deed was acknowledged on the 6th day of March, A. D. 1789, before William Shaw, one of the justices of Northumberland County, and it was recorded in Sunbury on the 14th day of June, 1805, in Deed Book N, page 17, the certificate being signed by Jeremiah Simpson, recorder.

The punctuation, spelling and capitalization are as in the original. Since the above date there have been several additions to the original tract purchased from Mr. Hutchinson and the late Thomas DeArmond.

The new Warrior Run Church was a large log structure with three entrances on the first floor and two by which the gallery was reached from the outside. The central aisle and the space before the pulpit was broad, being intended to accommodate the tables where the communicants sat. The pulpit was very high, and over the minister's head was the sounding board. At the foot of the pulpit stairs was the clerk's desk. The gallery ran around three sides of the building. This house of worship stood

directly in front of the present brick church, which was erected in 1833.

There are several diagrams of the interior of the old church in existence, showing the location and number of the pews, with the names of the occupants and the rent they paid. One of these, now in the hands of R. H. McCormick, Esq., of Watsontown, is a quaint and curious document. It is at least 85 years old, and is endorsed in red ink in bold relief letters, with the price in pounds, shillings and pence placed opposite the name of each pew-holder, as follows:

“WARRIOR RUN CHURCH.”

The pews on the floor are numbered, assessed in pounds, shillings and pence, and have names thereon as follows:

1. Charles Irwin & Co., - - - 2 2 6	21. Wm. Shaw, Robert Shaw, - 1 15 0
2. Jas. Harrison, Samuel Barr, 1 19 6	22. Samuel Blane, Bethuel Vincent, - - - 1 12 0
3. Wm. Calhoun, - - - 1 17 6	23. John Burroughs, - - - 1 10 6
4. John McCormick, Wm. McCormick, - - - 1 15 6	Wm. Haslet, Esq., - - -
5. Joseph Hutchinson, Sr., - 2 0 0	24. Thos. DeArmond, - - - 1 9 0
6. Mattha Corry, James Wilson, 1 19 6	Robert DeArmond, - - -
7. John Buchannon, John Ferguson, - - - 1 13	25. Andrew Russell, - - - 1 7 6
John W. McCurdy, - - -	Patrick Russell, - - -
8. John Wilson $\frac{1}{3}$, Joseph Hutchinson $\frac{1}{3}$, - - - 1 19 6	26. Robert Robertson, - - - 1 8 6
John Baird $\frac{1}{3}$, - - -	27. Fleming Wilson, - - - 1 12 6
9. Barnabas Ferron, Alxer Stuart, - - - 2 0 0	28. John Bryson, Minister, - - -
10. Thos. Wallace $\frac{2}{3}$, - - - 1 19 6	29. John Wilson, - - - 1 12 6
Robt. McKee $\frac{1}{3}$, - - -	Joseph Hutchinson, - - -
11. John McKinnie, Bruce Innis, - - - 1 19 6	30. David Shannon, - - - 1 10 6
John Irvin, James Story, - - -	31. David Hunter, - - - 1 5 6
12. James Durham, - - - 1 19 6	Joseph Hammond, - - -
Cornelius Waldron, - - -	32. William Boyd $\frac{2}{3}$, John Thomas, - - - 1 7 6
13. Thos. Gillmore, - - - 2 2 2	33. Wm. Kirk, - - - 1 8 6
Thomas Wilson, Robert Miller, - - -	34. Robert Montgomery, - - - 1 12 6
14. James Hammond, - - - 1 14 6	John Montgomery, - - -
John Brown, Esq., George Hammond, - - -	35. James McAfee, - - - 1 14 6
15. John Woods, - - - 1 2 6	36. James Welch, Sr., John Quigley, - - - 1 2 6
16. Rob't Craig, Jane Brown, - 1 2 6	37. Hugh Wilson, - - - 1 2 6
17. James Falls, - - - 1 0 0	38. John Hans $\frac{1}{3}$, - - - 1 0 0
18. Andrew Foster, - - - 1 6 0	John Smith $\frac{1}{3}$, Samuel All $\frac{1}{3}$, - - -
19. James Allison, - - - 1 0 0	39. William Ruckman, Jacob Bruner, - - - 1 7 6
20. John Watson, - - - 1 5 0	40. Alex'r Guffy, Sam'l Daugherty, - - - 1 6 0
	41. Alex'r Foresman, - - - 1 5 6

The above embraced all the pews in the body of the building.

There were twenty-four pews in the large gallery, which ran around three sides of the building, and are as follows:

1. John Allison, Wm. Scott, - 1 5 0	14. Thos. Connely, Jacob Mix-
2. Patrick Dickson, - - - 1 5 0	well, - - - - - 0 18 0
3. John McKinney, Alex. Dun-	15. John Pipenger, John Gib-
bar, - - - - -	bons, - - - - - 0 18 0
4. David McGuire, Joseph Mc-	16. John Herron, - - - - - 1 5 0
Guire, - - - - -	Michael Nowlan, Barnabus
5. Thomas Barr, - - - - - 1 0 0	Murray, - - - - -
6. Anth'y Moore, Geo. McCoy,	17. Mongo Reed, John Jacoby,
7. Robt. Smith, Dan. Vincent,	18. Thos. Blane, John Fulker-
8. Thomas Murray, Widow	son, - - - - - 1 7 0
Gaston, - - - - - 1 16 0	19. John Barr, - - - - - 1 2 6
9. James Watson, - - - - - 1 5 0	20. Hugh Hambleton, David
Andrew Russel, Jr., Benj.	Hogge, - - - - - 1 0 0
Bennet, - - - - -	21. George McKee, Tom Ruck-
10. Jas. Welch, Jr., John Kath-	man, - - - - - 1 7 0
cart, - - - - - 0 18 0	22. John Tweed, John Long, - 0 17 6
11. Fred'k Taylor, Wm. Taylor, 0 18 0	23. John Barroughs, John Allie, 0 15 0
12. Alex. Lock, - - - - - 1 0 0	24. James McCane, Richard
13. Samuel Jones, Richard Van-	Allison, - - - - -
deroef, - - - - - 1 0 0	

From the above it is seen that every pew in the church had one or more occupants, and from the names of many heads of families there must have been a large congregation when all were present. The names are familiar, as many of the descendants of these families still reside in the neighborhood and are members of the old church.

The Church of Chillisquaque, another famous place of worship, a few miles south of Warrior Run, was founded at as early a date. It appears on the records of the Presbytery of Donegal as early as 1774, and the letters patent granted to the trustees for twelve acres of ground, on which the church stands, are dated September 22, 1774. The first regular pastor of these famous churches was the celebrated Rev. John Bryson. He was called to be the pastor of these congregations June 23, 1790, accepted the same October 7, 1790, was ordained at Carlisle December 22, 1790, and installed in June, 1791. Mr. Bryson* served the Chillisquaque Church until October 1, 1839, a period of fifty years, and on October 5, 1841, he resigned the pastoral charge of Warrior Run, after a

* For a very full and interesting biographical sketch of this eminent divine, by Rev. John Paris Hudson, see Meginness' *Historical Journal* for May and June, 1887. It gives, in addition to a full history of his life and labors, the names of the signers to both calls from Warrior Run and Chillisquaque congregations.

service of fifty-two years. He died August 3, 1855, in the 98th year of his age, and is buried in the cemetery at McEwensville.

The famous Warrior Run Church stands on the highway leading between Muncy and McEwensville. The road was laid for a portion of the way on the Indian path over which thousands of warriors passed and repassed before the advent of the whites. A beautiful grove of native oaks surrounds the church,* and there is a fine spring of water on the grounds. The grave-yard contains the ashes of hundreds of the early settlers, and there is no more interesting place, on this account, in the valley. Many of those who lie buried here perished by the hands of the savages, distinguished themselves in the war of the Revolution and the great rebellion of modern times.

In the spring of 1790 an affair occurred on Pine Creek, west of the borough of Jersey Shore, which was known afterwards as the "Walker tragedy." At that time the Indians were in the habit of coming from their villages on the Genesee to hunt, and some of them remained until late in the fall. They were on good terms with the whites and frequently stayed over night with acquaintances, sleeping on the floor before the fire. They kept up this practice for several years, when the last Indian disappeared before the advance of civilization.

At the time mentioned three brothers, named Benjamin, Joseph and Henry Walker, lived on a farm not far from the mouth of Pine Creek. Their father, John Walker, had been barbarously killed and scalped at the time the Lee family were murdered by a band of marauding Indians, where Winfield now stands, a few miles below Lewisburg.

Two Indians, one a middle-aged, fine looking savage, and the other quite a young man, came into the Pine Creek neighborhood on a hunting expedition, and remained for some time. One day they were at the Stephenson tavern, near the mouth of the creek, where a number of men were congregated,—among them the Walkers,—and Indian-like they became intoxicated when there

*The following ministers have served as pastors: Rev. John Bryson, Rev. S. S. Shedden, Rev. Henry M. Parsons, Rev. E. D. Voemans, Rev. Lorenzo Westcott, Rev. S. P. Herron, Rev. George Elliott, Rev. George A. Marr. The latter retired in 1885, since which time the church has been without a regular pastor.

was an opportunity, and performed many drunken antics for the amusement of the spectators. The older Indian threw himself on the ground before the Walkers, and making the most horrid grimaces and contortions of the face, said to them: "*This is the way your father acted when I killed and scalped him!*"

The brothers were greatly enraged at this shocking and tantalizing exhibition on the part of the Indian, who boasted of having slain their beloved father, and in mockery and derision exhibited his death struggles. Their blood fairly boiled with rage, and they swore vengeance on the savage fiend, and would have rushed upon him and put an end to his life at once, but from being restrained by those present.

