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A  
SELECTION  
OF SOME  
OF THE MOST INTERESTING  
NARRATIVES  
OF  
OUTRAGES COMMITTED  
BY THE  
INDIANS  
IN  
**Their Wars**  
*WITH THE WHITE PEOPLE.*

ALSO,

An Account of their Manners, Customs, Religious Sentiments, Mode of Warfare, Military Tactics, Discipline and Encampments, Treatment of Prisoners, &c. which are better Explained, and more Minutely Related, than has been heretofore done, by any other Author on that subject. Many of the Articles have never before appeared in print. The whole Compiled from the best Authorities,

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By ARCHIBALD LOUDON.

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VOLUME II.

.....

CARLISLE:

FROM THE PRESS OF A. LOUDON.

.....

1811.

**District of Pennsylvania,** TO WIT :

\*\*\*\*\* BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the ninth day of August, in  
\* SEAL \* the Thirty Third year of the Independence of the United  
\* States of America, A. D. 1808. Archibald Loudon, of the  
said District, hath deposited in this Office, the Title of a Book, the  
Right whereof he claims as Author, in the Words following, to wit :

“ A Selection of some of the most Interesting Narratives of Outrages  
“ Committed by the Indians, in their Wars with the White People.  
“ Also, an account of their Manners, Customs, Traditions, Religious  
“ Sentiments, Mode of Warfare, Military Tactics, Discipline and En-  
“ campments, Treatment of Prisoners, &c. which are better Explained,  
“ and more Minutely Related, than has been heretofore done, by any  
“ other Author on that Subject. Many of the Articles have never  
“ before appeared in print. The whole compiled from the best Authori-  
“ ties,—By Archibald Loudon.”

In Conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, in-  
titled, “An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the  
Copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of  
such Copies during the Times therein mentioned.” And also to the  
Act entitled “An Act supplementary to Act, entitled, “An Act for the  
Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts,  
and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies during the  
Times therein mentioned,” and extending the Benefits thereof to the  
Arts of designing, engraving and etching historical and other Prints.”

D. CALDWELL, Clerk of the  
District of Pennsylvania.

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A  
*SELECTION*  
OF SOME OF THE MOST  
INTERESTING  
NARRATIVES, &c.

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INDIAN BATTLE OF WYOMING,  
IN 1778.

WYOMING, (besides being a frontier settlement during the course of the revolutionary war; constantly exposed to the inroads of the savages;) had furnished two full companies, and about 60 recruits more for the main army. All which were annexed to the Connecticut line, and armed themselves; amounting in the whole to 230 men. While thus weakened and unguarded, they were invaded by an army from Niagara, in the British service, composed of regulars, tories and Indians; of which the Indians composed the greater part.

The Indians, in the spring, began to be troublesome. Their numbers were frequently augmented by the accession of new parties. It was with the cattle, hogs, and other plunder, taken from the inhabitants, they furnished themselves with provisions. Some of the inhabitants they killed and captivated others, and destroyed much property. At length they became formidable.

The inhabitants had erected several small forts, but their principal fortress was Forty fort, in Kingston, on the west side of the river, a small distance above Wy-

oming falls. To this the inhabitants had chiefly resorted. They had sent agents to the continental army to acquaint them with their distressed situation; in consequence whereof, captain Spaulding, with about 60 or 70 men, was dispatched to their assistance. The detachment was at the time of the action about 40 miles distant. The garrison had been apprized of their march from Lancaster, but not of their proximity.

The people in garrison grew uneasy, under the insults of the invaders. The militia were formed under officers of their own, and the whole commanded by colonel Zebulon Butler, of the continental army. Col. Denison of the militia, was second in command. There was a fortification about three miles above Forty fort, called Wintermot's fort. This is stated to have been in the possession of tories, that is, of persons inimical to the revolution, and attached to the interests of Great Britain. They surrendered at the approach of the enemy, without opposition, and gave them aid; some of them entering fully into their interests. Wintermot's fort instantly became headquarters of the expedition from Canada; this was commanded by colonel John Butler, an officer on the British establishment, commandant of a party of rangers. The second in command was col. Brandt, a natural son of Sir William Johnson, by an Indian woman. Some communications by flag, had taken place between the hostile parties, previous to the battle, with propositions of compromise. The Canadians insisted on an unqualified submission to Great Britain. This the garrison peremptorily refused, and nothing was effected. The reciprocal bearers of flags, represented the army of the invaders as double the garrison in number, and still more superior in the quality of their arms.



It was debated in the garrison, whether it would be a point of prudence to hazard a sally. An officer who had been at the enemy's camp with a flag, opposed it, as did also col. Denison, and several others, and col. Butler rather declined it, but among others who were in favor of it, a certain captain, (who never lived to lament his temerity) urged it with so much vehemence, that the commandant consented. It is also added, that a Mr. Ingrasol, then in the garrison with a flag from the enemy, had been some time their captive, and was intimately acquainted with their strength, did his utmost to deter them from the rash attempt, but all in vain; and, that when he saw them turn out and parade could no longer refrain from tears.

The third day of July, in the year 1778, was the fatal day that deluged in blood the plains of Wyoming! The garrison marched off in a solid column, and met with no material obstruction, till they reached the enemy's camp, about three miles above Forty fort. Here they had the Susquehanna on the right, and a thick swamp on the left—and perceiving the enemy extended from the one to the other, ready to receive them, displayed column, which threw them in a similar position. Col. Zebulon Butler commanded the right, and was opposed by col. John Butler on the enemy's left. Col. Denison commanded on the left, and was opposed by col. Brandt, on the enemy's right. The action commenced at about forty rods distance. The air being heavy, the smoke obstructed their sight. And after the first discharge, they could only direct their aim by the flash of the enemy's guns. Little execution was done, till after several discharges. Brandt marched a party into the swamp, and flanked the militia. The enemy, now firing from under

cover of the thicket, greatly annoyed that wing. The militia dropt down very fast, and at length began to give way one after another in rapid succession, till the rout became general. The fugitives were closely pursued by the Indians, who, besides their rifles and tomahawks, were provided with long spears which they throw with great dexterity and seldom missed their object. The practice of throwing the tomahawk and spear, and taking aim, being the principal exercise to which an Indian warrior is trained.

It was impossible for men thus flying and thus pursued, to rally, nor had they a moment's time, even to load their pieces, while death was close upon every man's heel. And besides, many of them had no other weapon but a rusty musket. Flight was their only hope, and the Indians being most accustomed to running, if they could not run the fastest, could however out-wind them. The carnage, at once became general, and three fourths of the militia were killed.

According to the account of some who were present, the number that sallied out were 500, and of those who escaped the scalping knife 200. Others assert that the sortie consisted of but 385, and those which escaped were less than 100. The probability is, that between the confusion, carnage and panic of the day, the accounts are all incorrect. But by every account, about 300 able-bodied men, amounting to more than half the settlement were slain on that dismal day. A memorable day of bitterness and lamentation to the whole: but more especially so to the widows, mothers and orphans of the deceased; who, beside the pangs of grief attached to their losses, were in momentary jeopardy of being butchered themselves.

The fugitives fled in every direction. Some saved themselves by fair running—some by hiding till the darkness covered their retreat; and many by swimming the river, &c. Particular details of all individual escapes cannot be given, nor would they, perhaps, be entertaining, we shall therefore exhibit none. Some few of the enemy were killed in the pursuit; their total loss was never ascertained, but we are to presume it was small.

Forty fort was immediately evacuated. Some few of the inhabitants took British protections, and remained on their premises. The signal for a house under protection was a white cloth hung up near the door, and for a man, a white rag round the crown of his hat.

Those of the militia who escaped from the battle, hastened toward the Delaware, and on their way through the swamp, met capt. Spaulding's detachment, who, on being informed of the strength of the enemy, and deplorable condition of the settlement, judged it prudent to turn about, and retire to the settlement on the Delaware.

The road through the swamp was thronged with women and children, heavy hearted and panic struck; destitute of all the comforts of life, traveling day and night, and in continual dread of the tomahawk and scalping knife! The whole country and all the property in it, was abandoned to the savages, save only by the few who had taken British protections.

About three weeks after the battle, the scattered militia having joined Spaulding's detachment, three young men were sent into Wyoming to reconoitre. They found the plundering parties still busily employed, and but narrowly escaped them. The scouting party however, returned safe to camp, and made report. About three weeks subsequent to this, the whole party, consisting of

both regulars and militia, amounting to near 200, advanced in a body as far as Tenmile-run. Here they formed into three divisions, one of which proceeded directly to Wilkesbarre, and began to erect a fort; one filed off by the right, and took a circuitous rout by the way of Lackawanny, to the same place, and the other went to Nanticoke mills, (where the ironworks now stand) and thence to the West-Branch, under command of Col. Hartley; and from thence through the woods to Tioga point. In their way they met a party of Indians and killed one of them, without sustaining any loss themselves. At Tioga and Sheshequin they retook about 40 head of cattle that the Indians had driven off from the settlement. The Indians who had the care of them fled without firing a gun. The party marched all night with their drove; while rising Wyalusing hill an ambuscade of Indians fired upon them, wounded one man in the leg, and a ball knocked off the breech of another man's gun; they sustained no other injury. Next day, near Tuscarora Creek, the enemy attacked the rear guard and killed several men; one Indian was killed, and whether any more is unknown, They met with no further molestation in their march.

About four days after their arrival at Wilkesbarre, a party of Indians came into the settlement, killed three men; and having speared a fourth in nine places and scalped him, left him for dead also, but he afterwards recovered. The fort at Wilkesbarre was completed with all possible dispatch, and in it they kept garrison till the termination of the war. Besides this fort they had block houses in various places, and in the re-settlement of the country the inhabitants built their habitations in little villas, contiguous to these, for mutual convenience and safety, they being frequently harrassed by the Indians.

On the 20th of March, 1779, the Indians came upon them 300 strong and immediately surrounded their fort. The alarm gun was fired, and the people fled to their block houses; some few of the inhabitants were killed, & some of their Strong-holds attacked, but none were taken. The savages collected together the greater part of the cattle and horses in the neighborhood, and in fair view of the garrison drove them away. It was an insult they had not the power to resent.

The first settlement ever attempted by the white people, at Wyoming, was in 1762. They met with no disturbance that year—but on the 15th day of October, 1763, the sly and subtle Indians, at an unexpected moment, made a vigorous attack on them, and with their usual ferocity, killed near 20 of them, captivated several and the rest being dispersed, sought an asylum for the moment, wherever they could find it, and escaped as fast as possible through the wilderness to their former homes.

Their houses were all burnt; corn all destroyed; horses and cattle all killed or driven off. Thus perished in one day a flourishing settlement, after a rapid progress of two summers. Governor Penn, being informed of the savage incursion, ordered a detachment from the garrison at Harrisburg to their relief; they hastened their march, but previous to their arrival, the savages had withdrawn with their prisoners and plunder. The party, however, arrived soon enough to witness the deplorable havoc! they found the bodies of the slain stripped naked, scalped, and lying above the ground! and their little mansions all in ashes, while the fire that devoured them was not yet extinguished.

In the beginning of March 1780, a party of twenty Indians started from Niagara for Wyoming: Their object

being scalps and prisoners. Some of them could speak English. As they approached the settlement they divided into two parties, ten of them going down on each side of the river. The party on the east side of the river took three prisoners, viz. Thomas Bennet and son, and A. Hammond. With these they started for Tioga, the place of rendezvouse agreed on by the parties before separation. On the third night of their return they kindled a fire, took supper and laid down to sleep. One Indian kept watch, Bennet pretended to be in some distress, asked the Indian to untie him and let him step aside. It was accordingly done, Bennet went out, and returned; and while warming himself by the fire, saw the sentinel get to sleep; he untied his comrades and plunged a spear into the Indian's back with a mortal blow. The Indian gave one scream and sunk into everlasting silence. This aroused the whole party, they all sprung up, leaving their guns on the ground. Bennet & co. seized their guns, kept possession of the fire till the morning and then set out for home, where they all arrived in safety with the arms of their captors. Whether this party killed any one or not does not appear.

The party on the west side of the river, on the 28th and 29th of March, killed Asa Upton, and three Vancampens. They took prisoners Jonah Rogers, Peter Pence, Moses Vancampen and Abraham Pyke. They started for home, and the third night arrived at Wysox, and after gorging their stomachs with broiled venison fell a sleep. The prisoners were pinioned and their guns set up against a tree. Pyke disengaged himself, and removed the guns and cut loose the prisoners. Rogers was only 13 years of age and suffered to go at large (he gave me these details.) By Pyke's orders he carried an

ax to Vancampen. All being ready Vancampen rose and killed two Indians with the ax, the rest were aroused, and ran off, some being wounded and some naked, but only one of the ten ever returned to Niagara. The self rescued prisoners returned home in safety, and brought with them the Indian's guns.

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*An Account of the Battle between the People of Wyoming, and the Indians, in the year 1778; in which two hundred of the Americans were unhappily sacrificed to the Savage barbarity of some treacherous Americans, and cruel savages; in a Poem, by a person then resident near the field of battle.*

Kind heaven assist the trembling muse,  
While she attempts to tell;  
Of poor Wyoming's overthrow,  
By savage hands that fell.

One hundred whites in painted hue,  
Whom Butler there did lead,  
Supported by a barbarous crew,  
Of the fierce savage breed:

The last of June the siege began,  
And several days it held;  
While many a brave and valiant man,  
Lay slaughtered on the field.

Our troops march'd from the Forty fort,  
The third day of July,  
Three hundred strong, they marched along,  
The fate of war to try;

But ah! alas! three hundred men,  
Is much too small a band,  
To meet eight hundred men complete,  
And make a glorious stand;

Four miles we marched from the fort;  
Our enemies to meet,  
Too far indeed did Butler lead,  
To keep a safe retreat.

And now the fatal hour is come,  
They bravely charg'd the foe;  
And they with ire, return'd the fire,  
Which prov'd our overthrow.

Some minutes they sustain'd the fire,  
But ere they were aware;  
They were encompass'd all around,  
Which prov'd a fatal snare.

And now they did attempt to fly,  
But all is now in vain;  
The little host, by far the most,  
Was by these Indians slain.

And as they fly for quarters cry,  
Oh! hear indulgent heaven;  
Hard to relate, the dreadful fate,  
No quarters must be given.

With bitter cries, and mournful sighs,  
They seek for some retreat;  
Here and there, they know not where,  
Till awful death they meet.



There piercing cries salute the skies,  
Mercy is all their cry ;  
Our souls prepare thy grace to share,  
We instantly must die.

Some men were found a flying round,  
Sagacious to get clear ;  
In vain to fly, the foe so nigh,  
The front, the flank, and rear.

And now the foe hath won the day,  
Methinks their words were these,  
You cursed rebel Yanky race,  
Will this your Congress please.

Your pardon's cause you then shall have,  
We hold them in our hands ;  
We all agree to set them free,  
By dashing out their brains.

And as for you enlisted men,  
We'll raise your honors higher ;  
Pray turn your eyes where you must lie,  
In yonder burning fire.

The naked in these flames were cast,  
Too dreadful 'tis to tell ;  
Where they must fry, and burn and die,  
While cursed Indians yell.

No age nor life these Tigers spare,  
The youth and hoary head  
Were by those monsters murdered there,  
And numbered with the dead.

Methinks I hear some sprightly youth,  
His awful state condole;  
"Oh! that my tender parents knew  
The agony of my soul.

"But O! these cries can't spare my life,  
Or heal my dreadful fear;  
I see the tomahawk and knife  
And the more glitt'ring spear.

"Few years ago I dandled was  
Upon my parent's knee,  
I little thought I should be here  
In this sad misery.

"I hoped for many a joyful day;  
I hop'd for riches there;  
Alas! these dreams are fled away,  
And I shall be no more.

"Farewell my friends, oh! that I was  
Freed from this savage race:  
Your heart's would ache and nearly break  
If you could know my case.

"Farewell indulgent parents dear,  
I must resign my breath;  
I now must die and here must lie  
In the cold arms of death.

"But O! the fatal hour is come  
I see the bloody knife!  
The Lord have mercy on my soul  
I yield to thee my life."

A FAITHFUL  
NARRATIVE,

OF

*The many dangers and sufferings, as well as wonderful deliverances of ROBERT EASTBURN, during his late captivity among the Indians: Together with some remarks upon the country of Canada, and the religion and policy of its inhabitants; the whole intermixed with devout reflections. Written by himself.*

ABOUT thirty tradesmen, and myself, arrived at captain William's fort, (at the Carrying-Place,) in our way to Oswego, the 26th of March, 1756, who informed me, that he was like to be cumbered in the fort, and therefore advised us to take the Indian-House for our lodging. About ten o'clock next day, a negro man came running down the road, and reported that our slaymen were all taken by the enemy; captain Williams on hearing this, sent a serjeant, and about twelve men, to see if it was true; I being at the Indian-House, and not thinking myself safe there, in case of an attack and being also willing to serve my king and country, in the best manner I could in my present circumstances, asked him if he would take company? He replied, with all his heart! Hereupon, I fell into the rear, with my arms, and marched after them; when we had advanced about a quarter of a mile, we heard a shot, followed with doleful cries of a

dying man, which excited me to advance, in order to discover the enemy, whom I soon perceived were prepared to receive us: In this difficult situation, seeing a large pine tree, near, I repaired to it for shelter; and while the enemy were viewing our party, I having a good chance of killing two at a shot, quickly discharged at them, but could not certainly know what execution was done till some time after; our company likewise discharged, and retreated. Seeing myself in danger of being surrounded, I was obliged to retreat a different course, and to my surprise, fell into a deep mire, which the enemy, by following my track in a light snow, soon discovered, and obliged me to surrender, to prevent a cruel death. They stood ready to drive their darts into my body, in case I refused to deliver up my arms. Presently after I was taken, I was surrounded by a great number, who stripped me of my clothing, hat, and neck-cloth, so that I had nothing left but a flannel vest, without sleeves, put a rope on my neck, bound my arms fast behind me, put a long band round my body, and a large pack on my back, struck me on the head a severe blow, and drove me through, the woods before them: it is not easy to conceive, how distressing such a condition is! in the mean time, I endeavoured with all my little remaining strength to lift up my eyes to God from whom alone I could with reason expect relief.

Seventeen or eighteen prisoners, were soon added to our number, one of which informed me, that the Indians were angry with me, and reported to some of their chiefs, that I had fired on them, wounded one, and killed another; for which he doubted they would kill me. Hereupon I considered that the hearts of all men are in the hand of God, and that one hair of our head cannot fall to

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the ground without his permission: I had not as yet learned what numbers the enemy's parties consisted of: there being only about one hundred Indians who had lain in ambush on the road, to kill or take into captivity all that passed between the two forts. Here an interpreter came to me, to enquire what strength capt. Williams had to defend the fort? after a short pause, I gave such a discouraging answer, yet consistent with truth, as prevented their attacking it, and in consequence the effusion of much blood; a gracious Providence, which I desire ever to retain a grateful sense of; for hereby it evidently appeared, that I was suffered to fall into the hands of the enemy, to promote the good of my countrymen, to better purpose than I could, by continuing with them; verily the Almighty is wise in counsel and wonderful in working.

In the mean time, the enemy determined to destroy Bull's fort, at the head of Wood creek which they soon effected, all being put to the sword, except five persons, the fort burnt, the provision and powder destroyed, saving only a little for their own use, then they retired to the woods, and joined their main body which inclusive, consisted of 400 French, and 300 Indians commanded by one of the principal gentlemen of Quebec; as soon as they got together (having a priest with them) they fell on their knees, and returned thanks for their victory; an example this, worthy of imitation! an example which may make prophane pretended protestants blush, if they are not lost to all sense of shame, who instead of acknowledging a God, or Providence, in their military undertakings, are continually reproaching him with oaths and curses; is it any wonder that the attempts of such, are blasted with disappointment and disgrace?

The enemy had several wounded men, both French and Indians among them, which they carried on their backs; besides which, about fifteen of their number were killed, and of us about forty; It being by this time near dark, and some Indians drunk, they only marched about four miles and encamped; the Indians untied my arms, cut hemlock boughs, and strewed round the fire, tied my band to two trees, with my back on the green boughs by the fire covered me with an old blanket, and lay down across my band, on each side, to prevent my escape, while they slept.

Sunday the 28th, rose early, the commander ordered a hasty retreat towards Canada, for fear of general Johnson; in the mean time one of our men said, he understood the French and Indians designed to join a strong party, and fall on Oswego, before our forces there, could get any provision or succor; having, as they thought, put a stop to our relieving them for a time; when we encamped in the evening, the commanding officer ordered the Indians to bring me to his tent, and asked me, by an interpreter, if I thought general Johnson would follow them; I told him I judged not, but rather thought he would proceed to Oswego; which was indeed my sentiment, grounded upon prior information, and then expressed to prevent the execution of their design. He farther enquired, what was my trade? I told him that of a smith; he then persuaded me when I got to Canada, to send for my wife, "for said he, you can get a rich living there;" but when he saw that he could not prevail, he asked no more questions, but commanded me to return to my Indian master; having this opportunity of conversation, I informed the general, that his Indian warriors had stripped me of my clothing, and would be

glad he would be good enough to order me some relief; to which he replied, that I would get clothes when I came to Canada, which was cold comfort to one almost frozen. On my return, the Indians perceiving that I was unwell, and could not eat their coarse food, ordered some chocolate, which they had brought from the Carrying Place, to be boiled for me, and seeing me eat that, appeared pleased. A strong guard was kept every night; one of our men being weakened by his wounds, and rendered unable to keep pace with them, was killed and scalped on the road!—I was all this time almost naked, travelling through deep snow and wading through rivers cold as ice.

After seven days march, we arrived at Lake Ontario, where I eat some horse flesh, which tasted very agreeably, for to the hungry man, as Solomon observes every bitter thing is sweet.\* The French carried several of their wounded men all the way upon their backs, and many of them wore no breeches in their travels in this cold season, they are strong, hardy men. The Indians had three of their party wounded, which they likewise carried on their backs; I wish there was more of this hardiness, so necessary for war, in our nation, which would open a more encouraging scene than appears at present. The

\* On the Friday before we arrived at the lake, the Indians killed a Porcupine, which is in bigness equal to a large Racoon, with short legs, is covered with long hair, intermixed with sharp quills, which are their defence: it is indeed dangerous coming very near them, because they cast their quills, which are like barbed irons or darts, at anything that opposeth them, which when they pierce, are not easy to be drawn out; for though their points are sharp and smooth, they have a kind of beard which makes them stick fast: however, the Indians threw it on a large fire, burnt off the hair and quills, roasted and eat it, with whom I had a part.

prisoners were so divided, that but few could converse together on our march, and which was still more disagreeable and distressing, an Indian, who had a large bunch of green scalps, taken off our men's heads, marched before me, and another with a sharp spear behind, to drive me after him; by which means the scalps were often close to my face, and as we marched, they frequently every day gave the dead shout, which was repeated as many times as there were captives and scalps taken. In the midst of this gloomy scene, when I considered, how many poor souls were hurried into a vast eternity, with doubts of their unfitness for such a change, it made me lament and expostulate in the manner following; O sin what hast thou done! what desolation and ruin hast thou brought into this miserable world? What am I, that I should be thus spared? My afflictions are certainly far less than my sins deserve! Through the exceeding riches of divine goodness and grace, I was in this distressing situation supported and comforted, by these passages of sacred scripture, viz. That our light afflictions, which last but for a moment, shall work for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. And that, though no afflictions are for the present joyous, but grievous; yet nevertheless, they afterwards yield the peaceable fruits of righteousness, to them who are exercised thereby. And farther, that all things shall work together for good, to them that love God; to them who are the called, according to his purpose. But to return,

I may, with justice and truth observe, that our enemies leave no stone unturned to compass our ruin; they pray, work, and travel to bring it about, and are unwearied in the pursuit; while many among us sleep in a storm, that has laid a good part of our country desolate, and threatens



the whole with destruction: O may the Almighty awake us, cause us to see our danger, before it be too late, and grant us salvation! O that we may be of good courage, and play the man, for our people, and the cities of our God! But alas, I am obliged to turn my face towards cold Canada, among inveterate enemies, and innumerable dangers! O Lord, I pray thee, be my safe guard; thou hast already covered me in the hollow of thy hand; when death cast darts all around me and many fell on every side, I beheld thy salvation!

April 4th, several French battoes met us, and brought a large supply of provision; the sight of which caused great joy, for we were in great want; then a place was soon erected to celebrate mass in, which being ended, we all went over the mouth of a river, where it empties itself into the east end of lake Ontario, a great part of our company set off on foot towards Oswegotchy: while the rest were ordered into battoes, and carried towards the entrance of St. Lawrence, where that river takes its beginning; but by reason of bad weather, wind, rain, and snow, whereby the waters of the lake were troubled, we were obliged to lie by, and haul our battoes on shore; here I lay on the cold shore two days. Tuesday set off, and entered the head of St. Lawrence, in the afternoon; came to late at night, made fires, but did not lie down to sleep; embarked long before day, and after some miles progress down the river, we saw many fires on our right hand, which were made by the men who left us, and went by land, with them we staid till day, and then again embarked in our battoes, the weather was very bad, it snowed fast all day, near night arrived at Oswegotchy; I was almost starved to death, but hoped to stay in this Indian town till warm weather; slept in an Indian

wigwam, rose early in the morning, being Thursday, and soon to my grief discovered my disappointment. Several of the prisoners had leave to tarry here, but I must go two hundred miles farther down stream, to another Indian town; the morning being extremely cold, I applied to a French merchant, or trader for some old rags of clothing, for I was almost naked, but to no purpose.

About ten o'clock, was ordered into a battoe, on our way down the river, with eight or nine Indians, one of which was the man wounded in the skirmish before mentioned; at night we went on shore, the snow being much deeper than before, we cleared it away, and made a large fire; here, when the wounded Indian cast his eyes upon me, his old grudge revived, he took my blanket from me, and commanded me to dance round the fire barefoot, and sing the prisoners song, which I utterly refused; this surprized one of my fellow prisoners, who told me they would put me to death (for he understood what they said) he therefore tried to persuade me to comply, but I desired him to let me alone, and was through great mercy, enabled to reject his importunity with abhorrence. The Indian also continued urging, saying you shall dance and sing; but apprehending my compliance sinful, I determined to persist in declining it at all adventures, and to leave the issue to the divine disposal. The Indian perceiving his orders disobeyed, was fired with indignation, and endeavored to push me into the fire, which I leapt over, and he being weak with his wounds, and not being assisted by any of his brethren, was obliged to desist: For this gracious interposure of Providence, in preserving me both from sin and danger, I desire to bless God while I live.

Friday morning, was almost perished with cold. Sat-

urday, proceeded on our way, and soon came in sight of the upper part of the inhabitants of Canada; here I was in great hopes of some relief, not knowing the manner of the Indians, who do not make many stops among the French, in their return from war, till they get home: However when they came near some rapid falls of water, one of my fellow prisoners, and several Indians, together with myself, were put on shore, to travel by land, which pleased me well, it being much warmer running on the snow, than lying still in the battoe; we past by several French houses, but stopt at none; the vessel going down a rapid stream, it required haste to keep pace with her, we crossed over a point of land, and found the battoe waiting for us, as near the shore as the ice would permit: here we left St. Lawrence, and turned up Conasadauga river,\* but it being frozen up, we hauled our battoe on shore, and each of us took our

\* The river St. Lawrence, at lake Ontario, takes its beginning through several Islands, by which we are in no necessity of coming within sight of Frontenac, when we go down the river; it is smooth water from thence to Oswegotche (or as it is called by the French Legalet) but from hence to Montreal, the water is more swift, with a number of rapid streams, though not dangerous to pass through with small boats and bark canoes, provided the steersmen are careful, and acquainted with the places; in transporting provision and warlike stores up stream from Canada to lake Ontario, there is a necessity of unloading battoes at several of the rapid streams, and hauling them empty through shoal water near the shore, and carrying the loading by land to where the water is more slack; though there be several of those places, yet the land carriage is not very far: the land on both sides the river, appears fertile a great part of the way from the lake to Montreal; but the nearer the latter the worse, more miry and stony; the timber is white pine, ash, maple, beach, hickory, hemlock, spruce; and from the lake about 150 miles down plenty of white oak, but none about Montreal of that kind.

share of her loading on our backs, and marched toward Conasadauga, an Indian town, which was our designed port, but could not reach it that night: came to a French house, cold, weary, and hungry; here my old friend, the wounded Indian, again appeared, and related to the Frenchman, the affair of my refusing to dance, who immediately assisted the Indian to strip me of my flannel vest before mentioned, which was my all. Now they were resolved to compel me to dance and sing. The Frenchman was as violent as the Indian, in promoting this imposition; but the women belonging to the house, seeing the rough usage I had, took pity on me, and rescued me out of their hands, till their heat was over, and prevailed with the Indian to excuse me from dancing; but he insisted that I must be shaved, and then he would let me alone (I had at that time a long beard, which the Indians hate) with this motion I readily complied, and then the Indian seemed content.

Sunday, April 11th, set off towards Conasadauga, travelled about two hours, and then saw the town, over a great river, which was still frozen; the Indians stopped, and we were soon joined with a number of our own Company, which we had not seen for several days: the prisoners, in number eight, were ordered to lay down our packs, and be painted; the wounded Indian painted me, and put a belt of wampum around my neck, instead of the rope which I had wore 400 miles. Then set off towards the town on the ice, which was four miles over; our heads were not allowed to be covered, lest our fine paint should be hid, the weather in the mean time very cold, like to freeze our ears; after we had advanced nearer to the town, the Indian women came out to meet us, and relieved their husbands of their packs.

As soon as we landed at Conasadauga, a large body of Indians came and encompassed us round, and ordered the prisoners to dance and sing the Prisoner's Song, (which I was still enabled to decline) at the conclusion of which, the Indians gave a shout, and opened the ring to let us run, and then fell on us with their fists, and knocked several down; in the mean time, one ran before to direct us to an Indian house, which was open, and as soon as we got in, we were beat no more; my head was sore with beating, and pained me several days. The squaws were kind to us, gave us boiled corn and beans to eat, and fire to warm us, which was a great mercy, for I was both cold and hungry: this town lies about 30 miles north-west from Montreal; I staid here till the ice was gone, which was about ten days, and then was sent to Cohnewago, in company with some Indians, who when they came within hearing, gave notice by their way of shouting, that they had a prisoner, on which the whole town rose to welcome me, which was the more distressing, as there was no other prisoner in their hands; when we came near shore, a stout Indian took hold of me, and hauled me into the water, which was knee deep, and very cold: As soon as I got ashore, the Indians gathered round me, and ordered me to dance and sing, now when I was stiff with cold and wet, and lying long in the canoe; here I only stamped to prepare for my race, and was encompassed with about 500 Indians, who danced and sung, and at last gave a shout, and opened the circle; about 150 young lads made ready to pelt me with dirt and gravel stones, and on my setting off gave me a stout volley, without my suffering great hurt; but an Indian seeing me run, met me, and held me fast, till the boys had stored themselves again with dirt and small

stones, and let me run; but then I fared much worse than before, for a small stone among the mud hit my right-eye, and my head and face were so covered with the dirt, that I could scarce see my way; but discovering a door of an Indian house standing open, I run in: From this retreat I was soon hauled, in order to be pelted more; but the Indian women being more merciful interposed, took me into a house, brought me water to wash, and gave me boiled corn and beans to eat. The next day, I was brought to the centre of the town, and cried according to the Indian custom, in order to be sent to a family of Indians, 200 miles up stream, at Oswegotchy, and there to be adopted, and abused no more: To this end, I was delivered to three young men, who said I was their brother, and set forward on our way to the aforesaid town, with about 20 more Indians, but by reason of bad weather, we were obliged to encamp on a cold, stony shore, three days, and then proceeded on; called at Conasadauga, staid there about a week, in which time, I went and viewed four houses, at a distance from the town, about a quarter of a mile from each other; in which, are represented in large paint work, the sufferings of our Saviour, with design to draw the Indians to the Papist's religion; the work is curiously done: A little farther stand three houses near together, on the top of a high hill, which they call Mount Calvary, with three large crosses before them, which completes the whole representation: To all these houses, the priests and Indians repair, in performing their grand processions, which takes up much time.\*

\* The pains the Papists take to propagate such a bloody and absurd religion as theirs, is truly amazing! This brings to my remembrance, the following discourse, I had with two French priests in my

Set off on our journey for Oswegotchy, against a rapid stream, and being long in it, and our provision growing short, the Indians put to shore a little before night; my lot was to get wood, others were ordered to get fires, and some to hunt; our kettle was put over the fire with some pounded Indian corn, and after it had boiled about two hours, my oldest Indian brother, returned with a she beaver, big with young, which he soon cut to pieces, and threw into the kettle, together with the guts, and took the four young beavers, whole as they came out of the dam and put them likewise into the kettle, and when all was well boiled; gave each one of us a large dishful of the broth, of which we eat freely, and then part of the old beaver, the tail of which was divided equally among us, there being eight at our fire; the four young beavers were cut in the middle, and each of us got half of a beaver: I watched an opportunity to hide my share (having satisfied myself before that tender dish came to hand) which if they had seen, would have much displeased them. The other Indians caught young musk rats, run a stick through their bodies, and roasted, without being skinned or gutted, and so eat them. Next

captivity; one of them asked me, if I was a Catholic; apprehending he meant the Romish religion, I answered no; he replied, no bon. On my relating the above to a fellow prisoner, he said I had answered wrong, because by the word Catholic, he meant a Christian: Some time after, I was again asked by the other priest, if I was a Catholic, I answered yes, but not a Roman Catholic; at which he smiled, and asked if I was a Lutheran, I replied no; he again inquired whether I was a Calvinist, I told him I was: to which he said, with warmth, *no bon! no bon!* which signifieth, it is not good! O! may the zeal of Papists, in propagating superstition and idolatry, make Protestants ashamed of their lukewarmness, in promoting the religion of the bible!

morning hastened on our journey, which continued several days, till we came near Oswegotchy, where we landed about three miles from the town on the contrary side of the river; here I was to be adopted, my father and mother that I had never seen before were waiting, and ordered me into an Indian house, where we were directed to sit down silent for a considerable time, the Indians appeared very sad, and my mother began to cry, and continued crying aloud for some time, and then dried up her tears, and received me for her son, and took me over the river to the Indian town; the next day I was ordered to go to mass with them, but I refused once and again yet they continued their importunity several days, saying it was good to go to mass, but I still refused; and seeing they could not prevail with me they seemed much displeased with their new son\*. I was then sent over the river, to be employed in hard labour, as a punishment for not going to mass, and not allowed a sight of, or any conversation with my fellow prisoners; the old Indian man that I was ordered to work with, had a wife, and some children, he took me into the woods with him, and made signs that I must chop, giving me an axe, the Indian soon saw that I could handle the axe: Here I tried to reconcile myself to this employ, that they might

\* When I was at Oswegotchy, the Indians took notice that I frequently retired alone, and supposing I had some bad design, threatened if I did not desist, they would tomahawk me; but my fellow prisoner, who understood their language, told them it would be a pity to hurt me on that account, for I only went into a private place to pray, which was true; The Indians replied, if so, it was good: but being yet suspicious, took pains by watching to find out how the case was, and when they satisfied themselves, seemed pleased, and did not offer to interrupt me any more, which was a great mercy; as the contrary would have in some degree, marred my converse with God.



have no occasion against me, except concerning the law of my God; the old man began to appear kind, and his wife gave me milk and bread when we came home, and when she got fish, gave me the gills to eat, out of real kindness; but perceiving I did not like them, gave me my own choice, and behaved lovingly! Here I saw that God could make friends of cruel enemies, as he once turned the heart of angry Esau into love and tenderness; when we had finished our fence, which had employed us about a week, I shewed the old squaw my shirt (having worn it from the time I was first taken prisoner, which was about seven weeks) all in rags, dirt and lice; she said it was not good, and brought me a new one, with ruffled sleeves, saying, that is good, which I thankfully accepted. The next day they carried me back to the Indian town, and admitted me to converse with my fellow prisoners, who told me we were all to be sent to Montreal, which accordingly came to pass.

Montreal, at our arrival here, we had our lodging first in the Jesuit's Convent, where I saw a great number of priests, and people that came to confession; after some stay, we were ordered to attend, with the Indians, at a grand council, held before the head General Vaudriël; we prisoners sat in our rank (surrounded with our fathers and brethren) but were asked no questions: The general had a number of officers to attend him in council, where a noted priest, called Picket, sat at his right hand, who understands the Indian tongue well, and does more hurt to the English, than any other of his order in Canada, his dwelling is at Oswegotchy. Here I was informed that some measures were concerted to destroy Oswego, which they had been long preparing to execute; we in our journey met many battoes going up stream, with

provision and men for an attack on our frontiers, which confirmed the report: The council adjourned to another day, and then broke up. My Indian father and mother took me with them to several of their old acquaintance, who were French, to shew them their lately adopted son; these persons had been concerned with my father and other Indians, in destroying many English families in their younger days; and (as one standing by who understood their language said,) were boasting of their former murders! After some days the council was again called, before which, several of the Oneida chiefs appeared, and offered some complaint against the French's attacking our carrying place, it being their land; but the general laboured to make them easy, and gave them sundry presents of value, which they accepted\*: After which, I knowing these Indians were acquainted with Captain Williams at the carrying place, sent a letter by them, to let my family and friends know I was yet alive, and longed for redemption; but it never came to hand. The treaty being ended, the general sent about ten gallons of red wine to the Indians, which they divided among us; after came the presents, consisting of coats, blankets, shirts, skins, (to make Indian shoes) cloth (to make

\*The French in Canada, well knowing the great importance of having the Indians in their interest, to promote their ambitious and unjust designs, use a variety of methods with them, among which, the following one is excellent in itself, and well worthy of imitation viz. They are exceedingly careful to prevent spirituous liquors being sold to the Indians, and if any of the inhabitants are proved guilty of it, their temporal interest is quite broke, and corporeal punishment inflicted on them; unless the general, on some particular occasion, orders his commissioners to deliver some to them. I may add, that knowing their number is small compared with the British inhabitants on this continent, and must quickly fall into their hands, in case we

stockings) powder, lead, shot, and to each a bag of paint, for their own use, &c. After we prisoners had our share, my mother came to me with an interpreter, and told me I might stay in the town, at a place she had found for me, if I pleased (this was doubtless the consequence of my declining to obey her orders, in some instances that affected my conscience) this proposal I almost agreed to; but one of my fellow prisoners, with whom I had before some discourse, about making our escape from the Indian town, opposed the motion, and said, 'pray do not stay, for if you do, we shall not be able to form a plan for our deliverance;' on which I told her I chose to go home with her, and soon set off by land in our way thither, to Lascheen, distant from Montreal about 9 miles, where we left our canoes, and then proceeded, without delay, on our journey; in which I saw to my sorrow, great numbers of soldiers, and much provision, in motion towards lake Ontario.

After a painful and distressing journey, we arrived at Oswegotchy, where we likewise saw many battoes, with provision and soldiers, daily passing by in their way to Frontenac which greatly distressed me for Oswego! Hence I resolved, if possible, to give our people notice

united, and entered boldly into the heart of their country with a sufficient force; for that very reason, they choose to keep us continually on the defensive, by sending when occasion requires, large bodies of regulars, together with great numbers of Indians, upon long and tedious marches, that we may not come near their borders; and especially by employing the latter, constantly to waste and ravage our Frontiers, by which we are murdered by inches, and beat without a battle. By what I could learn when I was among them, they do not fear our numbers, because of our unhappy divisions, which they deride, and from them, strongly expect to conquer us entirely, which may a gracious God in mercy prevent!

of their danger: to this end, I told two of my fellow prisoners, that it was not a time to sleep, and asked if they would go with me, to this they heartily agreed; but we had no provision, were closely eyed by the enemy, and could not lay up a stock out of our allowance: however, at this time, Mr. Picket (before mentioned) had concluded to dig a large trench around the town; I therefore went to a negro, the principal manager of this work, who could speak English, French and Indian well, and asked him, if he could get employ for two others, and myself, which he soon did; for which we were to have meat and wages. Here we had a prospect of procuring provision for our flight, this, I in some time effected for myself, and then asked my brethren if they were ready, who replied they were not yet, but said, Ann Bowman our fellow prisoner, had brought one hundred and thirty dollars from Bull's fort. and would give them all they had need of: I told them it was not safe to disclose such a secret to her, but they blamed me for my fears, and applied to her for provision, letting her know our intention, who immediately informed the priest of it; on which we were apprehended, the Indians apprised of our design, and a court called; by order of which, four of us were confined under a strong guard, in a room within the fort, for several days.