That evening they persuaded Samuel Doyle to accompany them a short distance up the creek, where they planned the murder of the two Indians. On going to their encampment they made known their intentions. The young Indian begged piteously for his life, saying that he was not concerned in the murder of Walker, but his appeals were all in vain, and he was immediately tomahawked. They then attacked the older Indian and a desperate struggle, in which knives and tomahawks were used, ensued. The Indian fought desperately for his life, and wounded two of the Walkers, and probably would have killed them had they not succeeded in shooting him through the head. They then took the bodies of the Indians and sunk them in the creek, not far from where Phelps' mills afterwards stood.

The sudden disappearance of the Indians caused some surprise in the neighborhood, and the Walkers were suspicioned of having killed them, but as almost everybody felt that they deserved death for their conduct, their disappearance was soon forgotten. In course of time a freshet came and washed the dead bodies ashore on a gravel bar a short distance below where they were thrown into the creek. The murder now became the subject of much talk in the neighborhood; some asserted that the Walkers were justified in taking the summary vengeance they did, whilst others declared that the deed had been committed in time of peace, and was a palpable violation of law.

Thus matters rested for some time until a knowledge of the affair came to the ears of the authorities. In the meantime the

friends of the Indians had heard of their murder, and they became greatly excited and threatened to come down in force on the settlement for revenge. This alarmed the authorities,* and they promptly condemned the act and adopted measures to arrest the murderers. On the 16th of November a conference with the Indians was held at Tioga Point, which Colonel Pickering attended as a commissioner. Red Jacket and Cornplanter were there, and the results were satisfactory. In the meantime the authorities of Pennsylvania were active in their efforts to bring the murderers to justice.† At a meeting of the Executive Council, held at Philadelphia July 9, 1790, information was laid before it, that two friendly Seneca Indians had been wantonly murdered on the 27th of June, on Pine Creek, by Benjamin Walker, Henry Walker, Joseph Walker and Samuel Doyle, and a proclamation was issued offering a reward of \$800 for the arrest and conviction of the offenders, or \$200 for any one of them. On the 17th of August John Robinson wrote to Colonel Thomas Proctor from Pine Creek, as follows:

Sir, I desire to inform you that Messrs. Benj. Walker, Henry Walker, James Walker and Samuel Doyle, have upon mature deliberation been convinced of their error and are willing to give themselves up to stand their trial according to law. They most earnestly solicit your friendship, and pray you would use your interest and endeavors in their behalf with the Council, in order to mitigate their fault, which

*An express was promptly sent to advise the Indians that the authorities did not approve of the act. He found the Indians greatly excited, but owing to the influence of Cornplanter a war party was prevented from starting to take vengeance on the frontier settlers.

†In a letter dated Northumberland, September 23, 1790, William Wilson wrote to Governor Mifflin informing him that he had engaged Thomas Rue, Jr., to go in pursuit of the Walkers and Doyle, and to take such persons with him as he could confide in. He started for Pine Creek, but a few days before his arrival sixteen persons residing on the creek banded together to take the Walkers, but being informed of what was going on they disappeared. Rue went upon the ground secretly and soon found Doyle, whom he arrested and sent him to jail at Lancaster. Mr. Wilson said further, in his letter, that he expected to secure the Walkers, as he had several persons in pursuit of them.

In another letter written from the same place, and dated September 29th, he informed the Governor that he had drawn on him "for fifty specie in favor of Hephurn and Cowden" for assisting in the arrest of Doyle and taking him to Lancaster. The Walkers, he said, were still at large, and as the people sympathized with them, he had little hope of securing them. Some persons thought it would be better to have them "outlawed," as well as those who were secreting them.

they are, from all appearance, very sorry for, and have petitioned the Council for their pardon, and knowing there has been some correspondence between you and my father, have desired me to write to you and state their inducement for killing the Indians, and my desire being great for the preservation of their lives, which *I now earnestly crave*, I will now give you their reasons for killing the two Indians, which are as follows: One of the two Indians they killed vaunted of his taking twenty-three scalps. One of the scalped persons being alive, is willing to give in on oath that he scalped a woman at the same time their father, John Walker, was killed and scalped, which was their inducement for killing them.

This letter had no influence upon the Council, for it redoubled its efforts to arrest the offenders, who now kept out of the way.

This bold murder had created great excitement all over the country, and grave fears were entertained of an Indian invasion of Pennsylvania. A deputation was at once sent to Canandaigua by the Council, with a copy of its proclamation apologizing for the offense and promising to do justice. The deputation returned, bearing a letter from Oliver Phelps, dated Canandaigua, August 14, 1790, with an address and a string of wampum from the chief counselors and warriors of the Seneca nation to the Executive Council, in token of peace and amity. As might be expected in a community that had been harried and assailed by the bloody savages, who had butchered and tortured their wives and children, burned their dwellings and desolated their plantations, there was no disposition to deliver up for punishment those who assumed to be the avengers of such terrible outrages. The result was that the whole power of the commonwealth to arrest any of the offenders, except Sam. Doyle, proved ineffectual. He was taken September 25, 1790, by Thomas Resse and Jacob Merclay, and delivered to the jailer of Lancaster County on the 12th day of November following. He was indicted by a Grand Jury of Northumberland County, at Sunbury, of willful murder, and at the same place, on the same day, was tried in the Oyer and Terminer "before a jury of twelve good and lawful men, being called and sworn, who being duly elected, sworn and affirmed to speak the truth of the premises, upon their oath and affirmation, respectively do say, that the same Samuel Doyle is not guilty of the felony and murder whereof he stands indicted." So reads the record of acquittal. Thomas McKean, the Chief Justice of the State, presided at the trial; William Bradford, the Attorney General,

prosecuted, but it does not appear who defended the prisoner or whether he was defended at all. Benjamin Patterson, the scout and hunter, then a resident of Northumberland, was one of the jurors. He lived and died at Painted Post.

Samuel Doyle* went to Bath soon after its settlement and died in the town. He was the father of the late Mrs. George Young, of Painted Post.

The Walkers were lost sight of for some time. About the year 1798 one of the brothers located in what is now Steuben County, New York, and lived at Mud Run for several years. According to the reminiscences left by William Howell, of Bath, he did not work much, his chief employment being that of a hunter. Mr. Howell says:

“He had a log house which he called his home, but there was very little land cleared or cultivated around it, and during the warm weather Walker was seldom at home, but often remained in the woods for several days at a time without any provision except the game he killed. He was a gloomy, melancholy man, and was known among the inhabitants by the name of the ‘Hermit.’ It was said that he came from Wyoming on the Susquehanna, and that when that place was taken by the British and Indians during the Revolutionary war, all the other members of his father’s family, consisting of seven or eight persons, were massacred, and that he escaped only by a bold and desperate effort; but as he never would speak of it himself or give any account of his former life, all that was related of him was conjecture, founded upon his singular manner of living, and the strong prejudice that he sometimes exhibited against the Indians. It was evident from his conduct, reserved and taciturn as he appeared, that he belonged to a class of men who were once found along the boundary between the white man and the Indian, the line separating what was called civilized from that which was called savage

*He was well known in Bath eighty years ago. At one time he resided three miles below the village. Many of his descendants now reside in Steuben County, and some of them are also living in Bath. The date of his death is not given, neither his age. In 1807 there were many Indians about Bath, as it appears by a resolution entered in the town records, that they were to receive a bounty for the scalps of all wolves they should kill in the county.

life, but which was in fact neutral ground, occupied by those who claimed to belong to both parties, and the point at which the worst extremes of civilization and barbarism met and contended with each other with all the animosity and cruelty of mortal hatred. They were a class of men who were described by the elegant writer of 'The Winter in the West,' as being possessed of 'two consciences,' one for the white man, towards whom their conduct was correct and commendable, and the other for the Indian, towards whom they entertained the most inveterate enmity, and treated him with the utmost cruelty, not only without regret or remorse, but with exultation and barbarous satisfaction. They were the 'Indian haters' of the frontiers, and though many of their deeds of cruelty to the ill-fated savage will be ever looked upon with horror, it must be admitted that in most instances they only retaliated upon him the same cruelties which he had previously inflicted upon them.

"In a few years after Walker came to the county the settlements extended along the river for several miles, and at Smith's Creek, or near there, about three miles from Bath, Doyle, who came from Pennsylvania, had built a house and made a small clearing. Doyle had been acquainted with Walker before he came from Pennsylvania, and the latter often came to his house, and frequently stayed with him several days at a time, engaged in hunting, up the valley of Smith's Creek.

"At the time we now refer to the Indians were in the habit of coming from their towns on the Genesee River to the Canisteo and Cohocton, to hunt during the fall of the year, and some of them frequently remained until the middle of winter, during which time they were generally on good terms with the settlers, so much so that it was a common thing for the Indians to stay all night with them, sleeping on the floor before the fire. They continued to come to the county every year, in greater or less numbers, until 1823 or 1824, when Joshua Stevens, who lived on the Canisteo, was shot, while he was in the woods in search of his cows. His body was found the next day, and suspicion fell upon two Indians who were known to have been in the neighborhood. They were afterwards apprehended and tried at Bath for the murder, but were acquitted, there not being sufficient evidence

that either of them shot Stevens. After this event but few Indians ever came to the county.

"While Walker was staying at Doyle's it was usual for him to bring the game he had killed to Doyle's house, and Doyle frequently went with him to carry the deer he had shot out of the woods. Early one morning in the fall of the year 1807 Walker came in and said he had lain out in the woods the night before, a mile or two up Smith's Creek, and asked Doyle to go with him and help bring in a large buck he said he had killed, and after breakfast they started to bring in the deer. Walker said that the buck was about the largest he had ever killed, and though he had frequently started him up and seen him before, he could never get a fair shot till this time.