From hence, another and myself were sent to Cohnewago, under a strong guard of sixty Indians to prevent my plotting any more against the French, and banish all hope of my escape; however, when we arrived at this place, it pleased that gracious God who has the hearts of all creatures in his hand, to incline the captain of the guard to shew me great kindness, in giving me liberty to walk or work where I pleased, within any small distance; on

which I went to work with a French smith, for six livres and five sous per week; which the captain let me have to myself, and farther favoured me with the privilege of lodging at his mother's house an English woman, named Mary Harris, taken captive when a child, from Dearfield in New England, who told me she was my grand-mother, and was kind; but the wages being small, and not sufficient to procure such clothing as I was in want of, I proceeded no farther with the French smith, but went to my uncle Peter, and told him I wanted clothes, and that it would be better to let me go to Montreal, and work there, where I could clothe myself better, than by staying with him, and that without any charge to him, who after some reasoning consented.

Set off on my journey to Montreal, and on my entering the city met an English smith, who took me to work with him; after some time, we settled to work in a shop opposite the general's door, where we had the opportunity of seeing a great part of the forces of Canada, both soldiers and Indians who were commonly brought there, before their going out to war; and likewise all prisoners, by which means we got intelligence how our people were preparing for defence; but no good news from Oswego, which made me fear, knowing that great numbers of French were gone against it, and hearing of but few to defend it. Prayers were put up in all the churches of Canada, and great processions made, in order to procure success to their arms, against poor Oswego; but our people knew little of their danger, till it was too late; certainly, if more frequent and earnest application both in private and in public was made to the God of battle, we might with greater probability, expect success would crown our military attempts! To my surprise,

the dismal news came, that the French had taken one of the Oswego forts; in a few hours, in confirmation of this, I saw the English standards, (the melancholy trophy of victory) and the French rejoicing at our downfall, and mocking us poor prisoners in our exile and extremity, which was no great argument either of humanity, or true greatness of mind; great joy appeared in all their faces, which they expressed by loud shouts, firing of cannon, and returning thanks in their churches; but our faces were covered with shame, and our hearts filled with grief! Soon after, I saw several of the officers brought in prisoners in small parties, and the soldiers in the same manner, and confined within the walls, in a starving condition, in order to make them work, which some complied with, but others bravely refused; and last of all came the tradesmen, among whom was my son, who looking round saw his father, who he thought had long been dead; this joyful sight so effected him, that he wept!—nor could I, in seeing my son, remain unconcerned!—no; the tenderness of a father's bowels upon so extraordinary an occasion, I am not able to express, and therefore must cover it with a veil of silence!—But he, with all my Philadelphia friends, being guarded by soldiers, with fixed bayonets, we could not come near each other, they were sent to the common pound; but I hastened to the interpreter, to try if I could get my child at liberty, which was soon effected. When we had the happiness of an interview, he gave me some information of the state of our family, and told me, as soon as the news was sent home, that I was killed, or taken, his mother was not allowed any more support from my wages, which grieved me much, and added to my other afflictions.\*

\* In the mean time, it gave me some pleasure, in this situation, to

When the people taken at Oswego, were setting out on their way to Quebec, I made application for liberty to go see an expression of equal duty and prudence in my son's conduct ; who, though young in years (about 17) and in such a confused state of things, had taken care to bring with much labor and fatigue, a large bundle of considerable value to me, it being clothing, &c. which I was in great need of ; he likewise saved a quantity of wampum, which we brought from New York, and afterwards sold here, for one hundred and fifty livres. He travelled with me part of the journey towards Oswego, but not being so far on his way, as I was when taken, he did not then fall into the enemy's hands, but continued free till Oswego was taken, and was then remarkably delivered from the hands of the Indians in the following manner, fifteen young lads were drafted out to be delivered to them (which from their known custom, it is reasonable to conclude, was to fill up the number they had lost in battle) among which he was one : this barbarous design, which is contrary to the laws of war among all civilized nations, the French artfully concealed, under the pretext of sending them to work in the battoes ; but my child taking notice, that all that were chosen were small lads, doubted their real intention was bad, and therefore slipt out of his rank and concealed himself, by which means, under God, he was preserved from a state of perpetual captivity : his place being filled up in his absence, the other unhappy youths were delivered up a sacrifice to the Indian enemy, to be instructed in popish principles, and employed in murdering their countrymen : yea, perhaps their fathers and brethren, O horrible ! O lamentable ! How can the French be guilty in cold blood, of such prodigious iniquity ? Besides their insatiable thirst of empire ; doubtless the pardons they get from their pope, and their priests, embolden them, which brings to my mind, what I saw when among them : on a Sabbath day, perceiving a great concourse of people at a chapel, built on the commons, at some distance from the city, I went to see what was the occasion, and found a kind of a fair, at which were sold cakes, wine, brandy, &c. I likewise saw many carts and chases attending, the chapel doors in the mean time open, numbers of people going in and out, and a board hanging over the door, on which was written in large letters INDULGENCE PLENARY, or FULL PARDON.

with them; but the interpreter replied, that I was an Indian prisoner, and the general would not suffer it, till the Indians were satisfied; and as they lived two hundred miles from Montreal, it could not be done at that time: finding that all arguments, farther on that head, would not avail, because I was not included in the capitulation; I told the interpreter, my son must go and leave me! in order to be ready at Quebec to go home when the Oswego people went, which probably would be soon; he replied, 'It would be better to keep him with me, for he might be a mean to get me clear much sooner.'

The officers belonging to Oswego, would gladly have had me with them, but found it impracticable; this is an instance of kindness and condescension, for which I am obliged. Captain Bradley, gave me a good coat, vest and shirt; and a young gentleman, who formerly lived in Philadelphia, gave four pistoles (his name is James Stone, he was doctor at Oswego). These generous expressions of kindness and humanity, I am under great obligations to remember with affectionate gratitude, and if ever it be in the compass of my power, to requite: this money, together with what my son brought, I was in hopes would go far towards procuring my release, from my Indian masters; but seeing a number of prisoners in sore distress, among which were, the captains Grant and Shepherd, and about seven more in company, I thought it my duty to relieve them, and commit my release to the disposal of Providence: nor was this suffered to turn to my disadvantage in the issue, for my deliverance was brought about in due time, in another, and unexpected way. This company informed me of their intention to escape, accordingly I gave them all the help in my power, saw them clear of the town, on a



Saturday evening before the centries were set at the gates and advised them not to part from each other, and delivered to captain Shepherd two pocket compasses ; but they contrary to this counsel parted, and saw each other no more : by their separating captain Grant and serjeant Newel were deprived of the benefit of a compass : the other part got safe to fort William Henry, as I was informed by serjeant Henry, who was brought in prisoner, being taken in a battle, when gallant indefatigable captain Rogers made a brave stand, against more than twice his number. But I have not heard any account of capt. Grant. Was enabled through much mercy, to continue communicating some relief to other prisoners, out of the wages I received for my labour, which was forty livres per month.

In the latter part of the winter, coal and iron were so scarce, that I was hard set to get any more work ; I then offered to work for my diet and lodging, rather than be thrust into a stinking dungeon, or sent among the Indians : The interpreter took some pains (which I thankfully acknowledge) but without success ; however, as I offered to work without wages, a Frenchmen took me and my son in, upon these terms, till a better birth presented ; here we staid one week, but heard of no other place, then he offered me and my son, 30 livres per month, to strike and blow the bellows, which I did for about two months, and then was discharged, and travelled about from place to place, having no fixed abode, and was obliged to lay out the small remains of my cash, in buying a little victuals, and took a hay-loft for my lodgings : I then made my case known to the kind interpreter, and requested him to consider of some means for my relief, who replied he would ; in the meantime,

as I was taking a walk in the city, I met an Indian prisoner, that belonged to the town where my father lived, who reported, that a great part of the Indians there, were just come, with a resolution to carry me back, with them; and knowing him to be a very honest fellow, I believed the truth of it, and fled from the town to be concealed from the Indians; in the mean while, schemes were formed for an escape, and well prosecuted: The issue of which was fortunate. General Vaudriel gave me and my son, liberty under his hand to go to Quebec, and work there at our pleasure, without confinement, as prisoners of war, by which means, I was freed from paying my ransom.

The commissary, Monsieur Partwe, being about to set off for Quebec, my son informed me that I must come to town in the evening, a passage being provided for us: I waited till near dark, and then entered the town, with great care, to escape the Indians who kept watch for me (and had done so for some time) which made it very difficult and dangerous to move; however as they had no knowledge of my son, he could watch their motions, without their suspicion (the providence of God is a great deep, this help was provided for my extremity, not only beyond my expectation, but contrary to my design.) In the morning, upon seeing an Indian set to watch for me, over against the house I was in, I quickly made my escape through the back part of the house, over some high pickets, and out of the city, to the river side and fled. A friend knowing my scheme for deliverance, kindly assisted me to conceal myself: The commissary had by this time got ready for his voyage, of which my son giving me notice, I immediately, with no lingering motion repaired to the boat, was received

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on board, set off quite undiscovered, and saw the Indians no more. A very narrow and surprizing escape, from a violent death! for they had determined to kill me, in case I ever attempted to leave them, which lays me under the strongest obligations, to improve a life rescued from the jaws of so many deaths, to the honor of my gracious benefactor. But to return, the commissary upon seeing the dismissal I had from the general, treated us courteously\*.

Arrived at Quebec, May 1st, The honorable Colonel Peter Schuyler, hearing of my coming there, kindly sent for me, and after enquiries about my welfare, &c., generously told me I should be supplied, and need not trouble myself for support: this public spirited gentleman, who is indeed an honour to his country, did in like manner nobly relieve many other poor prisoners at Quebec. Here I had full liberty to walk where I pleased and view the city, which is well situated for strength, but far from being impregnable.

Here I hope it will not be judged improper to give a short hint of the French governor's conduct; even in time of peace, he gives the Indians great encouragement to murder and captivate the poor inhabitants on our frontiers; an honest, good man, named William Ross,

\* Saw many houses and villages in our pass along the river St. Lawrence, towards the metropolis; and here it may be with justice observed, that the inhabitants of Canada in general, are principally, if not wholly settled upon rivers, by reason that their back lands being flat and swampy, are therefore unfit to bear grain. Their wheat is sown in the spring of the year, because the winter is long, and would drown it; they seem to have no good notion of making meadow, so far as I had an opportunity of observing; their horned cattle are few and poor, their living in general mean, they eat but little flesh, nevertheless they are strong and hardy.

was taken prisoner twice in time of peace; when he was first taken, he learned a little of the French tongue, was after some time redeemed and got to his place of abode: yet some years after, he, with two sons was again taken and brought to Quebec; the governor seeing the poor man was lame, and one of his legs smaller than the other, reproved the Indians for not killing him, asking, 'what they brought a lame man there for, who could do 'nothing but eat? you should, said he, have brought his 'scalp!' However, another of his countrymen, more merciful than his excellency, knowing the poor prisoner to be a quiet, hard working man, redeemed him from the Indians; and two other Frenchmen bought his two sons. Here they had been slaves more than three years, when I first arrived at Quebec; this account I had from Mr. Ross himself, who farther added, that the governor gave the Indians presents to encourage them to proceed in that kind of work, which is a scandal to any civilized nation, and what many Pagans would abhor. Here also I saw one Mr. Johnson, who was taken in a time of peace, with his wife and three small children (his wife was big with child of a fourth, and delivered on the road to Canada, which she called Captive) all which, had been prisoners between three and four years, several young men, and his wife's sister, were likewise taken captive with them, and made slaves.

Our cartel being ready, I obtained liberty to go to England in her; we set sail the 23d of July 1757, in the morning, and discharged our pilot about four o'clock in the afternoon; after which we neither cast anchor or lead, till we got clear of the great river St. Lawrence, from which, I conclude, the navigation is much safer than the French have reported; in 28 days we arrived at

Plymouth which occasioned great joy, for we were ragged, lousy, sick, and in a manner starved; and many of the prisoners, who in all were about three hundred in number, were sick of the small-pox. My son and self, having each a blanket coat which we bought in Canada to keep us warm, and now expecting relief, gave them to two poor sick men, almost naked! But as we were not allowed to go on shore, but removed to a king's ship, and sent to Portsmouth, where we were still confined on board, near two weeks, and then removed to the Mermaid, to be sent to Boston; we now repented our well meant, though rash charity, in giving our coats away, as we were not to get any more, all application to the captain for any kind of covering being in vain, our joy was turned into sorrow, at the prospect of coming on a cold coast, in the beginning of winter, almost naked, which was not a little increased, by a near view of our mother country, the soil and comfort of which, we were not suffered to touch or taste\*.

\* On board the Mermaid man of war, being in a distressed condition, and hearing little from the mouths of many of my countrymen, but oaths and curses (which much increased my affliction) and finding it difficult to get a retired place, I crept down into the hold among the water casks, to cry to God; here the Lord was graciously pleased to meet with me, and give me a sense of his fatherly love and care; here he enabled me, blessed be his name for ever, to look back and view how he had led me, and guarded me, with a watchful eye and strong arm, and what pains he had taken to wean me from an over-love of time things, and make me content that he should choose for me: Here I was enabled to see his great goodness in all my disappointments, and that afflictions were not evidences of God's wrath, but the contrary, to all that honestly endeavour to seek him with faith and love; here I could say, God is worthy to be served, loved, and obeyed, though it be attended with many miseries in this world! What I have here mentioned, so far

September 6th, Set sail for Boston, with a fleet in convoy, at which we arrived on the 7th of November, in the evening, it being dark, and we strangers, and poor, it was difficult to get a lodging (I had no shoes, and but pieces of stockings, and the weather in the mean time very cold) we were indeed directed to a tavern, but found cold entertainment there, the master of the house seeing a ragged and lousy company, turned us out to wander in the dark; he was suspicious of us, and feared we came from Halifax, where the small-pox then was, and told us he was ordered not to receive such as came from thence: We soon met a young man who said he could find a lodging for us, but still detained us by asking many questions; on which I told him we were in no condition to answer, till we came to a proper place, which he quickly found, where we were used well; but as we were lousy could not expect beds. The next morning, we made application for clothing; Mr. Erwing, son-in-law to the late general Shirley, gave us relief, not only in respect of apparel, but also three dollars per man, to bear our charges to Newport. When I put on fresh clothes, I was seized with a cold fit, which was followed by a high fever, and in that condition obliged to travel on foot, as far as Providence, in our way to Rhode-Island (our money not being sufficient to hire any carriage, and find us what was needful for support:) In this journey, I was exceedingly distressed. Our comforts in this life, are often allayed with miseries, which are doubtless great mercies when suitably improved; at Newport, met with Captain Gibbs, and agreed with him

as I know my heart, is neither to exalt myself, or offend any one upon earth, but to glorify God, for his goodness and faithfulness to the meanest of his servants, and to encourage others to trust in him!

for our passage to New-York, where we arrived, November 21st, met with many friends, who expressed much satisfaction at our return, and treated us kindly particularly Messrs. Livingston, and Waldron.

November 26th, 1757. Arrived at Philadelphia, to the great joy of all my friends, and particularly of my poor afflicted wife and family, who thought they should never see me again, till we met beyond the grave; being returned, sick and weak in body, and empty handed, not having any thing for my family's and my own support, several humane and generous persons, of different denominations, in this city, without any application of mine, directly or indirectly have freely given seasonable relief; for which may God grant them blessings in this world. and in the world to come everlasting life, for Christ's sake!

Now, God in his great mercy, hath granted me a temporal salvation, and what is a thousand times better, he hath given me with it, a soul satisfying evidence of an eternal in the world to come.

And now, what shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits, alas I am nonplust! O that saints and angels might praise thee, for I am not worthy to take thy name into my mouth any more! Yet notwithstanding, thou art pleased to accept poor endeavours, because Jesus Christ has opened the door, whereby we may come boldly to the Throne of thy Grace, praised be the Lord God Jehovah, by men and angels, throughout all eternity.

But to hasten to the conclusion, suffer me with humility and sorrow to observe that our enemies seem to make a better use of a bad religion than we of a good one; they rise up long before day in winter and go through the snow in the coldest seasons, to perform their devo-

tions in the churches; which when over, they return to be ready for their work as soon as day light appears. The Indians are as zealous in religion, as the French, they oblige their children to pray morning and evening particularly at Conasadauga; are punctual in performing their stated acts of devotion themselves, are still and peaceable in their own families, and among each other as neighbours.

When I compared our manner of living with theirs, it made me fear that the righteous and jealous God who is wont to make judgment begin at his own house first, was about to deliver us into their hands, to be severely punished for our departure from him, how long has he waited for our return!—O that we may therefore turn to him, before his anger break out into a flame, and there be no remedy!

Our case appears to me indeed very gloomy; notwithstanding our enemies are inconsiderable in number, compared with us, yet they are united as *one man*, while we may be justly compared to a *house divided against itself*, and therefore cannot stand long, in our present situation.

May almighty God graciously incline us to look to him for deliverance, to repent of our sins, reform our lives, and unite in the vigorous and manly use of all proper means to this end. Amen.



*An Account of the Captivity of RICHARD BARD, Esquire, late of Franklin County, deceased, with his wife and family and others. Collected from his papers by his son ARCHIBALD BARD.*

MY father Richard Bard, lived in York County, now Adams, and owned the mill now called Marshall's mill, in what is called Carroll's tract, where in the morning of the 13th of April, 1758, his house was invested by a party of nineteen Indians. They were discovered by a little girl called Hannah M'Bride, who was at the door, and on seeing them screamed, and ran into the house. At this time, there were in the house, my father, mother, and lieutenant Thomas Potter, (brother of general Potter) who had come the evening before (being a full cousin) together with a child of about 6 months old, and a bound boy. The Indians rushed into the house and one of them with a large cutlass in his hand made a blow at Potter, but he so managed it, as to wrest the sword from the Indian, and return the blow, which would have put an end to his existence, had not the point struck the ceiling, which turned the sword so as to cut the Indian's hand. In the meantime, Mr. Bard (my father) laid hold of a horseman's pistol that hung on a nail, and snapped it at the breast of one of the Indians, but there being tow in the pan it did not go off; at this, the Indians seeing the pistol, ran out of the house. By this time one of the Indians at the door had shot at Potter, but the ball took him only in the little finger. The door was now shut, and secured as well as possible; but finding the Indians to be very numerous, and having no powder or ball, and as the savages might easily burn

down the house by reason of the thatched roof, and the quantity of mill wood piled at the back of the building, added to the declarations of the Indians, that they would not be put to death, determined them to surrender; on which a party of Indians went to a field and made prisoners Samuel Hunter and Daniel M'Manimy. A lad of the name of William White coming to the mill, was also made prisoner. Having secured the prisoners, they took all the valuable effects out of the house, and set fire to the mill. They then proceeded towards the mountain, and my mother enquiring of the Indians who had care of her, was informed that they were of the Delaware nation. At the distance of about seventy rods from the house, contrary to all their promises they put to death Thomas Potter, and having proceeded on the mountain about three or four miles, one of the Indians sunk the spear of his tomahawk into the breast of the small child, and after repeated blows scalped it. After crossing the mountain, they passed the house of Mr. Halbert T—— and seeing him out, shot at him, but without effect. Thence, passing late in the evening, M'Cord's old fort, they encamped about half a mile in the gap. The second day, having passed into the Path Valley, they discovered a party of white men in pursuit of them; on which they ordered the prisoners to hasten, for should the whites come up with them, they should be all tomahawked. Having been thus hurried, they reached the top of the Tuskarora mountain, and all had sat down to rest, when an Indian, without any previous warning, sunk a tomahawk into the forehead of Samuel Hunter, who was seated by my father, and by repeated blows put an end to his existence. He was then scalped, and the Indians proceeding on their journey, encamped

that evening some miles on the north of Sideling Hill. The next day they marched over the Alleghany mountain, through what is now called Blain's gap. On the fifth day while crossing Stoney Creek, the wind blew a hat of my father's from the head of the Indian in whose custody he was. The Indian went down the stream some distance, before he recovered it. In the mean time my father had passed the creek, but when the Indian returned, he severely beat my father with the gun, and almost disabled him from traveling any further. And now reflecting that he could not possibly travel much further, and that if this was the case, he would be immediately put to death, he determined to attempt his escape that night. Two days before this, the half of my father's head was painted red. This denoted that a council had been held, and that an equal number were for putting him to death and for keeping him alive, and that another council was to have taken place to determine the question. Being encamped, my parents, who before this had not liberty to speak to one another, were permitted to assist each other in plucking a turkey, and being thus engaged the design of escaping was communicated to my mother. After some of the Indians had laid down, and one of them was amusing the others, with dressing himself with a gown of my mother, my father was called to go for water. He took a quart and emptying it of what water it contained, sept about six rods down to the spring. My mother perceiving this, succeeded so well in confining the attention of the Indians to the gown, that my father had got about one hundred yards, when the Indians from one fire, cried to those of another, *your man is gone*. They ran after him, and one having brought back the quart, said, *here*

*is the quart, but no man.* They spent two days in looking after him, while the prisoners were confined in the camp; but after an unsuccessful search, they proceeded down the stream to the Alleghany river, thence to fort Duquesne, now fort Pitt. After remaining there one night and a day they went about twenty miles down the Ohio, to an Indian town, on entering which a squaw took a cap off my mother's head, and with many others severely beat her. Now almost exhausted with fatigue, she requested leave to remain at this place, but was told she might, if she preferred being scalped, to proceeding. They then took her to a town called Cususkey. On arriving at this place, Daniel M'Manimy was detained outside of the town, but my mother, the two boys and girls, were taken into the town, at the same time having their hair pulled, faces scratched, and beaten in an unmerciful manner. Here I shall extract from my father's papers the manner and circumstances of M'Manimy's death. This account appears to have been obtained from my mother, shortly after her return, who received it from those who had been eye witnesses of the tragical scene. The Indians formed themselves into a circle, round the prisoner, and commenced by beating him; some with sticks, and some with tomahawks. He was then tied to a post near a large fire, and after being tortured sometime with burning coals, they scalped him, and put the scalp on a pole to bleed before his face. A gun barrel was then heated red hot, and passed over his body, and with a red hot bayonet they pierced his body with many repetitions. In this manner they continued torturing him, singing and shouting, until he expired. Shortly after this my mother set out from this place, leaving the two boys and girl, whom she never

saw again, until they were liberated. She was now distressed beyond measure; going she knew not where, without a comforter, without a companion, and expecting to share the fate of M'Manemy, in the next town she would reach. In this distressed situation she met a number of Indians, among whom was a captive woman. To her, my mother made known her fears on which she was informed that her life was not in danger, for that belt of wampum, said she, about your neck, is a certain sign, that you are intended for an adopted relation. They soon after, arrived at a town, and being taken into the council house, two squaws entered in and one stepped up, and struck my mother on the side of the head. Perceiving that the other was about to follow this example, she turned her head and received a second blow. The warriors were highly displeased, such acts in a council house being contrary to usage. Here a chief took my mother by the hand, and delivered her to two Indian men, to be in the place of a deceased sister. She was put in charge of a squaw in order to be cleanly clothed. She had remained here, with her adopted friends near a month, when her party began to think of removing to the head waters of Susquehanna a journey of about two hundred miles. This was very painful to my mother, having already traveled about two hundred miles over mountains and swamps until her feet and legs were extremely swollen and sore. Fortunately on the day of their setting out, a horse was given to her by her adopted brother; but before they had traveled far, one of the horses in company died, when she was obliged to surrender hers to supply its place. After proceeding on her journey some miles, they were met by a number of Indians, one of whom told her not to be discouraged,

as a peace was about to take place shortly, when she would have leave to return home. To this information she was the more disposed to give credit, as it came from one who was a chief counsellor in the Delaware nation, with whom she was a prisoner. Having arrived near the end of her journey, to her great surprise, she saw a captive dead by the road side, having been tomahawked and scalped. She was informed that he had endeavored to escape but was overtaken at this place. On arriving at the place of destination, having in all, travelled near five hundred miles, the fatigue which she had undergone with cold and hunger, brought on a severe fit of sickness which lasted near two months. In this doleful situation, having no person to comfort, or sympathize with her, a blanket was her only covering, and her bed was the cold earth, in a miserable cabin; boiled corn was her only food. She was reduced to so weak a state as to consider herself as approaching the verge of dissolution. But recovering from her sickness she met with a woman with whom she had been formerly acquainted. This woman had been in captivity some years, and had an Indian husband by whom she had one child. My mother reproved her for this but received for answer, that before she had consented, they had tied her to a stake in order to burn her. She added, that as soon as their captive women could speak the Indian tongue, they were obliged to marry some one of them, or be put to death. This information, induced her to determine, never to learn the Indian language, and she adhered to this determination all the time she remained with them, from the day of her captivity to that of her releasement, a space of two years and five months. She was treated during this time, by her

adopted relations with much kindness; even more than she had reason to expect.

I shall now return to the narration of facts respecting my father, after he had made his escape from the Indians, as before stated. It will be perceived that the following verses were composed by Richard Bard shortly before his wife's releasement, and were not intended for publication, but as they contain the most correct statement that can at this day be procured on the subject, it has been thought proper to publish them, omitting all that has a relation to any thing previous to his escape:

Bare six score miles now we have mark'd,  
But fifty doth remain,  
Between us and the bloody place.  
Where standeth fort Duquane.

At three rods distance from a run,  
Encamp'd this night are we,  
But when for drink they do me send  
No more they do me see.

Alas! for me to go 'tis hard  
Whilst with them is my wife,  
Yet 'tis the way that God ordained  
For me to save my life.

But after me they quickly run  
Not doubting of their prize;  
But God turns into foolishness  
The wisdom of the wise.

O cruel man! in vain you strive  
In vain you follow me,  
For since the Lord gainsaith I can  
No longer captive be.

God the device can disappoint  
Of wicked men and wise,  
So to perform they can't always  
Their cruel enterprise.

But now although at liberty  
Through mercy I am set,  
Yet miserable is my life  
For want of food to eat.

O dreadful sore my sufferings were  
Which force me to depart  
Whilst no provisions I had got  
My life for to support.

O'er hills that's high and swamps that deep,  
I now alone must go,  
Travelling on I suffer much  
From briers poison do.

Unto a hill, I now arrive,  
About four miles it's broad,  
And o'er this hill the snow doth lye  
Though elsewhere it is thaw'd.

Much laurel is upon this hill  
Its leaves are fill'd with snow,  
So I upon my hands and knees  
Under the same must go.

My hands thro' this excessive cold  
Extremely swelled are  
Of sufferings I in this place  
Abundantly do share.



But 'tis not only in the day  
That hardships do abound,  
For in the night they also do  
Encompass me around.

In hollow logs or 'mongst the leaves  
At night is mine abode;  
No better lodgings wet or dry  
Throughout this lonely road.

Three days I've traveled since escape  
But there is three days more  
In which I have for to lay by  
My foot's so very sore.

Amazingly my foot is swell'd  
With heat is in a flame,  
And though I'm in this desert land  
Can't walk I am so lame.

Not wholly from my pained foot  
That causes pain to me,  
For by not having food to eat  
My woes encreased be.

Almost five days I now have been  
Without the least supply,  
Except bark buds, which I did pull  
As I did pass them by.

Though I'm not able now to walk  
I crept upon my knees,  
To gather herbs that I may eat,  
My stomach to appease.

But whilst I'm roving thus about,  
A rattle snake at speed,  
I view a running unto me,  
This mercy is indeed.

For by this snake I'm supplied  
When kill the same I do,  
How timeously this mercy came  
None but myself can know.

This rattle snake both flesh and bone  
All but the head I eat,  
And though 'tis now, it seem'd to me  
Exceeding pleasant meat.

When ripen'd is my beeling foot,  
Which mightily did ake,  
I with a thorne did pierce the same,  
And thereby ease partake.

But least my foot I further hurt  
My breeches tear I do,  
And round my feet I do them tye,  
That I along might go.

But when to walk I do attempt  
Gives me excessive pain,  
Yet I must travel with sore foot  
Or die and here remain.

So when a few miles I did go,  
Unto a hill I come  
Whilst on the lofty top thereof  
I thought I heard a drum ;

And judging people near to be  
On them I gave a call,  
But sure there was not one to hear  
Being weak, conceit was all.

Being now eight days since I escap'd  
Unto a river came,  
Whilst wading it I suffered much  
Being so very lame.

But having Juniatta cross'd  
I to a mountain came,  
With cold I ne'er was so distress'd  
As I was on the same.

For in a night that's very cold  
I there my lodging take,  
And as my clothes were wholly wet  
I tremble did and shake.

My hand by this excessive cold  
Is so benum'd that I  
Can't move, no, not a single joint,  
Were it a world to buy.

Then I although the night was dark  
Did homewards march away,  
Least I should perish with the cold  
Should I for day light stay.

But on my journey in this night  
With joy a fire I see,  
This was the strangest providence  
That ever happened me.

For when I by the same had staid  
Until the light appear  
I see a road just at my hand  
Which doth my spirits cheer.

If I had not beheld this fire  
This Indian path I'd cross'd  
And then from all appearance I  
Forever had been lost.

Along this path I went with haste  
As much as I could make,  
But 'twas not fast that I could go  
I was so very weak.

Now having been nine days and nights  
In a most starving state  
Not having food of any kind  
Except four snakes to eat.

But on the evening of this day  
I met with Indians three  
Surprised I was and really thought  
Them enemies to be;

But they proved kind and brought me to  
A place where English dwell,  
Fort Littleton, the place by me  
Was known exceeding well.

The time since first I captive was  
This is the fourteenth day,  
Five with the Indians and nine since  
From them I ran away.

Thanks to the Lord who did provide  
Food in the wilderness  
For me, as much as did preserve  
My life whilst in distress.

Thanks to the Lord because that he  
In deserts, pathless way,  
Directed me so that I did  
At no time go astray.

And now from bondage though I'm freed,  
Yet she that's my belov'd,  
Is to a land that's far remote,  
By Indians remov'd.

Alas! alas! for my poor wife  
That's gone to heathen lands,  
There to obey their very hard  
And their unjust commands.

By thinking on your misery  
Increased is my wo;  
Yea pained is my aking heart  
For what you undergo.

Were all things of this spacious globe  
Offered to ease my mind,  
Alas! all would abortive prove  
Whilst Ketty is confined.

The thoughts of you my loving wife  
Embitters unto me,  
The sweetest comforts that can by  
A world produced be.

Oh now I may like to a dove  
In her bewildered state,  
Bemoan the loss of my dear wife,  
My true and loving mate.

August 8th, 1760.

Some time after my father's return home, he went to fort Pitt, which was then in the hands of the English, and a number of Indians being on the opposite side of the river, about to form a treaty, he one evening went over, to make enquiry concerning my mother. My father observed among them several who were present when he was taken prisoner, to these he discovered himself. But they professed not to know him, on which he enquired of them, if they did not recollect having been at the taking of nine persons, referring them to the time and place. They then acknowledged it, and enquired of him how he got home, &c., after which he made enquiry concerning my mother, but they said they knew nothing of her, but promised to give him some information by the time of his return the next day. He then returned to the fort. Shortly after this, a young man, who had been taken by the Indians when a child, followed him, and advised him not to return, for that when he had left them he had heard them say, that they never had a stronger desire for any thing than to have sunk the tomahawk into his head, and that they had agreed to kill him on his return next day. After this man had requested my father not to mention any thing of his having been with him, or of the subject of their conversation, he returned to camp.

I may here state that from the time that my father was taken by the Indians, until my mother was released

he did little else than wander from place to place in quest of information respecting her, and after he was informed where she was, his whole mind bent upon contriving plans for her redemption. Desiring, with this view to go again to Pittsburgh, he fell in with a brigade of waggons commanded by Mr. Irvine. With them he proceeded as far as Bedford, but finding this a tedious way of travelling, he spoke to the commanding officer of the place to get captain White Eyes, who commanded a party of Indians, to promise to accompany him to Pittsburgh. This was accordingly done, and the Indians having agreed to take him safe to Pitt, my father set out with them, having a horse and a new rifle. They had proceeded but about two miles, when an Indian turned off the road and took up a scalp which that morning had been taken off one of the wagoners. This alarmed my father not a little; but having proceeded about ten miles further, the Indians again turned off the road, and brought several horses and a keg of whiskey which had been concealed. Shortly after this, the Indians began to drink so as to become intoxicated. White Eyes then signified to my father that as he had ran off from them, he would then shoot him, and raised his gun to take aim; but my father stepping behind a tree, ran round it while the Indian followed. This for a time gave great amusement to the bystanders, until a young Indian stepped up, twisted the gun out of the hands of White Eyes, and hid it under a log. The Indians became considerably intoxicated, and scattered, leaving White Eyes with my father. White Eyes then made at him with a large stick, aiming at his head, but my father threw up his arm, and received so severe a blow as to blacken it for weeks. At this time an Indian of

another nation, who had been sent as an express to Bedford, came by. Captain White Eyes applied to him for his gun to shoot my father, but the Indian refused, as they were about making peace, and the killing of my father would bring on another war, (being of different nations, they were obliged to speak in English.) By this time my father finding himself in a desperate situation, resolved at all events to attempt an escape; he said to captain White Eyes our horses are going away, and went towards them, expecting every minute to receive a ball in his back, but on coming up to his horse he got on him, and took to the road; he had gone but a short distance when he saw the Indian sleeping at a spring who had taken the gun out of White Eyes hand, and I have often heard him say, had it been any other of the Indians he would have shot him. Fearing a pursuit he rode as fast as his horse could go, and having travelled all night he got to Pittsburgh the next morning shortly after sun rise, and he was not there more than three hours, until the Indians were in after him; but from a fear of an injury being done my mother, in killing them, he suppress his anger, and past the matter by. From here he had an opportunity of writing her a letter, requesting her to inform her adopted friends, that if they would bring her in, he would pay them forty pounds. But having waited for an answer until he became impatient he bargained with an Indian to go and steal her away. But the night before he was to start he declined going, saying that he would be killed if he went. In this situation he resolved at all hazards to go himself and bring her; for which purpose he set out and went to a place on the Susquehannah, I think it was called Shamoken, not far from what is called the Big Cherry-



trees. From here he set out on an Indian path, along which he had travelled until evening when he was met by a party of Indians who were bringing in my mother; the Indians passed him by and raised the war halloo, my mother felt distressed at their situation, and my father perceiving the Indians not to be in a good humor, began to promise them their pay as he had promised by letter when they would come to Shamoken, but the Indians told him that if he got them among the whites he would then refuse to pay them, and that they would then have no redress; finding they were thus apprehensive, he told them to keep him as a hostage out in the woods and send his wife into town, and he would send an order for the money to be paid them, and that if it was not done they might do with him as they pleased. This had the desired effect, they got quite good humored and brought them in, on doing which the money was paid agreeable to promise. Before my father and mother left Shamoken he requested an Indian who had been an adopted brother of my mother, if ever he came down amongst the white people to call and see him. Accordingly, some time afterwards the Indian paid him a visit, he living then about ten miles from Chambersburg. The Indian having continued for some time, with him, went to a tavern known by the name of M'Cormack's, and there became somewhat intoxicated, when a certain Newgen, (since executed in Carlisle for stealing of horses) having a large knife in his hand struck it into the Indian's neck, edge foremost, designing thereby to thrust it in between the bone and throat, and by drawing it forward to cut his throat, but in part he missed his aim, and only cut the forepart of the wind pipe. On this Newgen had to escape from justice; otherwise the law would have been

put in force against him. And it has been remarked that ever after he continued to progress in vice until his death. A physician was brought to attend the Indian, the wound was sowed up and he continued at my father's until he had recovered; when he returned to his own people who put him to death, on the pretext of his having as they said joined the white people.

In August, 1764, (according to the best accounts of the time,) my father and family from fear of the Indians, having moved to my grandfather, Thomas Poe's, about three miles from his own place he took a black girl with him to his own place to make some hay, and being there at his work, a dog which he had with him began to bark and run towards and from a thicket of bushes. Observing these circumstances he became alarmed and taking up his gun, told the girl to run to the house, for he believed there were Indians near. So they made towards the house and had not been there more than an hour, when from the loft of the house they saw a party commanded by capt. Potter, late gen. Potter, in pursuit of a party of Indians who had that morning murdered a school master of the name of Brown, with ten small children, and scalped and left for dead one by the name of Archibald M'Cullough who recovered and was living not long since. It was remarkable that with but few exceptions the scholars were much averse to going to school that morning. And the account given by M'Cullough is, that when the master and scholars met at the school, two of the scholars informed him that on their way they had seen Indians, but the information was not attended to by the master, who ordered them to their books, soon afterwards two old Indians and a boy rushed up to the door. The master seeing them prayed

them only to take his life and spare the children; but unfeelingly the two old Indians stood at the door whilst the boy entered the house and with a piece of wood made in the form of an Indian mall, killed the master and scholars, after which the whole of them were scalped.

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*Account of the Murder of James Watson and William  
M'Mullen, given in a letter to the Editor.*

Sir,

I am just going to inform you of a striking occurrence that happened to James Watson and his brother-in-law William M'Mullin, during one of the wars with the Indians. James Watson's father and mother with four or five small children, took their passage from the county Fermanagh in Ireland, to America upwards of sixty years ago. And it being the Lord's will to call the parents from this stage of life, during their passage, the poor children were landed at Newcastle, near which a friend lived. Here they stayed some time until they were taken away by their uncle James Armstrong, who lived in Cumberland county, East Pennsboro' township. They lived here till they were grown up, when one of James Watson's sisters got married to William M'Mullin, and lived between Comodoguinet creek and the Blue Mountain, whence they were driven to a fort where the people were gathered together for safety. It happened one day that William M'Mullin and his brother-in-law James Watson, went to their house to see how things went on. While they were in the barn, one Indian made his appearance at the back side of the barn. So on seeing him they both took out of the far side to reach the fort, but

to their great dismay, they had not run far till seven Indians started up out of a buckwheat field, and then the firing began on both sides. M'Mullin, was shot, and the cock shot off his gun, so he made the best of his way into a thicket, and afterwards could not be found till the dead body was discovered by its smell, when they dug a grave and tumbled him in. In the meantime Watson had shot four or five of the Indians, but poor man, on going up a hill, he received a deadly shot in the shoulder, and fell a victim to the savages who tomahawked and scalped him. When he was found his hands were full of the Indian's hair. He had been often heard to say, that while life remained in him, he would not suffer himself to be taken prisoner by the Indians, which fell out to be the case. The Indians were so loaded with their own dead that they were not able to carry off the gun of Watson.

FRANCIS JOHNSON.