"After going up the creek about two miles, Walker stopped by a log near the bank of the creek, and throwing aside some brush and leaves, said:

"Here he is, Doyle, and ain't he a fine one?' He had uncovered the body of an Indian, and as Doyle came up he added: 'This is the buck I meant.' Doyle exclaimed, 'What under the heavens have you been doing?' and he replied, 'Just what you see here. I have been shooting this d—d Indian. He was one of the devils that murdered my father's family, and I have been trying to kill him these twenty years, but never had a good chance till yesterday. He makes the seventeenth I have killed, and now I am satisfied, and you may complain of me and have me hung as soon as you please.'

"In giving an account of the fight, Walker said that he ran a great risk himself, for they discovered each other at the same time, and that the Indian knew him and 'what he had to expect.' They were about five or six rods apart, but the woods were open between, and both drew up their rifles without saying a word, and fired at the same instant. Strange to say, neither shot took fatal effect, though the Indian started a little when the rifles cracked, as if he had received a wound, but stood as erect as before, and not a muscle of his face moved. His ball passed the side of Walker's neck, just grazing the skin. It was now that Walker's skill came into play, for the whole thing turned upon reloading the rifles. He said he turned the powder from the horn into the muzzle, and while it was running down he drew the rod, and almost at the same instant laid the ball on the muzzle with his lips, (for he always carried a ball in his mouth when in the woods), then driving the ball down

with a single stroke and trusting to its having primed itself, he drew up and was ready. 'I had beat the poor devil,' said Walker, 'for in his hurry in drawing his rod from the thimbles, he snapped it in two, and this frightened him so much that he did not appear to think he could fire with the ball partly down; but seeing me ready, and that he had no chance to escape, he threw down his gun, seized his tomahawk, gave the war whoop, and made one bound towards me, when I fired. He gave a loud yell, sprang into the air almost his own height and fell dead.'

"After some conversation they concluded that something must be done to conceal the body, and to do this they adopted the Indian method of interment, by turning over an old log which was imbedded in the ground, laid the body of the Indian, together with his rifle, in the hole and then turned the log back as it was before, entirely concealing the body and making it difficult for any wild animals to reach it. This Indian was apparently about fifty years old and was over six feet in height. His appearance was very remarkable, owing to his having probably received a wound on the side of the nose, which had healed without uniting and left the nostril open almost to the eye.

"It was seen on examination that Walker's first shot had hit the Indian, and cut a long gash across his back just under the shoulder blades, but not deep enough to break the bones.

"Although Walker appeared to disregard the consequences of the act he had committed, yet he did not in fact feel so indifferent as he endeavored to make Doyle believe, for he was not fully satisfied whether Doyle might not make some disclosure that would lead to his conviction for the murder. He was a shrewd man, however, and knew that if he could excite Doyle's resentment against the Indians, there would be no risk of his betraying the secret."

This strange and fascinating story may be slightly embellished, but in the main it is believed to be true. It is unknown which one of the Walker brothers figured as the avenger, as by a strange oversight the writer* failed to give his first name. Neither

*The reminiscences, which Mr. Howell called an "Indian Legend," were edited by A. J. McCall, of Bath, and printed in the *Plaindealer* of that place May 21, 1887. William Howell was a man highly esteemed for his probity, and was an early resident of Bath. It seems that he did not know he was dealing more with fact than romance when he recorded his reminiscences of Doyle and Walker.

is it known what became of him or his brothers. They all disappeared, and their history was long since lost sight of.

The Constitution of 1776 having been superseded by the Constitution adopted September 2, 1790, a new political order was introduced in Pennsylvania, which very materially changed the condition of affairs. Under the new Constitution Thomas Mifflin was chosen Governor with little opposition. He was a native of Philadelphia, where he was born in 1744. He had much civil and military experience during the Revolution; was a delegate to Congress in 1782; was a member and Speaker of the Legislature in 1785; president of the convention which framed the Constitution of 1790; Governor of the State from 1790 to 1799. He died at Lancaster while serving as a member of the Legislature, January 21, 1800. Thomas McKean, who was serving as Chief Justice, succeeded him as Governor in 1799, and served three terms, or until 1808.

When the Constitution of 1790 went into operation, Samuel Maclay and John White were members of the Legislature from Northumberland County, Jasper Ewing was prothonotary, Martin Withington was sheriff, and Peter Hosterman, John Weitzell and William Hepburn were commissioners.

During the year 1790 Samuel Maclay, John Adlum and Timothy Matlack were appointed commissioners to survey the West Branch, the Sinnemahoning, Allegheny and other streams, with a view to the promotion of inland navigation, or the establishment of a water way between the West Branch and Lake Erie. The survey was completed in September of that year, and a report made to the Legislature. The Journal* kept by Mr. Maclay during the survey was a curious and interesting document, as it noted daily incidents and gave the experiences of the commissioners. At the beginning of 1799 Andrew Gregg was the representative in Congress, and Samuel Maclay and Samuel Dale were State Senators.

Colonel William Plunkett, who was one of the conspicuous characters in the history of this valley from an early period, died

*It was published in full for the first time in Meginness' *Historical Journal* in 1887, nearly one hundred years after it was written. It is a valuable contribution to the history of the times.

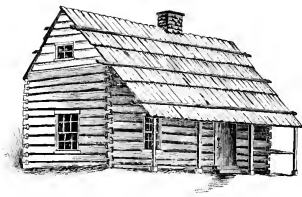
at Sunbury in the spring of 1791, aged nearly 100 years. It is supposed that he was buried in the old cemetery, but all traces of his grave have been lost. He was a native of Ireland, studied medicine and emigrated to this country when quite a young man. Dr. Plunkett married a daughter of John Harris, Sr., and resided for a short time at Carlisle. He had four daughters, Elizabeth, Isabella, Margaret and Esther. His wife died early, and he never married again. Dr. Plunkett, as the reader will remember, was the first President Judge of Northumberland County, and his career was stormy and boisterous. William C. Plunkett, afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland, was a nephew of Dr. Plunkett. A brother of Dr. Plunkett came to this country, bringing with him a daughter named Margaret, who married Samuel Simmons, who resided on Pine Creek, west of Jersey Shore. Some of their descendants still reside there, and one of them, Colonel Samuel Simmons, is a prominent member of the St. Louis Bar. Before his death Dr. Plunkett lived in a building in Sunbury which was afterwards used by Ebenezer Greenough, Esq., as an office. He was totally blind during the closing years of his life, and as a protection, when he went outside, he had ropes stretched in front of his house. His will is dated January 3, 1791, and it was proved May 25, 1791, and in it he mentions his granddaughter, Margaret Baxter, one of the most beautiful and accomplished ladies of her day, who died at Milroy, July 6, 1863. After his long and exciting career, there is much that is sad and pathetic in the closing years of the life of this truly remarkable man.*

Among the first settlers on a portion of Muncy Manor, after the Penns had dispossessed Samuel Wallis and decided to dispose of the land in tracts, were the Waltons. They were of English descent. Their forefathers came to America with the Friends, and assisted in forming the nucleus of Philadelphia.

Isaac Walton and his brother James came to Muncy Manor as early as 1770, and purchased for a few shillings per acre a large tract of land. James located on the river bank and made an

* A much fuller sketch of his life is given in Meginness' *Biographical Annals*, together with a very interesting letter regarding the history of his family, written by Dr. Samuel Maclay, of Washington, D. C., to Hon. John Blair Linn, of Bellefonte.

improvement. His farm extended from the river to the public road leading to Williamsport. The farm owned by Isaac was situated on the opposite side of the road, and extended from Muncy Creek to the borough. As an inducement for settlers they sold tracts of land at cost. Both of the brothers had large families. Isaac had twelve children and James had nine. When



Old House Built in 1770 in which Ellis Walton was Born, Sept. 21, 1771.

Isaac married he was only twenty years of age and his wife was sixteen. Isaac built a log house,* which was one of the best of its kind in those days, and was regarded by the early settlers as a fine mansion. The accompanying illustration is obtained from a pen drawing made by a descendant, and is given to show the style of architecture in vogue among the early settlers of this valley. The ruins of one of these typical dwellings may yet be seen near Elimsport, in White Deer Valley.

In this house Ellis Walton, one of the sons, was born September 21, 1771. When he grew to manhood he studied law, and afterwards married Miss Jane Huston, of Williamsport. On the 28th of February, 1808, Governor Snyder appointed him prothonotary of Lycoming County, in place of John Kidd, who had neglected his duties to such an extent that his removal was demanded. Mr. Walton's daughter, Martha L., who was unusually bright and intelligent, went into the office with her father when only eight years of age and assisted him in recording deeds until the work was brought up. Ellis Walton died November 9, 1813, while still in office, at the early age of 42, leaving three daughters and one son. His daughter, Martha L.,† married Dr.

* Isaac Walton, a great-grandson, still lives on the original farm. All traces of the old house only disappeared a few years ago.

† She left an elaborate history in MS. of her ancestors for her granddaughter, Mrs. Slate, which is very interesting as well as valuable. She was a gifted woman

M. B. Grier, of Williamsport, in 1817, but he did not live long. A daughter, born after his death, was named Anna M. Grier. In 1827 her mother, Mrs. Grier, married Rev. John Bowen, a pioneer Methodist minister. When Anna M. Grier grew to womanhood she married Dr. John W. Wright, of Baltimore. He died in 1879. His widow still survives. Her only daughter, Martha Virginia, married Hyman A. Slate, of Williamsport, and their children are now of the sixth generation from Isaac Walton.