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*Account of the taking of Freeland's Fort, communicated by Daniel Vincent, one of the unfortunate prisoners taken and carried to Canada, at that time.*

In the year 1779, the continental troops was ordered from fort Muncey, on the west branch of Susquehannah to join general John Sullivan, at Wilkesbarre, and all the inhabitants evacuated that branch, down as far as fort Freeland, where they had erected a stockade by building two houses, and collected about thirty men, and forty-eight women and children, all inhabitants of that part; the men began to be careless, expecting that Sullivan's army had drew the attention of the Indians

to the north branch and on the 21st day of July, six men out in a field adjoining the fort, were attacked by about twenty-four warriors, three men were killed two taken prisoners, and one made his escape into the fort. This caused them to keep more close for a few days, and on the 27th ten men left the fort to join a party at Boon's fort, to go and waylay the Indian paths, and on the night of the same day, a party of about three hundred Indians and one hundred and thirty Tories and British, commanded by Captain John M'Donald, surrounded the fort in the dead of the night; the Indians kept a howling like wolves all night, and early in the morning on the 28th, Mr. James Watts, brother of General Watts, went out to see if the wolves had been amongst the sheep, and when about ninety yards from the fort, he was seized by one of the Montieures, a Seneca chief, who wished to make a prisoner for the sake of information. Mr. Watts hallooed for help, and alarmed the garrison, and at that instant the Indian struck his tomahawk into Watts' head and he fell, at the same moment two men fired from the fort, one of whose ball went through the Indian and he fell also; and immediately the Indian yell began all around the fort and the Indians closed in as nigh as they dare, and began a heavy fire on the fort, the British and Tories paraded on the side of a hill in front of the fort, with music and colours flying, advanced toward the fort, and covered themselves behind some old buildings, and commenced a brisk fire on the fort, which was very spiritedly returned from the fort. The woods and a log fence being close to the North West corner of the fort, the Indians crept in the brush and behind the fence, so close as to shoot many bullets through the port holes; in this close order they con-

tinued until about nine o'clock, when the firing ceased, and captain John M'Donald hoisted a flag, and marched toward the fort, within about sixty yards in front of the garrison, when he was met by one of the men from the fort; from whom he demanded a surrender of the fort immediately or every man, woman and child should be put to the tomahawk, when the fort agreed to capitulate, being but nineteen men, and two killed; all the men able to bear arms were to march out in front of the fort and ground their arms and march prisoners to Canada, under a guard of white men, and not to be treated as Indian prisoners, and all the women and children to go to the interior parts of the country, wherever they pleased unmolested, together with four old men not able to bear arms. Immediately after the fort surrendered the Indians took possession, plundered all they could get and set fire to the fort, houses, barns and mills, and while all was in a flame a party of thirty volunteers, under the command of capt. Hawkins Boon, a very brave officer, came up and fired on the Indians and killed one on the spot and wounded one more, the Indians retreated a small distance and rallied again, and advanced, the volunteers retreated about half a mile and halted a few minutes to consult; and in the meantime the Indians spread themselves very much in the woods, and pursued until they came up with them, attempted to surround them, and before they discovered the Indian flanks they were nearly in a half moon around them, and killed eleven men, captain Boon was among the slain. Several of those men fell with their wounds, and were scalped. In this affray three Indians were killed and five wounded, and while in this confusion two of the prisoners which had been taken in the

fort attempted to make their escape, they were overtaken by the Indians and tomahawked.

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*A Narrative of the Captivity and Sufferings of BENJAMIN GILBERT and his family; who were surprised by the Indians, and taken from their farms, on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, in the Spring of 1780.*

Benjamin Gilbert, son of Joseph Gilbert, was born at Byberry, about 15 miles from the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1711, and received his education among the people called Quakers.

He resided at or near the place of his nativity for several years; during which time of residence he married, and after the decease of his first wife, he accomplished a second marriage with Elizabeth Peart, widow of Bryan Peart, and continued in this neighbourhood until the year 1775, when he removed with his family to a farm situate on Mahoning creek, in Penn township, Northampton county, being the frontiers of Pennsylvania, not far from where fort Allen was erected. The improvements he carried on here were according to the usual manner of new settlements, convenience being principally attended to; his house and barn being of logs, to this he had added a saw mill and a commodious stone grist-mill, which as it commanded the country for a considerable distance, conduced in some measure to render his situation comfortable.

This short account may not be improper, in order to interest our feelings in the relation of the many scenes of affliction the family were reduced to, when snatched

from the pleasing enjoyment of the necessaries and conveniences of life. The most flattering of our prospects are often marked with disappointment, expressively instructing us that we are all strangers and sojourners here, as were our forefathers.

This family was alarmed on the 25th day of the 4th month, 1780, about sun-rise, by a party of eleven Indians, whose appearance struck them with terror; to attempt an escape was death and a portion of distress not easy to be supported, the certain attendant on the most patient and submissive conduct. The Indians who made this incursion, were of different tribes or nations, who had abandoned their country on the approach of General Sullivan's army, and fled within command of the British forts in Canada, promiscuously settling within their neighbourhood, and according to Indian custom of carrying on war, frequently invading the frontier settlements, taking captive the weak and defenceless.

The names of these Indians, with their respective tribes, are as follows:

1. Rowland Monteur, 1st captain.
2. John Monteur, second in command, who was also stiled captain: These two were Mohawks descended of a French women.
3. Samuel Harris, a Cayuga Indian.
4. John Huston, and his son
5. John Huston, junr. } Cayugas.
6. John Fox, of the Delaware nation. The other 5 were Seneccas.

At this place they made captive of the following persons:—

- |                                |           |
|--------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Benjamin Gilbert aged about | 69 years. |
| 2. Elizabeth, his wife,        | 55        |



3. Joseph Gilbert, his son,	41
4. Jesse Gilbert, another son,	19
5. Sarah Gilbert, wife to Jesse,	19
6. Rebecca Gilbert, a daughter,	16
7. Abner Gilbert, a son,	14
8. Elizabeth Gilbert, a daughter,	12
9. Thomas Peart, son of Benjamin Gilbert's wife,	} 23
10. Benjamin Gilbert, a son of John Gilbert of Philadelphia,	} 11
11. Andrew Harrigar, of German descent, hired by Benjamin Gilbert,	} 26
12. Abigail Dodson, (daughter of Samuel Dodson, who lived on a farm near one mile distant from the mill) who came that morning with a grist.	} 14

They then proceeded to Benjamin Peart's dwelling, about a half a mile further, and brought himself and family, viz.

13. Benjamin Peart, son of Benja- min Gilbert's wife,	} 27
14. Elizabeth Peart, his wife,	20
15. Their child about nine months old.	

The prisoners were bound with cords which the Indians brought with them, and in this melancholy condition left under guard for the space of half an hour, during which time the rest of the captors employed themselves in plundering the house, and packing up such goods as they chose to carry off, until they had got together a sufficient loading for three horses which they took besides compelling the distressed prisoners to carry part of their plunder. When they had finished plundering, they began their retreat, two of their num-

ber being detached to fire the buildings which they did without any exception of those belonging to the unhappy sufferers; thereby aggravating their distresses, as they could observe the flames, and the falling in of the roofs, from an adjoining eminence called Summer Hill. They cast a mournful look towards their dwellings, but were not permitted to stop, until they had reached the further side of the hill, where the party sat down to make a short repast; but grief prevented the prisoners from sharing with them.

The Indians speedily put forward from this place; as they apprehended they were not so far removed from the settlements as to be secure from pursuit. Not much further was a large hill called Mochunk, which they fixed upon for a place of rendezvous; here they halted near an hour, and prepared shoes or sandals, which they call mockasons, for some of the children. Considering themselves in some degree relieved from danger, their fears abated so that they could enjoy their meal at leisure, which they ate very heartily. At their removal from this hill, they told the prisoners that col. Butler was no great distance from them in the woods, and that they were going to him.

Near the foot of the hill flows a stream of water called Mochunk creek, which was crossed, and the second mountain passed; the steep and difficult ascent of which appeared very great to the much enfeebled and affrighted captives. They were permitted to rest themselves for some minutes, and then pressed onwards to the Broad Mountain, at the foot of which runs Nescaannah creek.

Doubly distressed by a recollection of past happiness, and a dread of the miseries they had now to undergo, they began the ascent of this mountain with great an-

guish both of mind and body, Benjamin Gilbert's wife, dispirited with the increasing difficulties, did not expect she was able to pass this mountain on foot; but being threatened with death by the Indians if she did not perform it, with many a heavy step she at length succeeded. The Broad Mountain is said to be seven miles<sup>7</sup> over in this place, and about ten miles distant from Benjamin Gilbert's settlement. Here they halted an hour, and then struck into the Neskapeck path; the unevenness and ruggedness of which, rendered it exceedingly toilsome, and obliged them to move forward slowly. Quackac creek runs across the Neskapeck path, which leads over Pismire hill. At this last place they stopped to refresh themselves, and then pursued their march along the same path through Moravian Pine Swamp to Mahoniah mountain, where they lodged, being the first night of their captivity.

It may furnish information to some, to mention the method the Indians generally use to secure their prisoners; they cut down a sapling as large as a man's thigh, and therein cut notches, in which they fix their legs, and over this they place a pole, crossing the pole on each side with stakes drove in the ground, and in the crotches of the stake they place other poles or riders, effectually confining the prisoners on their backs; besides which, they put a strap around their necks, which they fasten to a tree; in this manner the night passed. Their beds were hemlock branches strewed on the ground, and blankets for a covering, which was an indulgence scarcely to have been expected from savages. It may reasonably be expected, that in this melancholy situation, sleep was a stranger to their eye-lids.

Benjamin Peart having fainted in the evening, occasioned by the sufferings he endured, was threatened to be tomahawked by Rowland Monteur.

26th. Early this morning they continued their route, near the waters of Teropin Ponds. The Indians thought it most eligible to separate the prisoners in companies of two by two, each company under the command of a particular Indian, spreading them to a considerable distance, in order to render a pursuit as impracticable as possible. The old people, overcome with fatigue, could not make as much expedition as their severe task-masters thought proper, but failed in their journey, and were therefore threatened with death, by the Indian under whose direction they were placed. Thus circumstanced, they resigned themselves to their unhappy lot, with as much fortitude as possible. Towards evening the parties again met and encamped, having killed a deer, they kindled a fire, each one roasting pieces of the flesh upon sharpened switches. The confinement of the captives was the same with the first night, but, as they were by this time more resigned to the event, they were not altogether deprived of sleep.

27th. After breakfast a council was held concerning the division of the prisoners, which being settled, they delivered each other those prisoners who fell within their several allotments, giving them directions to attend to the particular Indians whose property they became. In this day's journey they passed near Fort Wyoming, on the Eastern Branch of Susquehanna, about forty miles from their late habitation. The Indians, naturally timid, were alarmed as they approached this garrison, and observed great caution, not suffering any noise, but stepped on the stones that lay in the path, lest any foot-

steps should lead to a discovery. Not far from thence is a considerable stream of water, emptying itself into Susquehanna, which they crossed with great difficulty, it being deep and rapid, and continued here this night. Benjamin Gilbert being bound fast with cords, underwent great suffering.

28th. This morning the prisoners were all painted according to the custom among the Indians, some of them with red and black, some all red, and some with black only: Those whom they smut with black, without any other colour, are not considered of any value, and are by this mark generally devoted to death: Although this cruel purpose may not be executed immediately, they are seldom preserved to reach the Indian hamlets alive. In the evening they came to Susquehanna, having had a painful and wearisome journey through a very stony and hilly path. Here the Indians sought diligently for a private lodging-place, that they might be as secure as possible from any scouting-parties of the white people. It is unnecessary to make further mention of their manner of lodging, as it still remained the same.

29th. They went in search of the horses which had strayed from them in the night, and after some time found them. They then kept the course of the river, walking along its side with difficulty. In the afternoon they came to a place where the Indians had directed four negroes to wait their return, having left them some corn for a subsistence: These negroes had escaped from confinement, and were on their way to Niagara, when first discovered by the Indians; being challenged by them, answered "they were for the king," upon which they immediately received them into protection.

30th. The negroes who were added to the company the day before, began cruelly to domineer and tyrannize over the prisoners, frequently whipping them for their sport, and treating them with more severity than ever the Indians themselves; having had their hearts hardened by the meanness of their condition, and long subjection to slavery. In this day's journey they passed the remains of the Indian town, Wyalooosing. The lands round these ruins have a remarkable appearance of fertility. In the evening they made a lodgement by the side of a large Creek.

5th Month 1st. After crossing a considerable hill in the morning, they came to a place where two Indians lay dead. A party of Indians had taken some white people, whom they were carrying off prisoners, they rose upon the Indians in the night, killed four of them, and then effected their escape. The women were sent forwards, and the men prisoners commanded to draw near and view the two dead bodies, which remained; (the other two being removed) they staid to observe them a considerable time, and were then ordered to a place where a tree was blown down. Death appeared to be their doom; but after remaining in a state of sad suspense for some time, they were ordered to dig a grave; to effect which, they cut a sapling with their tomahawks, and sharpened one end, with which wooden instrument one of them broke the ground, and the others cast the earth out with their hands, the negroes being permitted to beat them severely whilst they were thus employed. After interring the bodies, they went forwards to the rest, and overtook them as they were preparing for their lodging. They were not yet released from their sapling confinement.

2d. Having some of their provisions with them, they made an early meal, and traveled the whole day. They crossed the east branch of Susquehanna towards evening, in canoes, at the place where General Sullivan's army had passed it in their expedition. Their encampment was on the western side of this branch of the river : but two Indians who did not cross it, sent for Benjamin Gilbert, jun. and Jesse Gilbert's wife, and as no probable cause could be assigned why it was so, the design was considered as a very dark one, and was a grievous affliction to the others.

3d. The morning however dispelled their fears, when they had the satisfaction of seeing them again, and understood they had not received any treatment harder than their usual fare. The horses swam the Susquehanna, by the side of the canoe. This day the Indians in their march found a scalp, and took it along with them, as also some old corn, of which they made a supper. They frequently killed deer, and by that means supplied the company with meat, being almost the only provision they ate, as the flour they took with them was expended.

4th. The path they travelled this morning was but little trodden, which made it difficult for those who were not acquainted with the woods to keep in it. They crossed a creek, made up a large fire to warm themselves by, and then separated into two companies, the one taking the westward path, with whom were Thomas Peart Joseph Gilbert, Benjamin Gilbert, jun. and Jesse Gilbert's wife Sarah ; the others went more to the north, over rich level land. When evening came, enquiry was made concerning the four captives who were taken in the western path, and they were told, that " these were

killed and scalped, and you may "expect the same fate to night." Andrew Harrigar was so terrified at the threat, that he resolved upon leaving them, and as soon as it was dark, took a kettle with pretence of bringing some water, and made his escape under favour of the night: He was sought after by the Indians as soon as they observed him to be missing\*.

*5th.* In the morning the Indians returned; their search for Andrew Harrigar being happily for him unsuccessful: The prisoners who remained, were therefore treated with great severity on account of his escape, and were often accused for being privy to his design. Capt. Rowland Monteur, carried his resentment so far, that he threw Jesse Gilbert down, and lifted his tomhawk to strike him, which the mother prevented, by putting her head on his forehead, beseeching him to spare her son: This so enraged him, that he turned round, kicked her over, and tied them both by their necks to a tree, where they remained until his fury was a little abated; he then loosed them, and not long after bid them pack up and go forwards. They passed through a large pine swamp, and about noon reached one of the Kittareen Towns, which was desolated. Not far from this town, on the summit of a mountain, there issues a large spring, forming a very considerable fall, and runs very rapidly in an irregular winding stream down the mountain's sides. They left this place, and took up their lodging in a deserted wigwam covered with bark, which had formerly been part of a town of the Shipquagas.

\* Andrew Harrigar endured many hardships in the woods, and at length returned to the settlements, and gave the first, authentic intelligence of Benjamin Gilbert and his family, to their friends.



6th, 7th, 8th. They continued these three days in the neighbourhood of these villages, which had been deserted upon General Sullivan's approach. Here they lived well, having in addition to their usual bill of fare, plenty of turnips and potatoes, which had remained in the ground, unnoticed by the army. This place was the hunting-ground of the Shipquagas, and whenever their industry prompted them to go out hunting, they had no difficulty to procure as many deer as they desired.

Roast and boiled meat, with vegetables, afforded them plentiful meals; they also caught a wild turkey, and some fish, called suckers. Their manner of catching fish was, to sharpen a stick, and watch along the rivers until a fish came near them, when they suddenly pierced him with the stick, and brought him out of the water.

Here were a number of colts, some of them were taken, and the prisoners ordered to manage them, which was not easily done.

9th. When they renewed their march, they placed the mother upon a horse that seemed dangerous to ride, but she was preserved from any injury. In this day's journey they came to meadow ground, where they staid the night, the men being confined as before related, and the negroes lay near them for a guard.

10th. A wet swamp, that was very troublesome, lay in their road; after which they had to pass a rugged mountain, where there was no path. The underbrush made it hard labour for the women to travel; but no excuse would avail with their severe masters, and they were compelled to keep up with the Indians, however great the fatigue: When they had passed it, they tarried awhile for the negroes who had lagged behind,

having sufficient employ to attend to the colts that carried the plunder. When all the company met together, they agreed to rendezvous in an adjoining swamp.

11th. A long reach of savannas and low ground, rendered this day's route very fatiguing and painful, especially to the women: Elizabeth Peart's husband not being allowed to relieve her by carrying the child, her spirits and strength were so exhausted that she was ready to faint; the Indian under whose care she was, observing her distress, gave her a violent blow. When we compare the temper and customs of these people, with those of our own colour, how much cause have we to be thankful for the superiority we derive from the blessings of civilization.

It might truly be said, days of bitter sorrow, and wearisome nights were appointed the unhappy captives.

12th. Their provisions began to grow scant, having past the hunting grounds: The want of proper food to support them, which might render them more capable of enduring their daily fatigue, was a heavy trial, and was much increased by their confinement at night. Elizabeth Gilbert was reduced so low, that she travelled in great pain all this day, riding on horse-back in the morning, but towards evening she was ordered to alight, and walk up a hill they had to ascend; the pain she suffered, together with want of food, so overcame her, that she was seized with a chill: The Indians administered some flour and water boiled, which afforded her some relief.

13th. Last night's medicine being repeated, they continued their march, and after a long walk, were so effectually worn down, that they halted. The pilot, John Huston, the elder, took Abner Gilbert with him, (as

they could make more expedition than the rest) to procure a supply of provisions to relieve their necessity.

14<sup>th</sup>. The mother had suffered so much, that two of her children were obliged to lead her. Before noon they came to Canadosago, where they met with Benjamin Gilbert, jun. and Jesse Gilbert's wife Sarah, two of the four who had been separated from them ten days past, and taken along the western path: This meeting afforded them great satisfaction; the doubt and uncertainty of their lives being spared, often distressed their affectionate relations.

John Huston, jun. the Indian under whose care Benjamin Gilbert was placed, designing to dispatch him, painted him black; this exceedingly terrified the family, but no intreaties of theirs being likely to prevail, they resigned their cause to him whose power can controul all events. Wearied with their weakness and travelling, they made a stop to recover themselves, when the pilot returning, assured them they should soon receive some provisions. The Negroes were reduced so low with hunger, that their behaviour was different from what it had been, conducting with more moderation. At their quarters in the evening, two white men came to them, one of which was a volunteer amongst the British, the other had been taken prisoner some time before; these two men brought some Hommony, and sugar made from the sweet maple, the sap being boiled to a consistency, and is but a little inferior to the sugar imported from the Islands; of this provision, and an hedge-hog which they found, they made a more comfortable supper than they had enjoyed for many days.

15<sup>th</sup>. In the morning the volunteer having received information of the rough treatment the prisoners met

with from the Negroes, relieved them, by taking the four blacks under his care. It was not without much difficulty they crossed a large creek which was in their way, being obliged to swim the horses over it. Benjamin Gilbert began to fail; the Indian, whose property he was, highly irritated at his want of strength, put a rope about his neck, leading him along with it; fatigue at last so overcame him, that he fell on the ground, when the Indian pulled the rope so hard, that he almost choaked him; his wife seeing this, resolutely interceded for him, although the Indians bid her go forwards, as the others had gone on before them; this she refused to comply with, unless her husband might be permitted to accompany her; they replied "that they were determined to "kill the old man," having before this set him apart as a victim: but at length her entreaties prevailed, and their hearts were turned from their cruel purpose. Had not an overruling Providence preserved him from their fury, he would inevitably have perished, as the Indians seldom show mercy to those whom they devote to death, which, as has been before observed, was the case with Benjamin Gilbert, whom they had smeared with black paint from this motive. When their anger was a little moderated, they set forwards to overtake the rest of the company: their relations, who had been eye-witnesses of the former part of this scene of cruelty, and expected they would both have been murdered, rejoiced greatly at their return, considering their safety as a Providential deliverance.

16th. Necessity induced two of the Indians to set off on horse back, into the Seneca country, in search of provisions. The prisoners, in the mean time, were ordered to dig up a root, something resembling potatoes, which

the Indians call whappanies. They tarried at this place, until towards the evening of the succeeding day, and made a soup of wild onions and turnip tops; this they eat without bread or salt, it could not therefore afford sufficient sustenance, either for young or old; their food being so very light, their strength daily wasted.

17th. They left this place, and crossed the Genesee river, ( which empties its waters into lake Ontario ) on a raft of logs, bound together by hickory withes; this appeared to be a dangerous method of ferrying them over such a river, to those who had been unaccustomed to such conveyances. They fixed their station near the Genesee banks, and procured more of the wild potatoe roots before mentioned, for their supper.

18th. One of the Indians left the company, taking with him the finest horse they had, and in some hours after returned with a large piece of meat, ordering the captives to boil it; this command they cheerfully performed, anxiously watching the kettle, fresh meat being a rarity which they had not eat for a long time. The Indians, when it was sufficiently boiled, distributed to each one a piece, eating sparingly themselves. The prisoners made their repast without bread or salt, and eat with a good relish what they supposed to be fresh beef, but afterward understood it was horse-flesh.

A shrill halloo which they heard, gave the prisoners some uneasiness; one of the Indians immediately rode to examine the cause, and found it was capt. Rowland Monteur, and his brother John's wife, with some other Indians, who were seeking them with provision. The remainder of the company soon reached them, and they divided some bread, which they had brought, into small pieces, according to the number of the company.

Here is a large extent of rich farming land, remarkable of its levelness and beautiful meadows. The country is so flat, that there are no falls in the rivers, and the waters run slow and deep; and whenever showers descend, they continue a long time muddy.

The captain and his company had brought with them cakes of hommony and Indian corn; of this they made a good meal. He appeared pleased to see the prisoners, having been absent from them several days, and ordered them all round to shake hands with him. From him they received information respecting Joseph Gilbert and Thomas Peart, who were separated from the others on the 4th instant, that they had arrived at the Indian settlements, some time, in safety.

The company staid the night at this place. One of the Indians refused to suffer any of them to come near his fire, or converse with the prisoner who in the distribution had fallen to him.

19th. Pounding hommony was this day's employment, the weather being warm, made it a hard task; they boiled and prepared it for supper, the Indians setting down to eat first, and when they had concluded their meal, they wiped the spoon on the soal of their mockasons, and then gave it to the captives: hunger alone could prevail on any one to eat after such filth and nastiness.

20th. Elizabeth Gilbert, the mother, being obliged to ride alone, missed the path, for which the Indians repeatedly struck her. Their route still continued through rich meadows. After wandering for a time out of the direct path, they came to an Indian town, and obtained the necessary information to pursue their journey; the Indians ran out of their huts to see the prisoners, and

to partake of the plunder, but no part of it suited them. Being directed to travel the path back again, for a short distance, they did so, and then struck into another, and went on until night, by which time they were very hungry, not having eat since morning; the kettle was again set on the fire, for hommony, this being their only food.

21<sup>st</sup>. The report of a morning-gun from Niagara, which they heard, contributed to raise their hopes, they rejoiced at being so near. An Indian was dispatched on horse-back, to procure provisions from the fort.

Elizabeth Gilbert could not walk as fast as the rest, she was therefore sent forwards on foot, but was soon overtaken, and left behind, the rest being obliged by the Indians to go on without regarding her. She would have been greatly perplexed, when she came to a division path, had not her husband lain a branch across the path which would have led her wrong: an affecting instance of both ingenuity and tenderness. She met several Indians, who passed by without speaking to her.

An Indian belonging to the company, who was on the horse Elizabeth Gilbert had rode, overtook her, and, as he went on slowly conversing with her, endeavoured to alarm her, by saying that she would be left behind, and perish in the woods; yet, notwithstanding this, his heart was so softened before he had gone any great distance from her, that he alighted from the horse and left him, that she might be able to reach the rest of the company. The more seriously she considered this, the more it appeared to her, to be a convincing instance of the overruling protection of him, who can "turn the heart of man, as the husbandman turneth the water course in his field."

22d. As the Indians approached nearer their habitations, they frequently repeated their halloos, and after some time they received an answer in the same manner, which alarmed the company much; but they soon discovered it to proceed from a party of whites and Indians, who were on some expedition, though their pretence was, that they were for New-York. Not long after parting with these, the captain's wife came to them; she was daughter to Siangorochti, king of the Senecas, but her mother being a Cayuga, she was ranked among the nation, the children generally reckoning their descent from the mother's side. This princess was attended by the captain's brother John, one other Indian, and a white prisoner who had been taken at Wyoming, by Rowland Monteur; she was dressed altogether in the Indian manner, shining with gold lace and silver baubles. They brought with them from the fort a supply of provisions. The captain being at a distance behind, when his wife came, the company waited for him. After the customary salutations, he addressed himself to his wife, telling her that Rebecca was her daughter, and that she must not be induced, by any consideration, to part with her; whereupon she took a silver ring off her finger, and put it upon Rebecca, by which she was adopted as her daughter.

They feasted upon the provisions that were brought, for they had been for several days before pinched with hunger, what sustenance they could procure not being sufficient to support nature.

23d. Their spirits were in some degree revived, by the enjoyment of plenty, added to the pleasing hope of some favourable event procuring their releasement, as they were not far distant from Niagara.

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The Indians proceeded on their journey, and continued whooping in the most frightful manner. In this day's route, they met another company of Indians, who compelled Benjamin Gilbert, the elder, to sit on the ground, and put several questions to him, to which he gave them the best answer he could; they then took his hat from him and went off.

Going through a small town near Niagara, an Indian woman came out of one of the huts, and struck each of the captives a blow. Not long after their departure from this place, Jesse, Rebecca, and their mother, were detained until the others had got out of their sight, when the mother was ordered to push on; and as she had to go by herself, she was much perplexed what course to take, as there was no path by which she could be directed. In this dilemma, she concluded to keep as straight forward as possible, and after some space of time, she had the satisfaction of overtaking the others. The pilot then made a short stay, that those who were behind might come up, and the captain handed some rum round, giving each a dram, except the two old folks, whom they did not consider worthy of this notice. Here the captain, who had the chief direction, painted Abner, Jesse, Rebecca and Elizabeth Gilbert, jun. and presented each with a belt of wampum, as a token of their being received into favour, although they took from them all their hats and bonnets, except Rebecca's.

The prisoners were released from the heavy loads they had heretofore been compelled to carry, and was it not for the treatment they expected on their approaching the Indian towns, and the hardship of a separation, their situation would have been tolerable; but the horror of their minds, arising from the dreadful yells of the

Indians, as they approached the hamlets, is easier conceived than described, for they were no strangers to the customary cruelty exercised upon captives on entering their towns. The Indians, men, women, and children collect together, bringing clubs and stones, in order to beat them, which they usually do with great severity, by way of revenge for their relations who have been slain; this is performed immediately upon their entering the village where the warriors reside: This treatment cannot be avoided, and the blows, however cruel, must be borne without complaint, and the prisoners are sorely beaten, until their enemies are wearied with the cruel sport. Their sufferings were in this case very great, they received several wounds, and two of the women who were on horseback, were much bruised by falling from their horses, which were frightened by the Indians. Elizabeth, the mother, took shelter by the side of one of them, but upon his observing that she met with some favour upon his account, he sent her away; she then received several violent blows, so that she was almost disabled. The blood trickled from their heads, in a stream, their hair being crompt close, and the cloths they had on, in rags, made their situation truly piteous: Whilst they were inflicting this revenge upon the captives, the king came, and put a stop to any further cruelty, by telling them "It was sufficient," which they immediately attended to.

Benjamin Gilbert, and Elizabeth his wife, Jesse Gilbert, and his wife, were ordered to Captain Rowland Monteur's house, the women belonging to it, were kind to them, and gave them something to eat; Sarah Gilbert, Jesse's wife, was taken from them by three women, in order to be placed in the family she was to be adopted by.

Two officers from Niagara fort, captains Dase, and Powel, came to see the prisoners, and prevent ( as they were informed ) any abuse that might be given them; Benjamin Gilbert informed these officers, that he was apprehensive they were in great danger of being murdered, upon which they promised him they would send a boat, the next day, to bring them to Niagara.

24th. Notwithstanding the kind intention of the officers, they did not derive the expected advantage from it, for the Indians insisted on their going to the fort on foot, although the bruises they had received the day before, from the many severe blows given them, rendered their journey on foot very distressing; but capt. Monteur, obstinately persisting, they dare not long remonstrate, or refuse.

When they left the Indian town, several issued from their huts after them with sticks in their hands, yelling and screeching in a most dismal manner; but through the interposition of four Indian women, who had come with the captives, to prevent any further abuse they might receive, they were preserved. One of them walking between Benjamin Gilbert and his wife, led them, and desired Jesse to keep as near them as he could, the other three walked behind, and prevailed with the young Indians to desist. They had not pursued their route long, before they saw capt. John Powel, who came from his boat, and persuaded ( though with some difficulty ) the Indians to get into it, with the captives, which relieved them from their apprehensions of further danger. After reaching the fort, capt. Powel introduced them to col. Guy Johnson, and col. Butler, who asked the prisoners many questions, in the presence of the Indians. They presented the captain with a belt of wam-

pum, which is a constant practice amongst them, when they intend a ratification of the peace. Before their connexion with Europeans, these belts were made of shells, found on the coasts of New England and Virginia, which were sawed out into beads of an oblong shape, about a quarter of an inch long, which when strung together on leathern strings, and these strings fastened with finethreads made of sinews, compose what is called, a belt of wampum. But since the whites have gained footing among them, they make use of the common glass beads for this purpose.

The Indians, according to their usual custom and ceremony, at three separate times, ordered the prisoners to shake hands with col. Johnson.

25th. Benjamin Gilbert, Elizabeth his wife, and Jesse Gilbert, were surrendered to Col. Johnson. This deliverance from such scenes of distress, as they had become acquainted with, give them a more free opportunity of close reflection than heretofore.

The many sorrowful days and nights they had passed, the painful anxiety attendant on their frequent separation from each other, and the uncertainty of the fate of the rest of their family, overwhelmed them with grief.

26th. Expression is too weak to describe their distress, on leaving their children with these hard masters; they were not unacquainted with many of the difficulties, to which they would necessarily be exposed in a residence amongst Indians, and the loss which the young people would sustain for want of a civilized and Christian education.

27th. In this desponding situation, the kindness of sympathy was awakened in one of the Indian women, who even forgot her prejudices, and wiped away the tears which trickled down Elizabeth Gilbert's cheeks.

The particular attention of Col. Johnson's housekeeper to them, from a commiseration of their distress, claims their remembrance: Benjamin, his wife, and Jesse Gilbert, were invited to her house, where she not only gave the old folks her best room, but administered to their necessities, and endeavoured to sooth their sorrows.

Jesse Gilbert was favoured to get employ, which, as it was some alleviation of his misfortunes, may be considered as a providential kindness.

28th. A few days after they came to the fort, they had information that Benjamin Peart was by the river side, with the Indians; upon hearing this report, his mother went to see him, but every attempt for his release was in vain, the Indians would by no means give him up. From this place they intended to march with their prisoners, to the Genesee river, about an hundred miles distance. As the affectionate mother's solicitations proved fruitless, her son not only felt the afflicting loss of his wife and child, from whom he had been torn some time before, but a renewal of his grief on this short sight of his parent. She procured him a hat, and also some salt, which was an acceptable burden for the journey.

Benjamin Gilbert, conversing with the Indian captain who made them captives, observed that he might say what none of the other Indians could, "That he had brought in the oldest man, and the youngest child;" his reply to this was expressive; "It was not I, but the great God who brought you through, for we were determined to kill you, but were prevented."

The British officers being acquainted that Jesse Gilbert's wife was among the Indians, with great tenderness agreed to seek her out, and after a diligent enquiry,

found that she was among the Delawares, they went to them, and endeavoured to agree upon terms for her release; the Indians brought her to the fort the next day, but would not give her up to her relations.

29th. As the cabbins of the Indians were but two miles from the fort, they went thither, and Jesse and the officers used every argument in their power to prevail upon them, representing how hard it was to part these two young people; at length they consented to bring her in next day, with their whole tribe, for a final release.

30th. They accordingly came, but started so many objections, that she was obliged to return with them.

31st. Early next morning, Capt. Robeson generously undertook to procure her liberty, which, after much attention and solicitude, he, together with Lieutenant Hillyard, happily accomplished. They made the Indians several small presents, and gave them thirty pounds as a ransom.

When Sarah Gilbert had obtained her liberty, she altered her dress more in character for her sex, than she had been able to do whilst amongst the Indians, and went to her husband and parents at Col. Johnson's, where she was joyfully received.

Col. Johnson's housekeeper continued her kind attentions to them, during their stay here, and procured clothing for them from the king's stores.

6th Month 1st. About this time the Senecas, among whom Elizabeth Peart was captive, brought her with them to the fort; as soon as the mother heard of it, she went to her, and had some conversation with her, but could not learn where she was to be sent to; she then enquired of the Interpreter, and pressed on his friendship, to learn what was to become of her daughter; this

request he complied with, and informed her that she was to be given away to another family of the Senecas, and adopted among them, in the place of a deceased relation. Capt. Powel interested himself in her case likewise, and offered to purchase her of them, but the Indians, refused to give her up; and as the mother and daughter expected they should see each other no more their parting was very affecting.

The Indian woman who had adopted Rebecca as her daughter, came also to the fort, and Elizabeth Gilbert made use of this opportunity to enquire concerning her daughter, the Interpreter informed her, there was no probability of obtaining the enlargement of her child, as the Indians would not part with her: All she could do, was, to recommend her to their notice, as very weakly, and of consequence not able to endure much fatigue.

2d and 3d. Not many days after their arrival at Niagara, a vessel came up Lake Ontario to the fort, with orders for the prisoners to go to Montreal. In this vessel came one Capt. Brant, an Indian chief, high in rank amongst them. Elizabeth Gilbert immediately applied herself to solicit and interest him in behalf of her children who yet remained in captivity; he readily promised her to use his endeavours to procure their liberty. A short time before they sailed for Montreal, they received accounts of Abner and Elizabeth Gilbert the younger, but it was also understood that their possessors were not disposed to give them up. As the prospect of obtaining the release of their children was so very discouraging, it was no alleviation to their distress, to be removed to Montreal, where, in all probability, they would seldom be able to gain any information respecting them; on which account, they were very solicitous to stay at

Niagara, but the Colonel said they could not remain there, unless the son would enter into the King's service: this could not be consented to, therefore they chose to submit to every calamity which might be permitted to befall them, and confide in the great controller of events.

Here they became acquainted with one Jesse Pawling, from Pennsylvania, who was an officer among the British, and behaved with kindness and respect to the prisoners, which induced them to request his attention also to that part of the family remaining in captivity; it appeared to them of some consequence to gain an additional friend. The Col. also gave his promise to exert himself on their behalf.

After continuing ten days at Col. Johnson's, they took boat in the forenoon of the 2d, being the sixth day of the week, and crossed the river Niagara, in order to go on board the vessel (which lay in Lake Ontario) for Montreal. The officers procured necessaries for their voyage in great plenty, and they were also furnished with orders to draw more at certain places, as they might have occasion: These civilities may appear to many, to be too trivial to be mentioned in this narrative, but those who have been in equal distress, will not be insensible to their value.

*4th.* The vessel sailed down the lake, on the sixth day of the week, and on first-day following, being the fourth day of the sixth month, 1780, came to Carlton Island, where there were such a number of small boats, which brought provisions, that it had the appearance of a fleet. Benjamin Gilbert, and Jesse, went on shore to obtain leave from the commanding officer, to go to Montreal in the small boats, as the vessel they came in could



proceed no further: They met with a kind reception and their request was granted.

5th. On second-day following, they left Carlton Island, which lies at the mouth of Lake Ontario, and took their passage in open boats down the river St. Laurence, and passed a number of small Islands. There is a rapid descent in the waters of this river, which appears dangerous to those unacquainted with these kind of falls. The French men who rowed the boats, kept them near the shore, and passed without much difficulty between the rocks.

6th, 7th, and 8th. Benjamin Gilbert had been much indisposed before they left the fort, and his disorder was increased by a rain which fell on their passage, as they were without any covering. They passed Oswagatchy, an English garrison, by the side of the river, but they were not permitted to stop here; they proceeded down the St. Laurence, and the rain continuing, went on shore on an island in order to secure themselves from the weather: Here they made a shelter for Benjamin Gilbert, and when the rain ceased, a place was prepared for him in the boat, that he might lie down with more ease. His bodily weakness made such rapid progress, that it rendered all the care and attention of his wife necessary, and likewise called forth all her fortitude; she supported him in her arms, affording every possible relief to mitigate his extreme pains: And although in this distressed condition, he, notwithstanding, gave a satisfactory evidence of the virtue and power of a patient and holy resignation, which can disarm the king of terrors, and receive him as a welcome messenger: Thus prepared, he passed from this state of probation, the eighth day of the sixth month, 1780, in the evening, leaving his wife

and two children, who were with him, in all the anxiety of deep distress, although they had no doubt but that their loss was his everlasting gain. Being without a light in the boat, the darkness of the night added not a little to their melancholy situation. As there were not any others with Elizabeth Gilbert but her children, and the four French men who managed the boat, and her apprehensions alarmed her, lest they should throw the corps overboard, as they appeared to be an unfeeling company, she therefore applied to some British officers, who were in a boat behind them, who dispelled her fears, and received her under their protection.

9th. In the morning they passed the garrison of Coeur de Lac, and waited for some considerable time, a small distance below it. Squire Campbell, who had the charge of the prisoners, when he heard of Benjamin Gilbert's decease, sent Jesse to the commandant of the garrison to get a coffin, in which they put the corps, and very hastily interred him under an oak not far from the fort. The boat men would not allow his widow to pay the last tribute to his memory, but regardless of her affliction, refused to wait; her distress on this occasion was great indeed, but being sensible that it was her duty to submit to the dispensations of an over-ruling providence, which are all ordered in wisdom, she endeavoured to support herself under her afflictions, and proceeded with the boatmen.

Near this place they passed by a grist-mill, which is maintained by a stone wing extended into the river St. Laurence, the stream being very rapid, acquires a force sufficient to turn the wheel, without the further expence of a dam.

The current carried their boat forwards with amazing rapidity, and the falls became so dangerous that the

boats could proceed no further; they therefore landed in the evening, and went to the commanding officer of Fort Lasheen to request a lodging, but the houses in the garrison were so crowded, that it was with difficulty they obtained a small room belonging to the boat-builders to retire to, and here they stowed themselves with ten others.

10th. The garrison of Lasheen is on the isle of Jesu, on which the town of Montreal stands, about the distance of nine miles; hither our travellers had to go by land, and as they were entirely unacquainted with the road, they took the advantage of an empty cart (which was going to the town) for the women to ride in.

The land in this neighbourhood is very stony, and the soil thin; the cattle small, and ill favoured.

When they arrived at Montreal, they were introduced to Brigadier General M'Clean, who after examining them, sent them to one Duquesne, an officer among the loyalists, who being from home, they were desired to wait in the yard until he came; this want of politeness, gave them no favourable impressions of the master of the house; when he returned, he read their pass, and gave Jesse an order for three days provisions.

Daniel M'Ulphin received them into his house; by him they were treated with great kindness, and the women continued at his house and worked five weeks for him.

Jesse Gilbert met with employ at Thomas Busby's where he lived very agreeable for the space of nine months.

Elizabeth Gilbert had the satisfaction of an easy employ at Adam Scott's, merchant, having the superintendance of his kitchen, but about six weeks after she engaged in his service, Jesse's wife Sarah, was taken sick

at Thomas Busby's, which made it necessary for her mother to disengage herself from the place where she was so agreeably situated, in order to nurse her. These three were favoured to be considered as the king's prisoners, having rations allowed them; this assistance was very comfortable, but Elizabeth's name being erased out of the list at a time when they needed an additional supply, they were much straightened: Upon an application to one Colonel Campbell, he, together with Esquire Campbell, took down a short account of her sufferings and situation, and after preparing a concise narrative, they applied to the Brigadier General, to forward it to General Haldimand at Quebec, desiring his attention to the sufferers, who speedily issued his orders, that the releasement of the family should be procured, with particular injunctions for every garrison to furnish them with necessaries as they came down.

As soon as Sarah Gilbert recovered from her indisposition, her mother returned to Adam Scott's family.

Thomas Gomerson hearing of their situation came to see them; he was educated a quaker, and had been a merchant of New York, and travelled with Robert Walker in his religious visits; but upon the commencement of the war, had deviated from his former principles, and had lost all the appearance of a friend, wearing a sword: He behaved with respect to the prisoners, and made Elizabeth a present.

The particular attention of Col. Cross, and the care he showed by writing to Niagara, on behalf of the captives, as he was entirely a stranger to her, is remembered with Gratitude.

As there was an opportunity of hearing from Niagara, it gave them great pleasure to be informed that Eliza-

beth Gilbert was amongst the white people, she having obtained her release from the Indians, prior to the others.

Sarah Gilbert, wife of Jesse, becoming a mother, Elizabeth left the service she was engaged in, Jesse having taken a house, that she might give her daughter every necessary attendance: and in order to make their situation as comfortable as possible, they took a child to nurse, which added a little to their income. After this, Elizabeth Gilbert hired herself to iron a day for Adam Scott; whilst she was at work, a little girl belonging to the house, acquainted her that there were some who wanted to see her, and upon entering into the room, she found six of her children; the joy and surprise she felt on this occasion, were beyond what we shall attempt to describe. A messenger was sent to inform Jesse and his wife, that Joseph Gilbert, Benjamin Peart, Elizabeth his wife, and young child, Abner and Elizabeth Gilbert, the younger, were with their mother. It must afford very pleasing reflections to any affectionate disposition, to dwell awhile on this scene, that after a captivity of upwards of fourteen months, so happy a meeting should take place.

Thomas Peart, who had obtained his liberty, and tarried at Niagara, that he might be of service to the two yet remaining in captivity, viz. Benjamin Gilbert, jun. and Rebecca Gilbert.

Abigail Dodson, the daughter of a neighbouring farmer, who was taken with them, having inadvertently informed the Indians she was not of the Gilbert family, all attempts for her liberty were fruitless.

We shall now proceed to relate how Joseph Gilbert, the eldest son of the deceased, fared amongst the Indians: He, with Thomas Peart, Benjamin Gilbert, jun,

and Jesse Gilbert's wife Sarah, were taken along the westward path, as before related; after some short continuance in this path, Thomas Peart and Joseph Gilbert were taken from the other two, and by a different rout through many difficulties, they were brought to Caracadera, where they received the insults of the women and children, whose husbands or parents had fallen in their hostile excursions.

Joseph Gilbert was separated from his companion, and removed to an Indian villa, called Nundow, about seven miles from Caracadera; his residence was, for several weeks, in the king's family, whose hamlet was superior to the other small huts. The king himself brought him some hommony, and treated him with great civility, intending his adoption into the family, in the place of one of his sons, who was slain when General Sullivan drove them from their habitations. As Nundow was not to be the place of his abode, his quarters were soon changed, and he was taken back to Caracadera: but his weakness of body was so great, that he was two days accomplishing this journey, which was only seven miles, and not able to procure any other food than roots and herbs, the Indian economy leaving them without any provisions to subsist on. Here they adopted him into the family of one of the king's sons, informing him, that if he would marry amongst them, he should enjoy the privileges which they enjoyed; but this proposal he was not disposed to comply with, and as he was not over anxious to conceal his dislike to them, the sufferings he underwent were not alleviated. The manner of his life differing so much from what he had before been accustomed to, having to eat the wild roots and herbs before mentioned, and as he had been lame

from a child, and subject to frequent indispositions, it was requisite for him to pay more attention to his weak habit of body, than his captors were willing he should. When the master of the family was at home, the respect he showed to Joseph, and his kindness to him, rendered his situation more tolerable than in his absence. Frequently suffering with hunger, the privilege of a plentiful table, appeared to him as an inestimable blessing, which claimed the warmest devotion of gratitude: In such a distressed situation, the hours rolled over with a tediousness almost insupportable, as he had no agreeable employ to relieve his mind from the reflections of his sorrowful captivity: This manner of life continued about three months, and when they could no longer procure a supply by their hunting, necessity compelled them to go to Niagara fort for provision. The greater number of the Indians belonging to Caracadera attended on this journey, in order to obtain a supply of provisions: their want or economy being so great, as to have consumed so early as the eighth month, all they had raised the last year, and the present crops unfit to gather: Their profuse manner of using their scant pittance of provision, generally introducing a famine, after a short time of feasting. They compute the distance from Caracadera, to Niagara fort, to be of one hundred and thirty miles; on this journey they were upwards of 5 days, taking some venison in their route, and feasting with great greediness, as they had been a long time without meat.

When they reached the fort, they procured cloathing from the king's stores for Joseph Gilbert, such as the Indians usually wear themselves, a match coat, leggins, &c. His indisposition confined him at Col. Johnson's

for several days, during which time, the British officers endeavoured to agree with the Indians for his release-ment, but they would not consent. The afflicting account of the death of his father, which was here communicated to him, spread an additional gloom on his mind. After continuing at the fort about four weeks, the Indians ordered him back with them; this was a sore stroke, to leave a degree of ease and plenty, and resume the hardships of an Indian life: With this uncomfortable prospect before him, added to his lameness, the journey was toilsome and painful. They were five days in their return, and when they arrived, their corn was ripe for use; this, with the advantage of hunting, as the game was in its greatest perfection, furnished a present comfortable subsistence.

Joseph had permission to visit his fellow captive, Thomas Peart, who was at a small town of the Indians, about seven miles distance, called Nundow, to whom he communicated the sorrowful intelligence of their mother's widowed situation.

At the first approach of spring, Joseph Gilbert and his adopted brother employed themselves in procuring rails, and repairing the fence about the lot of ground they intended to plant with corn; as this part of preserving the grain was allotted to them, the planting and culture was assigned to the women, their husbandry being altogether performed by the hoe.

The Indian manner of life was by no means agreeable to Joseph Gilbert: their irregularity in their meals was hard for him to bear; when they had provisions in plenty, they observed no plan of domestic economy, but indulged their voracious appetites, which soon consumed their stock, and a famine succeeded.



In the early part of the sixth month, 1781, their corn spent, and they were obliged to have recourse again to the wild herbage and roots, and were so reduced for want of provision, that the Indians having found the carcass of a dead horse, they took the meat and roasted it.

An officer from the fort came down to enquire into the situation of the Indians, upon observing the low condition Joseph was in, not being likely to continue long without some relief, which the officer privately afforded, he being permitted to frequent his house, he advised him by flight, to endeavour an escape from the Indians, informing him that he had no other expedient for his release; this confirmed him in a resolution he had for some time been contemplating, but his lameness and weak habit, for want of proper sustenance, rendered it impracticable to make such an attempt at that time, and it would require much care and attention to his own health and strength, to gather sufficient for such an undertaking; he therefore made use of the liberty allowed him to visit the officer, and partake of his kindness and assistance, that he might be prepared for the journey.

Embracing a favorable opportunity, when the men were generally from home, some in their war expedition and some out hunting, he left them one night whilst the family slept, and made the best of his way towards Niagara fort, following the path, as he had once before gone along it. Having a small piece of bread which he took from the hut, he made a hasty repast, travelling day and night, in order to escape from the further distresses of captivity. As he neither took any sleep, or other food by the way than the piece of bread mentioned, for the two days and nights he pursued his journey, he

was much fatigued when he reached the fort, and he experienced the effects for several days. Upon his applying to Colonel Johnson, he was hospitably entertained, and the next day saw three of the Indians whom he had left at the town when he had set off.

After a few days stay here, as most of the family were discharged from captivity, and waiting for a passage to Montreal, a vessel was fitted to take them on board, in order to proceed down the lake.

We come next to Benjamin Peart, who remained the first night after his arriving at the Indian huts, with his wife and child, but was separated from them the next day, and taken about a mile and a half, and presented to one of the families of the Seneca nation, and afterwards introduced to one of their chiefs, who made a long harrangue which Benjamin did not understand. The Indians then gave him to a Squaw, in order to be received as her adopted child, who ordered him to a private hut, where the women wept over him in remembrance of the relation in whose stead he was received. After this, he went with his mother (by adoption) to Niagara river, about two miles below the great falls, and staid here several days, then went to the fort on their way to the Genesee river, where he had the pleasure of conversing with his mother, and receiving information concerning his wife and child; but even this satisfaction was short lived, for he neither could obtain permission to visit his wife nor was he allowed to converse freely with his mother, as the Indians hurried him on board their bark canoes, where having placed their provisions, they proceeded with expedition down the lake to the mouth of the Genesee river; the computed distance from the small village to the mouth of the river,

being one hundred miles, and from thence up the Genesee to the place of their destination, thirty miles; in their passage up the river they were about five days, and as the falls in the river near its entrance into lake Ontario, has made a carrying-place of about two miles, they dragged their canoe this distance to the place of boating above the falls. There were nine Indians of the party with them. They frequently caught fish by the way.

It no doubt was a sore affliction to Benjamin, to be so far removed from his wife and child whilst among the Indians: patience and resignation alone could endure it.

When the party arrived at the place of their designed settlement, they soon erected a small hut or wigwam, and the ground being rich and level, they began with their plantation of Indian corn. Two white men who had been taken prisoners, the one from Susquehanna, the other from Minisinks, both in Pennsylvania, lived near this settlement, and were allowed by the Indians to use the horses and plant for themselves: these men lightened the toil of Benjamin Peart's servitude, as he was frequently in their company, he had the liberty of doing something for himself, though without much success.

His new habitation, as it was not very healthy, introduced fresh difficulties, for he had not continued here long, before he was afflicted with sickness, which prayed upon him near three months, the Indians repeatedly endeavouring to relieve him by their knowledge in simples, but their endeavours proved ineffectual; the approach of the winter season afforded the relief sought for. Their provision was not very tempting to a weakly

constitution, having nothing else than hommony and but short allowance even of that, insomuch that when his appetite increased, he could not procure food sufficient to recruit his strength. The company of his brother Thomas Peart who visited him, was a great comfort, and as the town he lived at was but the distance of eighteen miles, they had frequent opportunities of condoling with each other in their distress.

The Indian men being absent on one of their war excursions, and the women employed in gathering the corn, left Benjamin Peart much leisure to reflect in solitude.

Towards the beginning of the winter season the men returned, and built themselves a log house for the granary, and then removed about twenty miles from their settlement into the hunting country, and procured a great variety of game, which they usually eat without bread or salt. As he had been with the Indians for several months, their language became more familiar to him.

Hunting and feasting after their manner being their only employ, they soon cleared the place where they settled of the game, which made a second removal necessary, and they are so accustomed to this wandering life, that it becomes their choice.

They fixed up a log hut in this second hunting place, and continued until the second month, when they returned to their first settlement, though their stay was but a few days, and then back again to their log hut.

A heavy rain falling melted some of the snow which had covered the ground about two feet deep.

The whole family concluded upon a journey to Niagara fort by land, which was completed in seven days. At the fort he had the satisfaction of conversing with

his brother Thomas Peart, and the same day his wife also came from Buffaloe creek, with the Senecas to the fort; this happy meeting, after an absence of ten months, drew tears of joy from them. He made an inquiry after his child, as he had neither heard from it or the mother since their separation. The Indians not approving of their conversing much together, as they imagined they would remember their former situation, and become less contented with their present manner of life, they separated them again the same day, and took Benjamin's wife about four miles distance; but the party with whom he came, permitted him to stay here several nights, and when the Indians had completed their purpose of traffic they returned, taking him some miles back with them to one of their towns; but upon his telling them he was desirous of returning to the fort to procure something he had before forgot, in order for his journey, he was permitted. As he staid the night, his adopted brother the Indian came for him, but upon his complaining that he was so lame as to prevent his travelling with them they suffered him to remain behind.

He continued at the fort about two months before the Indians came back again, and as he laboured for the white people, he had an opportunity of procuring salt provision from the king's stores, which had been for a long time a dainty to him.

When one of the Indians ( a second adopted brother ) came for him, Benjamin went with him to capt. Powel, who with earnest solicitations and some presents prevailed upon the Indian to suffer him to stay until he returned from his war expedition; but this was the last he ever made, as he lost his life on the frontiers of New York.

After this another captain (a third adopted brother) came to the fort, and when Benjamin Peart saw him, he applied to adjutant general Wilkinson, to intercede for his release, who accordingly waited upon col. Johnson and other officers, to prevail with them to exert themselves on his behalf; they concluded to hold a council with the Indians for this purpose, who after some deliberation surrendered him up to col. Johnson, for which he gave them a valuable compensation.

Benjamin Peart after his release was employed in col. Johnson's service, and continued with him for several months. His child had been released for some time, and his wife by earnest entreaty and plea of sickness, had prevailed with the Indians to permit her to stay at the fort, which proved a great consolation and comfort after so long a separation.

About the middle of the eighth month, there was preparation made for their proceeding to Montreal, as by this time there were six of the prisoners ready to go in a ship which lay in lake Ontario, whose names were Joseph Gilbert, Benjamin and Elizabeth Gilbert the younger. These went on board the vessel to Carlton Island, which is as far as the large vessels they use in the lake can proceed; remainder of the way (on account of the frequent shoals) they are obliged to go in smaller boats.

The commanding officer at Niagara procured a suitable supply of provision, and furnished them with orders to draw more at the several garrisons, as occasion required.

In two days they arrived at the upper end of Carlton Island, and went to the commander in chief to shew their pass, and obtain what they were in need of. Afterwards they continued on to the garrison of Oswagotchy by

the side of the river St. Laurence, in an open boat rowed by four Frenchmen, this class of people being chiefly employed in laborious services.

The stream was so rapid and full of rocks, that the prisoners were too much alarmed to remain in the boat, and concluded to go on shore until they passed the danger; but the Frenchmen, who had been accustomed to these wild and violent rapids, (the longest of which is known by the name of the long Sou) kept on board. This surprising scene continued for the distance of six miles, and they viewed it with a degree of horror, their heads becoming almost giddy with the prospect. When the boats had shot the falls, they again went on board and continued down the river to Cour de Lac. No great distance below this they anchored, and landed at the place where their father was interred, shedding many tears of filial affection to his memory. They afterwards applied to the commanding officer of the garrison for provisions and other necessaries; they then bid adieu to this solemn spot of sorrow, and proceeded to Lasheen, which they reached the twenty-fourth day of the eighth month, having been eight days on their voyage.

After refreshing themselves at this garrison, they set forward on foot for Montreal, which they reached the same day. They went to the Brigadier general and showed him their passport, and as soon as at liberty waited on their mother at Adam Scott's, as has been already related.

The situation of Elizabeth Peart wife of Benjamin, and her child is next to be related.

After she and the child were parted from her husband, Abigail Dodson and the child were taken several miles in the night to a little hut, where they staid till morn-

ing, and the day following were taken within eight miles of Niagara, where she was adopted into one of the families of Senecas; the ceremony of adoption to her was tedious and distressing; they obliged her to sit down with a young man an Indian, and the eldest chieftain of the family repeated a jargon of words, to her unintelligible, but which she considered as some form amongst them of marriage, and this apprehension introduced the most violent agitations, as she was determined, at all events, to oppose any step of this nature; but after the old Indian concluded his speech she was relieved from the dreadful embarrassment she had been under, as she was led away by another Indian.

Abigail Dodson was given the same day to one of the families of the Cayuga nation, so that Elizabeth Peart saw her no more.

The man who led Elizabeth from the company took her into the family for whom they adopted her, and introduced her to her parents, brothers and sisters in the Indian style, who received her very kindly, and made a grievous lamentation over her according to custom. After she had been with them two days, the whole family left her habitation and went about two miles to fort Slusher, where they staid several days: this fort is about one mile from Niagara falls.

As she was much indisposed, the Indians were detained several days for her; but as they cared little for her, she was obliged to lie on the damp ground, which prevented her speedy recovery. As soon as her disorder abated of its violence, they set off in a bark canoe which they had provided intending for buffaloe creek; and as they went slowly, they had an opportunity of taking some fish.



When they arrived at the place of their intended settlement, they went on shore and built an house.

A few days after they came to this new settlement, they returned with Elizabeth to fort Slusher, when she was told her child must be taken away from her; this was truly afflicting, but all remonstrances were in vain.

From fort Slusher she travelled on foot, carrying her child to Niagara, it being eighteen miles, and in sultry weather, rendered it a painful addition to the thoughts of parting with her tender offspring. The intent of their journey was to obtain provisions, and their stay at the fort was of several days continuance. Capt. Powel afforded her an asylum in his house.

The Indians took the child from her and went with it across the river to adopt it into the family they had assigned for it, notwithstanding captain Powel, at his wife's request, interceded that it might not be removed from its mother; but as it was so young, they returned it to the mother after its adoption, until it should be convenient to send it to the family under whose protection it was to be placed.

Obtaining the provision and other necessaries they came to Niagara to trade for, they returned to fort Slusher on foot, from whence they embarked in their canoes. It being near the time of planting, they used much expedition in this journey.

The labour and drudgery in a family falling to the share of the women, Elizabeth had to assist the squaw in preparing the ground and planting corn.

Their provision being scant they suffered much, and as their dependence for a sufficient supply until the gathering their crop, was on what they should receive

from the fort, they were under the necessity of making a second journey thither.

They were two days on the road at this time. A small distance before they came to the fort they took her child from her, and sent it to its destined family, and it was several months before she had an opportunity of seeing it again. After being taken from her husband, to lose her darling infant, was a severe stroke: she lamented her condition and wept sorely, for which one of the Indians inhumanly struck her. Her Indian father seemed a little moved to behold her so distressed; and in order to console her, assured her they would bring it back again, but she saw it not until the spring following.

After they had disposed of their peltries, they returned to their habitation by the same route which they had come.

With a heart oppressed with sorrow, Elizabeth trod back her steps, mourning for her lost infant, for this idea presented itself continually to her mind; but as she experienced how fruitless, nay how dangerous, solicitations in behalf of her child were, she dried her tears and pined in secret.

Soon after they had reached their own habitation Elizabeth Peart was again afflicted with sickness. At the first they shewed some attention to her complaints, but as she did not speedily recover so as to be able to work, they discontinued every attention, and built a small hut by the side of the corn field, placing her in it to mind the corn. In this lonely condition she saw a white man, who had been made prisoner among the Indians. He informed her that her child was released and with the white people. This information revived her drooping spirits, and a short time after she recovered

of her indisposition, but her employment still continued of attending the corn until it was ripe for gathering, which she assisted in. When the harvest was over, they permitted her to return and live with them.

A time of plenty now commenced, and they lived as if they had sufficient to last the year through, faring plentifully every day.

A drunken Indian came to the cabin one day, and the old Indian woman complaining to him of Elizabeth, his behaviour exceedingly terrified her; he stormed like a fury, and at length struck her a violent blow which laid her on the ground; he then began to pull her about and abuse her much, when another of the women interposed, and rescued her from further suffering. Such is the shocking effect of spirituous liquor on these people, it totally deprives them both of sense and humanity.

A tedious winter prevented them from leaving their habitation, and deprived her of the pleasure of hearing often from her friends, who were very much scattered; but a prisoner, who had lately seen her husband, informed her of his being much indisposed at the Genesee river, which was upwards of one hundred miles distance. On receiving this intelligence, she stood in need of much consolation, but had no source of comfort, except in her own bosom.

Near the return of spring their provision failing, they were compelled to go off to the fort for a fresh supply, having but a small portion of corn which they allowed out once each day.

Through snow and severe frost they went for Niagara, suffering much from the excessive cold. And when they came within a few miles of the fort, which they were four days in accomplishing, they struck up a small

wigwam for some of the family with the prisoners to live in, until the return of the warriors from the fort.

As soon as capt. Powell's wife heard that the young child's mother had come with the Indians, she desired to see her, claiming some relationship in the Indian way, as she had also been a prisoner among them. They granted her request, and Elizabeth was accordingly introduced, and informed that her husband was returned to the fort, and there was some expectation of his release. The same day Benjamin Peart came to see his wife, but could not be permitted to continue with her, as the Indians insisted on her going back with them to their cabin, which, as has been related, was some miles distant.

Elizabeth Peart was not allowed for some days to go from the cabin, but a white family who had bought her child from Indians to whom it had been presented, offered the party with whom Elizabeth was confined a bottle of rum if they would bring her across the river to her child, which they did, and delighted the fond mother with this happy meeting, as she had not seen it for the space of eight months.

She was permitted to stay with the family where her child was for two days, when she returned with the Indians to their cabin. After some time she obtained a further permission to go to the fort, where she had some needle work from the white people, which afforded her a plea for often visiting it. At length capt. Powell's wife prevailed with them to suffer her to continue a few days at her house, and work for her family which was granted. At the expiration of the time, upon the coming of the Indians for her to return with them, she pleaded indisposition, and by this means they were repeatedly dissuaded from taking her with them.

As the time of planting drew nigh, she made use of a little address to retard her departure ; having a small swelling on her neck she applied a poultice, which led the Indians into a belief that it was improper to remove her, and they consented to come again for her in two weeks.

Her child was given up to her soon after her arrival at the fort, where she lodged at capt. Powell's and her husband came frequently to visit her, which was a great satisfaction, as her trials in their separation had been many.

At the time appointed some of the Indians came again, but she still pleaded indisposition, and had confined herself to her bed. One of the women interrogated her very closely, but did not insist upon her going back. Thus several months elapsed, she contriving delays as often as they came.

When the vessel which was to take the other five, among whom were her husband and child, was ready to sail, the officers at Niagara concluded she might also go with them, as they saw no reasonable objection, and they doubted not but it was in their power to satisfy those Indians who considered her as their property.

Abner Gilbert, another of the captives, when the company had reached the Indian town within three miles of the Niagara fort, was, with Elizabeth Gilbert the younger, separated from the rest about the latter part of the fifth month, 1780, and were both adopted into John Huston's family, who was of the Cayuga nation. After a stay of three days at or near the settlement of these Indians, they removed to a place near the Great Falls, which is about eighteen miles distant from the fort, and loitered here three days more ; they then crossed the

river, and settled near its banks, clearing a piece of land and prepared it by the hoe for planting. Until they could gather their corn their dependance was entirely upon the fort.

After the space of three weeks they packed up their moveables, which they generally carry with them in their rambles, and went down the river to get provisions at Butlersbury, a small village built by col. Butler and is on the opposite side of the river to Niagara fort. They staid one night at the village, observing great caution that none of the white people should converse with the prisoners. Next day, after transacting their business, they returned to the settlement, and continued there but about one week, when it was concluded they must go again for Butlersbury; after they had left their habitation a small distance the head of the family met with his brother, and as they are very ceremonious in such interviews, the place of meeting was their rendezvous for the day and night. In the morning the family, with the brother before mentioned, proceeded for Butlersbury, and reached it before night. They went to the house of an Englishman, one John Seccord, who was stiled brother to the chief of the family, having lived with him some time before.

After some deliberation it was agreed that Elizabeth Gilbert should continue in this family till sent for; this was an agreeable change to her.

Abner returned with them to the settlement; his employ being to fence and secure the corn patch; sometimes he had plenty of provisions but was often in want.

The mistress of the family one day intending for Butlersbury, ordered Abner to prepare to go with her; but she had not gone far before she sent him back.

Notwithstanding he had long been inured to frequent disappointments, he was much mortified at returning, as he expected to have seen his sister. When the woman came home she gave him no information about her, and all inquiries on his part would have been fruitless.

The place they had settled at served for a dwelling until fall, and as it was not very far distant from the fort, by applying for provisions, they were not much distressed between the failing of their old crop and the gathering of the new one, as those who lived at a greater distance.

In the fall John Huston, the head of the family, went out hunting, and in his return caught cold from his careless manner of lying in the wet, and thereby lost the use of his limbs for a long time. On being informed of his situation, the family moved to the place where he was; they fixed a shelter over him (as he was unable to move himself) and continued here about a month; but as it was remote from any settlement, and they had to go often to the fort for the necessaries of life, they concluded to return to their own habitation. Abner, the Indian man, and some of the women carried the cripple in a blanket about two miles; this was so hard a task, they agreed to put up a small house and wait for his recovery: but not long after they had an opportunity of conveying him on horse-back to the landing about nine miles above the fort. As this was their plantation and the time of gathering their crops, they took in their corn, which, as has been before observed, is the business of the women. Then they changed their quarters, carrying the lame Indian as before in a blanket, down to the river side, when they went on board canoes, and

cross the river in order to get to their hunting-ground, where they usually spend the winter.

Abner Gilbert lived a dronish Indian life, idle and poor, having no other employ than the gathering hickory nuts; and although young, his situation was very irksome.

As soon as the family came to the hunting ground, they patched up a slight hut for their residence, and employed themselves in hunting. They took Abner along with them in one of their tours, but they were then unsuccessful, taking nothing but racoons and porcupines.

The crops of Indian corn proving too scant a pittance for the winter; Abner, on this account, had some agreeable employ, which was to visit the fort, and secure a supply of provisions, which continued to be his employment for the remainder of the season.

In the spring John Huston, the Indian who had been lame the whole winter, recovered, and unhappily had it in his power to obtain a supply of rum, which he frequently drank to excess; and always when thus debauched was extravagantly morose, quarreling with the women who were in the family, and at length left them. Soon after his departure the family moved about forty miles, near buffalo creek, which empties its waters into lake Erie. At this place Abner heard of his sister Rebecca Gilbert, who still remained in captivity not far from his new habitation. This was their summer residence, they therefore undertook to clear a piece of land, in which they put corn, pumpkins and squashes.

Abner, having no useful employ, amused himself with catching fish in the lake, and furnished the family with frequent messes of various kinds, which they eat with-



out bread or salt; for the distance of this settlement from the fort prevented them from obtaining provisions so frequently as necessary. Capt. John Powell and Thomas Peart (the latter had by this time obtained his release from the Indians) and several others came among the Indian settlements with provisions and hoes for them. The account of their coming soon spread amongst the Indians. The chiefs of every tribe came, bringing with them as many little sticks as there were persons in their tribe, to express the number, in order to obtain a just proportion of the provision to be distributed. They are said to be unacquainted with any other power of explaining numbers than by this simple hieroglyphic mode.

It was upwards of a year since Abner had been parted from his relations, and as he had not seen his brother Thomas Peart in that space of time, this unexpected meeting gave him great joy, but it was of short duration, as they were forced to leave him behind. During the corn season he was employed in tending it, and not being of an impatient disposition he bore his captivity without repining.

In the seventh month, 1781, the family went to Butlersbury, when col. Butler treated with the woman who was the head of this family for the release of Abner, which she at length consented to, on receiving some presents, but said he must first return with her, and she would deliver him up in twenty days. Upon their return, she gave Abner the agreeable information that he was to be given up. This added a spur to his industry and made his labor light.

Some days before the time agreed on, they proceeded for Butlersbury, and went to John Secord's where his

sister Elizabeth Gilbert had been from the time mentioned in the former part of this narrative.

Abner was discharged by the Indians soon after his arrival at the English village, and John Secord permitted him to live in his family with his sister. With this family they continued two weeks, and as they were under the care of the English officers, they were permitted to draw cloathing and provisions from the king's stores.

Afterwards Benjamin Peart and his brother Thomas, who were both released, came over for their brother and sister at John Secord's, and went with them to capt. Powell's in order to be nearer the vessel they were to go in to Montreal.

The next of the family who comes within notice is Elizabeth Gilbert the sister. From the time of her being first introduced by the Indian into the family of John Secord, who was one in whom he placed great confidence. She was under the necessity of having new cloaths, as those she had brought from home were much worn. Her situation in the family where she was placed was comfortable. After a few days residence with them she discovered where the young child was, that had some time before been taken from its mother Elizabeth Peart, as before mentioned; and herself, together with John Secord's wife with whom she lived, and Capt. Fry's wife went to see it, in order to purchase it from the Indian woman who had it under her care; but they could not then prevail with her, though some time after Capt. Fry's wife purchased it for thirteen dollars. Whilst among the Indians it had been for a long time indisposed, and in a lingering distressing situation; but under its present kind protectre's, who treated the child as her own, it soon recruited.

Elizabeth Gilbert jun. lived very agreeably in John Secord's family rather more than a year, and became so fondly attached to her benefactors, that she usually stiled the mistress of the house her mamma. During her residence here, her brother Abner and Thomas Peart came several times to visit her.

The afflicting loss of her father, to whom she was affectionately endeared, and the separation from her mother, whom she had no expectation of seeing again, was a severe trial, although moderated by the kind attention shewn her by the family in which she lived.

John Secord having some business at Niagara, took Betsy with him, where she had the satisfaction of seeing six of her relations who had been captives, but were most of them released: This happy meeting made the trip to the fort a very agreeable one. She staid with them all night, and then returned.

Not long after this visit, Col. Butler and John Secord sent for the Indian who claimed Elizabeth as his property, and when he arrived, they made overtures to purchase her, but he declared he would not sell his own flesh and blood, for thus they style those whom they have adopted. They then had recourse to presents, which, overcoming his scruples, they obtained her discharge; after which she remained two weeks at Butlersbury, and then went to her mother at Montreal.

Having given a brief relation of the happy release and meeting of such of the captives as had returned from among the Indians, excepting Thomas Peart, whose narrative is deferred, as he was exerting his endeavours for the benefit of his sister and cousin who still remained behind.

It may not be improper to return to the mother, who with several of her children were at Montreal. The nurse-child which they had taken, as related in the former part of this account, dying, was a considerable loss to them, as they could not, even by their utmost industry, gain as much any other way.

In the fall of the year 1781, col. Johnson, Capt. Powell, and some other officers came to Montreal upon business, and were so kind in their remembrance of the family, as to inquire after them, and to make them some presents, congratulating the mother on the happy release-ment of so many of her children. They encouraged her with the information of their agreement with the Indians, for the releasement of her daughter Rebecca, expecting that she was by that time at Niagara; but in this opinion they were mistaken, as the Indian family who adopted her, valued her too high to be easily prevailed with, and it was a long time after this before she was given up.

Elizabeth Gilbert and her daughters took in cloaths to wash for their support, and being industrious and careful, it afforded them a tolerable subsistence.

Jesse Gilbert obtained employ at his trade as a Cooper, which yielded a welcome addition to their stock.

Elizabeth Gilbert suffered no opportunity to pass her, of inquiring about her friends and relations in Pennsylvania, and had the satisfaction of being informed by one who came from the southward, that friends of Philadelphia had been very assiduous in their endeavours to gain information where their family was, and had sent to the different meetings, desiring them to inform themselves of the situation of the captivated family, and, if in their power, afford them such relief as they might need.

It gave her great pleasure to hear of this kind sympathizing remembrance of their friends, and it would have been essentially serviceable to them, could they have reduced it to a certainty.

Deborah Jones, a daughter of Abraham Wing, a friend, sent for Elizabeth Gilbert in order to attend her as a nurse; but her death, which was soon after, frustrated the prospect she had of an agreeable place, as this woman was better grounded in friends principles than most she had met with; which circumstance united them in the ties of a close friendship: And as Elizabeth Gilbert had received many civilities and favours from her, her death was doubly afflicting to their family.

A person who came from Crown-Point, informed her that Benjamin Gilbert, a son of the deceased by his first wife, had come thither in order to be of what service he could to the family, and had desired him to make inquiry where they were, and in what situation, and send him the earliest information possible.

A second agreeable intelligence she received from Niagara, from a young woman who came from thence, who informed her that her daughter Rebecca was given up to the English, by the Indians. This information must have been very pleasing, as their expectations of her release were but faint; the Indian, with whom she lived, considering her as her own child.

It was not long after this, that Thomas Peart, Rebecca Gilbert, and their cousin Benjamin Gilbert came to Montreal to the rest of the family. This meeting, after such scenes of sorrow as they had experienced, was more completely happy than can be expressed.

Reflection, if indulged, will steadily point out a protecting arm of power to have ruled the varied storms

which often threatened the family with destruction on their passage through the wilderness, under the controul of the fiercest enemies, and preserved and restored them to each other, although separated among different tribes and nations. This so great a favour, cannot be considered by them but with the warmest emotions of gratitude to the great Author.

Rebecca Gilbert and Benjamin Gilbert, junr. were separated from their friends and connexions at a place called the Five Mile Meadows, which was said to be that distance from Niagara. The Seneca king's daughter, to whom they were allotted in the distribution of the captives, took them to a small hut where her father Siangorochti, his queen, and the rest of the family were; eleven in number. Upon the reception of the prisoners into the family, there was much sorrow and weeping, as is customary upon such occasions, and the higher in favour the adopted prisoners are to be placed, the greater lamentation is made over them.

After three days the family removed to a place called the landing, on the banks of Niagara river. Here they continued two days more, and then two of the women went with the captives to Niagara, to procure cloathing from the king's stores for them, and permitted them to ride on horse back to fort Slusher, which is about eighteen miles distant from Niagara fort. On this journey they had a sight of the great falls of Niagara.

During a stay of six days at fort Slusher, the British officers and others used their utmost endeavours to purchase them of the Indians; but the Indian king said he would not part with them for one thousand dollars.

The Indians who claimed Elizabeth Peart, came to the fort with her at this time, and although she was very

weakly and indisposed, it was an agreeable opportunity to them both of conversing with each other, but they were not allowed to be frequently together, lest they should increase each others discontent.

Rebecca being drest in the Indian manner, appeared very different from what she had been accustomed to; short clothes, leggings, and a gold laced hat.

From Niagara fort they went about eighteen miles above the falls to fort Erie, a garrison of the English, and then continued their journey about four miles further, up Buffalo creek, and pitched their tent. At this place they met with Rebecca's father and mother by adoption, who had gone before on horse back. They caught some fish and made soup of them, but Rebecca could eat none of it, as it was dressed without salt, and with all the carelessness of Indians.

This spot was intended for their planatation, they therefore began to clear the land for the crop of Indian corn. While the women were thus employed, the men built a log house for their residence, and then went out a hunting.

Notwithstanding the family they lived with, was of the first rank among the Indians, and the head of it styled king, they were under the necessity of labouring as well as those of lower rank, although they often had advantages of procuring more provisions than the rest. This family raised this summer about one hundred skipple of Indian corn (a skipple is about three pecks) equal to seventy-five bushels.

As Rebecca was not able to pursue a course of equal labour with the other women, she was favoured by them by often being sent into their hut to prepare something to eat; and as she drest their provisions after the English

method, and had erected an oven by the assistance of the other women, in which they baked their bread, their family fared more agreeably than the others.

Benjamin Gilbert, jun. was considered as the king's successor, and entirely freed from restraint, so that he even began to be delighted with his manner of life; and had it not been for the frequent counsel of his fellow captive, he would not have been anxious for a change.

In the waters of the lakes there are various kinds of fish, which the Indians take sometimes with spears; but whenever they can obtain hooks and lines they prefer them.

A fish called Ozoondah, resembling a shad in shape, but rather thicker and less bony, with which lake Erie abounded, were often dressed for their table, and were of an agreeable taste, weighing from three to four pounds.

They drew provisions this summer from the forts, which frequently induced the Indians to repair thither. The king, his daughter, grand-daughter, and Rebecca went together upon one of these visits to fort Erie, where the British officers entertained them with a rich feast, and so great a profusion of wine, that the Indian king was very drunk; and as he had to manage the canoe in their return, they were repeatedly in danger of being upset amongst the rocks in the lake.

Rebecca and Benjamin met with much better fare than the other captives, as the family they lived with were but seldom in great want of necessaries, which was the only advantage they enjoyed beyond the rest of their tribe.

Benjamin Gilbert, as a badge of his dignity, wore a silver medal pendant from his neck.



The king, queen, and another of the family, together with Rebecca and her cousin Benjamin set off for Niagara, going as far as fort Slusher by water, from whence they proceeded on foot carrying their loads on their backs. Their business at the fort was to obtain provisions, which occasioned them frequently to visit it, as before related.

Rebecca indulged herself with the pleasing expectation of obtaining her release, or at least permission to remain behind among the whites; but in both these expectations she was disagreeably disappointed, having to return again with her captors; all efforts for her release being in vain. Col. Johnson's housekeeper, whose repeated acts of kindness to this captivated family have been noticed, made her some acceptable presents.

As they had procured some rum to carry home with them, the chief was frequently intoxicated, and always in such unhappy fits behaved remarkably foolish.

On their return, Thomas Peart, who was at fort Niagara, procured for Rebecca an horse to carry her as far as fort Slusher, where they took boat and got home after a stay of nine days.

Soon after their return, Rebecca and her cousin were seized with the chill and fever, which held them for near three months. During their indisposition the Indians were very kind to them; and as their strength of constitution alone, could not check the progress of the disorder, the Indians procured some herbs, with which the patients were unacquainted, and made a plentiful decoction; with these they washed them, and it seemed to afford them some relief. The Indians accounted it a sovereign remedy.

The decease of her father, of which Rebecca received an account, continued her in a drooping way a considerable time longer than she would otherwise have been.

As soon as she recovered her health, some of the family again went to Niagara, and Rebecca was permitted to be of the company. They staid at the fort about two weeks, and col. Johnson exerted himself in order to obtain her release, holding a treaty with the Indians for this purpose; but his meditation proved fruitless: she had therefore to return with many an heavy step. When they came to lake Erie, where their canoe was, they proceeded by water. While in their boat a number of Indians in another canoe came towards them, and informed them of the death of her Indian father, who had made an expedition to the frontiers of Pennsylvania, and was there wounded by the militia, and afterwards died of his wounds; on which occasion she was under the necessity of making a feint of sorrow, and weeping aloud with the rest.

When they arrived at their settlement, it was the time of gathering their crop of corn, potatoes, and pumpkins, and preserving their store of hickory-nuts.

About the beginning of the winter some British officers came amongst them, and staid with them until spring, using every endeavour for the discharge of the two captives, but still unattended with success.

Some time after this another British officer, attended by Thomas Peart, came with provision and hoes for the Indians. It afforded them great happiness to enjoy the satisfaction of each others conversation, after so long an absence.

Rebecca and her cousin had the additional pleasure of seeing her brother Abner, who came with the family

amongst whom he lived, to settle near this place; and as they had not seen each other for almost twelve months, it proved very agreeable.

Thomas Peart endeavoured to animate his sister, by encouraging her with the hopes of speedily obtaining her liberty: But her hopes were often disappointed.

An officer among the British, one capt. Latteridge, came and staid some time with them, and interested himself on behalf of the prisoners, and appeared in a fair way of obtaining their enlargement; but being ordered to attend his regiment, he was prevented from further attention until his return from duty; and afterwards was commanded by col. Johnson to go with him to Montreal, on business of importance, which effectually barred his undertaking any thing further that winter.

It afforded her many pleasing reflections when she heard that six of her relatives were freed from their difficulties, and Thomas Peart visiting her again, contributed, in some measure, to reanimate her with fresh hopes of obtaining her own freedom. They fixed upon a scheme of carrying her off privately; but when they gave time for a full reflection, it was evidently attended with too great danger, as it would undoubtedly have much enraged the Indians, and perhaps the lives of every one concerned would have been forfeited by such indiscretion.