Northumberland, which had been almost entirely abandoned, was re-occupied by the returning inhabitants in 1785, and it soon became a place of refuge for a number of distinguished English and other exiles, chief among them being Dr. Joseph Priestley, Dr. Cooper, Mr. Russell and Mrs. Dash.* The latter was a woman of great spirit and enterprise. She was the wife of an English banker who had failed in business, and while he was settling up his affairs she came to America in 1794, with her three daughters, and purchased 100 acres of land for \$265, near Northumberland, on which she erected a cabin and had twenty acres cleared and sown in wheat. Soon afterwards she built a stone house, in which she welcomed her husband on his arrival.

The Duke gives his impressions of the towns of Sunbury and Northumberland as follows:

"Sunbury is the chief town of the county. But the small number of public buildings,† which are necessary for the administration of justice, constitute its only advantages over Northumberland. * * * The number of houses is at this time,‡ perhaps, a sixth greater at Sunbury than at Northumberland, where it amounts to about one hundred. * * * It (Sunbury)

intellectually, which is clearly shown by her writings. Jane, the second daughter of Ellis Walton, married Dr. James Teas, of Northumberland County. After his death she remained a widow for thirty years, when, in September, 1868, she married John K. Hays, of Williamsport. She died November 25, 1875.

* The Duke De La Rochefaucault Liancourt, the French traveler, visited here in May, 1795, and says in Vol. I., page 69, of his great work, that two of her daughters were married. The third was single, and she played the piano for him in their log cabin. The instrument was of London make and the music was fine.

† May 17, 1795, Vol. I., pages 69 to 72, of his travels.

‡ Sunbury was made a borough March 24, 1797, and the first regular court house, which stood in the centre of the square, was built this year. The census of 1800 shows that the population of Sunbury was 611.

is undoubtedly the worst built town we have hitherto seen. All the houses are of wood, chiefly log; two only are of stone. There is no market place here; the town contains no inns, but there are four whiskey houses. We put up in that which is the best of them; and yet it rains on our beds, as well as on our horses in the stable. Methinks there is hardly any place situate more favorably for its becoming a large city than Northumberland.* The slow progress hitherto made by the town I have heard imputed to the untoward character and little sense of the gentlemen who possessed three-fourths of the ground on which the town stands. * * * The price of land about Northumberland is at present from twenty to twenty-four dollars per acre near the river; that situate on the northern arm is still dearer, on account of the better quality of the soil, and because a greater part of the ground is already cleared there than on the eastern arm. Further up the river land is sold from four to six dollars an acre. * * * The inhabitants of Northumberland, as well as the county at large, consist for the most part of Dutchmen. * * * Laborers are paid six shillings a day, without victuals, or three shillings and ninepence with their entertainment. In the country, where they hire themselves by the month, have eight dollars, for which they are obliged to work twenty-six days. Bricklayers and carpenters' wages are, in town, one dollar per day. The price of tiles is four dollars per thousand, and very good bricks cost in Northumberland two shillings and sixpence, delivered free of expense. The price of lime is from nine to tenpence per bushel, of deal boards five shillings per hundred feet, and of other boards six shillings and sixpence.

"As there is no market,† either in Northumberland or Sunbury, the inhabitants live for the greater part of the year upon salted meat, unless they keep fowls. The farmers kill, at times, a cow, but since an epidemic has carried off all the horses, they have been obliged to replace these by oxen for the purpose of agriculture, and consequently use less beef than before. Cow beef at

*Northumberland was not erected into a borough until April 14, 1828, nearly thirty-three years after the visit of the Duke.

† In 1794 there were only three stores in Sunbury. They were kept by William Dewart, John Buyers and James Black.

this time sold from fivepence to fivepence half penny per pound. The highest house rent in Northumberland is \$80, and there is but one house in the whole town for which so much is paid. It is of brick, large and convenient, and was but lately sold for \$5,200. Everything is somewhat dearer at Sunbury, but the difference is not a full sixth."

Mr. Russell was an Englishman who was engaged largely in land speculations in the north-eastern part of the State. Reference has already been made to Dr. Priestley, the eminent philosopher, theologian and discoverer of oxygen.

In September, 1794, a serious difficulty took place at Northumberland, caused by the excitement in the State which culminated in what was known as the "Whiskey Insurrection." Some of the whiskey advocates determined to erect a Liberty Pole. Judge William Wilson, of Chillisquaque, and Judge Macpherson, of Dry Valley, determined to prevent it. They called on Daniel Montgomery, also a justice, to assist them. He told them he would pull at the rope if the people required it. He went with them, but rendered no assistance. A fight took place. Judge Wilson read the "riot act," as he called it, but no attention was paid to it. One man presented a musket at the Judge, but he drew his pistol and made him put down his gun under the penalty of having his brains blown out. They arrested the Judge, but he would give no bail and they were afraid to lock him up. In the melee Jasper Ewing* drew his pistol and snapped it at William Cooke.

The arsenal, where the public arms were stored, stood near, and was under the charge of Robert Irwin. The pole was driven full of nails to the height of ten feet from the ground, so that it could not be cut down.

The insurrectionists, or whiskey party, took possession of the arsenal and distributed arms to those who were opposed to the law. Matters became serious and for a time it looked as if blood would be shed. A guard was kept near the pole night and day. Those friendly to the Government could not stand the outrage any longer and were determined to protect the house of John

* For report of the case see I. Yeates, 419.

Brady,* who was the district marshal. The swords of the officers, which had been sheathed since the war, were drawn from their scabbards again to protect the Government. As the excitement increased a collision seemed inevitable if something decisive was not done. In a few days, however, a company of ninety men, under command of Captain Robert Cooke, arrived from Lancaster. The pole was still guarded, and the marshal's orders to clear the streets were unheeded. The mob, being well armed, seemed determined to maintain the position it had taken. Captain Cooke ordered them to disperse, but as they did not obey, he ordered his company to charge at the point of the bayonet. The order was carried out and the bayonets were at the breasts of those who were resisting the law, when they broke and fled. An axe was called for to cut the pole down. Barney Hoobley's wife came with one, when she was met by Jacob Welker's wife, who resisted her, and a desperate fisticuff ensued between these two women about the axe. The battle was a hard contested one, but Mrs. Hoobley, who was the least of the two, succeeded, and the pole was cut down. These ladies were sisters and much respected by the people.

Several of the ringleaders in this insurrection were arrested and conveyed to Philadelphia to stand their trial for resisting the laws of the United States. The following were tried, convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of £100 each, and undergo an imprisonment of six months: Robert Irwin, Daniel Montgomery, John Frick, William Bonham, James Mackey, Sr., and S. McKee.

When they were marched into the presence of General Washington the old hero was so affected that he shed tears. He pardoned them all at the end of twenty days, and they returned home deeply impressed with the goodness and magnanimity of that great man.

John Quigley was one of the earliest settlers on what is known as the "Youngwomanstown Farm," embraced in the Thomas Robinson survey, patented and signed by Benjamin Franklin,

*He was the son of Captain John Brady, who was killed by the Indians near Muncy April 11, 1779. He was elected sheriff of Northumberland County that year and served his term of three years, retiring at the close of 1797, and was succeeded by Robert Irwin, one of the rioters.

President of the Supreme Executive Council, and dated 1785. Here he lived and died, and here his son Michael* was born and continued to live until his death, February 16, 1888, in the 82d year of his age. Michael Quigley, his grandfather, located in what is now Wayne Township, Clinton County, soon after peace was restored, where he purchased a large tract of land lying on the river. His descendants still live in Wayne Township.

Just west of the bustling railroad town of Renovo—which was founded long after the period of which we write—is a place called Shintown. A man named Long settled there about 1790, and after he abandoned it George Hunter succeeded him. He lived there until 1806 or 1807, when he moved west and was succeeded by David Drake and David Summerson. The name is legendary, being derived from an Indian chief called "Shin," or "Shene." The warrant for the land is in the name of "Shene" and is dated 1785.

According to John S. Bailey the first settlement was made at the mouth of Kettle Creek by Richard Gilmore. The pre-emption warrant is dated July 21, 1785, in Pine Creek Township, Northumberland County, for 300 acres of land. Gilmore deeded the same to William McComb October 12, 1793, for the consideration of fifty pounds in gold, and McComb deeded the same to William Andrews May 3, 1794, for £260 in gold and silver, and Andrews deeded the same to James Caldwell January 23, 1796, in consideration of one yoke of three-year-old oxen, one milch cow, and £95 of gold and silver. Caldwell was a Revolutionary soldier who remained in active service until peace was proclaimed. He was born in Lancaster County and removed from there to Warrior Run, and from there to Youngwomanstown. After remaining there for two years he finally removed to Kettle Creek, now Westport. He had ten children, four sons and six daughters—William, James, John, Andrew, Polly, Jane, Nancy, Betsy, Sarah and Hetty. He died about the year 1819, and his children are also all dead. James lived to be over 90 years old.

*He was appointed a justice of the peace by Governor Wolf in 1830, at the age of 23, being the first commissioned justice on the West Branch west of Lock Haven. He was continuously re-elected until the close of his life, having held the office for 58 years. During his term of service he married over 150 couples.

What is known as Cook's Run was settled early by James McGinley, perhaps about the time of the Revolution. It was known for many years as McGinley's* Bottom. The land was claimed by pre-emption right, and the warrant was dated August 2, 1785. The patent was issued in the name of William Cook, under Governor Mifflin, and dated March 26, 1795. Cook purchased the land of the McGinley heirs. He subsequently sold the property to Samuel Harris, of Loyalsock Township, and he sold it to John Carskadden, May 6, 1795, and Carskadden sold to John Baird, May 7, 1810. Baird came from New Jersey and found the place almost a wilderness, only a few acres being cleared, with a small log hut on it. He was a remarkable man, a man of energy, of fine physique, distinguished for his endurance, perseverance and firmness. By his industry he made the wilderness blossom like the rose. He lived there for over forty years, and raised a family of six children, all daughters.

As early as 1776 the tavern kept by George McCandlish, on the present site of Milton, together with the dwelling and blacksmith shop of Marcus Hulings, constituted quite a settlement. Possibly there were a few other cabins or buildings. That it was regarded as a point of some importance is inferred from the fact that on the 8th of July, 1776, an election for delegates to the Constitutional Convention was held at the house of McCandlish. These buildings were all burned by the Indians during the invasion of 1778. After this the place remained a ruin until late in the fall of 1779, when Andrew Straub came from Lancaster County, and liking the location, concluded to settle there. He was an active, sober, industrious man, and a mill-wright and miller by trade. He at once erected a house and brought his family to the new settlement. There they lived until 1793, when he erected a larger and more comfortable dwelling. Meanwhile, about 1792, he had

*About the time of the first settlements Nathaniel Coulter, a dissolute character, visited Kettle Creek and made the acquaintance of an Indian who had a very fine horse. They were traveling together one day, sociably, when he killed the Indian for his horse, which he came riding home and related his adventure. A man named McKinley, who claimed to be a wood ranger and an officer having authority, arrested Coulter for murder, and was taking him to jail, when he escaped, as he no doubt intended he should, as McKinley kept his horse and watch. Coulter was never heard of again.—*Maynard's Clinton County*, page 199.

planned and prepared to build a mill for the convenience of the settlers. When it was completed it gave the place such importance in the eyes of the settlers that they called it "Mill Town," which was afterwards shortened to Milton. The country filled up with settlers rapidly and the mill was largely patronized. Straub, in partnership with a man named Yentzler, purchased the land from the insolvent estate of Colonel Turbutt Francis, and in a short time he purchased the share of his partner and became sole owner. In 1793 Straub employed a surveyor and had a town laid out, and Milton soon became a small village. In 1795 James Black, who had purchased land adjoining, laid it out in lots, and the two plots of Straub and Black became known as Upper and Lower Milton. The new town steadily grew and prospered. Dr. Daniel Faulkner was the first physician to open an office; Daniel Smith, son-in-law of Samuel Wallis, was the first lawyer, having settled there in 1793. Dr. James Dougal, the second doctor, came in 1795, and was soon followed by William and Thomas Pollock, Robert Taggart, Samuel Hepburn, John Armstrong and many others. The Episcopalians had a log church as early as 1795, and in 1796 James Black built a stone dwelling house, which was looked upon as a very superior structure. It afterwards became the property of William and Thomas Pollock, and is now owned by ex-Governor James Pollock. In 1798 the town had grown to such proportions that a fire company was formed and hooks and ladders were purchased. Dr. James Dougal built the second stone house in 1803. It is still standing and is now owned and occupied by Dr. Charles Dougal, a descendant. Andrew Straub died in August, 1806, but the town he had founded continued to grow and flourish until it has become one of the most beautiful and progressive on the river. The first post-office was established at Milton* January 1, 1800, and Samuel Hepburn was the first postmaster. He was succeeded by Jared Irwin, July 1, 1802.

On the 8th of January, 1794, a special election was held for a State Senator to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of William Montgomery. William Hepburn was elected by sixty-four majority over Rosewell Wells, for the unexpired term. The Senatorial district consisted of Northumberland, Luzerne and

*Milton was not incorporated as a borough until February 26, 1817.

Mifflin counties, and two Senators were chosen for the term of four years. Northumberland County was entitled to three members of Assembly.

Soon after taking his seat Senator Hepburn introduced a bill for the erection of a new county, to be called Lycoming. A division was called for by the people living above Muncy Hills, because of the distance from the county seat and the delays they were often subjected to on traveling back and forth. Several large streams had to be crossed, and when they were swollen the crossing was dangerous. The bill passed and was signed by Governor Mifflin April 13, 1795. The bill is very long and specific. The county at that time embraced a vast territory, from which the following counties, in whole or in part, were afterwards formed: Armstrong, Bradford, Centre, Clearfield, Clinton, Jefferson, McKean, Potter, Sullivan, Tioga, Venango and Warren.

In accordance with the requirements of the act, Governor Mifflin immediately appointed John Kidd prothonotary, recorder of deeds and clerk of the several courts. On the following day, April 14th, Samuel Wallis, Senator William Hepburn, John Adlum and Dr. James Davidson were appointed associate judges, and they were sworn into office by Prothonotary Kidd on the 15th. The associates soon afterwards met at Jaysburg and organized by choosing William Hepburn president, and the first court was thus opened.

After the erection of the county of Lycoming a great strife immediately ensued for the location of the county seat. Jaysburg* and Newberry† both contended for that honor, but Judge Hep-

* William Paul laid warrant No. 1 on the site of Jaysburg. It is dated October 26, 1785. He sold the land to Abram Latcha, by deed dated December 1, 1787. Jacob Latcha, his eldest son, afterwards became the owner and had a town laid out early in 1795 by William Ellis, the deputy surveyor, and named it Jaysburgh, probably in honor of John Jay, a leading statesman at that time. Many lots were sold, houses erected, shops opened, and for a time it promised to become a place of note. But the selection of Williamsport killed the project and Jaysburg went into decline and in course of time ceased to exist. It is now embraced in the Seventh Ward of the city of Williamsport.

† Newberry, now in the Seventh Ward of Williamsport, was laid out by John Sutton. He purchased the land from Richard Penn in 1786. The tract was called New Garden. Henry Ellis made the survey for the town and drafted the lots. An old deed bearing date May 3, 1798, recites that John Sutton "hath laid out a parcel

burn, who owned a fine farm called "Deer Park," east of Lycoming Creek, thought it should be located on his side of the stream. The first court was held at Jaysburg, at the house of Thomas Caldwell, as well as one or two subsequent sessions. Jacob Latcha erected a building for a jail. It was 16x24 and constructed of hewn logs, lined with four-inch plank inside, spiked on vertically, and the windows were iron-barred. The last session of court was held in one of the rooms of the jail.

John Dunlap opened a hotel in 1798, and the following young lawyers, who had opened offices in Jaysburg, boarded with him: Henry D. Ellis, John Teeple, Robert McClure and Charles Huston.

In the meantime the struggle between the rival parties for the county seat went on, and the year passed without the vexatious question being decided.

The next place selected for holding court was at the house, or barn, of Eleanor Winters, which stood near the present corner of West Fourth and Rose streets, Williamsport. It was in this court that Judge Hepburn is said to have got off the bench to physically punish an impertinent witness. It appears by the records that on the 11th of September, 1797, the commissioners issued an order to pay Mrs. Winters \$30 rent for holding three courts. After this court appears to have moved still further east, for on the 1st of February, 1798, the commissioners issued an order that James Russell, the first inn-keeper on the site of Williamsport (corner of East Third and Mulberry streets), be paid £7 19s. 4½d for the use of a room in his house for holding court at the December and January terms, 1797 and 1798. Another change of location again took place, for on May 4, 1799, Thomas Huston was paid \$43.02 for the rent of his house for holding court. The house stood on the corner of West Fourth and Pine streets. It was constructed of logs, and was only torn down a few years ago to make room for the stately brick block which now occupies the ground.

of said tract in a town which he calleth New Berry." The new town flourished for a time, and before Williamsport was founded it did the mercantile business for the surrounding country. As many of the settlers in and about the place came from New Berry, in York County, they gave the new town the same name.

While the court was moving around without a local habitation, the county seat war was continued. It was asserted by the Jaysburg advocates that the Williamsport site was a swamp and subject to inundations as far up as what is now Market Square. The commissioners deemed this a damaging charge and hesitated about making the selection. If this charge could be proved they would be justified in selecting Jaysburg. The fight now waxed so hot that the Jaysburg party dispatched a messenger to Northumberland to get the deposition of a man who it was said had sometime before brought a barrel of whiskey to Williamsport in a canoe, and "tied up" at a point on what is now East Third and State streets. The deposition was obtained and brought to the "Russell Inn," where the messenger put up for the night, leaving the important document in his saddle bags. That night some of the Williamsport party succeeded in capturing the saddle bags, and next morning they were found cut open, and the deposition, which was to turn the scale in favor of Jaysburg, was missing.

In the meantime Michael Ross, the owner of the land on which it was proposed to found the town, urged by Judge Hepburn,* offered superior inducements for the county seat by proposing to donate the land for the public buildings, and the commissioners, impatient and wearied over the quarrel, accepted the offer and selected Williamsport.† This was in the latter part of the year 1796.

Williamsport, as originally laid out by Michael Ross, the founder, contained one hundred acres, which is but a small part of the present city limits. The origin of the name has often been a source of perplexity. By some it is claimed that Michael Ross

*It is related that in 1810, during a high flood in the river, a citizen of Jaysburg poled his canoe to Williamsport and tied it to the gable end of a house which stood on Pine street above the canal. He then drew a chalk line on the building, level with the water, and drawing a semi-circle above it, wrote this legend: "This shows what Judge Hepburn's oath is worth." The inscription remained there for several years. Since that time there have been much greater floods than this one—notably those of March, 1865, and June 1, 1889.