During the course of this winter she suffered many hardships and severe disappointments, and being without a friend to unbosom her sorrows to, they appeared to increase by concealment; but making a virtue of necessity, she summoned up a firmness of resolution, and was supported under her discouragement beyond her own expectations.

The youth and inexperience of her cousin did not allow of a sufficient confidence in him, but she had often to interest herself in an attention to, and oversight of, his conduct; and it was in some measure owing to this care, that he retained his desires to return amongst his friends.

Col. Butler sent a string of wampum to the Indian chief, who immediately called a number of the other Indians together upon this occasion, when they concluded to go down to Niagara, where they understood the design of the treaty was for the freedom of the remainder of the prisoners; for especial orders were issued by general Haldimand, at Quebec, that their liberty should be obtained. At this council fire it was agreed they would surrender up the prisoners.

When they returned they informed Rebecca that col. Butler had a desire to see her, which was the only information she could gain: this being a frequent custom amongst them to offer a very slight surmise of their intentions.

After this the whole family moved about six miles up lake Erie, where they staid about two months to gather their annual store of maple sugar, of which they made a considerable quantity.

As soon as the season for this business was over, they returned to their old settlement, where they had not continued long, before an Indian came with an account that an astonishing number of young pigeons might be procured at a certain place by falling trees that were filled with nests of young, and the distance was computed to be about fifty miles: this information delighted the several tribes; they speedily joined together, young and old, from different parts, and with great assiduity pur-

sued their expedition, and took abundance of the young ones, which they dried in the sun and with smoke, and filled several bags which they had taken with them for this purpose. Benjamin Gilbert was permitted to accompany them in this excursion, which must have been a curious one for whole tribes to be engaged in. On this rarity they lived with extravagance for some time, faring sumptuously every day.

As the time approached, when according to appointment they were to return to Niagara and deliver up the prisoners, they gave Rebecca the agreeable information, in order to allow her some time to make preparation. She made them bread for their journey with great cheerfulness.

The Indians, to the number of thirty, attended on this occasion with the two captives. They went as far as fort Slusher in a bark canoe. It was several days before they reached Niagara fort, as they went slowly on foot. After attending at col. Butler's, and conferring upon this occasion, in consideration of some valuable presents made them, they released the two last of the captives Rebecca Gilbert, and Benjamin Gilbert, jun.

As speedily as they were enabled, their Indian dress was exchanged for the more customary and agreeable one of the Europeans; and on the third of the sixth month, 1782, two days after their happy release, sailed for Montreal.

The narrative of the treatment of Thomas Peart, another of the family, still remains to be given.

He was taken along the westward path with the prisoners before mentioned, viz. Joseph, Sarah, and Benjamin Gilbert jun.

Thomas was compelled to carry a heavy load of the plunder which the Indians had seized at their farm. When separated from the rest, they were assured they should meet together again in four days.

The first day's travel was in an exceedingly disagreeable path, across several deep brooks, through which Thomas had to carry Sarah and Benjamin Gilbert, jun. This task was a very hard one, as he had been much reduced for want of sufficient nourishment.

The first night they lodged by the banks of Cayuga creek, the captives being tied as usual. The next morning they took a venison, and this, with some decayed corn which they gathered from the deserted fields, served them for sustenance. This day's journey was by the side of Cayuga creek, until they came to a steep hill, which they ascended with difficulty.

When night came on, they sought a wigwam which had been deserted precipitately on general Sullivan's march against the inhabitants of these parts.

The land in this neighbourhood is excellent for cultivation, affording very good pasture.

Thomas Peart assured the Indians, that he, with the other captives, would not leave them, and therefore requested the favour to be freed from their confinement at night; but one of them checked his request, by saying he could not sleep if the captives were suffered to be untied.

Their meat being all exhausted, Thomas and three Indians went near three miles to gather more decayed corn; and this, mouldy as it was, they were obliged to eat, it being their only food, excepting a few winter turnips which they met with. They went forwards a considerable distance by the side of Cayuga creek, and then

with much difficulty crossed it; immediately afterwards they ascended an uncommon miry hill, covered with springs. Going over this mountain they missed the path, and were obliged to wade very heavily through the water and mire.

In the close of the day they came to a fine meadow, where they agreed to continue that night, having no other provisions than mouldy Indian corn they accidentally met with in the Indian plantations, which had been cut down and left on the ground by general Sullivan's army.

Next morning they set forwards, walking leisurely on, so that the company who went by the other path might overtake them, and frequently stopped for them.

When night approached, they came to a large creek where some Indians were, who had begun to prepare the ground for planting corn. At this place they staid two nights, and being so indolent to procure game by hunting, their diet was still very poor, and their strength much exhausted, so that they became impatient of waiting for the others, which was their intention when they first stopped.

After travelling till near noon, they made a short stay, stripping the bark off a tree, and then painted, in their Indian manner, themselves and the prisoners on the body of the tree; this done, they set up a stick with a split at the top, in which they placed a small bush of leaves, and leaned the stick so that the shadow of the leaves should fall to the point of the stick where it was fixed in the ground; by which means the others would be directed in the time of day when they left the place.

Here they separated the prisoners again, those to whom Thomas Peart and Joseph Gilbert were allotted

went westward out of the path, but Sarah Gilbert and Benjamin Gilbert jun. with one Indian, continued in the path. This was very distressing to Sarah to be torn from her relations and deprived of all the comforts and even necessaries of life. These two, with the Indian who had the care of them, after they had parted with the other two and travelled forward a few miles, came to some Indians by the side of a creek, who gave them something to eat. The next day the Indian who was their pilot exerted himself to obtain some provisions, but his endeavours proved fruitless, they therefore suffered greatly. At night the Indian asked Sarah if she had ever eaten horse-flesh, or dogs; she replied, she had not; he then further surprised her by asking whether she had ever eat any man's flesh; upon her expressing her abhorrence, he replied that he should be under the necessity of killing the boy, for he could not procure any deer. This threat, although perhaps not intended to be executed, terrified her exceedingly. He hunted with great diligence, leaving the captives by themselves, and appeared to shudder himself at what he had threatened, willing to try every resource; but notwithstanding his exertions, her fears prevailed in a very great degree. They went forward slowly, being very weak, and in addition to their distress there fell a very heavy rain, and they were obliged to continue in it as they were without shelter. In this reduced situation they at length came to one of the huts at Canodosago, where they dressed the remains of their mouldy corn, and the day after were joined by the part of the company whom they had left ten days before.

As the few days solitary sufferings of Sarah Gilbert had been before unrelated, the foregoing digression from



the narrative of Thomas Peart's, may not be thought improper.

To return to the two who were separated from the path, and had to go forwards across mountains and valleys, swamps and creeks.

In the morning they eat the remainder of their corn. The Indians then cut off their hair, excepting a small round touft on the crown of the head; and, after painting them in the Indian manner, in order to make them appear more terrible, they took from them their hats. Being thus obliged to travel bare headed in the sun, they were seized with violent head-achs; and this added to a want of provisions, was truly distressing.

When they approached the Indian settlements, the Indians began their customary whooping to announce their arrival with prisoners, issuing their dismal yells according to the number brought in.

After some short time an Indian came to them; with him they held a discourse concerning the prisoners, and painted them afresh, part black, and part red, as a distinguishing mark. When this ceremony was concluded, the Indian who met them returned, and the others continued their route.

As they were not far from the Indian towns, they soon saw great numbers of the Indians collecting together, though the prisoners were ignorant of the motives.

When they came up to this disagreeable company, the Indian who first met them, took the string that was about Thomas Peart's neck with which he had been tied at night, and held him whilst a squaw stripped off his vest.

Joseph Gilbert was ordered to run first, but being lame and indisposed, could only walk. The clubs and

tomahawks flew so thick, that he was sorely bruised, and one of the tomahawks struck him on the head and brought him to the ground, when a lad of about fifteen years old run after him, and, as he lay, would undoubtedly have ended him, as he had lifted the tomahawk for that purpose, but the king's son sent orders not to kill him.

After him, Thomas Peart was set off; he seeing the horrid situation of his brother, was so terrified, that he did not recollect the Indian still kept hold of the string which was round his neck; but, springing forward with great force and swiftness, he pulled the Indian over, who, in return, when he recovered his feet, beat him severely with a club. The lad who was standing with a tomahawk near Joseph Gilbert, as he passed by him, threw his tomahawk with great dexterity, and would certainly have struck him, if he had not sprung forwards and avoided the weapon. When he had got opposite to one of their huts, they pointed for him to take shelter there, where Joseph Gilbert came to him as soon as he recovered. In the room were a number of women who appeared very sorrowful, and wept aloud; this, though customary amongst them, still added to the terror of the captives, as they imagined it to be no other than a prelude to inevitable destruction.

Their hair cropt close, their bodies bruised, and the blood gushing from Joseph Gilbert's wound, rendered them a horrid spectacle to each other.

After the lamentations ceased, one of them asked Thomas Peart, if he was hungry; he replied, he was; they then told him, "you eat by and by." They immediately procured some victuals, and set it before them, but Joseph Gilbert's wounds had taken away his appetite.

An officer, who was of the French families of Canada, came to them, and brought a negro with him to interpret. After questioning them, he concluded to write to col. Johnson, at Niagara, relative to the prisoners.

The Indians advised them to be contented with their present situation, and marry amongst them, giving every assurance that they should be treated with the utmost respect ; but these conditions were inadmissable.

After this Joseph Gilbert was taken from his brother, as related in the narrative of his sufferings.

Thomas Peart continued at the village that night, and the next day was given to the care of a young Indian, who went with him about two miles, where several Indians were collected, dressed in horrid masks, in order, as he supposed, to make sport of his fears, if he discovered any ; he therefore guarded against being surprised, and when they observed him not to be intimidated, they permitted him to return again. Not long after his arrival at the village, capt. Rowland Monteur came in, who gave Thomas Peart some account how the others of the family had suffered, and told him that he had almost killed his mother and Jesse, on account of Andrew Harrigar's making his escape. He had come in before the others, in order to procure some provisions for the company, who were in great need of it.

When the Captain returned, Thomas Peart accompanied him part of the way, and the Captain advised him to be cheerful and contented, and work faithful for the friend, for so he styled the Indian under whose care Thomas Peart was placed, promising him that if he complied, he should shortly go to Niagara.

They employed him in chopping for several days, having previous to this taken the string from his neck, which they had carefully secured him with every night.

The plantation on which they intended to fix for a summer residence, and to plant their crop, of corn, was several miles down the Genesee or little river. Prior to their removing with the family, some of the men went thither and built a bark hut, which was expeditiously performed, as they executed it in about two days, when they returned to their old habitation.

Thomas Peart was the next day given to the chief Indian, who endeavoured to quiet his apprehensions, assuring him he should meet with kind treatment.

The Indian manner of life is remarkably dirty and lousy; and although they themselves disregard their filth, yet it was extremely mortifying to the prisoners to be deprived of the advantages of cleanliness: and this was by no means among the number of smaller difficulties.

As Thomas Peart had been accustomed to industry, and when first among the Indians was constantly exerting himself, either in their active diversions or useful labours, they were much delighted with him. When they had concluded upon sending him to the family he was to reside with, they daubed him afresh with their red paint. He was then taken about seven miles, where he was adopted into the family, and styled "Ochnusa," or Uncle. When the ceremony of adoption was performed, a number of the relatives were summoned together, and the head of them took Thomas Peart into the midst of the assembly, and made a long harrangue in the Indian language. After this he was taken into the house, where the women wept aloud for joy, that the place of a deceased relation was again supplied.

The old man, whose place Thomas Peart was to fill, had never been considered by his family as possessed of

any merit; and, strange as it may appear, the person adopted, always holds in their estimation the merits or demerits of the deceased, and the most careful conduct can never overcome this prejudice.

As soon as the ceremony of adoption at this place was finished, he was taken by the family to Nundow, a town on the Genesee river. The head of this family was chief or king of the Senecas. But before Thomas was fully received into the family, there was a second lamentation.

Their provisions, notwithstanding it was a season of great plenty, was often deer's guts, dried with the dung, and all boiled together, which they consider strong and wholesome food. They never throw away any part of the game they take.

Thomas Peart's dress was entirely in the Indian style, painted and ornamented like one of themselves, though in a meaner manner, as they did not hold him high in estimation after his adoption.

Greatly discontented, he often retired into the woods, and reflected upon his unhappy situation, without hopes of returning to his relations, or ever being rescued from captivity.

He continued in this solitary seclusion about five weeks, when their corn was mostly consumed; and as their dependence for a fresh supply was on Niagara fort, they concluded to go thither, but at first they would not consent that Thomas should accompany them; but he was so urgent, they at length consented, and the next day they had an Indian dance preparatory to their expedition.

In the route Thomas Peart got a deer, which was an acceptable acquisition, as they had been for some days

without any meat, and their corn was likewise expended.

When they came within two miles of the fort they halted, and staid there until morning.

A white prisoner, who came from the fort, gave Thomas Peart a particular relation of his fellow captives: this was the first account he had of them since their separation at the Indian towns. As soon as he came to the fort, he applied to some of the officers, requesting their exertions to procure Thomas's liberty, if possible; but he was disappointed, as nothing could be then done to serve him.

He eat some salt provisions, which, as he had tasted but little salt since his captivity, (although pleasing to his palate) affected his stomach, it being difficult for him to digest.

As he was to return with the Indians in about a week, it was very distressing, being much disgusted with the fare he met among them.

They returned by way of fort Slusher, and then along lake Erie, up Buffalo creek, taking some fish as they went. They passed by the place where Elizabeth Peart and Rebecca Gilbert were, but he had not an opportunity of seeing them.

The Stores they took home with them, consisted of rum, salt and ammunition.

Lake Erie is about three hundred miles long from east to west, and about forty in breadth. It receives its supply of waters from lakes Superior, Michigan and Huron, by a north-west passage, called the straights of Detroit. A very long narrow piece of land lies on its north side, which projects remarkably into the lake, and has been noticed by most travellers and is known by, the name of long point. There are several islands in it

which, with the banks of the lake, were more infested with different kinds of snakes, particularly the rattle-snake, than other places.

The navigation of this lake is allowed to be more dangerous than the others, on account of the high lands projecting into it; so that when sudden storms arise, boats are frequently lost, as there are but few places to land, and seldom a possibility of finding a shelter near the craggy precipices.

The waters of Erie pass through a north east communication into the river Niagara, which, by a northerly course of near thirty-six miles, falls into lake Ontario.

At the discharge of this river into lake Ontario, on the east side, stands fort Niagara; and at the entrance from lake Erie lies Erie fort; between these two forts are those extraordinary falls which claim the attention of the curious, and are amongst the most remarkable works of nature.

This stupendous cataract is supplied by the waters of the several lakes, and their distant springs; which, after traversing many hundred miles, rush astonishingly down a most horrid precipice, and which, by a small island, is separated into two large columns, and each near one hundred and forty feet perpendicular, and in a strong, rapid, inconceivable foam and roar, extends near nine miles further; having in this distance a descent nearly equal to the first.

The straight of Niagara is esteemed dangerous for a mile or upwards above the falls. The water of the falls raises a very heavy mist, somewhat resembling a continuation of the river, and this deception, together with the rapidity of the current, frequently hurries the ducks and geese down this dreadful precipice.

This vast body of water, after passing through the straight of Niagara, is received by lake Ontario, or Cataraqui, which is nearly of an oval form. Its greatest length is from north-east to south-west, and is generally allowed to be six hundred miles in circumference. And although the least of the five great lakes of Canada is much the safest for shipping, as the channel is less obstructed by rocks or islands, than the other lakes. The south side is the most commodious for batteaux and canoes, having a moderately shelving bank and shore on that side; the other is more rocky.

Many of the rivers which fall into it, are barred in their entrances by broken hills, but the vallies are uncommonly fertile.

On the south the most considerable rivers which fall into this lake, are, the great and little Seneca. The falls of these rivers, render them not navigable near the lake; but after the carrying-places are passed they run slow and deep.

In order to keep up the communication between the different parts of Canada, there is a portage from the landing below Niagara falls, to the landing above, up three steep hills, along which, the road for about eight or nine miles, has been made as easy for carts as it possibly could; (thence to lake Erie is about eighteen miles) but the stream is so swift here, that it is almost impossible to stem it for a mile or two in a ship with the stiffest gale; though batteaux and canoes pass along without much danger, as the current is less rapid near the shore. On the north-east it empties itself into the river Cataraqui.

From this short digressive account of the lakes, we may return to the situation of the prisoner, and the Indian family.



When they had consumed their last year's stock of corn, they lived very low, and were reduced to great necessity, digging what wild esculent roots they could find; this was so different from what he had been accustomed to, that he could not bear it with that cheerfulness with which the Indians met such difficulties. His painful reflections, and the want of necessaries, reduced him exceeding low.

Whilst in this distress, he happily obtained the use of a testament from a white woman, who had been taken captive, and afterwards married amongst them. With this solacing companion, he frequently retired into the woods, and employed himself in reading and meditating upon the Instruction couched in it.

The Indians directed a white girl to inform him, that they intended a hunt of twenty days, and were desirous he should attend them; to this he agreed, and the whole family accompanied the hunters. They passed by the town where Joseph Gilbert was, who informed his brother that he was going to Niagara; Thomas Peart replied he had already been there, and then informed him how the others of their relations were dispersed.

On their way up the Genesee river, where they intended to hunt, they took a deer.

The fourth day, as Thomas Peart was beating for game, he lost his company; but at length came to some Indians who directed him. When he came to the family, much fatigued, and told them he had been lost, they were very much delighted at the perplexing situation he had been in.

The next day they moved further, hunting as they went, and in the evening fixed their quarters, where they staid two nights.

Thomas Peart, not endeavouring to please them they took umbrage at his neglect. This, added to a fit of the ague, induced them to leave him in the woods, he being so weak he could not keep up with them, and was obliged to follow by their tracks in the leaves.

Their provisions soon began to waste, and it was not long before it was entirely consumed; and as they took no game, they were under the necessity of eating wild cherries.

The prospect appeared very gloomy to our captive, to be thus distressed with hunger, and to be from home near one hundred miles with the whole family. But this situation, though so alarming to him, did not appear to reach their Stoic insensibility. In this extremity one of the Indians killed a fine elk, which was a long wished for and delightful supply; but as the weather was very warm, and they had no salt, it soon became putrid, and filled with maggots, which they, notwithstanding, eat without reserve.

After they had been out upwards of thirty days, the Indians changed their course, towards their own habitation, making but little progress forwards, as they kept hunting as they went. And as Thomas had long been uneasy, and desirous to return, not expecting to have been absent more than twenty days, they gave him some directions and a small share of provisions; he then left them after an unsuccessful hunt of forty days. And, although weak and unfit for the journey, he set off in the morning, and kept as near a north-west course as he could, going as fast as his strength would permit over large creeks, swamps and rugged hills; and when night came on, made up a small fire, and being exceedingly fatigued, laid himself down on the ground, and slept

very soundly. In the morning he continued his journey.

When he considered the great distance through the woods in the Indian towns, and the difficulty of procuring game to subsist on, it dejected him greatly. His spirits were so depressed, that when the fire was extinguished in the night, he even heard the wild beasts walking and howling around him, without regarding them, as with all his exertions and assiduity, he had but small hope of ever reaching the towns, but providentially he succeeded.

On the journey he eat a land tortoise, some roots and wild cherries.

When he reached the town, the Indians were pleased with his return, and inquired the reason of his coming alone, and where he had left the family he went with; which he fully informed them of.

This being the time for feasting on their new crop of corn, and they having plenty of pumpkins and squashes, gave an agreeable prospect of a short season of health, and frequent, though simple, feasts.

About ten days after this, the family returned; they soon inquired if Thomas Peart had reached home, and upon being informed that he had, replied that it was not expected he ever could.

The Indians concluding to make a war excursion, asked Thomas to go with them; but he determinately refused them, and was therefore left at home with the family; and not long after had permission to visit his brother Benjamin Peart, who was then about fifteen or eighteen miles distant, down the Genesee river.

Benjamin Peart was at that time very much indisposed. Thomas, therefore, staid with him several days,

and, when he recovered a little strength, left him, and returned to his old habitation.

He was thoroughly acquainted with the customs, manners and dispositions of the Indians, and observing that they treated him just as they had done the old worthless Indian in whose place he was adopted, he having been considered a perquisite of the squaws; he therefore concluded he would only fill his predecessor's station, and used no endeavors to please them, as his business was to cut wood for the family; notwithstanding he might easily have procured a sufficient store, yet he was not so disposed, but often refused, and even left it for the squaws sometimes to do themselves, not doubting if he was diligent and careful, they would be less willing to give him his liberty.

Joseph Gilbert came to see him, and, as has been mentioned, informed him of the decease of their father.

Some time in the fall, the king (whose brother Thomas was called) died, and he was directed to hew boards and make a coffin for him; when it was completed, they smeared it with red paint. The women, whose attention to this is always insisted on amongst the Indians, kept the corpse for several days, when they prepared a grave, and interred him, it being considered amongst this tribe, disgraceful for a man to take any notice of this solemn and interesting scene. A number of squaws collected upon this occasion, and there was great mourning, which they continued for several days at stated times. As the place of interment, as well as that appointed for weeping, was near the hut Thomas Peart resided at, he had an opportunity of indulging his curiosity, through the openings of the logs, without giving offence.

Soon after this, one of the women who was called Thomas's sister, desired him to accompany her about fifty miles towards Niagara. Some others of the family went with them, and in their way they took a deer and other game.

They were from home on this journey about six days, during the time, there fell a very heavy snow, which made their journey toilsome. The women were sent homeward before the rest, to prepare something against they came.

When they had loitered at home a few days, they set about gathering their winter store of hickory nuts. From some of them they extracted an oil, which they eat with bread or meat, at their pleasure.

Frequently before they set off on their hunting parties, they made an Indian frolick; when, commonly, all the company become extravagantly intoxicated. And when they intend to go off this winter, they first give the preparatory entertainment.

After they were gone, Thomas Peart and the mistress of the family disagreeing, she insisted on his joining the hunters, and living on the game, that she might save more corn. He plead the coldness of the season, and his want of clothing, but it would not avail; he was therefore turned out, and upon finding the hunters, he built them a hut, where they staid for some weeks, taking the game, and eating wild meat without corn, as the supply they had raised was short.

When they were weary of their employ, they moved to their old hut, and lived in their idle manner for a long time. They then again returned to their hut, and staid about ten days, and took several deer.

A few days after their return from hunting, they acquainted Thomas that they should set off for Niagara; which was truly grateful to him. There was fifteen of them on this visit. The old woman gave Thomas Peart a strict charge to return.

Although the prospect of seeing or hearing from his relations was delightful, yet the journey was excessively painful; the snow covering the ground to a considerable depth, the cold increased, and they had to wade through several deep creeks, the water often freezing to their legs; and Thomas Peart, as well as the rest, were unclothed, excepting a blanket and pair of leggings.

In five days they came to fort Slusher, and at the treats they there received, were most of them drunk for the day.

Next morning they went to Niagara, where he immediately made application to the British officers to solicit his release. Capt. Powell informed col. Johnson, who requested it of the Indians; they required some time to deliberate upon the subject, not willing to oblige the Colonel, they at length concluded to comply with his request; telling him, that however hard it might be to part with their own flesh, yet, to please him, they consented to it hoping he would make them some present.

Col. Johnson then directed him to his own house, and desired him to clean himself, and sent cloaths for him to dress with. Here he had plenty of salt provisions, and every necessary of life. This, with the happy regaining of his liberty, gave a new spring to his spirits, and for a few days, he scarcely knew how to enjoy sufficiently, this almost unlooked for change.

When recruited, he went to work for col. Johnson, and a few weeks after had the satisfaction of his brother

Benjamin Peart's company; who, though not released, yet was permitted to stay at the fort, and worked with his brother until spring; when capt. Powell, lieutenant Johnson, and Thomas Peart went up Buffalo creek, with two boats loaded with provisions, and a proportion of planting corn together with hoes, to be distributed among the Indians.

In this expedition Thomas had the satisfaction of seeing and conversing with his sister Rebecca, which was the first of their meeting together, after a separation of a year.

At the distribution of the corn and hoes, the Indians met and made a general feast; after which, they dispersed; and the officers, when they had completed their business, returned to Niagara, after an absence of eight or nine days.

Thomas Peart was settled at col. Johnson's, to work for him at two shillings and six pence per day, till the eighth month, when six of the captives were sent to Montreal, and Thomas also had permission to go, but he chose rather to stay, to afford his assistance to his sister Rebecca Gilbert, and his cousin Benjamin Gilbert, jun. who yet remained in captivity; exerting himself as strenuously as possible on their behalf.

In the fall he went up again to Buffalo Creek, where he saw his sister and cousin a second time, and assured his sister that the Col. intended to insist on her being released: This encouraged her to hope.

The Indians are too indolent to employ sufficient pains to preserve their grain in the winter; therefore, those who plant near the fort generally send the greater part to the English to preserve for them, and take it back as they want it: Therefore, what this Neighbour-

hood had more than for a short supply, they carried with them in their boats to the fort.

In the winter, Thomas Peart undertook to chop wood for the British Officers, and built himself a hut about two miles from the fort, in which he lodged at night. A drunken Indian came to his cabin one evening with his knife in his hand, with an intention of mischief; but, being debilitated with liquor, Thomas Peart easily wrested his knife from him.

A wolf came one night up to the door of his cabin, which he discovered next morning, by the tracks in the snow; and, a few nights after, paid a second visit, when he fired at him, and, by the blood on the snow, supposed he had mortally wounded him.

Next spring, Thomas went with the officers again up Buffalo creek, when he afresh animated his sister, by informing her that general Haldimand had given orders to the officers, to procure their liberty.

As they returned by fort Erie, their boats were in danger from the ice in the lake and river. It continues in these parts until late in the Spring; sometimes as late as the fifth month; and, as soon as melted, the vegetation is astonishingly quick.

About two weeks after they returned, Thomas Peart went back again with some officers, who were going to the Indians.

After a tour of fifteen days, he came again to the fort, where he stayed for several weeks, and received several letters from his relations, at Montreal, by some officers who were on their way to Cataraguors, on Lake Erie, about eighty miles from Niagara; who, in their way, saw Rebecca and Benjamin Gilbert, jun. with a number of Indians, going for Niagara. Thomas Peart made as



quick dispatch as possible, to meet them, delighted with the prospect of their obtaining their Liberty.

They took a porcupine, which is somewhat larger than a rackoon, and covered remarkably with quills of bone, about eight or nine inches long, which they can discharge with much force, as to penetrate through a man's hand at a considerable distance.

A few days after he returned from this expedition, the captives were delivered up: These two had been with the Indians upwards of two years.

In a short time after their release, Thomas Peart procured permission for them and himself to proceed to Montreal, and was furnished with a pass, containing an order to obtain what provisions they might be in want of in their passage.

The second day of the sixth month, 1782, they went on board the ship limner, and proceeded towards Montreal. When they came against the place where their father was interred, those whom they were with, gave Thomas and Rebecca notice, though they did not land, but pursued their voyage; and, after being seven days on the water, they reached fort Lasheen, where they staid that night, and the next day went to Montreal to their relations: Soon after which, a letter was received from the before mentioned Benjamin Gilbert, then at Castleton, acquainting them of his being so far on his way to Montreal, in order to give them assistance in getting home, and requesting that permission might be obtained for his coming in; which, Elizabeth immediately applied to the officers for: who with great cheerfulness, wrote in her behalf to general Haldimand, at Quebec, who readily granted her request, together with other favours to Elizabeth, worthy of her grateful re-

membrance; by which means, Benjamin's arrival at Montreal was soon effected, where he had the pleasure once more of seeing and conversing with his relations and nearest connexions, to their great joy and satisfaction, after an absence of near three years; during which time, they had but little if any certain account of each other.

After some time spent in inquiring after their relatives and friends, and conversing on the once unthought of and strange scenes of life they had passed through since their separation, it became necessary to prepare for their journey homewards, which was accordingly done, and in about five weeks from the time of Benjamin's arrival, they took leave of the friends and acquaintances they had made during their residence there; whose hospitable and kind treatment, merits their grateful and sincere acknowledgements, and most ardent desires for their welfare in every scene. And on the twenty second day of the eighth month, 1782, attended by a great number of the inhabitants, they embarked in boats prepared for them, and took their departure. Having crossed the river, and carriages being provided, they proceeded on their journey without much delay, until they came to St. John's, where they went on board a sloop; but the winds being unfavourable, rendered their passage in the lake somewhat tedious.

They did not arrive at Crown-Point, until about two weeks after their departure from Montreal. They continued here several days, and from thence went in open boats to East-Bay in about two days, where they landed and staid all night, and were next day delivered up to the officers of Vermont. Here some of the company staid two nights, on account of Benjamin Peart's child

being very ill; by which time it so recovered, that they proceeded on to Castleton, where those that went before had halted, and near that place stayed all night, and in the morning Elizabeth the mother having engaged to do an errand for a friend, was under a necessity of riding about thirty-five miles, which occasioned her to be absent two nights from the family, who were at capt. Willard's; at which place Benjamin provided horses and waggons for the remainder of the journey, together with some provisions. Here they were civilly treated, and generously entertained free of expence.

The family then proceeded on, and met their mother at the house of capt. Lanson, where they staid that night, and until noon next day, and were also kindly treated by him.

Continuing their journey, they met with John Bracnage (who, together with capt. Lanson, were passengers with them to East-Bay) he gave them an invitation to his house, which they accepted, and arrived about noon the next day, and continued with him two nights, and were respectfully entertained.

Having prepared for prosecuting their journey, he proceeded on for the North-River, where they met with Lot Trip and William Knowles, who kindly conducted the women to the house of David Sands, where they lodged that night. The rest of the family came to them in the morning, and several of them attended friends Meeting, not having the like opportunity for several years before.

In the afternoon they pursued their journey, the before mentioned Lot Trip and William Knowles accompanying them, and being in a waggon, kindly took Elizabeth and her younger daughter passengers with them, which proved a considerable relief.

In a few days they came into Pennsylvania, where they met with some of their relations and former acquaintances and friends, who were unitedly rejoiced at the happy event of once more seeing and conversing with them.

The next day, being the twenty-eighth day of the ninth month, 1782, they arrived at Byberry, the place of their nativity, and the residence of their nearest connexions and friends, where Elizabeth and her children were once more favoured with the agreeable opportunity of seeing and conversating with her ancient mother, together with their other nearest relatives and friends, to their mutual joy and satisfaction; under which happy circumstance we now leave them.

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*Thoughts alluding to and in part occasioned by the Captivity  
and Sufferings of BENJAMIN GILBERT and his family.*

AS from the forest issues the fell boar,  
So human ravagers, in deserts bred,  
On the defenceless, peaceful hamlet pour  
Wild waste o'er all, and sudden ruin spread!

Here undisguis'd, war's brutal spirit see,  
In venom'd nature to the root laid bare,  
In which (trickt up in webs of policy)  
Professing christians vindicate their share.

Pompous profession, vaunting in a name,  
Floats lightly on an ostentatious show,  
Nor dips sincere, in resignation's stream,  
To bring memorials from the depths below.

Sophisticated dogmas of the schools,  
The flatulent, unwholesome food of strife,  
With zeal pedantic, for tradition's rules,  
Still crucify the principle of life.

The woes of this probationary state,  
Through life so mingled and diversified,  
Derive their chief malignity and weight,  
From murmuring discontent and captious pride.

Transient is human life, all flesh as grass,  
The goodliness of man but as a flower.  
Fine gold must through the fervid furnace pass ;  
Through death we immortality explore :

Through judgment must deliverance be known,  
From vile affections, and their wrathful sting ;  
True peace pertains to righteousness alone,  
That flows, through faith, from life's eternal spring !

Should man (to glory call'd, and endless bliss)  
Bewail his momentary adverse doom ?  
Or in deep thankful resignation kiss  
The rod that prompts him on his journey home ?

Unsearchable the providence of God,  
By boasted wisdom of the son of dust ;  
Lo ! virtue feels oppression's iron rod,  
And impious spirits triumph o'er the just ?

Shall hence a self-conceited reptile dare  
Th' omniscient ruler's equity arraign ?  
Say here thy wrath is fit, thy bounty there,  
Good to promote, and evil to restrain ?

Believing souls unfeignedly can say,  
Not mine, but thy all-perfect will be done ;  
If best this bitter cup should pass away,  
Or be endur'd, to thee, not me, is known.

Deep tribulation in the humbly wise,  
Through patience to divine experience leads ;  
The ground where hope securely edifies,  
Purg'd of the filth whence conscious shame proceeds.

Affliction is Bethesda's cleansing pool,  
Deep searching each distemper of the mind ;  
The poor way-farer, though esteem'd a fool,  
Baptizing here, immortal health may find.

Though for the present grim adversity  
Not joyous is, but grievous to sustain ;  
Humbling the Shepherd's call—"Come learn of me"  
In lowly meekness to endure thy pain ;

Yet shall it work a glorious recompense ;  
Nor can the heart of man conceive in full,  
The good by infinite beneficence,  
Stor'd for the patient unrepining soul.

Some feeble ones sustain the galling yoke,  
With firmness no ferocious tempers know ;  
Calm resignation mitigates the stroke  
Of ills, tremendous to the distant view !

If disappointment blast thy sanguine hope,  
Indulg'd in sublunary prospects fair,  
Conclude thy guardian angel made thee stop,  
To check thy blind, thy dangerous career.

The captive family in savage bonds,  
Trace through each rugged way and trackless wild ;  
Through famine, toils unknown, and hostile wounds,  
The tender mother with her infant child ;

Then with thy lighter griefs their sorrows weigh,  
Nor let thy own demerits be forgot ;  
Impartial inference deduce, and say  
Whence thy exemption from their heavy lot :

Is it thy wisdom shields thee in the hour,  
When mighty dangers o'er thy head impend?  
Can thine, or other mortal arm of power,  
From famine, pestilence, or storm defend?

Confess 'tis mercy covers thee from harm,  
A care benign, unmerited by thee;  
And if the grateful sense thy bosom warm,  
Small price is paid for such felicity.

If the hard Indian's wild ferocity,  
Against their race thy indignation move,  
Think on the example due to them from thee,  
Professing Christian equity and love:

So shall their cruel, their abhorred deeds,  
Instruction to the humble mind convey,  
Remind us whence all violence proceeds,  
And strengthen to pursue the peaceful way.

Vengeance with vengeance holds perpetual war;  
Love only can o'er enmity prevail,  
Sulphur and pitch, absurdly who prepare,  
To quench devouring fire, are sure to fail.

Hear ye vindictive! be no longer proud,  
The high decree is past, gone forth the word;  
No vain illusion—'tis the voice of God!  
"Who use the sword must perish by the sword;"

Perish from that divine ennobling sense  
Of heavenly good, which evil overcomes;  
That light, whose energetic influence,  
With piercing ray dispels bewildering glooms.

From whence come mortal jarrings! come they not  
From lust, from pride, from selfish arrogance?  
In which, from peace and freedom far remote,  
The blind goad on the blind, a slavish dance.

What! cries the zealot, shall not Christian faith  
O'er heathen infidelity prevail?  
—Yes—but the means is not thy will, thy wrath;  
Means which confederate with death and hell.

Did ever tyger-hearted Spanish Chief,  
By those dire massacres in story told,  
Vanquish Peruvia's stubborn unbelief,  
Or add one convert to the Christian fold?

Vindictive man will still retaliate,  
Evil for evil, and still rack his brains,  
For arguments the cause to vindicate;  
Nor knows what spirit in his bosom reigns.

Messiah is the love of God to man!  
Reveal'd on earth, not to destroy, but save;  
By wisdom's peaceful influence to maintain,  
Dominion over death, hell and grave.

But why for Christian purity contend?  
Who has, alas! believ'd the glad report?  
How many boast the name, the name defend;  
Yet make the virtual life their scoff and sport?

Deal forth their censures with unsparing zeal,  
'Gainst savage violence and cruel wrong;  
Nor dream the real essential infidel  
Holds o'er their spirits his dominion strong.

What Turkish rover, or what heathen foe,  
Shews more contempt of gospel equity,  
Than those, to sultry climes remote who go,  
T' enslave their fellow men, by nature free?

The yelling warrior, with relentless hand,  
Leaves parent childless, fatherless the son;  
Their griefs our tender sympathy demand;  
But what have distant Afric's children done?



Will still the pick-thank temporizing priest,  
Give this oppression pharasaic aid?  
Will civiliz'd believers still persist  
To vindicate the abominable trade?

Th' extensive, deep, unrighteous t' unfold,  
West-India's dark, inhuman laws explore ;  
What gross iniquity we there behold,  
In solemn acts of legislative power ?

Britons who loud for liberty contend,  
Affect to guard their nation from the stain ;  
Yet sordidly in Mammon's temple bend,  
And largely share in the ungodly gain.

What ardent execrations do we hear,  
'Gainst barbarious Mohoc's, bloody Shawnese ?  
From father's arms their hopeful sons who tear ;  
From mother's breast love's tender pledges seize.

O Christian think ! with what redoubled force,  
'Gainst which fallacious artifice is vain,  
On thee recurs thy aggravated curse,  
Heav'ns righteous Judge pronouncing—"Thou art the Man."

Think for what end the Mediator came,  
On earth an ignominious death to die ;  
Thy soul from wrath's dominion to redeem,  
And to himself a people purify.

*The following Narrative we had from ROBERT ROBISON, who was an eye witness to many of the transactions related by him, he was wounded at the Kitaning, when taken by Col. afterwards General John Armstrong, and a second time at the skirmish at Buffaloe creek, where two of his brothers fell victims to savage fury. From our long acquaintance with this man, who is now no more, we can have no hesitation in believing his Narrative correct, to the best of his remembrance.*

He says, Sideling Hill was the first fought battle after Braddock's defeat, in the year 1756, a party of Indians came out of Conocheague, to a garrison of the name of M'Cords fort, and killed some and took a number of prisoners. They then took their course near to fort Littleton, captain Hamilton being stationed there with a company, hearing of their route at M'Cords fort marched with his company of men, having an Indian with them who was under pay; this Indian led the company and came on the tracks of the Indians, and followed them to Sideling Hill, where they found them with their prisoners, and having the first fire, but without doing much damage; the Indians returned the fire, defeated our men, and killed a number of them; my brother James Robinson was among the slain. The Indians had M'Cord's wife with them; they cut of Mr. James Blair's head, and threw it in Mrs. M'Cord's lap, saying that was her husbands head; but she knew it to be Blairs.

The next I remember of was in the same year, the Woolcomber's family on Shearman's creek; the whole of the inhabitants of the valley was gathered to a fort at George Robison's, but the Woolcomber would not leave

home, he said it was the Irish who were killing one another, these peaceable people, the Indians, would not hurt any person. Being at home, and at dinner, the Indians came in, and the Quaker asked them to come and eat dinner; an Indian answered that he did not come to eat, but for scalps; the son a boy of 14 or 15 years of age, when he heard the Indian say so, repaired to a back door, and as he went out he looked back and saw the Indian strike the tomahawk into his fathers head. The boy then ran over the creek, which was near to the house, and heard the screams of his mother, sisters and brothers. The boy came to our fort and gave us the alarm, about forty went to where the murder was done and buried the dead.

In the month of September, 1757, col. John Armstrong, with 307 men, went to Kittaning undiscovered until we came to a place called the Forty Mile Lick, where the Indians trimmed the hair of the prisoners. We lay there on Saturday night, the next morning the colonel ordered two of our guides to spy the town, they went and brought back word, that the Indians were there. The names of the spies were Thomas Burke, and James Chalmers, both old traders. We marched from that place to the town that day and night.