†Williamsport was not incorporated as a borough until March 1, 1806. And from the best information at hand it appears that the population of the town, at the beginning of 1800, did not exceed 200 inhabitants. It was incorporated as a city in 1866, and its population to-day will probably reach 35,000.

named it William's Port after his son William. This view is still maintained by the descendants of Mr. Ross. On the other hand it is asserted that inasmuch as Judge William Hepburn, who was a member of the State Senate from Northumberland County should be accorded the honor. He was largely interested in selecting the site for the county seat, and the first settlers proposed to call the new town Hepburn's Port. To this he objected, and suggested William's Port, which was finally accepted, and the transition to "Williamsport," in a short time, was easy. General Samuel Stewart, who was the first sheriff of the county, is authority for the second version. However it may be, it is clear that the title had its origin in the word William, whether it was in honor of William Ross or William Hepburn.

Notwithstanding Sunbury was a place of more military and civil importance than Northumberland, the latter place was honored with the first post-office in the county. An office was ordered to be established there by the Government on the 1st of April, 1796, and John Cowden was appointed postmaster. He served until January 26, 1837, a period of forty-one years, when he was succeeded by William Forsyth. For several years the residents of the West Branch Valley, as far up as the settlements extended, received their mail matter at Northumberland. And going to the post-office in those days, when thirty, forty, and even fifty miles travel were involved, was no small job. One person, however, was generally selected to make the journey and secure the mail matter for an entire neighborhood.

Sunbury soon began to feel the necessity of having a post-office of her own, and on the 20th of September, 1796, a public meeting was called for the purpose of discussing the proposition, when the following petition* was drawn up, signed and forwarded to the department at Washington:

At a meeting of a respectable number of the Inhabitants of Sunbury in the county of Northumberland, it was unanimously the opinion of the meeting that the people of the said town labor under very great expence & inconvenience by not having a post office established in the town of Sunbury aforesaid, particularly as the public officers of the County reside in the said town & when dispatches are forwarded to them by

*A copy of the petition was recently found among the papers of Charles Hall, Esq., and is now in the hands of W. Coleman Hall, Esq., a grandson, of Hartley Hall.

the government they are under the necessity of paying ferriage over the river Susquehanna to Northumberland town where the mail is now opened, by which the public business is frequently retarded in very great degree; every private individual is under the necessity of paying a greater sum for his ferriage across the river to Northumberland than the postage of a letter from Philadelphia.

It is therefore resolved that Charles Hall, Esq., be appointed to address a letter to Timothy Pickering, Esq. enclosing this paper & requesting on behalf of the inhabitants of said town to appoint some respectable character residing in said town, Deputy Postmaster to act in the premises.

And it is further resolved that Charles Gobin would be a proper person to act as postmaster aforesaid.

[Signed.]

FLAVEL ROAN,	JOHN COWEN,
HENRY VANDERSLEVE,	WM. GRAY,
MARTIN KENDIG,	J. EWING, JR.
WM. BERGHON,	

The petition was responded to by the appointment of Robert Gray as postmaster on the 1st of January, 1797. It nowhere appears why he was selected instead of the person named by the petitioners. Mr. Gray only held the office until October 1, 1798, when he was succeeded by John Weitzell, who held it until July 1, 1802.

The next post-office established in the valley was at Williamsport, on the 12th of August, 1799, and Samuel E. Grier was appointed postmaster. He held the office for a short time when he was succeeded by Henry Hughes.

On the 1st of April, 1800, an office was ordered to be opened at Muncy,* with Henry Shoemaker as postmaster. He held the office until January 13, 1803, when James Boal was appointed.

Having brought the history of the valley down to the close of 1799 and the beginning of 1800, our work is now finished. If the modern history is ever brought up to the present time, it must be embraced in another volume. Whoever undertakes the task will have abundance of material, and it will be interesting to describe the wonderful improvements that have been made in this mag-

* There is nothing on file in the department at Washington to show that an office existed here prior to this date. It is possible that mail matter was received here by private means before this time, as there was a large population to be served.

nificent valley in a period of ninety years. At the close of the last century the population of the West Branch Valley scarcely exceeded fifteen thousand; it is now over one hundred thousand. The progress of less than a century has been so great that one can scarcely realize what has been accomplished. Settlements that were mere hamlets when our history closes have grown into stately boroughs and dignified and populous cities. Many beautiful and thrifty towns now exist that were not thought of at the beginning of 1800.

Fort Augusta, the greatest defensive work in this part of the State, and a place of refuge for settlers fleeing from the savages in the dark days of 1778-9, when a pall of gloom hung over this lovely land, has long since disappeared, and the old magazine and a grave-yard are the only relics that remain to mark its ancient site. Not a vestige of Fort Freeland remains. A brick house, now stained by the touch of time, marks the spot upon which the historic stockade was erected. The plowshare of the husbandman now stirs the ground where Fort Muncy stood, and a stately elm is all that remains to mark the living spring that supplied the garrison with water. Not a trace of Antes, Horn's and other forts remain to tell the story of their existence. A higher civilization is the mighty force that has been the silent but sure factor in bringing about the changes of a hundred years, and the refining influences of education and morality have gradually elevated the people to the higher plane upon which they now move.

The music of the steam whistle is heard upon every hand; the tall chimney of the manufactory and the church spire are the indexes of progress, improvement and moral force. The valley is traversed by railroads, upon which splendidly equipped trains move up and down every few hours, bearing hundreds of travelers to and fro, and the rich products of agriculture to market. Finely constructed roads have taken the place of Indian trails, and the birch bark canoe has been superseded by the steamboat.

Great, indeed, have been the changes that time has wrought in this lovely valley which was baptized in blood a little more than a hundred years ago. All that remains of the rude and savage race that once peopled it, and claimed it as their home, are the stone relics now found in antiquarian collections.

There is no lovelier vale in the State than this region, so abundantly blessed by the hand of nature. Mountains rear their peaks on every hand as sentinels to protect the valleys which lie at their feet. The scenery is diversified, picturesque and entrancing. Travelers are enraptured with its beauties and never grow tired of extolling its glories. The valley is indeed a rural paradise, an elysian home, where a progressive, enterprising and cultured people dwell, surrounded by all the comforts that prosperity can confer upon them; and a glorious future lies before them if they continue true to themselves and always put their trust in God.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

INDEX.

- Audastes, The, 14, 16.
Andras, Governor, 35.
After the Council, Poem, 50.
Ancient Fortification, 66.
Antiquities, Indian, 59, 60, 71, 72, 81, 83, 84.
Axes, Indian, 73.
Armstrong, Col. John, 87, 297.
Alumoppees, 116, 118.
Augusta, Fort, 161; Provisions at, 172; Why so Named, 177; Diagram of, 178; Description of, 179; Report of Stores at, 266, 267; Magazine at, 269; Cannon at, 305, 307, 308.
Armstroog, Betty, 243.
Atlee, Lt. Samuel, 249.
Allen, George, 294.
Awi, Dr. R. H., 307.
Allison, Dr. Francis, 334.
Armstrong, Andrew, 403; Capture of, 491.
Antes, Joseph, 470.
Antes, Col. Henry, 470; Sketch of, 484, 625.
Adlum, John, 686, 696.
Associate Judges of Lycoming, 696.
Bay, Chesapeake, 5.
Blue Hill, 7.
Brule, Etienne, 13.
Boone, Hawkins, 45.
Blacksmith Shop at Shamokin, 139.
Bath, Indian Vapor, 55.
Bald Eagle Creek, Indian Name of, 79.
Brauerd, Rev. David, 113, 516.
Barbara Leininger, 143.
Burd, Col. James, 168, 184; Sketch of, 188; Journal of, 189, 265, 278, 282.
Bloody Spring, 174, 206.
Blythe, Lt., 289, 290; Sketch of, 311.
Bouquet, General, 289.
Battle of Muncy Hills, 291.
Burt, Larry, 340.
Bard, Peter, 293.
Brady, Captain John, 319; Upsets Barrel of Whiskey, 477; Death of, 562; Grave of, 564; Cenotaph, 566.
Bonser, Joseph, 334.
Bald Eagle Survey, 335, 336, 337.
Boggs, Andrew, 455.
Benjamin Family, Murder of, 487.
Big Runaway, 508.
Berry, Captain, 520.
Bodæ, Juda, 521; Flight of, 524.
Brady, James, Scalped, 546; Death of, 548; History of, 548; Anecdote of, 548.
Brady, Hugh, 548; Marriage of, 564.
Brady Family, History of, 567 to 585.
Boone, Captain, Death of, 598.
Brady, Capt. Sam, 599.
Boatman, Claudius, 640.
Burwell, How Saved by Van Campen, 650; His Wound, 653.
Boyd, Capt. John, How Rescued, 659, 660; Death of, 661.
Brooks, John, 662.
Biddle, Charles, 666.
Black Hole Valley, Origin of the Name of, 669.
Bryson, Rev. John, 677.
Cambria County, 1.
Canoe Place, 1.
Champlain, 16.
Chillisquaque Creek, Origin of Name, 60, 449.
Camp, Warrior, 63.
Creek, White Deer, 64.
Carving, Indian, 81.
Cammerhoff, Bishop, 119.
Clapham, Col., Builds Fort Augusta, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 169, 175; Sketch of, 184.
Craig, Isaac, 243.
Chinlacamoose, 272, 412.
Chilloway, Joh, 276, 288, 407.
Crowfoot, Description of, 287.
Cotties, Jem, Killed, 293.
Clayton, Major, 303.
Cool, Simon, 367, 498.
Cleary, Campbell, 380.
Court, First at Sunbury, 388.
Cameron, Col. James, 393.
Connecticut Troubles, 420, 421.
Chambers, Stephen, 448.
Caldwell, Bratton, 463.
Constitutional Convention, Proceedings of, 474.
Culbertson, Andrew, 481.
Cook, Col. William, Sketch of, 481.
Covenhoven, Robert, 506; Origin of Name, 538, 554, 594; Sketch of, 614.
Committee of Safety, Names of, 478.
Cabins of Settlers, How Built, 507.