When we came within about six miles of the town, we observed a fire, our colonel ordered two men to go and spy how many Indians there was at the fire, accordingly they went, but see only four, the rest had lain down and could not be seen. The colonel left lieut. Hoge, with twelve men to fight these supposed four; whereas the prisoners give the account, that there was twenty-five Indians sent out to kill meat for the company that was to be there next night, consisting of 150,

destined for Virginia. These twelve men and their officer, crawled near to the Indians before day break. An Indian came towards them and was like to come too near, the Indian not knowing any thing of them, these men fired at this Indian, but missed him, when all the Indians ran from the fire and left their guns standing at a rack, which they commonly have. Our men standing, and not laying hold of the Indians guns, gave them time to return for their guns, and commence a battle. Out of which party the Indians killed the lieutenant, and five men, and wounded two others. Shortly after they began, we began at the town, and they heard our firing which discouraged the Indians greatly; our people telling them your town is on fire, you dogs you: our people got off, and the Indians did not follow them as they would have done. When the Indian magazine blew up in the town, they ceased firing a considerable time, which report was heard at fort Pitt. A boy of the name of Crawford, told afterwards, that he was up at the Kittaning next day, with some French and Indians, and found captain Jacobs, his squaw, and son, with some others.

The form in which we made the attack was, our captains stood all in rank, each company behind their captain; the word was given, every man do for himself: we rushed down to the town, the Indian's dogs barked, and the first house we came to, the Indian came out, and held his hand, as shading the light from his eyes, looking towards us, until there was five guns fired at him; he then ran and with a loud voice, called *shewanick*, which signifies whitemen, there was in the house a young woman, a prisoner, who came out with both her hands raised up, but the guns were firing so fast she got frightened, and ran back to the house again, where she got a

grain of swan shot through her arm ; she then made out a second time and was received by us, the Indians being then alarmed, were running through the cornfield, the Indians fired on us, but to no purpose, we rushed into the town, and the Indians all left it except captain Jacobs, his squaw, son, and one called by the traders Pisquetum, and some others that were blown up with their magazine; we relieved five prisoners, besides the young woman which we first took, she was retaken when capt. Mercer's company was broke, which I shall give you an account of.

When we had ended our tragedy in the town, we then prepared for the road, we had six killed, and six wounded, our colonel was among the wounded; before the Indians gave up the colonel says, is there none of you lads, that will set fire to these rascals that have wounded me, and killed so many of our men. John Ferguson a soldier swore by the *Lord God* that he would, he goes to a house covered with bark, and takes a slice of bark which had fire on it, he rushes up to the cover of Jacob's house and held it there until it had burned about one yard square, then he ran, and the Indians fired at him the smoke blew about his legs but the shot missed him; all eyes were upon the magazine, watching when these fellows would come forth; they remained until their guns took fire, and went off like a platoon, their magazine blew up at the same time; then Jacobs and those before mentioned sprung cut, Jacob's squaw wielded a tomahawk round her head before she jumped the fence, Jacobs fell first, then his wife, and then his son, in proportion seven feet high. We were then preparing to leave the town, when captain Mercer, who had his right arm broke in the town; his company was chiefly composed of traders,

who persuaded their captain that there would not one living man of us ever get home, and if he, capt. Mercer would go with them they would take him a near cut, accordingly all his company went with him but sergeant Brown, and twelve men; the captain however, and his men, unfortunately fell in with the Indians that lieutenant Hoge had been fighting with that morning; they fell upon his company and broke it, killing about twenty men; captain Mercer having a horse, Thomas Burke, ensign Scott and he, drove to the road that he had gone along; there the captain's arm broke loose, and he was forced to stop and dress it, he became faint, in the mean time they espied an Indian coming from following us, Burke and Scott mounted Mercer's horse and rode off, leaving him to his fate, but Mercer lay down behind a log, it happening to be thick of weeds, the Indian came about six feet from him, and seeing Burke and Scott riding, he gave out a halloo and ran after, in a short time Mercer heard two guns go off: he then went down through a long plumb bottom, and lay there until night, when he made the best of his way. It was at the time of the plumbs being ripe, but that did not last long enough, for the captain had a month to struggle with, before he got home, all the food he got after the plumbs were done was one rattle snake, and to eat it raw. On the north side of the Alleghany mountain, he saw one day what he thought to be an Indian, and the other saw him, both took trees and stood a long time; at last the captain thought he would go forward and meet his fate, but when he came near, he found it to be one of his own men: both rejoiced to meet, and both in that situation scarcely able to walk, they pushed over the mountain, and were not far from Franks town, when the soldier

lay down unable to go any further, with an intention never more to rise. The captain went about seven miles when he also lay down giving up all hopes of ever getting home. At this time there was a company of Cherokee Indians in kings pay, and being at fort Littleton captain Hamilton sent some of them to search along the foot of the Alleghany mountain to see if there was any signs of Indians on the route, and these Indians came upon captain Mercer, able to rise, they gave him food, and he told them of the other, they took the captains track and found him, and brought him to fort Littleton, carrying him on a bier of their own making. We took fourteen scalps in this expedition.

As for our retreating from the Kittaning, we met with no opposition, only a few Indians on the side of the town fired on us, they shot about two hundred yards, and shot Andrew Douglas through both ancles. We had no more injury done until we came to this side of the Alleghany mountain, when one Samuel Chambers having left his coat at the Clear-Fields, desired leave of col. Armstrong to go back for his coat, and to bring three horses which had given out; col. Armstrong advised against it, but Chambers persisted in going, and so went back; when he came to the top of the mountain, a party of Indians fired on him but missed him; Chambers then steered towards Big Island, the Indians pursued and the third day killed him in French Margaret's Island. So the Indians told old capt. Patterson.

The next was general Boquet, the second war, when the Indians thought they were able to kill and take us all themselves, the French being bound by the last treaty of peace not to supply the Indians with powder and lead, the Indians not knowing this until they

were in need of ammunition. They however did much mischief, fought Boquet at bushy run, but were defeated. At this time Boquet went down the Ohio seventy five miles below fort Pitt, and sent one David Owens, who had been married to an Indian woman, and had by her three children, when taking a thought that he would advance himself, killed and scalped his wife and children and brought their scalps to Philadelphia, he received no reward only was made ambassador between general Boquet and the Indians.

When Owens was sent to let the Indians know they might have peace, they made a prisoner of him, for the murder he had committed, two of his wife's brothers being there; Owens gave them to know, if they killed him they would never get peace.

The Indians held council three days upon him, they then let him go and came up themselves, agreeable to the invitation which was sent to them, and agreed to give up the prisoners: So ended that campaign.

In this second war, on the fifth day of July, 1763, the Indians came to Juniata, it being harvest time and the white people were come back to reap their crops, they came first to the house of William White, it was on the sabbath day the reapers were all in the house, the Indians crept up nigh to the door and shot the people laying on the floor, killed William White, and all his family that were there excepting one boy, who when he heard the guns leaped out of the window and made his escape.

This same party went to Robert Campbell's on the Tuscarora creek, surprised them in the same way, shot them on the floor where they were resting themselves; one George Dodds being there harvesting, had just risen, and gone into the room and lay down on the bed, set-



ting his gun beside him. When the Indians fired, one of them sprung into the house with his tomahawk in his hand, running up to where a man was standing in the corner; Dodds fired at the Indian not six feet from him, the Indian gave a halloo and ran out as fast as he could: there being an open in the loft above the bed, Dodds sprung up there and went out by the chimney making his escape, and came to Shearman's valley; he came to William Dickson's and told what had happened, there being a young man there which brought the news to us, who were harvesting at Edward Elliott's; other intelligence we got in the night, John Graham, John Christy and James Christy, were alarmed in the evening by guns firing at William Anderson's where the old man was killed with his bible in his hand, supposed he was about worship; his son also was killed and a girl that had been brought up from a child by the old people; Graham and the Christys came about midnight, we hearing the Indians had gone so far up the Tuscarora valley, and knowing Collins's family and James Scott's was there about their harvest, twelve of us concluded to go over Bigham's gap and give those word that were there; when we came to Collins's we saw that the Indians had been there, had broke a wheel, emptied a bed, and taken flour of which they made some water gruel, we counted thirteen spoons made of bark; we followed the tracks down to James Scott's, where we found the Indians had killed some fowls, we pursued on to Graham's, there the house was on fire, and burned down to the joists; we divided our men into two parties, six in each, my brother with his party came in behind the barn, and myself with the other party came down through an oats field, I was to shoot first, the Indians had hung a coat upon a post, on

the other side of the fire from us, I looked at it, and saw it immovable, and therefore walked down to it and found that the Indians had just left it; they had killed four hogs and had eaten at pleasure; our company took their tracks, and found that two companies had met at Graham's and had gone over the Tuscarora mountain. We took the run gap the two roads meeting at Nicholson's, they were there first heard us coming and lay in ambush for us; they had the first fire being twenty-five in number, and only twelve\* of us; they killed five, and wounded myself. They then went to Alexander Logan's, where they emptied some beds, and passed on to George M' Cord's.

\* The names of the twelve were *William Robison* who acted as captain, *Robert Robison*, the relator of this narrative, *Thomas Robison*, being three brothers, *John Graham*, *Charles Elliott*, *William Christy*, *James Christy*, *David Miller*, *John Elliott*, *Edward M'Connell*, *William M'Alister*, and *John Nicholson*, the persons killed were *William Robison*, he was shot in the belly with buck shot and got about half a mile from the ground; *John Elliott*, then a boy of about seventeen years of age, having emptied his gun, was pursued by an Indian with his tomakawk, who was within a few perches of him, when Elliott had poured some powder into his gun by random, out of his powder horn, and having a bullet in his mouth, put it in the muzzle, but had no time to ram it down; he turned and fired at his pursuer, who clapped his hand on his stomach and cried och! turned and fled. Elliott had run but a few perches farther, when he overtook *William Robison*, weltering in his blood, in his last agonies, he requested Elliott to carry him off, who excused himself, by telling him of his inability to do so, and also of the danger they were in, he said he knew it, but desired him to take his gun with him, and peace or war, if ever he had an opportunity of an Indian, to shoot him for his sake. Elliott brought away the gun, and Robison was not found by the Indians.

*Thomas Robison* stood on the ground until the whole of his people were fled, nor did the Indians offer to pursue, until the last man

A party of forty men came from Carlisle, in order to bury the dead at Juniata, when they saw the dead at Buffaloe creek they returned home; then a party of men came with captain Dunning, but before they came Alexander Logan, his son John, Charles Coyle, William Hamilton, with Bartholomew Davis, followed the Indians to George M'Cord's, where they were in the barn; Logan, and these with him were all killed, except left the field; Thomas having fired and charged a second time, the Indians were prepared for him, and when he took aim past the tree, a number fired at him at the same time; one of his arms was broke he took his gun in the other and fled, going up a hill he came to a high log, and clapped his hand in which was his gun on the log to assist in leaping over it, while in the attitude of stooping, a bullet entered his side, going in a triangular course through his body, he sunk down across the log; the Indians sunk the cock of his gun into his brains, and mangled him very much. John Graham was seen by David Miller sitting on a log, not far from the place of attack, with his hands on his face, and the blood running through his fingers. Charles Elliott and Edward M'Connell took a circle round where the Indians were laying, and made the best of their way to Buffalo creek, but they were pursued by the Indians, and where they crossed the creek, there was a high bank, and as they were endeavouring to ascend the bank they were both shot, and fell back into the water.

Thus ended this unfortunate affair to those engaged, but at the same time it appears as if there had been a hand of Providence in the whole transaction; for there is every reason to believe, that spies had been viewing the place the night before, and the Indians were within three quarters of a mile of the place from which the men had started, where there would have been from twenty to thirty men, perhaps in the field a reaping, and all the guns that could be depended on were in this small company except one, so that they might have become an easy prey, and instead of those five brave men, who lost their lives, three times that number might have suffered. The two Christys were out about a week, before they could make their escape, the Indians one night passed so nigh to them, that they could have touched them with their guns.

EDITHA.

Davis, who made his escape. The Indians then returned to Logan's house, where captain Dunning and his party came on them and they fired some time at each other; Dunning had one man wounded.

I forgot to give you an account of a murder done at our own fort in Shearman's valley in July 1756, the Indians waylaid the fort in harvest time and kept quiet until the reapers were gone; James Wilson remaining sometime behind the rest, and I not being gone to my business, which was hunting deer, for the use of the company, Wilson standing at the fort gate, I desired liberty to shoot his gun at a mark, upon which he gave me his gun, and I shot; the Indians on the upper side of the fort, thinking they were discovered, rushed on a daughter of Robert Miller, and instantly killed her, and shot at James Simmeson, they then made the best of it that they could, and killed the wife of James Wilson\* and the widow Gibson, and took Hugh Gibson and Betsey Henry prisoners; the reapers being forty in number returned to the fort and the Indians made off.

Sir, having gone through all I can remember, you will please to take out what will answer your purpose.

I shall relate an affair told me by James M'Clung, a man whom I can confide in for truth, it being in his neighborhood; an Indian came to a tavern, called for a gill of whiskey, drank some out of it; when there came another Indian in, he called for a gill also, and set it on the table, without drinking any of it, and took out the first Indian, discoursing with him for some time; the first Indian then stripped himself naked, and lay down on the floor, and stretched himself, the other Indian

\*While the Indian was scalping Mrs Wilson, the relator shot at and wounded him but he made his escape. EDITOR.

stood at the door, and when he was ready, he stepped forward with his knife in his hand and stabbed the Indian who was lying to the heart; the other received the stab, jumped to his feet, drank both the gills of whiskey off, and dropped down dead; the white people made a prisoner of the other Indian, and sent to the head of the nation, two of them came and examined the Indian, who was a prisoner, and told them to let him go, he had done right.

Sir, yours, &c.,

ROBERT ROBISON.

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*An account of Samuel Bell's encounter with three Indians.*

Among the many achievements against the Indians in our wars with them, few exceed that performed in our own neighbourhood, by Samuel Bell, formerly owner of the noted farm on the stoney ridge, five miles below Carlisle, which was as follows:

Sometime after Braddock's defeat, he and his brother James Bell, agreed to go into Shearman's valley to hunt for deer, and were to meet on Croghan's, now Sterrett's gap on the Blue mountain, by some means or other they did not meet, and Samuel slept all night in a waste cabin belonging to Mr. Patton on Shearman's creek: in the morning he had not travelled far before he spied three Indians, who at the same time saw him, they all fired at each other, he wounded one of the Indians, but received no damage, except through his clothes by the balls, several shots were fired on both sides, for each took a tree; he took out his tomahawk and stuck it into

the tree behind which he stood, so that should they approach he might be prepared, the tree was grazed with the Indians balls, and he had thoughts of making his escape by flight, but on reflection had doubts of his being able to out run them. After some time the two Indians took the wounded one and put him over the fence, and one took one course and the other another, taking a compass so that Bell could no longer secure himself by the tree, but by trying to ensnare him they had to expose themselves, by which means he had the good fortune shoot one of them dead, the other ran and took the dead Indian on his back, one leg over each shoulder: by this time Bell's gun was again loaded, he then ran after the Indian until he came within about four yards of him, fired, and shot through the dead Indian, and lodged his ball in the other, who dropped the dead man and ran off; in his return coming past the fence where the wounded Indian was, he dispatched him, but did not know he had killed the third Indian until his bones were found afterwards.

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*The following Narrative, we had from one of the men who was at the battle of Muncey, 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 on the river was at Hugh Mitcheltree's, 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 lives; 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 his wife; and took Joseph Nicholous and Thomas and Catharine Nicholous and John Wilcox, James Armstrong's wife and two children prisoners.

An Indian named James Cotties who wished 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 above Harrisburg and killed a young man of the name of William Martin, under a chesnut tree gathering chesnuts.

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 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 Menture was there, but he was not; he asked where he was and was told he had gone to the plantation. We had apprehended that Menture knew of our coming and had gone to inform the Indians at the town called Great Island, or Monsey town, but 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 Menture 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, 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 Menture'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 all 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 where 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 travelling 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 day break, when we came to a path, which Allen informed us led from the Great Island, and crost the north branch at Iskepeck falls: in this path we travelled until day light, when wesaw a smoke, and proceeding ten or twelve perches we saw some Indians sitting about 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 dontshoot brothers, dont 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 Buffaloe 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 travelled 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, 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 my neighbours was 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 was six of us willing to shoot, two men 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 name sake, 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.

*The following Narratives have been received from persons, who have been acquainted with many circumstances here related all happened in their own time ; some things they have been eye witnesses to, and others, they have from undoubted authority. Our correspondents are such as we have every reason to place the fullest confidence in as far as their knowledge of the facts extends.*

IN the year 1756, captain Jacobs, an Indian chief and forty warriors, came upon the Coves, in Cumberland county, burned and destroyed that little settlement, killed many and took a number of prisoners. One Hugh M'Swine was abroad at the time, when he came home, he followed after and overtook them at Tussey's Narrows; Jacobs took him for a spy and made him prisoner; there was with this party of Indians, one Jackson a white man, who had joined the Indians, and was more industrious and revengeful, than the native Indians; next morning capt. Jacobs sent M'Swine and another prisoner, under the care of Jackson, and one warrior, by whom he also sent his horse, and a silver mounted gun, while they went in quest of some more of the poor unhappy inhabitants; the Indian and Jackson, with the two prisoners, travelled until night came on, when they took up their lodging in a waste cabbins, and sent M'Swine to cut rails to make a fire, but when he got the ax he began to think how he could manage to kill, both Indian and white man, and immediately put his plan into execution; he went in with his ax split down the Indian, but before he had time to strike another blow, Jackson was on his feet, and they instantly

got in grips with each other; they were both very strong men, and after they had struggled a long time, M'Swine began to fail, and was still calling on the other man to assist him, but he stood trembling, and could do nothing; at length M'Swine had the good fortune to get one of the guns in his hand, knocked down his antagonist, and so put an end to him, he scalped both the Indian and Jackson; and next evening arrived at fort Cumberland,\* with capt. Jacobs's horse and gun; col. Washington sent him to Winchester, (Virginia) where he got paid for the scalps, horse and gun, and received a lieutenants commission.

About this time there was a party of Cherokees, seventy in number, who came to the assistance of the people of Pennsylvania; they went in pursuit of a party of Indians as far as the west side of sideling hill, when they despaired of coming up with them and returned. There was some white men along with these Cherokees among whom was Hugh M'Swine: this party in their return fell in with another party of Indians coming into the settlements to murder, and a skirmish ensued, but by some means M'Swine was parted from his company, and pursued by three Indians, his gun being loaded, he turned round and shot the one nearest to him, and then ran on, and charging again, shot another, upon which the third gave a yell and turned back: the Cherokees shortly after brought in four scalps and two prisoners of the enemy, one of which was a squaw, who had been

\* We have been informed, that the reason of M'Swine's going so quickly to fort Cumberland was, capt. Jacobs with his party intended to attack the fort the day after M'Swine arrived there, but by his giving information to col. Washington, he was prepared for them, and they were disappointed in their plans, the fort was not taken.

twelve times at war. About this time some Cherokees and white men went to reconnoitre fort Duquesne, and in returning home the white men was not able to keep up with the Indians, and so were left behind in the wilderness, and some of them got home in a very distressing condition. Hugh M'Swine, after many dangerous enterprises, and much toil and fatigue, many battles and skirmishes with the Indians, in defence of his country, fell by them in a battle near Ligonier.

William Mitchel, an inhabitant of Conococheague, had collected a number of reapers to cut down his grain; having gone out to the field, the reapers all laid down their guns at the fence, and set in to reap, the Indians suffered them to reap on for some time till they got out into the open field, they then secured their guns, killed and captured them every man.

At another time there came a party of Indians into Conococheague and took a number of scalps and prisoners, for at that time the inhabitants were never secure, no sooner had one party finished their work of destruction and retreated, than another commenced their depredations; however a large company of men was quickly collected and pursued those Indians, overtook them at sideling hill and surprised them in their camp, upon which the Indians ran off with the greatest precipitation and left their guns behind, but the white men neglecting to secure them, the Indians taking a circuitous course, procured their guns, came upon them and defeated them, but whether the prisoners were released or not we do not remember of hearing.

*An account of the Miraculous Escape of John Steel.*

While John Steel was in his house by himself, having laid down in a bed on the second floor to rest, when he was surprised by an Indian, who had arrived near the head of the stairs, Steel rose up terrified at the sight of an enemy, seized a block of wood, knocked the Indian down, jumped out of a window and ran towards the river, followed by other Indians, who had nearly overtaken him, when he arrived, happily a boat passing, the men fired at the Indians, upon which they fled, and Steel was taken on board. His feet were so cut and mangled, having been obliged to run barefoot, that he was unable to stand, though he never felt the pain while running.

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*An Account of the Captivity of Hugh Gibson.*

I was taken captive by the Indians, from Robison's fort in Shearman's valley, in July, 1756, at which time my mother was killed; I was taken back to their towns, where I suffered much from hunger and abuse: many times they beat me most severely, and once they sent me to gather wood to burn myself, but I cannot tell whether they intended to do it or to frighten me: however I did not remain long before I was adopted into an Indian family, and then I lived as they did, though the living was very poor. I was then about fourteen years years of age: my Indian father's name was Busqueetam: he was lame in consequence of a wound received by his knife in skinning a deer; and being unable to walk, he ordered me to drive forks in the ground and cover it with bark to make a lodge for him to lie in, but the

forks not being secure they gave way, and the bark fell down upon him and hurt him very much, which put him in a great rage, and calling for his knife, ordered us to carry him upon a blanket into the hut, and I must be one that helps to carry him in, while we were carrying him I saw him hunting for the knife, but my Indian mother had taken care to convey it away, and when we had got him again fixed in his bed, my mother ordered me to conceal myself, which I did; I afterwards heard him reproving her for putting away the knife; for by this time I had learned to understand a little of their language. However his passion wore off and we did very well for the future.

Some time after this all the prisoners in the neighbourhood were collected to be spectators of the cruel death of a poor unhappy woman, a prisoner, amongst which number I was. The particulars is as follows, when col. Armstrong destroyed the Kittaning this woman fled to the white men, but by some means lost them and fell into the hands of the Indians, who stripping her naked, bound her to a post and applying hot irons to her whilst the skin stuck to the iron at every touch, she screaming in the most pitiful manner, and crying for mercy, but these ruthless barbarians were deaf to her agonizing shrieks and prayers; and continued their cruelty till death released her from the torture of those hellish fiends. Of this shocking scene at which human nature shudders the prisoners were all brought to be spectators.

I shall omit giving any particular account of our encamping and decamping and our moving from place to place, as every one knows that this is the constant employment of Indians. I had now become pretty well



acquainted with their manners and customs, had learned their language, and was become a tolerable good hunter, was admitted to their dances, to their sacrifices, and religious ceremonies, some of them have a tolerable good idea of the Supreme Being, and I have heard some of them very devoutly thanking their Maker, that they had seen another spring, and had seen the flowers upon the earth; I observed that their prayers, and praises, was for temporal things; they have one bad custom amongst them, that if one man kill another, the friends of the deceased if they cannot get the murderer, they will kill the nearest a kin. I once saw an instance of this, two of them quarrelled and the one killed the other, upon which the friends of the deceased rose in pursuit of the murderer, but he having made his escape, his friends were all hiding themselves, but the pursuers happened to find a brother of the murderers, a boy, concealed under a log, they immediately pulled him out from his concealment, he plead strongly that it was not him that killed the man; this had no weight with the avengers of blood, they instantly sunk their tomahawks into his body and dispatched him. But they have some rules and regulations among them that is good; their ordinary way of living is miserable and poor, often without food. They are amazing dirty in their cookery, sometimes they catch a number of frogs, and hang them up to dry, when a deer is killed they will split up the guts and give them a plunge or two in the water, and then dry them, and when they run out of provisions, they will take some of the dried frogs, and some of the deers guts and boil them, till the flesh of the frogs is dissolved, they then sup the broth.

Having now been with them a considerable time, a favourable opportunity offered for me to regain my liberty, my old father Busquetam, lost a horse and he sent me to hunt for him, after searching some time I came home and told him that I had discovered his tracks at some considerable distance, and I thought I could find him, that I would take my gun and provision, and would hunt for three or four days, and if I could kill a bear, or deer I would pack home the meat on the horse; accordingly I packed up some provision, and started towards the white settlements, not fearing pursuit for some days, and by that time I would be out of reach of the pursuers. But before I was aware I was almost at a large camp of Indians, by a creek side; this was in the evening and I had to conceal myself in a thicket till it was dark, and then passed the camp, and crossed the creek in one of their canoes; I was much afraid that their dogs would give the alarm, but happily got safe past. I travelled on for several days, and on my way I spied a bear, shot at and wounded him, so that he could not run; but being too hasty ran up to him with my tomahawk, before I could give him a blow, he gave me a severe stroke on the leg, which pained me very much, and retarded my journey much longer than it otherwise would have been; however I travelled on as well as I could till I got to the Alleghany river, where I collected some poles, with which I made a raft, and bound it together with elm bark and grapevines, by which means I got over the river, but in crossing which I lost my gun. I arrived at fort Pitt in fourteen days from the time of my start, after a captivity of five years and four months.

*Taking of Fort Granvill.*

IN the time of the war called Braddock's war, the province of Pennsylvania thought proper to erect a fort, at a place called Old Town, at the place where Kishecoquilles creek empties into Juniata; and stationed a company of enlisted troops therein. Fort Granvill had not stood long before it was attacked by a body of Indians, the fort being near to the bank of the river, so that they could not annoy them from the fort; they had likewise prepared a large quantity of knots of pine and other combustible stuff, into which they put fire, and kept a constant throwing the flaming fire brands against the wall of the fort, and by that means set the fort in a flame, and whilst the commander of the fort was endeavouring to extinguish the fire he was killed; the next in command whose name was Turner, upon this surrendered the fort, and every man was massacred or captivated, except one man that was wounded, who got off and came to Carlisle with great difficulty. When they got to their towns they burned Turner in a most cruel manner.

The next attack was upon Bigham's fort in Tuscarora, which they took and burnt, killed and captivated all that was in it, but the manner of taking it we cannot tell, for we never heard of any that returned. About the same time they killed Robert Cochran on his own plantation and captivated his wife and son.

The Indians at one of their inroads murdered a family of seven persons on Shearman's creek, from thence they passed over the mountain at Croghan's now Sterrett's gap, and wounded a man, killed a horse, and captured Mrs. Boyde, her two sons and a daughter, upon Conodoguinet creek.

Another time they came down upon the frontiers of Lancaster now Dauphin County; the first assault was upon a waggon belonging to a german in which he was endeavoring to move off, but being killed a small distance behind the waggon, those with the waggon fled to a fort not far distant, the men in the fort being alarmed at the report of the Indians guns, came to see the occasion of it, and met a woman running towards them crying; they proceeded to where the waggon stood, and at some distance behind the man lay, tomahawked & scalped, and the brains issuing from the wounds, although he was still breathing. The waggon being left standing in the same place, it was pillaged and destroyed in the night.

The next day twelve men were sent to acquaint the men at the next fort about eight miles distant of what had happened, who were fired upon from an ambuscade and were killed and wounded all but two, who were pursued, but escaped.

Mrs. Boggs of the same neighbourhood, while riding to a neighbours house, was fired upon by the Indians, her horse killed, and she with a young child taken prisoner, whom they treated in the most barbarous and cruel manner, not suffering the child to suck, sometimes throwing it in the road, and kicking it before them; after three days marching in this manner, they carried the child into the woods, where they murdered and scalped it, with savage cruelty.

*A Relation of a Victory obtained over some Indians in Paxton.*

The exposed and defenceless state of the frontier inhabitants compelled them to associate together and devise the best means possible for their own security. For this purpose four men, living in one house, erected a fort round it, which proved of great utility. A captain with his company of men, being overtaken by night on their route, stopped to pass the night in the fort; by some means the fastening of the gate had been neglected: a party of Indians, who, no doubt, had reconnoitred the strength of the garrison in the day time, took advantage of the neglect, and having entered the gate, closed it, and then summoned them to open the house. As the arrival of the soldiers had been after dark, it is probable the enemy were unacquainted with it, and expected an easy conquest; but the captain having disposed part of his men in an advantageous position, and keeping the remainder in reserve, opened the door; on the entering of the enemy, they were fired upon, which dismayed them so much that they began to retreat, but being pursued by the reserve, and unable to find the gate of the fort, having fastened it on their entrance to prevent the escape of the white men, they were all slain.

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*Some of the Modes of Torture Practised by the Indians.*

The manner of torture is various, and savage invention has been exhausted on multitudes of the unhappy settlers, who expected to obtain an easy affluence by honest industry. Few, we hope, ever underwent more

cruel tortures than a young man, to which George Woods, the relator, and some others was obliged to be witness.

As a prelude to their cruelty, they cut holes in his cheeks, through which they passed a small cord, and having tied it to a sapling, two of the Indians, having each a heated gun barrel, began by searing his naked body; when he attempted to escape by moving round the tree, he was met by another, which forced him to return; this, with the friction of the cords on the flesh of his cheeks, was torment indescribable, this, however, was but the beginning of his sufferings. Being satiated and weary of this cruel sport, they tore the scalp from his head, and applied hot ashes and coals to the scull; when pain was at length lost in excess their cruelty suggested new and horrible means of exciting it. For this purpose they opened the abdomen, they separated one end of his bowels, and made it fast to a tree, then applying red hot irons to his body, made him move round it until they were all drawn out; they then cut off the organs of generation. Life now being nearly extinguished, and suffering near an end, they thrust a hot gun barrel into his heart, which closed this scene of misery and savage cruelty.

In some instances they manifested their savage ingenuity by opening the wrists and ancles of their victims, and with a forked stick twisting out the sinews.

Sometimes the unhappy victim was placed upon the ground on his back, and after driving forked sticks into the ground over each arm and leg, so as to prevent him from moving, these savage monsters consumed him with fire, beginning at the feet to prolong his torments.

Some account of a certain James Potts a Bookseller, of Lancaster county, who went out a sutler in Forbes's campaign, observe this army marched sometimes in two divisions, and Mr. Potts was along with the rear part, but thinking if along in the front he could get a better sale for his liquors, left the rear in order to move up to the front, the two divisions was a few miles apart; but on his way fell in with a party of Indians, who killed and scalped him; hung him up by the feet to a saplin, cut him open and left his intrails hanging down over his head, and in that position the army found him.

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In the spring of the year 1768, the Indians began to kill and scalp the frontier inhabitants, and in a short time drove them all as far as the North mountain; however when harvest came on some of the people of Tuscarora and Shearman's valley, thought they would venture to their habitations and try to preserve some of their crops; but to their misfortune the Indians came on the day before they expected to begin to reap. This was on Sunday and the people were in their houses, and the most that was in Tuscarora was killed. The first house they came to, an Indian went to the door, and shot a boy in the house, and with that entered the door, there was a man in the house of the name of George Dodds, that fired at and wounded him, but the Indian, being naked and greasy, Dodds could not hold him, he made to the door, and got clear of them: but all that was in the house consisting of eight persons, were killed. The same evening Dodds and others alarmed Shearman's valley, upon which the inhabitants collected in two com-

panies to go and bury the dead. There was the upper company and Buffalo company. They all started early the next morning and came back the same day. The upper company was there first, buried the dead, and returned, both companies upon the same road, the upper company came along first, but by the time the Buffalo company followed, the Indians had laid in ambuscade by the branch of Buffalo creek, and fired upon them, and five of the company fell, and one was wounded. The other six retreated and so got off.

From thence these savages proceeded up the valley about three miles, and discovered five men coming along the road, they concealed themselves in a stable, when the men came near they fired on them and killed John Logan and Charles Coil, and shot William Hamilton through the body, Alexander Logan attempted to ride off, the Indians took a near way, overtook, and killed him, this gave Bartholomew Davis an opportunity of escaping, but William Hamilton not being able to get off, he got over a fence and concealed himself in a hazel thicket, and saw the Indians following the blood and bending the bushes within three steps of where he was lying. It was something very remarkable that while the Indians was on the search of Hamilton, his dog lay by him without ever moving or making the least noise, notwithstanding that dogs have such an aversion to Indians. After the savages had given over their search, they made themselves merry, dancing and shouting round the dead bodies for near two hours and went off. Hamilton then came out from his concealment, with an intention to go to his own house which was about a mile off, and with great difficulty got there, but when he got that length he could not get over a fence that was at the



door, until a company of men coming that way, seeing him believed him to be an Indian, and were about to shoot him, but upon going up to him they discovered who he was, all besmeared with blood and dirt. They bound up his wounds, and got one under each arm, and brought him to a house where they had some provision and some liquor, and gave him some of both which recovered him a little; they now heard the report of several guns, upon which Hamilton requested the company to leave him to die, and seek their own safety by flight, they would not, but procured a horse and brought him to Carlisle, where he died a few days after.

The guns which they heard proved to be a skirmish between the Indians and a party under capt. Dunning, at the house of Mr. Logan, capt. Dunning and his party, being led to it by the report of the Indians guns shooting Logan's cattle.

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*A short account of the battle of Monsey hill, September 1763.*

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 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 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, 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 risque another battle, but moved off, and ours came home and brought the wounded, how many there was killed we cannot tell.

It was generally believed that this little campaign was a great preservation to the inhabitants, it was supposed that these two companies of Indians were on their way coming down to murder and massacre the inhabitants when the men met them.

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In the year 1779 the Indians began to make inroads into the settlements of Northumberland county, and coming to the house of Andrew Armstrong, made him prisoner; his wife escaped by concealing herself under a bed until after they were gone.

About this time two families flying from the Indians, were attacked at a place called warrior's run. The men, Durham and M'Knight, were behind driving their cattle; their wives riding before, were fired upon by the Indians. Mrs. Durham's child was shot dead in her arms, at sight of which she fainted and fell from her horse, the other being unhurt, rode on and escaped; the men being alarmed, fled precipitately and escaped. While Mrs. Durham remained insensible, she was scalped, but reviving, escaped to a place of safety, and recovered.

A party of Indians having made two girls prisoner in buffalo valley, passed on to penns valley, where they discovered from the top of a mountain, a company of reapers in a valley, leaving the girls with one Indian, they proceeded to attack them. After they were gone, the Indian lay down to rest; soon afterwards it began to rain, and one of the girls, on pretence of sheltering him, covered him with leaves; then seizing an ax, she sunk it into his head. The girls then fled towards the reapers, but being discovered by the Indians, they were fired at, and one of them killed, the other escaped and gave them information of the enemy. A company was collected and went in pursuit of them; but they retreated, carrying the dead Indian with them.

The inhabitants of Northumberland county, in order to defend themselves from the Indians, built Freelan's fort, Bosly's fort, Bready's, Wallace's and Boone's fort. Capt. Bready was killed while bringing provisions to the garrison. By the assistance of these forts, the incursions of the Indians were more effectually opposed.

A party of Indians in one of their incursions into Northumberland, captured Peter Pence, another man, and a boy. After travelling through snow till night, and

being much fatigued, they lay down. When the Indians were all asleep, Pence got his hands loose, and communicated his design of escaping to the other man, who refused to assist him; he then instructed the boy in the scheme he proposed to execute, they first made themselves masters of all the guns; then placing the boy at a small distance from them with a gun and Pence with a tomahawk, as soon as the boy fired, fell upon them and killed two, the rest started up and fled precipitately, without their guns. Information was afterwards received, that those who fled were all starved to death but one; being destitute of the means of procuring provisions. The two men and the boy returned in safety.

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*A short Account of Mrs. Porter's encounter with three Indians.*

Mr. Porter, residing in Sinking valley, Huntingdon county having gone to mill, and left Mrs. Porter alone, while in this situation she espied an Indian coming towards the house. Mr. Porter being a militia captain, had a sword and rifle in the house, his wife with great intrepidity took the sword, and having set the door about half open, waited behind it until the Indian entered, when she split his head with the sword, another entered and met the same fate; the third seeing the fate of his companions, did not attempt to enter. She then took the gun and went up stairs with the expectation of having an opportunity of shooting him from thence, as there was port-holes for the purpose; but he came in and followed her up stairs, where she shot him dead. She then came down, and fled with all possible haste, and met her husband coming; they immediately rode to a

place of security. The next morning a party of men went to the place of action, and found there had been other Indians there, who had burnt the house and barn.

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*The following list of persons killed by the Indians, we have been furnished with by John M'Cullough, Esq., whose Narrative of his captivity has been given in the first volume.*

I shall here enclose a number of names of persons killed and taken from different settlements, during the years 1755, 6, 7, and 8, taken from a memorandum of my father.

November 1st, 1755, the Great Cove was burnt by the Indians, John Martin's wife, two sons and two daughters and many others taken captive.

February 11th, 1756, John Craig, and Richard Cox, was taken by them, John Cox made his escape in August following.

July 26, 1756, Joseph Martin killed, and John and James M'Cullough taken captive by them from Conococheague.

August 27, ( which I presume must have been in 1756 ) a very great slaughter at the Potomack, wherein thirty nine persons were killed or taken, at a burial, including seven that was loading a waggon in a field.

August 28, 1756, Betty Ramsey, her son and cropper killed, and her daughter taken captive.

August 27, 1756, the Indians took one person from the South mountain.

March 29, 1757, the Indians made a breach at Rocky springs, where one woman was killed and 11 taken prisoner.

April 2, 1757, William M'Kinnie and his son was killed near Chambers's fort.

April 17, 1757, Jeremiah Jack near Potomack was taken captive, and two of his sons killed, and one man and one woman drowned in Potomack endeavouring to make their escape.

April 23, 1757, John Martin and William Blair was killed, and Patrick M'Clelland wounded in the shoulder, who afterwards died of his wound, near Maxwell's fort, Conococheague.

May 14, 1757, Major Campbell and one Tussey, was killed or taken captive with fourteen others, near Potomack.

May 12, 1757, John Martin and Andrew Paul, both old men, taken from Conococheague.

May 13, 1757, two men killed near M'Cormick's fort at Conodoguinet.

May 16, 1757, eleven persons killed at Paxton, by the Indians.

June 6, two men killed and five taken near Shippensburg.

June 9, James Holiday and fourteen men killed and taken; James Long's son and another man, killed in a quarry at fort Frederick; nineteen men killed in a mill at Quetapahely, and four men killed in Shearman's valley, all in one week.

June 17, one man killed at Cuthbertson's fort, four men shot at the Indian while scalping the man.

June 24, 1757, Alexander Miller killed and two of his daughters taken from Conococheague; John Kenedy badly wounded, and Gerhart Pendergras's daughter killed at fort Littleton.

July 2, one woman and four children taken from Trent's gap; same day one Springson killed near Logan's mill, Conococheague.

July 8, 1757, two boys taken from Cross's fort, Conococheague.

July 9, 1757, Trooper Wilson's son killed at Antieatum creek. I presume this to have been the man that I mentioned Ben. Dickson shot and shaked his scalp at his father, when he was creeping up to shoot a deer.

July 18, six men killed or taken from a field near Shippensburgh.

July 19, nineteen killed and taken reaping in a field near Shippensburgh.

July, 1757, four men killed near Baker's driving waggon to fort Frederick.

July 10, 1757, ten soldiers killed at Clapham's fort.

July 27, 1757, one M'Kisson wounded, and his son taken from the south mountain.

August 15, 1757, William Manson and his son killed near Cross's fort, Conococheague.

August 17, 1757, William Waugh's barn was burnt, in the Tract, York county, by Indians.

August 19, 1757, one man killed near Harris's ferry.

August 19, 1757, fourteen people killed and taken from Mr. Cinky's congregation.

September 2, 1757, one man killed near Bigger's gap, and one Indian killed.

September 9, 1757, one boy and girl taken from Donegal.

September 26, 1757, Robert Rush and John M'Craken, with five others killed and taken captive near Chambersburgh.

October 1 & 2, 1757, a very great slaughter near Opiken in Virginia, where more than sixty were killed and taken.

November 9, 1757, John Woods, his wife and mother-in-law and John Archer's wife were killed, four children taken, and nine men killed near M'Dowell's fort.

April 2, 1758, two men killed near Shippensburg.

April 5, 1758, one man killed and ten taken near Black's gap, south mountain.

April 13, 1758, one man killed and nine taken near Archibald Bard's, south mountain.

May 21, 1758, one woman and five children taken from yellow breeches.

May 23, 1758, Joseph Gallady killed, his wife and one child taken from Conococheague.

May 29, 1759, one Dunawiddie and Crawford shot by two Indians in Carrol's tract, York county.

July 20, a boy plowing at Sweetara was shot at by two Indians, one horse killed and the other wounded.



*In order to give our readers some idea of the cause which gave rise to the war with the Indians in 1774, we have made the following extract, from the appendix to Jefferson's Notes on the State of Virginia, Baltimore, printed by W. Pechin, 1800, Page 44.*

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*The declaration of Mr. JOHN HECKEWELDER, for several years a missionary from the society of Moravians, among the western Indians.*

In the spring of the year 1774, at a time when the interior part of the Indian country all seemed peace and tranquil, the villagers on the Muskingum were suddenly alarmed by two Runners (Indians) who reported "that the Big Knife (Virginians) had attacked the Mingo settlement, on the Ohio, and butchered even the women with their children in their arms, and that Logan's family were among the slain." A day or two after this, several Mingoese made their appearance; among whom were one or two wounded, who had in this manner effected their escape. Exasperated to a high degree, after relating the particulars of this transaction, (which for humanity's sake I forbear to mention) after resting some time on the treachery of the Big Knives, of their barbarity to those who are their friends, they gave a figurative description of the perpetrators; named Cresap as having been at the head of this murderous act. They made mention of nine being killed, and two wounded; and were prone to take revenge on any person of a white colour; for which reason the missionaries had to shut themselves up during their stay.

From this time terror daily increased. The exasperated friends and relations of these murdered women and children, with the nations to whom they belonged, passed and repassed through the villages of the quiet Delaware towns, in search of white people, making use of the most abusive language to these (the Delawares,) since they would not join in taking revenge. Traders had either to hide themselves, or try to get out of the country the best way they could. And, even at this time, they yet found such true friends among the Indians, who, at the risk of their own lives, conducted them, with the best part of their property, to Pittsburgh; although, (shameful to relate!) these benefactors were, on their return from this mission, *waylaid*, and fired upon by whites, while crossing Big Beaver in a canoe, and had one man, a Shawanese, named Silverheels, (a man of note in his nation) wounded in the body. This exasperated the Shawanese so much, that they, or at least a great part of them, immediately took an active part in the cause; and the Mingoës, (nearest connected with the former,) became unbounded in their rage.

A Mr. Jones, son to a respectable family of this neighbourhood (Bethlehem,) who was then on his passage up Muskingum, with two other men, was fortunately espied by a friendly Indian woman, at the falls of Muskingum, who through motives of humanity alone, informed Jones of the nature of the times, and that he was running right into the enraged; and put him on the way, where he might perhaps escape the vengeance of the strolling parties. One of Jones' men, fatigued by travelling in the woods, declared he would rather die than remain longer in this situation; and hitting accidentally on a path, he determined to follow the same.

A few hundred yards decided his fate. He was met by a party of about fifteen Mingoës, (and as it happened, almost within sight of White Eyes Town,) murdered, and cut to pieces; and his limbs and flesh stuck up on the bushes. White Eyes, on hearing the Scalp Halloo, ran immediately out with his men, to see what the matter was; and finding the mangled body in this condition, gathered the whole and buried it. But next day, when some of the above party found on their return the body interred, they instantly tore up the ground, and endeavored to destroy, or scatter about, the parts at a greater distance. White Eyes, with the Delawares, watching their motions, gathered and interred the same a second time. The war party finding this out, ran furiously into the Delaware Village, exclaiming against the conduct of these people, setting forth the cruelty of Cresap to women and children, and declaring at the same time, that they would, in consequence of this cruelty, serve every white man they should meet in the same manner. Times grew worse and worse, war parties went out and took scalps and prisoners, and the latter, in hopes it might be of service in saving their lives, exclaimed against the barbarous act which gave rise to these troubles and against the perpetrators. The name of Greathouse was mentioned as having been accomplice to Cresap. So detestable became the latter name among the Indians, that I have frequently heard them apply it to the worst of things; also in quieting or stilling their children, I have heard them say, Hush! Cresap will fetch you, whereas otherwise they name the Owl. The warriors having afterwards bent their course more toward the Ohio, and down the same, peace seemed with us already on the return; and this became the case soon

after the decided battle fought on the Kanhaway. Traders, returning now into the Indian country again, related the story of the above mentioned massacre, *after the same manner, and with the same words*, we have heard it related hitherto. So the report remained, and was believed, by all who resided in the Indian country. So it was represented numbers of times, in the peaceable Delaware Towns, by the Enemy. So the Christian Indians were continually told they would one day be served. With *this* impression, a petty Chief hurried all the way from the Wabash in 1779 to take his relations (who were living with the peaceable Delawares near Coshachking) out of the reach of the Big Knives, in whose friendship he never more would place any confidence. And when this man found that his numerous relations, would not break friendship with the Americans, nor be removed, he took two of his relations (women) off by force, saying, "The whole crop should not be destroyed; I will have seed out of it for a new crop;" alluding to, and repeatedly reminding these of the family of Logan, who, he said, had been real friends to the whites, and yet were cruelly murdered by them.

In Detroit, where I arrived the same spring, the report respecting the murder of the Indians on the Ohio (among whom was Logan's family) was the same as related above; and on my return to the United States in the fall of 1786, and from that time, whenever and wherever in my presence, this subject was the topic of conversation, I found the report still the same; *viz.* that a person bearing the name of Cresap, was the author, or perpetrator of this deed.

LOGAN was the second son of SHIKELLEMUS, a celebrated chief of the Cayuga nation. This chief, on

account of his attachment to the English government, was of great service to the country, having the confidence of all the Six Nations, as well as that of the English, he was useful in settling disputes, &c., &c. He was highly esteemed by Conrad Weisser, Esq., (an officer for government in the Indian department,) with whom he acted conjunctly, and was faithful unto his death. His residence was at Shamokin, where he took great delight in acts of hospitality to such of the white people whose business led them that way. His name and fame were so high on record, that count Zinzendorf, when in this country in 1742, became desirous of seeing him, and actually visited him at his house in Shamokin. About the year 1772, Logan was introduced to me, by an Indian friend; as son to the late reputable chief Shikellimus, and as a friend to the white people. In the course of conversation, I thought him a man of superior talents, than what Indians generally were. The subject turned on vice and immorality, he confessed his too great share of this, especially his fondness for liquor. He exclaimed against the white people, for imposing liquors upon the Indians; he otherwise admired their ingenuity; spoke of gentlemen, but observed the Indians unfortunately had but few of these as their neighbours, &c. He spoke of his friendship to the white people, wished always to be a neighbour to them, intended to settle on the Ohio, below Big Beaver; was (to the best of my recollection) then encamped at the mouth of this river, (Beaver,) urged me to pay him a visit, &c. I was then living at the Moravian Town on this River, in the neighbourhood of Cuskuskee. In April 1773, while on my passage down the Ohio for Muskingum, I called at Logan's settlement; where I received every civility I could expect from such of the family as were at home.

Indian reports concerning Logan, after the death of his family, ran to this: that he exerted himself during the Shawanese war, ( then so called ) to take all the revenge he could, declaring he had lost all confidence in the white people. At the time of the negotiation, he declared his reluctance in laying down the hatchet not having, ( in his opinion ) yet taken ample satisfaction ; yet, for the sake of the nation he would do it. His expressions from time to time, denoted a deep melancholy. Life, said he, had become a torment to him : He knew no more what pleasure was : He thought it had been better if he had never existed, &c. &c. Report further states, that he became in some measure delirious, declared he would kill himself, went to Detroit, drank very freely, and did not seem to care what he did, and what became of himself. In this condition he left Detroit, and, on his way between that place and the Miami, was murdered. In October 1781, while as prisoner on my way to Detroit, I was shown the spot where this shall have happened. Having had an opportunity since last June of seeing the Rev. David Zeisberger, sent missionary to the Delaware nation of Indians, who had resided among the same on Muskingum, at the time when the murder was committed on the family of Logan, I put the following questions to him. 1. Who he had understood it was that had committed the murder on Logan's family ? And secondly, whether he had any knowledge of a speech sent to lord Dunmore by Logan, in consequence of this affair, &c. To which Mr. Zeisberger's answer was : That he had, from that time when this murder was committed to the present day, firmly believed the common report, which he had never heard contradicted, *viz*, that one Cresap was the author of the

massacre; or that it was committed by his orders: and that he had known Logan as a boy, had frequently seen him from that time, and doubted not in the least, that Logan had sent such a speech to Lord Dunmore on this occasion, as he understood from me had been published; that expressions of that kind from Indians were familiar to him; that Logan in particular, was a man of quick comprehension, good judgment and talents. Mr. Zeisberger had been a missionary upwards of fifty years; his age is about eighty; speaks both the language of the Onondagoes and the Delawares; resides at present on the Muskingum, with his Indian congregation: and is beloved and respected by all who are acquainted with him.

JOHN HECKEWELDER.

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*From this testimony the following historical statement results:*

In April or May 1774, a number of people being engaged in looking out for settlements on the Ohio, information was spread among them, that the Indians had robbed some of the *land-jobbers*, as those adventurers were called. Alarmed for their safety, they collected together at Wheling creek. Hearing there that there were two Indians and some traders a little above Wheeling, Capt. Michael Cresap, one of the party, proposed to way lay and kill them. The proposition, though opposed, was adopted. A party went up the river, with Cresap at their head, and killed the two Indians.

The same afternoon it was reported that there was a party of Indians on the Ohio, a little below Wheeling. Cresap and his party immediately proceeded down the river, and encamped on the bank. The Indians passed

him peaceably, and encamped at the mouth of Grave creek, a little below. Cresap and his party attacked them, and killed several. The Indians returned the fire, and wounded one of Cresap's party. Among the slain of the Indians were some of Logan's family. Colonel Zane indeed expresses a doubt of it; but it is affirmed by Huston and Chambers. Smith, one of the murderers, said they were known and acknowledged to be Logan's friends, and the party themselves generally said so; boasted of it in presence of Cresap; pretended no provocation; and expressed their expectations that Logan would probably avenge their deaths.

Pursuing these examples, Daniel Great-house and one Tomlinson, who lived on the opposite side of the river from the Indians, and were in habits of friendship with them, collected at the house of Polke on Cross creek, about 16 miles from Baker's Bottom a party of 32 men. Their object was to attack a hunting encampment of Indians, consisting of men, women and children, at the mouth of Yellow creek, some distance above Wheeling. They proceeded, and when arrived near Baker's Bottom, they concealed themselves, and Great-house crossed the river to the Indian camp. Being among them as a friend he counted them, and found them too strong for an open attack with his force. While here he was cautioned by one of the women not to stay, for that the Indian men were drinking, and having heard of Cresap's murder of their relations at Grave creek, were angry, and she pressed him, in a friendly manner, to go home; whereupon, after inviting them to come over and drink, he returned to Baker's, which was a tavern and desired that when any of them should come to his house he would give them as much rum as they would drink. When his plot was



ripe and a sufficient number of them were collected at Baker's, and intoxicated, he and his party fell on them and massacred the whole, except a little girl, whom they preserved as a prisoner. Among these was the very woman who had saved his life, by pressing him to retire from the drunken wrath of her friends, when he was spying their camp at Yellow creek. Either she herself, or some other of the murdered women, was the sister of Logan, very big with child, and inhumanly and indecently butchered; and there were other of his relations who fell here.

The party on the other side of the river, alarmed for their friends at Baker's, on hearing the report of the guns, manned two canoes and sent them over. They were received, as they approached the shore, by a well directed fire from Great-house's party, which killed some, wounded others, and obliged the rest to put back. Baker tells us there were twelve killed, and six or eight wounded.

This commenced the war, of which Logan's war club and note left in the house of a murdered family, was the notification. In the course of it, during the ensuing summer, great numbers of innocent men, women and children fell victims to the tomahawk and scalping knife of the Indians, till it was arrested in the autumn following by the battle at Point-Pleasant and the pacification with lord Dunmore, at which the speech of Logan was delivered.

Of the genuiness of that speech nothing need be said, it was known to the camp where it was delivered; it was given out by lord Dunmore and his officers; it ran through the public papers of these states; was rehearsed as an exercise at schools; published in the papers and periodical works of Europe; and all this, a dozen years before it

was copied into the notes on Virginia. In fine, general Gibson concludes the question for ever, by declaring that he received it from Logan's hand, delivered it to lord Dunmore, translated it for him, and that the copy in the notes on Virginia is a faithful copy.

The popular account of these transactions, as stated in the notes on Virginia appears on collecting exact information, imperfect and erroneous in its details. It was the belief of the day; but how far its errors were to the prejudice of Cresap, the reader will now judge. That he, and those under him, murdered two Indians above Wheeling; that they murdered a large number at Grave Creek, among whom were a part of the family and relations of Logan, cannot be questioned; and as little, that this led to the massacre of the rest of the family at Yellow creek. Logan imputed the whole to Cresap in his war note and peace speech; the Indians generally imputed it to Cresap; Lord Dunmore and his officers imputed it to Cresap; the country, with one accord, imputed it to him; and whether he were innocent, let the universal verdict now declare.

I propose that in any future edition of the notes on Virginia, the passage relating to the subject shall stand in the following form:

“In the spring of the year 1774, a robbery was committed by some Indians on certain land adventurers on the river Ohio. The whites in that quarter, according to their custom, undertook to punish this outrage in a summary way. Captain Michael Cresap, and a certain Daniel Great-house leading on these parties, surprised, at different times, travelling and hunting parties of the Indians, having their women and children with them, and murdered many. Among these were unfortunately

the family of Logan, a chief celebrated in peace and war, and long distinguished as the friend of the whites. This unworthy return provoked his vengeance. He accordingly signalized himself in the war which ensued. In the autumn of the same year a decisive battle was fought at the mouth of the Great Kahnaway, between the collected forces of the Shawanese, Mingoes and Delawares, and a detachment of the Virginia militia. The Indians were defeated and sued for peace. Logan, however disdained to be seen among the suppliants. But lest the sincerity of a treaty should be distrusted, from which so distinguished a chief absented himself, he sent, by a messenger, the following speech to be delivered to Lord Dunmore.

“ I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan’s cabbin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabbin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, ‘Logan is the friend of white men.’ I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Col. Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it: I have killed many; I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbour a thought, that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan?—Not one.”

*The declaration of JOHN SAPPINGTON, received after the publication of the preceding.*

I, JOHN SAPPINGTON, declare myself to be intimately acquainted with all the circumstances respecting the destruction of Logan's family, and do give in the following narrative, a true statement of that affair.

LOGAN's family (if it was his family) was not killed by Cresap nor with his knowledge, nor by his consent, but by the Great-houses and their associates. They were killed 30 miles above Wheeling, near the mouth of Yellow creek. Logan's camp was on one side of the river Ohio, and the house, where the murder was committed, opposite to it on the other side. They had encamped there only four or five days, and during that time had lived peaceably and neighbourly with the whites on the opposite side, until the very day the affair happened. A little before the period alluded to, letters had been received by the inhabitants from a man of great influence in that country, and who was then I believe at Capteener, informing them that war was at hand, and desiring them to be on their guard. In consequence of those letters and other rumours of the same import, almost all the inhabitants fled for safety into the settlements. It was at the house of one Baker the murder was committed. Baker was a man who sold rum, and the Indians had made frequent visits at his house, induced probably by their fondness for that liquor. He had been particularly desired by Cresap to remove and take away his rum, and he was actually preparing to move at the time of the murder. The evening before a squaw came over to Baker's house, and by

her crying seemed to be in great distress. The cause of uneasiness being asked, she refused to tell; but getting Baker's wife alone, she told her, that the Indians were going to kill her and all her family the next day, that she loved her, did not wish her to be killed, and therefore told her what was intended, that she might save herself. In consequence of this information, Baker got a number of men to the amount of twenty-one to come to his house, and they were all there before morning. A council was held and it was determined that the men should lie concealed in a back apartment; that if the Indians did come and behave themselves peaceably, they should not be molested; but if not, the men were to shew themselves and act accordingly. Early in the morning seven Indians, four men and three squaws, came over. Logan's brother was one of them. They immediately got rum, and all, except Logan's brother, became very much intoxicated. At this time all the men were concealed, except the man of the house, Baker, and two others who staid out with him. These Indians came unarmed. After some time Logan's brother took down a boat and hat belonging to Baker's brother-in-law, who lived with him, and put them on, and setting his arms a kimbo began to strut about, till at length coming up to one of the men, he attempted to strike him, saying "white man, son of a bitch." The white man, whom he treated thus, kept out of his way for some time; but growing irritated he jumped to his gun, and shot the Indian as he was making to the door with the coat and hat on him. The men who lay concealed then rushed out, and killed the whole of them, excepting one child which I believe is alive yet. But before this happened, one canoe with two, another with

5 Indians, all naked, painted and armed completely for war, were discovered to start from the shore on which Logan's camp was. Had it not been for this circumstance, the white men would not have acted as they did; but this confirmed what the squaw had told before. The white men, having killed as aforesaid the Indians in the house, ranged themselves along the bank of the river, to receive the canoes. The canoe with two Indians came near, being the foremost. Our men fired upon them and killed them both. The other canoe then went back. After this two other canoes started, the one contained eleven, the other seven Indians, painted and armed as the first. They attempted to land below our men; but were fired upon, had one killed, and retreated, at the same time firing back. To the best of my recollection there were three of the Great-houses engaged in this business. This is a true representation of the affair from beginning to end. I was intimately acquainted with Cresap, and know he had no hand in that transaction. He told me himself afterwards at Redstone old fort, that the day before Logan's people were killed, he, with a small party had an engagement with a party of Indians on Capteener, about 44 miles lower down. Logan's people were killed at the mouth of Yellow creek on the 24th of May, 1774, and on the 23d, the day before, Cresap was engaged as already stated. I know likewise that he was generally blamed for it, and believed by all who were not acquainted with circumstances, to have been the perpetrator of it. I know that he despised and hated the Greathouses ever afterwards on account of it. I was intimately acquainted with general Gibson, and served under him during the late war, and I have a discharge from him now lying in the

land office at Richmond, to which I refer any person for my character, who might be disposed to scruple my veracity. I was likewise at the treaty held by lord Dunmore with the Indians at Chelicothe. As for the speech said to have been delivered by Logan on that occasion, it might have been, or might not, for anything I know, as I never heard of it till long afterwards. I do not believe that Logan had any relations killed, except one brother. Neither of the squaws who were killed was his wife. Two of them were old women, and the third, with her child which was saved, I have the best reason in the world to believe was the wife and child of general Gibson. I know he educated the child, and took care of it, as if it had been his own. Whether Logan had a wife or not, I cant say; but it is probable that as he was a chief, he considered them all as his people. All this I am ready to be qualified to at any time.

JOHN SAPPINGTON.

*Attest: Samuel M<sup>r</sup> Kee, Jun.*

*Maddison County, Feb. 13th, 1800.*

I do certify further that the above named John Sappington told me, at the same time and place at which he gave me the above narrative, that he himself was the man who shot the brother of Logan in the house as above related, and that he likewise killed one of the Indians in one of the canoes, which came over from the opposite shore.

He likewise told me that Cresap never said an angry word to him about the matter, although he was frequently in company with Cresap, and indeed had been, and continued to be, in habits of intimacy with that

gentleman, and was always befriended by him on every occasion. He further told me, that after they had perpetrated the murder, and were flying in the settlements, he met with Cresap (if I recollect right, at Redstone old fort,) and gave him a scalp, a very large fine one as he expressed it, and adorned with silver. This scalp I think he told me, was the scalp of Logan's brother; though as to this I am not absolutely certain.

*Certified by*

SAMUEL M'KEE, JUN.

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As Captain John Logan's speech sent to lord Dunmore has been so much celebrated as a sample of Indian eloquence, it may perhaps not be thought improper to give some account of his person. The Editor of this work remembers well, when he was a boy; that shortly after what was called the second Indian war, I think in the year 1765, then living in Raccoon Valley, near the foot of the Tuscarora mountain; upon Saturday evening we had a report that the Indians had began to murder the white people, and on Sunday in the forenoon, as we children, were outside of the house, we espied three Indians coming across the meadow, a few rods from us, we ran into the house and informed our parents, who were considerably alarmed at their approach; the Indians however, set their guns down on the outside of the house, and came in, when they were invited to take seats, which they did. After taking dinner, they sat a considerable time, Logan could speak tolerable good English; the other two spoke nothing while there, but Indian, or something that we could not understand. They appeared to be making observations on the large wooden



chimney, looking up at it, and laughing, this we supposed to be from a man on the Juniata, not far distant, making his escape up the chimney; when their house was attacked by the Indians. One of my sisters, a child of three or four years old, having very white curly hair, they took hold of her hair between their finger and thumb, stretching it up, and laughing, this we conjectured they were saying, would make a nice scalp, or that they had seen such, otherwise they behaved with civility. After some time, when we saw they had no hostile intentions, I took a bible, and read two or three chapters in the book of Judges, respecting Sampson and the Philistines. Logan paid great attention to what I read, my father upon observing this, took occasion to mention to him, what a great benefit it would be to the Indians to learn to read; *O! said Logan, a great many people* (meaning the Indians) *on the Mohawk river, can read the BUCK that speaks of God.* After remaining with us about two hours, they took their departure, and crossed the Tuscarora mountain to Captain Patterson's, two miles below where Mifflintown now stands; in a few days after, we were informed that it was Capt. John Logan, an Indian chief. He was a remarkable tall man, considerably above six feet high, strong and well proportioned, of a brave, open, manly countenance, as straight as an arrow; and to appearance, would not be afraid to meet any man.

*The following is taken from Jefferson's Notes on Virginia being No. 1 of his Appendix.*

THE preceding sheets having been submitted to my friend Mr. Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, he has furnished me with the following observations, which have too much merit not to be communicated.

(1.) p 21. Besides the three channels of communication mentioned between the western waters and the Atlantic, there are two others, to which the Pennsylvanians are turning their attention; one from Presqu-isle, on Lake Erie, to Le Bœuf, down the Alleghaney to Kiskiminitas, then up the Kiskiminitas, and from thence, by a small portage, to Juniata, which falls into the Susquehanna: the other from Lake Ontario to the East Branch of the Delaware, and down that to Philadelphia. Both these are said to be very practicable: and considering the enterprising temper of the Pennsylvanians, and particularly of the merchants of Philadelphia, whose object is concentrated in promoting the commerce and trade of one city, it is not improbable but one or both of these communications will be opened and improved.

(1.) p. 24. The reflections I was led into on viewing this passage of the Potowmac through the Blue ridge were, that this country must have suffered some violent convulsion, and that the face of it must have been changed from what it probably was some centuries ago; that the broken and ragged faces of the mountain on each side of the river; the tremendous rocks, which are left with one end fixed in the precipice, and the other jutting out and seemingly ready to fall for want of support; the bed of the river for several miles below obstructed and filled with the loose stones carried from

this mound; in short, every thing on which you cast your eye evidently demonstrates a disruption and breach in the mountain, and that, before this happened, what is now a fruitful vale, was formerly a great lake or collection of water, which possibly might have here formed a mighty cascade, or had its vent to the ocean by the Susquehanna, where the Blue ridge seems to terminate. Besides this, there are other parts of this country which bear evident traces of a like convulsion. From the best accounts I have been able to obtain, the place where the Delaware now flows through the Kittatinny mountain, which is a continuation of what is called the North ridge, or mountain, was not its original course, but that it passed through what is now called 'the Wind gap,' a place several miles to the westward, and above an hundred feet higher than the present bed of the river. The Wind-gap is about a mile broad, and the stones in it such as seem to have been washed for ages by water running over them. Should this have been the case, there must have been a large lake behind that mountain, and by some uncommon swell in the waters, or by some convulsion of nature the river must have opened its way through a different part of the mountain, and meeting there with less obstruction, carried away with it the opposing mounds of earth, and deluged the country below with the immense collection of waters to which this new passage gave vent. There are still remaining, and daily discovered, innumerable instances of such a deluge on both sides of the river, after it passed the hills above the falls of Trenton, and reached the champaign. On the New-Jersey side, which is flatter than the Pennsylvania side, all the country below Croswick hills seems to have been overflowed to the distance of from ten to fifteen

miles back from the river, and to have acquired a new soil by the earth and clay brought down and mixed with the native sand. The spot on which Philadelphia stands evidently appears to be made ground. The different strata through which they pass in digging to water, the acorns, leaves, and sometimes branches, which are found above twenty feet below the surface, all seem to demonstrate this. I am informed that at Yorktown in Virginia, in the bank of York river, there are different strata of shells and earth, one above another, which seem to point out that the country there has undergone several changes; that the sea has, for a succession of ages, occupied the place where dry land now appears; and that the ground has been suddenly raised at various periods. What a change would it make in the country below, should the mountains at Niagara, by any accident, be cleft asunder, and a passage suddenly opened to drain off the waters of Erie and the Upper lakes! While ruminating on these subjects, I have often been hurried away by fancy, and led to imagine, that what is now the bay of Mexico, was once a champaign country: and that from the point or cape of Florida, there was a continued range of mountains through Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto Rico, Martinique, Guadaloupe, Barbadoes, and Trinidad, till it reached the coast of America, and formed the shores which bounded the ocean, and guarded the country behind, that, by some convulsion or shock of nature, the sea had broken through these mounds, and deluged that vast plain, till it reached the foot of the Andes; that being there heaped up by the trade winds, always blowing from one quarter, it had found its way back, as it continues to do, through the gulph between Florida and Cuba, carrying with it the loom and sand it

may have scooped from the country it had occupied, part of which it may have deposited on the shores of North-America, and with part formed the banks of Newfoundland. But these are only the visions of fancy.

(3.) p. 49. There is a plant, or weed, called the James-town weed\*, of a very singular quality. The late Dr. Bond informed me, that he had under his care a patient, a young girl, who had put the seeds of this plant into her eye, which dilated the pupil to such a degree, that she could see in the dark, but in the light was almost blind. The effect that the leaves had when eaten by a ship's crew that arrived at James-town, are well known †.

(4.) p. 92. Mons. Buffon has indeed given an afflicting picture of human nature in his description of the man of America. But sure I am there never was a picture more unlike the original. He grants indeed that his stature is the same as that of the man of Europe. He might have admitted, that the Iroquois were larger, and the Lenopi, or Delawares, taller than people in Europe generally are. But he says their organs of generation are smaller and weaker than those of Europeans. Is this a fact? I believe not; at least it is an observation I never heard before. 'They have no beard.' Had he known the pains and trouble it cost the men to pluck out by the roots the hair that grows on their faces, he would have seen that nature had not been deficient in that respect. Every nation has its customs. I have seen an Indian beau, with a looking glass in his hand, examining his face for hours together, and plucking out by the roots every hair he could discover, with a kind of

\* *Datura paricarpis erectis ovatis.* Linn.

† An instance of temporary imbecility produced by them is mentioned. Beverl. H. of Virg. b. 2. c. 4.

tweezer, made of a piece of fine brass wire, that had been twisted round a stick, and which he used with great dexterity—'They have no ardour for their females.' It is true, they do not indulge those excesses, nor discover that fondness which is customary in Europe; but this is not owing to a defect in nature but to manners. Their souls is wholly bent upon war. This is what procures them glory among the men, and makes them the admiration of the women. To this they are educated from their earliest youth. When they pursue game with ardour, when they bear the fatigues of the chase, when they sustain and suffer patiently hunger and cold; it is not so much for the sake of the game they pursue, as to convince their parents and the council of the nation that they are fit to be enrolled in the number of the warriors. The songs of the women, the dance of the warriors, the sage council of the chiefs, the tales of the old, the triumphal entry of the warriors returning with success from battle, and the respect paid to those who distinguish themselves in war and in subduing their enemies: in short, every thing they see or hear tends to inspire them with an ardent desire for military fame. If a young man were to discover a fondness for women before he has been at war, he would become the contempt of the men, and the scorn and ridicule of the women. Or were he to indulge himself with a captive taken in war, and much more were he to offer violence in order to gratify his lust, he would incur indelible disgrace. The seemingly frigidity of the men, therefore, is the effect of manners, and not a defect of nature. Besides a celebrated warrior is oftener courted by the females, than he has occasion to court: and this is a point of honor which the men aim at. Instances similar to that of Ruth and

Boaz\* are not uncommon among them. For though the women are modest and diffident, and so bashful that they seldom lift up their eyes, and scarce ever look a man full in the face, yet, being brought up in great subjection, custom and manners reconcile them to the modes of acting, which, judged of by Europeans, would be deemed inconsistent with the rules of female decorum and propriety. I once saw a young widow, whose husband, a warrior, had died about eight days before, hastening, to finish her grief, and who by tearing her hair, beating her breast, and drinking spirits, made the tears flow in great abundance, in order that she might grieve much in a short space of time, and be married that evening to another young warrior. The manner in which this was viewed by the men and women of the tribe, who stood round, silent and solemn spectators of the scene, and the indifference with which they answered my question respecting it, convinced me that it was no unusual custom. I have known men advanced in years, whose wives were old and past child-bearing, take young wives, and have children, though the practice of polygamy is not common. Does this favor of frigidity, or want of ardour for the female? Neither do they seem to be deficient in natural affection. I have seen both fathers and mothers in the deepest affliction, when their children have been dangerously ill; though I believe the affection is stronger in the descending than the ascending scale, and though custom forbids a father to grieve immoderately for a son slain in battle. 'That they are timorous and cowardly,' is a character with

\* When Boaz had eaten and drank, and his heart was merry, he went to lie down at the end of the heap of corn : and Ruth came softly : and uncovered his feet, and laid her down. Ruth iii. 7.

which there is little reason to charge them, when we recollect the manner in which the Iroquois met Mons. ———, who marched into their country; in which the old men, who scorned to fly, or to survive the capture of their town, braved death, like the old Romans in the time of the Gauls, and in which they soon after revenged themselves by sacking and destroying Montreal. But above all, the unshaken fortitude with which they bear the most excruciating tortures and death when taken prisoners, ought to exempt them from that character. Much less are they to be characterised as a people of no vivacity, and who are excited to action or motion only by the calls of hunger and thirst. Their dances in which they so much delight, and which to an European would be the most severe exercise, fully contradict this, not to mention their fatiguing marches, and the toil they voluntarily and cheerfully undergo in their military expeditions. It is true, that when at home, they do not employ themselves in labor or the culture of the soil: but this again is the effect of customs and manners, which have assigned that to the province of the women. But it is said, they are averse to society and a social life. Can any thing be more inapplicable than this to a people who always live in towns or clans? Or can they be said to have no 'republic,' who conduct all their affairs in national councils, who pride themselves in their national character, who consider an insult or injury done to an individual by a stranger as done to the whole, and resent it accordingly? In short this picture is not applicable to any nation of Indians I have ever known or heard of in North America.

(5) p. 138. As far as I have been able to learn, the country from the sea coast to the Alleghany, and from



the most southern waters of James river up to Patuxen river, now in the state of Maryland, was occupied by three different nations of Indians, each of which spoke a different language, and were under separate and distinct governments. What the original or real names of these nations were, I have not been able to learn with certainty: but by us they are distinguished by the names of Powhatans, Mannahoacs, and Monacans, now commonly called Tuscaroras. The Powhatans who occupied the country from the sea shore up to the falls of the rivers, were a powerful nation, and seem to have consisted of seven tribes, five to the western and two on the eastern shore. Each of these tribes was subdivided into towns, families, or clans, who lived together. All the nations of Indians in North-America lived in the hunter state and depended for subsistence on hunting, fishing and the spontaneous fruits of the earth, and a kind of grain which was planted and gathered by the women, and is now known by the name of Indian corn. Long potatoes, pumpkins of various kinds, and squashes, were also found in use among them. They had no flocks, herds, or tamed animals of any kind. Their government is a kind of patriarchal confederacy. Every town or family has a chief, who is distinguished by a particular title, and whom we commonly call 'Sachem.' The several towns or families that compose a tribe, have a chief who presides over it, and the several tribes composing a nation have a chief who presides over the whole nation. These chiefs are generally men advanced in years, and distinguished by their prudence and abilities in council. The matters which merely regard a town or family are settled by the chief and principal men of the town; those which regard a tribe, such as the appoint-

ment of head warriors, or captains, and settling differences between different towns and families, are regulated at a meeting or council of the chiefs from the several towns; and those which regard the whole nation, such as the making war, concluding peace, or forming alliances with the neighboring nations, are deliberated on and determined in a national council composed of the chiefs of the tribe, attended by the head warriors and a number of the chiefs from the towns, who are his counsellors. In every town there is a council house, where the chief and old men of the town assemble, when occasion requires, and consult what is proper to be done. Every tribe has a fixed place for the chiefs of the towns to meet and consult on the business of the tribe: and in every nation there is what they call the central council house, or central council fire, where the chiefs of the several tribes, with the principal warriors, convene to consult and determine on their national affairs. When any matter is proposed in the national council, it is common for the chiefs of the several tribes to consult thereon apart with their counsellors, and when they have agreed, to deliver the opinion of the tribe at the national council: and, as their government seems to rest wholly on their persuasion, they endeavour, by mutual concessions, to obtain unanimity. Such is the government that still subsists among the Indian nations bordering upon the United States. Some historians seem to think, that the dignity of office of Sachem was hereditary. But that opinion does not appear to be well founded. The sachem or chief of the tribe seems to be by election. And sometimes persons who are strangers, and adopted into the tribe, are promoted to this dignity, on account of their abilities. Thus on the arrival of captain Smith, the first

founder of the colony of Virginia, Opechancanough, who was Sachem or chief of the Chickahominies, one of the tribes of the Powhatans, is said to have been of another tribe, and even of another nation, so that no certain account could be obtained of his origin or descent. The chiefs of the nation seem to have been by a rotation among the tribes. Thus when captain Smith, in the year 1609, questioned Powhatan ( who was the chief of the nation, and whose proper name is said to have been Wahunsonacock ) respecting the succession, the old chief informed him, ' that he was very old and had seen the 'death of all his people thrice\* ; that not one of these 'generations were then living except himself; that he 'must soon die and the succession descend in order to 'his brothers Opichapan, Opechancanough, and Cata- 'taugh, and then to his two sisters, and their two daughters.' But these were appellations designating the tribes in the confederacy. For the persons named are not his real brothers, but the chiefs of different tribes. Accordingly in 1618, when Powhatan died, he was succeeded by Opichapan, and after his decease Opechancanough became chief of the nation. I need only mention another instance to shew that the chiefs of the tribes claimed

\* This is one generation more than the poet ascribes to the life of Nestor,

*To d'ede men geneai meropon anthrópon  
Ephthiath oi oi prosthen ama traphen ed' egneonto  
En Pulo egathee, meta de traitatoisin anassen.*

1 HOM. II. 250.

Two generations now had passed away,  
Wise by his rules and happy by his sway :  
Two ages o'er his native realm he reign'd,  
And now th' example of the third remained.

POPE.

their kindred with the head of the nation. In 1622, when Raleigh Crashaw was with Japazaw, the Sachem or chief of the Patowmacs, Opechancanough, who had great power and influence being the second man in the nation, and next in succession to Opichapan, and was a bitter but secret enemy to the English, and wanted to engage his nation in a war with them, sent two baskets of beads to the Potowmac chief, and desired him to kill the Englishman that was with him. Japazaw replied, that the English were his friends, and Opichapan his *brother*, and that therefore there should be no blood shed between them by his means. It is also to be observed, that when the English first came over, in all their conferences with any of the chiefs, they constantly heard him make mention of his *brother*, with whom he must consult, or to whom he referred them, meaning thereby either the chief of the nation, or the tribes in confederacy. The Manahoacks are said to have been a confederacy of four tribes, and in alliance with the Monacans, in the war which they were carrying on against the Powhatans.

To the northward of these there was another powerful nation, which occupied the country from the head of the Chesapeak bay-up to the Kittatinney mountain, and as far eastward as Connecticut river, comprehending that part of New York which lies between the highlands and the ocean, all the state of New-Jersey, that part of Pennsylvania which is watered, below the range of the Kittatinney mountains, by the rivers or streams falling into the Delaware, and the county of Newcastle in the state of Delaware, as far as Duck creek. It is to be observed, that the nations of Indians distinguished their countries one from another by natural boundaries, such

as ranges of mountains or streams of water. But as the heads of rivers frequently interlock, or approach near to each other, as those who live upon a stream claim the country watered by it, they often encroach on each other, and this is a constant source of war between the different nations. The nation occupying the tract of country last described, called themselves Lenopi. The French writers call them Loups; and among the English they are now commonly called Delawares. This nation or confederacy consisted of five tribes, who all spoke one language.

1. The Chibohocki, who dwelt on the west side of the river now called Delaware, a name which it took from Lord De La War, who put into it on his passage from Virginia in the year—, but which by the Indians was called Chihohocki.
2. The Wanami, who inhabited the country called New Jersey, from the Rariton to the sea.
3. The Munsey, who dwelt on the upper streams of the Delaware, from the Kittatinney mountains down to the Lehigh or western branch of the Delaware.
4. The Wabinga who are sometimes called River Indians, sometimes Mohickanders, and who had their dwelling between the west branch of Delaware & Hudson's river, from the Kittatinney ridge down to the Rariton: and
5. The Mahiccon, or Mahattan, who occupied Staten island, York island, (which from its being the principal seat of their residence was formally called Mahatton) Long island and that part of New York and Connecticut which lies between Hudson and Connecticut rivers, from the highland, which is a continuation of the Kittatinney ridge down to the Sound. This nation had a close alliance with the Shawanese, who lived on the Susquehanna and to the westward of that river, as far as the Alleghaney mountains, and carried on a long war with

another powerful nation or confederacy of Indians, which lived to the north of them between the Kittatinney mountains, or highlands, and the lake Ontario, and who call themselves Mingoës, and are called by the French writers, Iroquois, by the English the Five Nations, and by the Indians to the southward, with whom they were at war, Massawomacs. This war was carrying on, in its greatest fury, when captain Smith first arrived in Virginia. The Mingo warriors had penetrated down the Susquehanna to the mouth of it. In one of his excursions up the bay, at the mouth of Susquehanna, in 1608, captain Smith met with six or seven of their canoes full of warriors, who were coming to attack their enemies in the rear. In an excursion which he had made a few weeks before, up the Rappahanock, and in which he had a skirmish with a party of the Manahoacs, and taken a brother of one of their chiefs prisoner, he first heard of this nation. For when he asked the prisoner, why his nation attacked the English? the prisoner said, because his nation had heard that the English came from under the world to take their world from them. Being asked how many worlds he knew? he said, he knew but one, which was under the sky that covered him, and which consisted of the Powhatans, Manakins, and the Massawomacs. Being questioned concerning the latter, he said, they dwelt on a great water to the North, that they had many boats, and so many men that they waged war with all the rest of the world.—The Mingo confederacy then consisted of five tribes; three who are the elder, to wit, the Senecas, who live to the West, the Mohawks to the East, and the Onondagas between them; and two who were called the younger tribes, namely, the Cayugas and Oneidas. All these tribes speak one language, and

were then united in a close confederacy, and occupied the tract of country from the east end of lake Erie to lake Champlain, and from the Kittatinney and Highlands, the lake Ontario and the river Cadaraqui, or St. Lawrence. They had, some time before that, carried on a war with a nation, who lived beyond the lakes, and were called Adirondacs. In this war they were worsted: but having made a peace with them, through the intercession of the French, who were then settling Canada, they turned their arms against the Lenopi; and as this war was long and doubtful, they, in the course of it, not only exerted their whole force, but put in practice every measure which prudence or policy could devise to bring it to a successful issue. For this purpose they bent their course down the Susquehanna, warring with the Indians in their way, and having penetrated as far as the mouth of it, they, by the terror of their arms, engaged a nation, now known by the name of Nanticocks, Conoys, and Tuteloes, and who lived between Chesapeake and Delaware bays, and bordering on the tribe of Chihohocki, to enter into an alliance with them. They also formed an alliance with the Monakans, and stimulated them to war with the Lenopi and their confederates. At the same time the Mohawks carried on a furious war down the Hudson against the Mohiccons and River Indians, and compelled them to purchase a temporary and precarious peace, by acknowledging them to be their superiors and paying an annual tribute. The Lenopi being surrounded with enemies and hard pressed, and having lost many of their warriors, were at last compelled to sue for peace, which was granted them on condition that they should put themselves under the protection of the Mingoës, confine themselves to raising

corn, hunting for the subsistence of their families, and no longer have the power of making war. This is what the Indians call making them women. And in this condition the Lenopis were when William Penn first arrived and began the settlement of Pennsylvania in 1682.