- Coryell's Ferry, 525.
 Clark, William, Letter of, 626.
 Campen, Maj. Moses Van, 643; Adventures of, 544; Kills Five Indians, 645; Battle on Bald Eagle, 648; Capture of, 649.
 Culbertson, William, Where Killed, 649.
 Craton, Cruel Death of, 649.
 Church, Warrior Run, 674.
 Chillisquaque Church, 677.
 Constitution of 1790 Adopted, 686.
 Caldwell, James, 693.
 Cook's Run, 694.
 Coulter, Nathaniel, Kills an Indian, 694.
 Courts, First Held in Lycoming, 697.
 Deed, Dongan to Penn, 20.
 Deed, Indian, for Susquehanna Lands, 26.
 Dongan, Governor, 33.
 Dowdy, William, Last Indian, 83.
 Diadachton Creek, 107.
 Death of Logan's Child, 131.
 Denny, William, Sketch of, 175.
 Districts, Surveyors of, 342.
 Drinker, Henry, Letter of, 360.
 Dunn, William, 368, 369.
 Dougherty, Henry, 403, 469.
 Derr, Ludwig, 430.
 Durham, Mrs. Margaret, Scalped, 550; History of, 551.
 Daugherty, William, Family of, 600, 601.
 Derickson, Mrs. Mary V., 610; Sketch of, 612.
 Driesbach, Daniel, Anecdote of, 613.
 Dickinson, John, 666.
 Doyle, Samuel, 680; Arrested and Tried, 681; Incident in His Life, 685.
 Dash, Mrs., 689.
 Dougal, Dr. James, 695.
 Etienne, Brule, 13.
 Ettewein, Bishop, Journal of, 405; Sketch of, 406; Remarkable Journal, 406; Arrival at Wallis', 410.
 Eagle, Bald, Congregation of, 454; The Nest, 455, 547.
 Eeltown, Where Located, 637.
 Ellis, Henry D, 697.
 Fortification, Ancient, 66, 67, 68.
 Fish Caught by Zeisberger, 123.
 French, Invasion of, 214.
 Francis, Turbutt, Petition of, 328; Board of Property, 329; Sketch of, 338, 438.
 Fiddler Tract, 334.
 Ferguson, Thomas, 403.
 Freeland, Jacob, 429, 542.
 Fithian, Rev. Philip Vickers, Journal of, 432.
 Fleming, John, 451; His Daughter Betsy, 451.
 Fair Play, Account of, 462, 463; Anecdote of, 470.
 Fort Muncy, 483, 536.
 Forts, Locality of, 482, 483, 484.
 Fourth of July, Declaration of, on Pine Creek, 471.
 Fleming, Andrew, Murder of, 505.
 Fort Freeland, Attack on, 594; Surrender of, 596; Description of, 610; Tomahawk Found at, 613.
 Floods, Great, 670.
 Gray, David, 49.
 Grant, Farm of, 59.
 Graves, Indian, Opened, 58, 124.
 Gerner, J. M. M., Antiquities, 71; Money Raised for Brady Cenotaph, 566.
 Grave-yard, Indian, 78, 82.
 Great Island, 80; Purchase of, 368; Number of Acres, 370.
 Gordon, Governor, 92.
 Grube, Bernhard Adam, 134.
 Gabriel, George, Death of, 154.
 Graydon, Lt. Col., 215, 277, 283, 289, 290.
 Garraway, Lt., 229.
 Gordon, Captain, 270.
 Glade Run, 371.
 Galloway, Joseph, Letter of, 375.
 Grain, Scarcity of, 450.
 Grave-yard, Lycoming, Founded, 505.
 Great Runaway, 508.
 Guffey, Family of, 551.
 Grove, Peter, Pursuit of Indians, 661; Battle With on Sinnemahoning, 663; History of, 664; Death of, 635.
 Hiokatoo, 45.
 Hunter, Farm of, 57.
 Hendricks, Benjamin, Antiquities, 58.
 House, First at Shamokin, 115.
 Hagen, John, Death of, 118.
 Hamilton, James, 132, 282.
 Harris, John, Escape of, 153, 303, 402.
 Holland, Luke, 155, 283.
 Hambright, Col., Expedition of, 180; Diagram of March, 181; Sketch of, 182.
 Hollaud, Nathaniel, 278, 284.
 Hunter, Lt. Samuel, 284, 290, 447, 472, 480, 506; Appeal of, 509, 549, 606, 636.
 Huff, Edmund, 335, 465.
 Hays, Lt. James, 356, 442.
 Hartley Hall, 345.
 Hall, Charles, 361; Mansion of, 365; 394, 395.
 Hamilton, John, 380.
 Hughes, John, James and Thomas, 403, 468.
 Haines, Reuben, 426.
 Hammond, David, 473.
 Hamilton's Great Run, 492.
 Hosterman, Col., 494, 524.
 Hepburn, William, 495, 506; Elected Senator, 695.
 Hartley, Col., Address of, 552; Sketch of, 500.
 Hullings, Marcus, Great Jump of, 621.
 Henry, McHenry, 622.

- Hamilton, Alexander, 627.
 Hamilton, Robert, Family of, 628.
 Hamilton, Mrs. Anna, Sketch of, 630.
 Hessians, Tradition of, 637.
 Henderson, Cruel Murder of, 653, 654.
 Howell, William, Reminiscences, 682.
 Huston, Thomas, 697.
 Huston, Charles, 697.
 Indian, Towns of, 52, 61, 82.
 Indian Vapor Baths, 55.
 Island, Great, 80, 82, 302; Diagram of, 36.
 Indian Paths, Where Located, 89.
 Island, Long, 122.
 Indian Carving, 81.
 Independence, Celebration of, at Pine
 Creek, 471.
 Indian Massacre at Williamsport, 495.
 Indian, Atrocious Murder of, 518.
 Indians, Number Employed by the Eng-
 lish, 549.
 Indian Purchases, Map of, 668.
 Jemison, Thomas, 39.
 Jemison, Mary, History of, 39; Where
 Buried, 47.
 Jury, Remarkable, List of, 377.
 Jail, First at Sunbury, 379.
 Jersey Shore, Why so Named, 412.
 Jones, Charles, 646.
 Jones, Horatio, First Meets Van Campen,
 654, 655.
 Jaysburg, When Laid Out, 696.
 Kettle Creek, 87; Town of, 302; First
 Settler, 693.
 Kieffer, The Blacksmith, 139.
 King, Jacob, 142; Where Killed, 143.
 King, Families of, 403, 404.
 King, William, 494; Escape of, 497; Sketch
 of, 502.
 King, Ruth and Sarah, Captivity and Res-
 cue of, 500; History of, 501.
 Kirk, William, Escape of, 596.
 Kelly, Colonel, 606; Sketch of, 623.
 Kempfing, Capt. Thomas, Murder of, 636.
 Kilnesmith, Family of, 639.
 Kidd, John, Appointed Prothonotary, 696.
 Lands on Susquehanna, 26.
 Loyalsock, Indian Name of, 74.
 Lycoming Creek, 77; Indian Name of, 94,
 106; Massacre at, 495.
 Long Reach, 77.
 Limplug Messenger, 106.
 Logan, James, 111.
 Logan, Son of Stakellimy, 131.
 LeRoy, Miss, Capture of, 142.
 Levinger, Barbara, 142, 151.
 Lloyd, Capt. Thomas, 219.
 Lukens, John, 293.
 Loudon, Archibald, Narratives of, 292.
 Land Grants to Officers, 319.
 Larry's Creek, Origin of Name, 340.
 Lukens, John, 323; Sketch of, 341.
 Last Manor Survey, 328.
 Liancourt, Count, 333.
 Land Office Opened, 340, 342, 343.
 Love, Robert, 381.
 Linden, 411.
 Logan's Child, Death of, 131.
 Long, Col. Cookson, 488.
 Lebo, Henry, Sketch of, 565.
 Lytle, Captain, Return of, 609.
 Lee, John, Murder of, 640.
 Lee, Mrs., Cruel Murder of, 641.
 Lee, Thomas, Captivity of, 642.
 Last Indian, 83.
 Lawson's Island, 672.
 Liancourt, Duke, Impressions of Sunbury
 and Northumberland, 689, 690.
 Lycoming County Erected, 696.
 Monsey Indians, 18, 85.
 Mohawks, 35.
 Minquas, Susquehanna, 36.
 Montour, Andrew, 63, 102; His Reserve, 322.
 Muncy Valley, 64.
 Mound, Sepulchral, 69, 70, 104.
 McMinn, J. H., Antiquities of, 76.
 Margaret, Queen, Town of, 77, 135, 272.
 McCloskey, J. T., 81.
 Martin, D. A., 83; Collection of, 84.
 Madam Montour, 102.
 Muncy Creek, Indian Name of, 65, 106.
 Mack, Martin, 112, 121; Last Visit of, 133.
 Morris, Robert Hunter, 137.
 Massacre on Penn's Creek, 152, 153.
 Morris, Governor, 161.
 Miles, Lt. Samuel, Sketch of, 173.
 Morgan, Dr. John, 202.
 McKee, Thomas, 232.
 Muncy Hills, Battle of, 391.
 Monseytown Destroyed, 302.
 Martin, Robert, 324.
 Manor of Pointret, Diagram of, 325.
 Maclay, William, 334; House of, 396, 397,
 423; Sketch of, 588.
 Maclay, Samuel, 335, 686.
 Mullin, Dennis, 371, 375.
 Muncy Creek, Surveys on, 372.
 McElhattan, William, 381, 382.
 McMeen, William, 403.
 Montgomery, John, 431, 598.
 McKinney, Mordecai, Family of, 460, 461,
 513.
 McBride, Murder of, 469.
 Mills, White Deer, 472.
 McKnight, Mrs., Escape of, 551; Husband
 of, 586.
 McDonald, Capt. John and Alexander,
 History of, 603 to 606; Horse Abandoned,
 605.

- McCormick, R. H., Joke on, 613.
Muncy Fort, Last Trace of, 638.
Muncy Post-Office, 700.
Mohawk, John, Escape of, 645; Tomahawk of, 646; Description of, 647.
Milesburg, 455.
McIntosh Fort, Treaty at, 667.
Milton, Why so Named, 695; First Post-Office, 695.
McClure, Robert, 697.
North Branch, Source of, 1.
Nations, Five, 17.
Nitschman, Anna, 97.
Newcastle's Daughter, 233.
Nuttinus, Joseph, 57, 244, 253.
Newhaleeka, Chief, 299, 412, 637.
Northumberland County Formed, 385; First Court, 387; Townships of, 388; First Grand Jury, 389.
Nagle, George, Sheriff, 389, 393.
Northumberland, When Laid Out, 425, 446.
New Jersey Emigrants, 475.
Neilson, William, 663.
Newberry, When Laid Out, 697.
Otsego Lake, 5.
Otzinachson, Origin of Name, 6; Ode to, 10, 101.
Otsuagy, 74.
Otstenwaken, 74, 121.
Old Town Point, 79, 81, 334, 665.
Orndt, Capt. Jacob, Curious Letter of, 279, 281.
Old Cannon, Sunbury, 308.
Penu, William, 23.
Pipes, Indian, 71, 72.
Pottery, Indian, 85.
Paths, Indian, 89.
Powell, Joseph, Sketch of, 115.
Post, Frederick, 117, 372.
Pyrleus, John Christian, 127.
Penn's Creek, Attack on, 141.
Proclamation, Morris, 157.
Patterson, Captain, 221, 294, 296, 302, 315.
Penn, John, 306, 314, 327.
Pine Creek Lands, 383; Tragedy at, 492.
Proctor, Thomas, 384.
Punxsutawney, Origin of Name, 418.
Penn, Richard, 422.
Plunkett, Col. William, 386; First Judge, 387; Expedition Against Muncy and Wyoming, 424, 425, 440, 472; Sketch of, 686.
Priestley, Dr. Joseph, 427.
Paradise, Settlement of, 431.
Piper, Capt. William, 441.
Potter, Gen. James, 457, 472.
Peace, Justices of, 473.
Persons Scalped, Number of, 577.
Pence, Peter, 645, 659.
Pike, His Indian Fight, 645.
Purchases, Indian, Map of, 668.
Post-Office, Sunbury, 699; Petition for, 700.
Quiggley, A. J., Poem of, 9, 86.
Queen Margaret's Town, 77.
Quenishbachschackkl, 77, 133, 411.
Quiggle, Thomas, 382.
Quiggle, S. N., 383; Curious Receipt of, 383.
Quiggle, Mary, History of, 580; Children of, 582.
Quinn, Samuel, 624.
Quigley, John, 692.
Reach, Long, 77.
Roads, History of, 399, 400, 401.
Rattlesnakes, Great Numbers of, 110, 418.
Robb, Robert, 480.
Revolution, War of the, 481.
Reed, Mrs., 578.
Reynolds, Captain, 520.
Reed, Joseph, 560.
Robinson, Capt., 623, 624; Rebuilds Fort Muncy, 636; Sketch of, 638.
Reed, Mungo, 330.
Ross, Michael, 698.
Shkellimy, J. S.; Grave of, 58, 59; Town of, 61, 98; Death of, 124; Sketch of, 125; Poem on, 130.
Seneca Indians, 18.
Susquehanna, Lands on, 26.
Susquehannocks, 32.
Shamokin, How Written, 56, 92; Destroyed, 159.
Spangenberg, Bishop, 63, 105.
Shad, Indian Mode of Catching, 79.
Sinnemahoning, Origin of Name, 87.
Skeletons, Indian, 87, 88, 89.
Schebosh, John Joseph, 105.
Snakes, Rattle, 110, 418.
Smithshop, Moravian, at Shamokin, 117.
Schmidt, Anton, Blacksmith, 116.
Sassoonan, King, 116.
Scarroyady, 157.
Shippen, Joseph, 222.
Shkellimy, John, 277, 283.
Stump, Frederick, Kills Indians, 312.
Stanwix, Fort, Treaty at, 320; Last Treaty, 666.
Scull, William, Surveyor, 323.
Shamokin Island, 329; Brief of Title, 331.
Scull, Nicholas, Sketch of, 342.
Sunbury, First Laid Out, 390; Cost of Survey, 392; Why so Named, 392; Plan of, 393; Streets, Names of, 393; Description of, 447; First Court Held at, 386, 387; First Post-Office, 699.
Scudder, John, 462.
Sutton, Amariah, 466; Sketch of, 493.
Sutton, John, 467.
Smith, Charles, 467.
Smith, Catharine, 472.

- Safety, Committee of, 478; Members of, 479.
 Sweeny, Lt. James, Capture of, 497, 499.
 Schamp, David, Exploit of His Wife, 525.
 Smith, Peter, 545.
 Sheshequin, Meaning of, 553.
 Sullivan, General, Expedition of, 606, 622.
 Smith, Matthew, 609.
 Sanderson, George L., Relics Owned by, 620.
 Storm, Catharine, Tomahawked, 625.
 Smith, Hon. Isaac, 628.
 Stock Family, Murder of, 658.
 Shad, Great Haul of, 671.
 Shintown, Origin of Name, 693.
 Straub, Andrew, 694; Lays Out Milton, 695.
 Tribes, Indian, 12.
 Towns, Indian, 52, 63.
 Tomahawks, Indian, 73; Definition of, 488.
 Tulquamingy, 79.
 Trump, Capt. Levi, 204, 271, 274, 275, 276.
 Tombs, Indian, 83.
 Tiadaghton, or Pine Creek, 320.
 Townships, Judea and Charleston, 419.
 Thomson, John, 512; Where He Located, 514; Murder of, 519; Record of Birth and Death, 525; His Son, 528; Descendants of, 533.
 Thomson, Juda, Autograph of, 521, 526, 527; Bible Entry, Fac-simile of, 532.
 Thomson, John Bodine, 521.
 Totten, Mrs., 555.
 Tate, John, 625.
 Thompson, Capt. James, Capture of, 632; Escape of, 634; Death of, 635.
 Turbuttville, Origin of Name, 339.
 Treaty Lines, Map of, 668.
 Ten Brook, John, Settlement of in Black Hole Valley, 669.
 Villages, Indian, 74, 75, 79, 80, 86.
 Visit to Great Island, 122.
 Vaudreuil, Report of, 217.
 Vincent, Family of, 428.
 Vapor Baths, Indian, 55.
 Van Campen, Moses, 490; Kills Five Indians, 645; Capture of, 655; Insulting Offer by a British Officer, 655; Death of, 656; Sketch of His Family, 657.
 Vanness, Jerome, 546.
 West Branch, Length of, 1.
 Wood, Dr. George G., 12.
 Wood, Thomas, 291, 299.
 White Woman, Story of, 39.
 Whistle, Indian, 60.
 Warrior Run, 63, 106, 428.
 Weisler, Conrad, 93; Sketch of, 93; Anecdote, 127.
 White Deer Creek, 64.
 Westport, 87.
 War Paths, 89.
 White Man, First at Shamokin, 92.
 Wyoming Valley, Indian Name of, 104.
 Watteville, Bishop, 129.
 Weheeponal, 272.
 Warrior Spring, 292.
 Wiggins, Dr., Commissioned, 303, 320.
 Wallis, Samuel, 344; Built House, 345; Curious Memoranda, 346; Mill Built, 349; History of, 351; Family, 353; Death of, 354; Estate of, 356; Sheriff Sales, 359; Jurors, List of, 377; Ejectment Suits, 459, 510.
 Wallis, Joseph Jacob, 348.
 Wallis, John Lukens, 348.
 Wolverton, S. P., 397; Brief of Title, 398.
 Wyoming, Settlement of, 419.
 Watson, John L., 444.
 Wade, Nelson E., the Murderer, 469.
 Wilson, William, 473.
 Wharton, Thomas, Death of, 474.
 Wigwam, Definition of, 475.
 Winters, William, 503; Murder of Grass Cutters and Burial of, 504.
 Wyckoff, William, 519, 541, 542; Ancestry of, 544.
 Wyckoff, Peter, Family of, 537.
 Wyckoff, Joseph, Commission of, 549.
 Walker, Andrew, 547, 555; Report on Building Fort Muncy, 556; Sketch of, 557.
 Webster, Abraham, 591.
 Weltner, Colonel, 636.
 Walker, John, Murder of, 640.
 Winter, Severe, 671.
 White, Col. Hugh, Death of, 673.
 Warrior Run Church, Deed of, 674; Pew Holders, 676.
 Walker Tragedy on Pine Creek, 678; Indians killed, 684; Desperate Fight, 685.
 White, John, 686.
 Walton, Isaac and James, 687.
 Walton, Ellis, Birth of, 688; Family of, 689.
 Whiskey Insurrection at Northumberland, 691, 692.
 Winters, Eleanor, 697.
 Williamsport, When Laid Out, 698; High Flood, 698; When Made a Borough, 698; Why so Named, 699; First Post-Office, 700.
 Youngwomanstown, 86; Origin of Name, 86.
 Young, Mary, Capture of, 635.
 Zelsberger, Conrad, 63, 109, 121.
 Zinzendorf, Count, Journal of, 95; Sketch of, 95.