(6.) p. 148. From the figurative language of the Indians, as well as from the practice of those we are still acquainted with, it is evident that it was, and still continues to be, a common custom among the Indians to gather up the bones of the dead, and deposit them in a particular place. Thus, when they make peace with any nation, with whom they have been at war, after burying the hatchet, they take up the belt of wampum, and say, 'We now gather up all the bones of those who 'have been slain and bury them, &c.' See all the treaties of peace. Besides, it is customary when any of them die at a distance from home, to bury them, and afterwards to come and take up the bones and carry them home. At a treaty which was held at Lancaster with the six nations, one of them died, and was buried in the woods a little distance from the town. Some time after a party came and took up the body, separated the flesh from the bones by boiling and scraping them clean, and carried them to be deposited in the sepulchres of their ancestors. The operation was so offensive and disagreeable, that nobody could come near them while they were performing it.

(7.) p. 151. The Oswegatchies, Connosedagos and Cohunnegagoes, or, as they are commonly called Cagnewagos, are of the Mingo or Six-nation, who by the influence of the French missionaries, have been separated from their nation, and induced to settle there.



I do not know of what nation the Augquagahs are , but suspect they are a family of the Senecas.

The Nanticocks and Conoies were formerly of a nation that lived at the head of Chesapeak bay, and who of late years, have been adopted into the Mingo or Iroquois confederacy, and make a seventh nation. The Monacans or Tuscaroras, who were taken into the confederacy in 1712, making the sixth.

The Saponies are families of the Wanamies, who removed from New Jersey, and, with the Mohiccons, Munsiess, and Delawares, belong to the Lenopi nation. The Mingoos are a war colony from the six nations ; so are the Cohunnewagos.

Of the rest of the northern tribes I never have been able to learn any thing certain. But all accounts seem to agree in this, that there is a very powerful nation, distinguished by a variety of names taken from the several towns or families, but commonly called Tawas or Outawas, who speak one language, and live round and on the waters that fall into the western lakes, and extend from the waters of the Ohio quite to the waters falling into Hudson's bay.

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*From Jefferson's Notes.*

Page 100, he says, I know of no such thing existing as an Indian monument: for I would not honour with that name arrow points, stone hatchets, stone pipes, and half-shapen images. Of labour on the large scale, I think there is no remain as respectable as would be a common ditch for the draining of lands: unless indeed it would be the Barrows, of which many are to be found all over this country. These are of different sizes, some

of them are constructed of earth, and some of loose stones. That they were repositories of the dead, has been obvious to all: but on what particular occasion constructed, was a matter of doubt. Some of them have thought they covered the bones of those who have fallen in battles fought on the spot of interment. Some ascribed them to the custom, said to prevail among the Indians, of collecting at certain periods the bones of all their dead, wheresoever deposited at the time of death. Others again supposed them the general sepulchre for towns, conjectured to have been on or near these grounds; and this opinion was supported by the quality of the lands in which they were found, (those constructed of earth being generally in the softest and most fertile meadow grounds on river sides) and by a tradition, said to be handed down from the aboriginal Indians, that when they settled in a town, the first person who died was placed erect, and earth put about him, so as to cover and support him; that when another died, a narrow passage was dug to the first, the second reclined against him, and the cover of earth replaced, and so on. There being one of these in my neighbourhood, I wished to satisfy myself whether any, and which of these opinions were just. For this purpose I determined to open and examine it thoroughly. It was situated on the low grounds of the Rivanna, about two miles above its principal fork, and opposite to some hills, on which had been an Indian town. It was of a spheroidal form, of about forty feet diameter at the base, and had been of about twelve feet altitude, though now reduced by the plough to seven and a half, having been under cultivation about a dozen years. Before this it was covered with trees of twelve inches diameter, and round the base

was an excavation of five feet depth and width, from whence the earth had been taken of which the hillock was formed. I first dug superficially in several parts of it, and came to collections of human bones at different depths, from six inches to three feet below the surface. These were lying in the utmost confusion, some vertical, some oblique, some horizontal, and directed to every point of the compass, entangled and held together in clusters by the earth. Bones of the most distant parts were found together, as, for instance, the small bones of the foot in the hollow of a skull, many skulls would sometimes be in contact, lying on the face, on the side, on the back, top or bottom, so as, on the whole, to give the idea of bones emptied promiscuously from a bag or basket, and covered over with earth, without any attention to their order. The bones of which the greatest number remained, were skulls, jaw bones, teeth, the bones of the arms, thighs, legs, feet and hands. A few ribs remained, some vertebræ of the neck and spine, without their processes, and one instance only of the\* bone which serves as a base to the vertebral column. The skulls were so tender, that they generally fell to pieces on being touched. The other bones were stronger. There were some teeth which were judged to be smaller than those of an adult; a skull which on a slight view, appeared to be that of an infant, but it fell to pieces on being taken out, so as to prevent satisfactory examination; a rib, and a fragment of an under jaw of a person about half grown; another rib of an infant; and part of the jaw of a child, which had not yet cut its teeth. This last furnishing most decisive proof of the burial of chil-

\*The os sacrum.

dren here, I was particular in my attention to it. It was part of the right half of the under jaw. The processes, by which it was articulated to the temporal bones, were entire, and the bone itself firm to where it had been broken off, which, as nearly as I could judge, was about the place of the eye-tooth. Its upper edge, where-in would have been the sockets of the teeth, was perfectly smooth. Measuring it with that of an adult, by placing their hinder processes together, its broken and extended to the penultimate grinder of the adult. This bone was white, all the others of a sand colour. The bones of infants being soft, they probably decay sooner, which might be the cause so few were found here. I proceeded then to make a perpendicular cut through the body of the barrow, that I might examine its internal structure. This passed about three feet from its centre, was opened to the former surface of the earth, and was wide enough for a man to walk through and examine its sides. At the bottom, that is, on the level of the circumjacent plain, I found bones; above these a few stones, brought from a cliff a quarter of a mile off; then a large interval of earth, then a stratum of bones and so on. At one end of the section were four strata of bones plainly distinguishable; at the other three; the strata in one part not ranging with those in another. The bones nearest the surface were least decayed. No holes were discovered in any of them, as if made with bullets, arrows, or other weapons. I conjectured that in this barrow might have been a thousand skeletons. Every one will readily seize the circumstances above related, which militate against the opinion, that it covered the bones only of persons fallen in battle; and against the tradition also, which would make it the

common sepulchre of a town, in which the bodies were placed upright, and touching each other. Appearances certainly indicate that it has derived both origin and growth from the accustomed collection of bones, and deposition of them together: that the first collection had been deposited on the common surface of the earth, a few stones put over it, and then a covering of earth, that the second had been laid on this, had covered more or less of it in proportion to the number of bones, and was then also covered with earth; and so on. The following are the particular circumstances which gave it this aspect. 1. The number of bones. 2. Their confused position. 3. Their being in different strata. 4. The strata in one part having no correspondence with those in another. 5. The different states of decay in these strata, which seem to indicate a difference in the time of the inhumation. 6. The existence of infant bones among them.

But on whatever occasion they may have been made, they are of considerable notoriety among the Indians; for a party passing, about thirty years ago, through the part of the country where this barrow is, went through the woods directly to it, without any instructions or inquiry, and having staid about it some time, with expressions which were construed to be those of sorrow, they returned to the high road, which they had left about a half a dozen of miles to pay this visit, and pursued their journey. There is another barrow much resembling this, in the low grounds of the south branch of Shenandoah where it is crossed by the road leading from the Rockfish gap to Staunton. Both of these have within these dozen years, been cleared of their trees and put under cultivation, are much reduced in their height,

and spread in width by the plough, and will probably disappear in time. There is another on a hill in the Blue ridge of mountains, a few miles north of Wood's gap, which is made up of small stones thrown together. This has been opened and found to contain human bones, as the others do. There are also many others in other parts of the country.

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ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT.

*The following message from the president of the United States, to Congress, was presented by his Secretary, Mr. Lear.*

*United States, Dec. 12, 1791.*

Gentlemen of the senate, and of the  
house of representatives—

It is with great concern that I communicate to you the information received from major general St. Clair, of the misfortune that has befallen the troops under his command.

Although the national loss is considerable, according to the scale of the event, yet it may be repaired without great difficulty, excepting as to the brave men who have fallen on the occasion, and who are a subject of public, as well as of private regret.

A further communication will shortly be made, of all such matters as shall be necessary, to enable the legislature to judge of the future measures which it may be proper to pursue.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

*Fort Washington, Oct. 6, 1791.*

SIR,

I have now the satisfaction to inform you, that the army moved from fort Hamilton, the name I have given to the fort on the Miami, on the 4th at eight in the morning, under the command of general Butler. The order of march and encampment I had regulated before, and on the third returned to this place to get up the militia. They marched yesterday, and consisted of about three hundred men, as you will see by the enclosed abstract of the muster. I have reason to believe, however, that at least an equal number will be up here by the 10th, and I have left orders for their following us. The monthly return should have accompanied this letter, but it was not ready when I left camp, and has not been forwarded since. I have hitherto found it impossible to reduce the officers commanding corps to punctuality with respect to their returns, but they are mending. Our numbers, after deducting the garrisons of this place and fort Hamilton, are about two thousand, exclusive of the militia. I trust I shall find them sufficient; and should the rest of the militia come on, it would make the matter pretty certain. But the season is now so far advanced, that I fear the intermediate posts, which indeed would have been highly necessary, it will be impossible to establish: in that, however, I must be governed by circumstances, of which I will take care that you will be apprized in due time. Should the enemy come to meet us, which seems to be expected, and be discomfited, there will be no difficulties: but if they expect us at the Miami villages, the business will wear another face, and the intermediate posts become more essential.

Since the quartermaster has been here, and got into

his geers, which it took him a little time to do, I am very well satisfied with him, and do believe he will answer the description which you were pleased to give me of him; his business seems now to be well arranged.

In order to communicate with some degree of certainty with your office, I have directed captain Buel, when he arrives, to send a serjeant and twelve men to a house that has been newly erected, half way between this place and Lexington, to each of which two men are to be sent off on every Monday morning to carry dispatches. Those for the war office, or any other public letters, to be put into the hands of Mr. Charles Wilkins, merchant of Lexington, who has engaged to forward all I have occasion to send, regularly once a week: and should you, sir, think proper to use the same route for any of yours, if they are sent to his care, he will forward them to me. I have been led to prefer this channel of communication to that of the river, because it appears to be rather the more certain of the two, though it may be a little more tedious, and because desertion continues to prevail among the troops, and the sending of small parties to such a distance gives great opportunity to effect it. General Butler informs me that no less than twenty-one went off the night before the army moved from fort Hamilton.

I am this moment setting out for the army, which I hope to overtake to-morrow evening, and will write to you again as soon as may be.

With great regard and respect,

I have the honour to be,

Sir, your very humb'e servant.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

*To the hon. Major Gen. Knox,  
Secretary of War.*



*Camp, 81 miles advanced of Fort Washington, Nov. 1, 1791.*

SIR,

Since I had the honour to write to you on the 21st ult. nothing very material has happened and indeed I am at present so unwell, and have been so for some time past, that I could ill detail it, if it had happened—not that *that* space of time has been entirely barren of incidents, but as few of them have been of the agreeable kind, I beg you to accept a sort of journal account of them, which will be the easiest for me.

On the 22d the indisposition that had hung about me for some time, sometimes appearing as a bilious colic, and sometimes as a rheumatic asthma, to my great satisfaction, changed to a gout in the left arm and hand, leaving the breast and stomach perfectly relieved, and the cough entirely gone. This day Mr. Ellis, with sixty militia from Kentucky, joined the army, and brought up a quantity of flour and beef.

23d. Two men taken in the act of deserting to the enemy, and one for shooting another soldier and threatening to kill an officer, were hanged upon the grand parade, the whole army being drawn out. Since the army has halted, the country around this, and a-head for fifteen miles, has been well examined; it is a country, which had we arrived a month sooner in it, and with three times the number of animals, they would all have been fat now.

24th. Named the fort *Jefferson*, (it lies in lat.  $40^{\circ}$ ,  $4'$ ,  $22''$ , N.) and marched, the same Indian path serving to conduct us about six miles, and encamped on good ground and an excellent position. A rivulet in front, and a very large prairie which would at the proper season

afford forage for a thousand horses, on the left. So ill this day that I had much difficulty in keeping with the army.

25th. Very hard rains last night, obliged to halt today, on account of provisions; for though the soldiery may be kept very easy in camp under the expectations of provisions arriving, they cannot bear to march in advance, and take none along with them. Received a letter from Mr. Hodgdon by express; 13000lbs. flour will arrive the 27th.

26th. A party of militia, sent to reconnoitre, fell in with five Indians, and suffered them to slip through their fingers in their camp; articles to the value of twenty-two dollars were found and divided. The Virginia battalion is melting down very fast, notwithstanding the promises of the men to the officers; 13 have been discharged by col. Darke to day.

27th. Gave orders for enlisting the levies, with the condition of serving out their time in the present corps. Payomingo arrived in camp with his warriors: I was so unwell could only see him and bid him welcome, but entered on no business—considerable dissatisfaction among the levies about their enlistments.

28th. Some cloathing sent for to fort Washington for the recruits arrived, was begun to be distributed, and will have a good effect; but the enlisting the levies does not meet with the encouragement that might have been expected—it is not openly complained of by the officers, but it is certainly privately, by some of high rank, and the measure of tempting them with warm clothing condemned. Mr. Hodgdon writes me that he is sending forward a quantity of woolen overalls and stocks, by general Butler's orders—I have ordered them to be de-

posited at fort Jefferson. Some few Indians about us, probably those the militia fell in with a day or two ago—two of the levies were fired upon about three miles off, one killed; two of the militia likewise, one of them got in and the other missing, supposed to be taken.

29th. Payomingo and his people, accompanied by captain Sparks and four good riflemen, gone on a scout, they do not propose to return under ten days, unless they sooner succeed in taking prisoners.

30th. The army moved about nine o'clock, and with much difficulty made seven miles, having left a considerable part of the tents by the way, the provisions made by the quarter master was not adequate. Three days' flour issued to them. The Indian road still with us. The course this day N. 25° W.

31st. This morning about 60 of the militia deserted. It was at first reported, that one half of them had gone off, and that their design was to plunder the convoys which were upon the road—I detached the first regiment in pursuit of them, with orders to Major Hamtramck to send a sufficient guard back with Benham (a commissary) whenever he met with him, and follow them about twenty five miles below fort Jefferson, or until he met the second convoy, and then return and join the army. Benham arrived last night; and to-day, November 1st, the army is halted to give the road-cutters an opportunity of getting some distance a-head, and that I might write to you. I am this day considerably recovered, and hope that it will turn out, what I first expected it would be, a friendly fit of the gout, come to relieve me from every other complaint.

Yesterday I was favoured with yours of the 28th and 29th of Sept. I have enclosed my communications

with the old and new contractors, and their answers. My orders for the post to them are not yet definite; but they will be very soon. In the mean time, I expect they are both at work.

With great respect,

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

P. S. Your letters for general Wilkinson, and general Scott, Mr. Jones and Mr. Brown, are sent back, and the public thanks in the name of the president, presented to gen. Wilkinson agreeably to your directions.

*To the hon. Major Gen. Knox,  
Secretary of War.*

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*Fort Washington, Nov. 9, 1791.*

SIR,

Yesterday afternoon the remains of the army under my command got back to this place, and I have now the painful task to give you an account of as warm and unfortunate an action as almost any that has been fought, in which every corps was engaged and worsted, except the first regiment, that had been detached upon a service I had the honor to inform you of in my last dispatch, and had not joined me.

On the 3d instant the army had reached a creek about twelve yards wide, running to the southward of west, which I believe to have been the river St. Mary, which empties itself into the Miami of the lake, at the Miami village, about four o'clock in the afternoon, having marched near nine miles, and were immediately en-

camped upon a very commanding piece of ground, in two lines, having the above mentioned creek in front. The right wing composed of Butler's, Clarke's and Patterson's battalions, commanded by major-general Butler, formed the first line, and the left wing consisting of Bedinger's and Gaither's battalions, and the second regiment commanded by lieut.-colonel Darke, formed the second line, with an interval between them of about seventy yards, which was all the ground would allow. The right flank was pretty well secured by the creek, a steep bank, and Faulkner's corps; some of the cavalry piquets covered the left flank. The militia were thrown over the creek, and advanced about one quarter of a mile and encamped in the same order. There were a few Indians who appeared on the opposite side of the creek, but fled with the utmost precipitation on the advance of the militia. At this place, which I judged to be about fifteen miles from the Miami village, I had determined to throw up a slight work, the plan of which was concerted that evening with major Ferguson, wherein to have deposited the men's knapsacks, and every thing else that was not of absolute necessity, and to have moved on to attack the enemy as soon as the first regiment was come up; but they did not permit me to execute either, for on the fourth, about half an hour before sunrise, and when the men had been just dismissed from the parade (for it was a constant practice to have them all under arms a considerable time before day-light) an attack was made upon the militia—those gave way in a very little time, and rushed into camp through major Butler's battalion, which together with part of Clarke's threw them into considerable disorder, which notwithstanding the exertions of both, and those

officers, was never altogether remedied, the Indians following close at their heels. The fire however of the first line checked them, but almost instantly a very heavy attack began upon that line, and in a few minutes it was extended to the second likewise; the great weight of it was directed against the centre of each, where the artillery was placed, and from which the men were repeatedly driven with great slaughter. Finding no great effect from our fire, and confusion beginning to spread, from the great number of men who were falling in all quarters, it became necessary to try what could be done by the bayonet. Lieutenant colonel Darke was accordingly ordered to make a charge with part of the second line, and to turn the left flank of the enemy—this was executed with great spirit—the Indians instantly gave way, and were driven back three or four hundred yards; but for want of a sufficient number of rifle men to pursue this advantage, they soon returned, and the troops were obliged to give back in their turn. At this moment they had entered our camp by the left flank, having pushed back the troops that were posted there. Another charge was made here by the second regiment, Butler's and Clarke's battalions, with equal effect, and it was repeated several times, and always with success; in all of them many men were lost, and particularly the officers, which, with so raw troops, was a loss altogether irremediable. In that just spoke of, made by the second regiment, and Butler's battalion, major Butler was dangerously wounded, and every officer of the second regiment fell, except three, one of whom Mr. Creaton was shot through the body. Our artillery being now silenced, and all the officers killed, except captain Ford, who was very badly wounded, and more than half of

the army fallen, being cut off from the road, it became necessary to attempt the regaining it, and to make a retreat if possible—to this purpose the remains of the army were formed as well as circumstances would admit, towards the right of the encampment, from which by the way of the second line, another charge was made upon the enemy, as if with the design to turn their right flank, but in fact to gain the road. This was effected, and as soon as it was open the militia took along it, followed by the troops, major Clarke with his battalion covering the rear. The retreat, in these circumstances was you may be sure a very precipitate one—it was in fact a flight—The camp and the artillery were abandoned; but that was unavoidable, for not an horse was left alive to have drawn it off, had it otherwise been practicable. But the most disgraceful part of the business is, that the greatest part of the men threw away their arms and accoutrements, even after the pursuit, (which continued about four miles) had ceased. I found the road strewed with them for many miles, but was not able to remedy it; for having had all my horses killed, and being mounted upon one that could not be pricked out of a walk, I could not get forward myself; and the orders I sent forward, either to halt the front or to prevent the men from parting with their arms, were unattended to.

The route continued quite to fort Jefferson, 29 miles, which was reached at a little after sun-setting.

The action began about half an hour before sunrise, and the retreat was attempted half an hour after nine o'clock.

I have not yet been able to get returns of the killed and wounded; but major general Butler, lieut. col. Old-

ham of the militia, majors Ferguson, Heart, and Clarke, are among the former. Col. Sargent my adjutant-general, lieut. col. Darke, lieut. col. Gibson, major Butler and the viscount Malartie, who served me as an aid-de-camp, are among the latter, and a great number of captains and subalterns in both.

I have now, sir, finished my melancholy tale—a tale that will be felt sensibly by every one that has sympathy for private distress, or for public misfortune.

I have nothing, sir, to lay to the charge of the troops but their want of discipline, which from the short time they had been in service it was impossible they should have acquired, and which rendered it very difficult, when they were thrown into confusion, to reduce them again to order, and is one reason why the loss has fallen so heavily upon the officers, who did every thing in their power to effect it; neither were my own exertions wanting, but worn down with illness, and suffering under a painful disease, unable either to mount or dismount an horse without assistance, they were not so great as they otherwise would, and perhaps ought to have been. We were overpowered by numbers; but it is no more than justice to observe, that though composed of so many different species of troops, the utmost harmony prevailed through the whole army during the campaign.

At fort Jefferson, I found the first regiment, which had returned from the service they had been sent upon without either overtaking the deserters or meeting the convoys of provision. I am not certain, sir, whether I ought to consider the absence of this regiment from the field of action as fortunate or otherwise—I incline to think it was fortunate; for I very much doubt whether, had it been in the action, the fortune of the day had been



turned: and if it had not the triumph of the enemy would have been more complete, and the country would have been destitute of every means of defence.

Taking a view of the situation of our broken troops at fort Jefferson, and that there was no provisions in the fort, I called upon the field officers, viz. lieut. col. Darke, major Hamtramck, major Zeigler and major Gaither, together with the adjutant general for their advice, what would be proper further to be done, and it was their unanimous opinion, that the addition of the first regiment, unbroken as it was, did not put the army on as respectable a footing as it was in the morning, because a great part of it was now unarmed—That it had been then found unequal to the enemy; and should they come on which was probable, would be found so again—That the troops could not be thrown into the fort, both because it was so small, and that there were no provisions in it—That provisions were known to be upon the road, at the distance of one or at most two marches—That therefore it would be proper to move, without loss of time to meet the provisions, when the men might have the sooner an opportunity of some refreshment, and that a proper detachment might be sent back with it to have it safely deposited in the fort. This advice was accepted, and the army put in motion again at ten o'clock, and marched all night, and the succeeding day met with a quantity of flour—part of it was distributed immediately—part taken back to supply the army on the march to fort Hamilton, and the remainder (about fifty horse loads) sent forward to fort Jefferson—the next day a drove of cattle was met with for the same place, and I have information that both got in: The wounded who had been left at that place, were ordered to be brought here by the return horses.

I have said, sir, in a former part of this letter, that we were overpowered by numbers : of that, however, I have no other evidence than the weight of the fire, which was always a most deadly one, and generally delivered from the ground, few of the enemy shewing themselves on foot, except when they were charged ; and that in a few minutes our whole camp, which extended above three hundred and fifty yards in length, was entirely surrounded, and attacked on all quarters.

The loss, sir, the public has sustained by the fall of so many brave officers, particularly general Butler and major Ferguson, cannot be too much regretted ; but it is a circumstance that will alleviate the misfortune in some measure, that all of them fell most gallantly doing their duty. I have had very particular obligation to many of them, as well as to the survivors, but to none more than to col. Sargent—He has discharged the various duties of his office with zeal, with exactness, and with intelligence, and on all occasions afforded me every assistance in his power ; which I have also experienced from my aid de-camp, lieutenant Denny, and the viscount Malartie, who served with me in that station, as a volunteer.

With every sentiment of respect and regard,

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

ARTHUR St. CLAIR.

*To the hon. Major Gen. Knox,  
Secretary of War.*

P. S. Some orders that had been given to colonel Oldham over night and which were of much consequence,

were not executed; and some very material intelligence was communicated by captain Slough to general Butler, in the course of the night before the action, which was never imparted to me, nor did I hear of it until after my arrival here.

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PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 23.

Last Wednesday evening lieutenant Denny, aid-de-camp to major general St. Clair, arrived with dispatches for the secretary of war, dated fort Washington, the 17th November.

The garrison at fort Jefferson was intended to be continued, and was not conceived to be in any danger; it was well supplied with provisions provided with artillery, and commanded by captain Shailer of the 2nd regiment. Most of the wounded had arrived at fort Washington from fort Jefferson.

Piamingo, the Chickasaw chief, had returned safe with his warriors, and captain Sparks, of Clarke's battalion, bringing with them five scalps.

The Kentucky militia, under generals Scott and Wilkinson, all mounted and furnished with twenty days provisions, would probably arrive at fort Washington about the 20th of November.

It was expected that the dispersed situation of the Indians would afford a good opportunity for the militia to make an important stroke yet this winter.

The brave major Clark ( who covered the retreat with some soldiers ) supposed to be killed, had arrived safe at fort Washington.

The levies were generally discharged, excepting those who had enlisted into the regular service.

*Authentic list of the killed and wounded in the army of the United States, commanded by major-general St. Clair, November 4th, 1791. From the returns of the adjutant general.*

Major gen. Butler, *killed*.

Colonel Sargent, (adjutant general) and the viscount Malartie, acting as aid-de-camp, *wounded*.

Artillery. *Killed*—Major Ferguson, capt. Bradford, lieut. Spear.

*Wounded*—Capt. Ford.

Cavalry. *Wounded*—Capt. Trueman, lieut. de Butts, cornet Bhines.

1st United States Regiment. *Wounded*—Capt. Doyle.

2nd United States Regiment. *Killed*—Major Heart, captains Kirkwood, Phelon and Newman, lieutenant Warren, ensigns Balch and Cobb.

*Wounded*—Lieut. Greaton.

1st Regiment of Levies.—*Killed*—Captains Van Swearingen, Tipton and Price; lieutenants M'Math and Boyd; ensigns Wilson, Reeves, Brooks, Chace, and Turner; adjutant Burges; Dr. Grasson.

*Wounded*—Lieutenant colonel Darke; captains Darke and Buchannen, lieutenants Morgan, Lyle, M'Rhea, Davidson and Price; adjutant Whistler.

2d Regiment of Levies. *Killed*—Capts. Cribbs, Piatt, Smith and Purdy; lieuts. Kelso and Lukins; ensigns M'Michael, Beattie and Purdy; adjutant Anderson.

*Wounded*—Lieutenant colonel Gibson; major Butler; captain Slough; lieutenants Thompson, Cummings and Reed; ensign Morehead; adjutant Crawford.

Kentucky Militia. *Killed*—Lieutenant colonel Oldham, captain Leman, lieut. Brigs, ensign.

*Wounded*—Captains Thomas and Madison, lieuts. Owens and Stagner, ensign Walter, doctor Ganoe.

*Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates.*

Killed and missing	593.
Wounded	214.

N. B. Of the first United States regiment a small detachment only was in the action, the regiment being on command.

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*The following extracts from the History of the American Indians ; particularly those nations adjoining to the Mississippi, East and West Florida, Georgia, South and North Carolina, and Virginia. By James Adair, Esquire, a trader with the Indians, and resident in their country for forty years.*

In Tymahse, a lower Cheerake town, lived one of their reputed great divine men, who never informed the people of his seeking for rain, but at the change, or full of the moon, unless there was some promising sign of the change of the weather, either in the upper regions or from the feathered kalender; such as the quacking of ducks, the croaking of ravens, and from the moistness of the air felt in their quills; consequently he seldom failed of success, which highly increased his name and profits; for even when it rained at other times they ascribed it to the intercession of their great beloved man. Rain making, in the Cheerake mountains, is not so dangerous an office, as in the rich level lands of the Chik-kasah country, near the Mississippi. The above Cheerake prophet had a carbuncle, near as big as an egg, which they said he found where a great rattle snake lay

dead; and that it sparkled with such surprising lustre, as to illuminate his dark winter house, like strong flashes of continued lightning, to the great terror of the weak, who durst not upon any account, approach the dreadful fire darting place, for fear of sudden death. When he died, it was buried along with him according to custom, in the town house of Tymahse, under the great beloved cabin, which stood in the westernmost part of that old fabric, where they who will run the risk of searching, may luckily find it; but if any of that family detected them in disturbing the bones of their deceased relation, they would resent it as the basest act of hostility. The inhuman conduct of the avaricious Spaniards toward the dead Peruvians and Mexicans, irritated the natives to the highest pitch of distraction, against those ravaging enemies of humanity. The intense love the Indians bear to their dead, is the reason that so few have fallen into the hands of our physicians to dissect or anatomise. We will hope also, that from a principle of humanity, our ague charmers, and water casters, who like birds of night keep where the Indians frequently haunt, would not cut up their fellow creatures, as was done by the Spanish butchers in Peru and Mexico.

Not long ago, at a friendly feast, or feast of love, in West Florida, during the time of a long-continued drought, I earnestly importuned the old rain maker, for a sight of the pretended divine stone, which he had assured me he was possessed of; but he would by no means gratify my request. He told me, as I was an infidel, literally "one who shakes hands with the accursed speech," and did not believe its being endued with a divine power, the sight of it could no ways benefit me; and that, as their old unerring tradition

assured them, it would suffer very great damage in case of compliance, he hoped I would kindly acquiesce; especially, as he imagined, I believed every nation of people had certain beloved things, that might be easily spoiled by being polluted. I told him I was fully satisfied with the friendly excuse he made to my inconsiderate request: but that I could scarcely imagine there were any such beloved men, and beloved things, in so extremely fertile, but now sun burnt soil. Their crops had failed the year before, by reason of several concurring causes: and for the most part of the summer season, he had kept his bed through fear of incurring the punishment of a false prophet: which, joined with the religious regimen, and abstemious way of living he was obliged strictly to pursue, it sweated him so severely, as to reduce him to a skeleton. I jested him in a friendly way, saying, I imagined, the supreme holy fire would have proved more kind to his honest devotees, than to sicken him so severely especially at that critical season, when the people's food, and his own entirely depended on his health: that, though our beloved men never undertook to bring down seasonable rains, yet we very seldom failed to have good crops, and always paid them the tenth basketful of our yearly produce; because, they persuaded our young people, by the force of their honest example, and kind-hearted enchanting language, to shun the crooked ways of *Hottuck Kallakse*, "the mad light of the people," and honestly to shake hands with the old beloved speech—that the great, supreme, fatherly chieftain, had told his *Loache* to teach us how to obtain peace and plenty, and every other good thing while we live here, and when we die, not only to shun the accursed dark place, where the

sun is every day drowned, but likewise to live again for ever, very happily in the favourite country.

He replied that my speech consisted of a mixture of good and ill; the beginning of it was crooked, and the conclusion straight. He said I had wrongfully blamed him, for the effect of the disorderly conduct of the red people and himself, as it was well known he fasted at different times for several days together; at other times ate green tobacco leaves; and some days drank only a warm decoction of the button snake root, without allowing any one, except his religious attendant, to come near him; and in every other respect, had honestly observed the austere rules of his religious place according to the beloved speech that *Ishtohollo Eloa Aba* gave to the *Loache* of their forefathers: but *Loak Ishtohollo* was sorely vexed with most of their young people for violating the chastity of their neighbours wives, and even among the thriving green corn and peas, as their beds here and there clearly proved; thus, they spoiled the power of his holy things, and tempted *Mingo Ishto Eloa*, "the great chieftan of the thunder," to bind up the clouds, and withhold the rain. Besides, that the old women were less honest in paying their rain-maker, than the English women behaved to their beloved men, unless I had spoken too well of them. The wives of this and the other person, he said, had cheated him, in not paying him any portion of the last year's bad crop, which their own bad lives greatly contributed to, as that penurious crime of cheating him of his dues, sufficiently testified; not to mention a late custom, they had contracted since the general peace, of planting a great many fields of beans and peas, in distant places, after the summer crops were over, on the like dishonest prin-



ciple; likewise in affirming, that when the harvest was over, it rained for nothing; by that means they had blackened the old beloved speech that *Ishtohoollo Eloa* of old spoke to his *Loache*, and conveyed down to him, only that they might paint their own bad actions white. He concluded, by saying, that all the chieftains, and others present, as well as myself, knew now very well, from his honest speech, the true cause of the earth's having been so strangely burnt till lately; and that he was afraid, if the hearts of those light and mad people he complained of, did not speedily grow honest, the dreadful day would soon come, in which *Loak Ishtohoollo* would send *Phutchick Keeraah Ishto*, "the great blazing star," *Yahkane eeklenna*, *Loak loachache*, "to burn up half of the earth with fire," *Pherimmi Aiube*, "from the north to the south," *Hasse oobea pera*, "toward the setting of the sun," where they should in time arrive at the dreadful place of darkness, be confined there hungry, and otherwise sorely distressed among hissing snakes, and many other frightful creatures, according to the ancient and true speech that *Ishtohoollo Aba* spoke to his beloved *Loache*.

I shall insert a dialogue, that formerly passed between the *Chikkasah Loache* and me, which will illustrate both this, and other particulars of the general subject; and also show the religious advantages and arguments, by which the French used to undermine us with the Indians.

We had been speaking of trade, which is the usual topic of discourse with those craftsmen. I asked him how he could reasonably blame the English traders for cheating *Tekape hummah*, "the red folks," even allowing his accusations to be just: as he, their divine man, had cheated them out of a great part of their crops, and had

the assurance to claim it as his religious due, when at the same time, if he had shaken hands with the straight old beloved speech, or strictly observed the ancient divine law, his feeling heart would not have allowed him to have done such black and crooked things, especially to the helpless, the poor, and the aged: it rather would have strongly moved him to stretch out to them a kind and helping hand, according to the old beloved speech of *Ishtohollo Aba* to his *Hottuk Ishtohollo*, who were sufficiently supported at the public expense, and strictly ordered to supply with the greatest tenderness, the wants of others.

He smartly retorted my objections, telling me, that the white people's excuses for their own wrong conduct, were as false and weak as my complaints were against him. The red people, he said, saw very clearly through such thin black paint; though his sacred employment was equally hid from them and me; by which means, neither of us could reasonably pretend to be proper judges of his virtuous conduct, nor blame him for the necessary effect of our own crimes; or urge it as a plea for cheating him out of his yearly dues, contrary to the old divine speech, for the crops became light by their own vicious conduct, which spoiled the power of his holy things. So that it was visible, both the red and white people were commonly too partial to themselves; and that by the bounty of the supreme fatherly Chieftain, it was as much out of his power, as distant from his kindly heart either to wrong the beloved red people, or the white nothings; and that it became none, except mad light people, to follow the crooked steps of *Hottuck Ookproose*, the accursed people.

As there was no interruption to our winter-night's chat, I asked him in a friendly manner, whether he was

not afraid, thus boldly to snatch at the divine power of distributing rain at his pleasure, as it belonged only to the great beloved thundering Chieftain, who dwells far above the clouds, in the new year's unpolluted holy fire, and who gives it in common to all nations of people alike, and even to every living creature over the face of the whole earth, because he made them—and his merciful goodness always prompts him to supply the wants of all his creatures. He told me, that by an ancient tradition their *Loache* were possessed of an extraordinary divine power, by which they foretold hidden things, and by the beloved speech brought down showers of plenty to the beloved people; that he very well knew, the giver of virtue to nature resided on earth in the unpolluted holy fire, and likewise above the clouds and the sun, in the shape of a fine fiery substance attended by a great many beloved people; and that he continually weighs us, and measures out good or bad things, to us, according to our actions. He added, that though the former beloved speech had a long time subsided, it was very reasonable they should continue this their old beloved custom; especially as it was both profitable in supporting many of their helpless old beloved men, and very productive of virtue, by awing their young people from violating the ancient laws. This shewed him to be cunning in priest craft, if not possessed of a tradition from the Hebrew records, that their prophets by the divine power, had on material occasions, acted beyond the stated laws of nature, and wrought miracles.

My-old prophetic friend told me, with a good deal of surprize, that though the beloved red people had by some means or other, lost the old beloved speech; yet *Frenshe Lakkane ookproo*, "the ugly yellow French," ( as

they term the Mississippians ) had by some wonderful method obtained it; for his own people, he assured me, had seen them at New Orleans to bring down rain in a very dry season, when they were giving out several bloody speeches to their head warriors against the English Chikkasah traders. On a mischievous politic invitation of the French, several of the Chikkasah had then paid them a visit in the time of an alarming drought and a general fast, when they were praying for seasonable rains at mass. When they came, the interpreter was ordered to tell them, that the French had holy places and holy things, after the manner of the red people—that if their young people proved honest, they could bring down rain whenever they stood in need of it—and that this was one of the chief reasons which induced all the various nations of the beloved red people to bear them so intense a love; and on the contrary, so violent and inexpressible an hatred even to the very name of the English, because every one of them was marked with *Anumbole Ookproo*, “the curse of God.

The method the Chikkasah prophet used in relating the affair, has some humour in it—for their ignorance of the Christian religion, and institutions, perplexes them when they are on the subject; on which account I shall literally transcribe it.

He told me, that the Chikkasah warriors during three successive days, accompanied the French *Loache* and *Ishihoollo* to the great beloved house, where a large bell hung atop, which strange sight exceedingly surprized them; for, instead of being fit for a horse, it would require a great many ten horses to carry it. Around the inside of the beloved house, there was a multitude of he and she beloved people, or male and female saints and

angels, whose living originals, they affirmed, dwelt above the clouds, and helped them to get every good thing from *Ishtohollo* *Aba*, when they earnestly crave their help. The French beloved men spoke a great deal with much warmth; the rest were likewise busily employed in imitation of their *Ishtohollo* and *Loache*. At one time they spoke high, at another low. One chose this and another that song. Here the men kneeled before the images of their she beloved people; there the women did the like before their favourite and beloved he-pictures, entreating them for some particular favour which they stood in need of. Some of them, he said, made very wild motions over their heads and breast; and others struck their stomachs with a vehemence like their warriors, when they drink much *Ookka Homma*, "bitter waters," or spiritous liquor; while every one of them had a bunch of mixed beads, to which they frequently spoke, as well as counted over; that they loved these beads, for our people strictly observed, they did not give them to their *Loache* and *Ishtohollo*, as the red people would have done to those of their own country, though it was very plain they deserved them, for beating themselves so much for the young people's roguish actions; and likewise for labouring so strongly in pulling off their clothes, and putting them on again, to make the beloved physic work, which they took in small pieces, to help to bring on the rain. On the third day (added he) they brought it down in great plenty, which was certainly a very difficult performance; and as surprising too, that they who are always, when opportunity answers, persuading the red people to take up the bloody hatchet against their old steady friends, should still have the beloved speech, which *Ishtohollo* *Aba* *Eloa* for-

merly spoke to his beloved *Loache*. Thus ended our friendly discourse.

Every spring season, one town or more of the Mississippi Floridians, keep a great solemn feast of love, to renew their old friendship. They call this annual feast, *Hottuk Aimpa, Heetla, Tanaa*, "the people eat, dance and walk as twined together." The short name of their yearly feast of love, is *Hottuk Impanaa*, eating by a strong religious or social principle; *Impanaa* signifies several threads or strands twisted or warped together. *Hissoobistarakshe*, and *Yelphoha Panaa*, is "a twisted horse-robe," and "warped garter."\* This is also contrary to the usage of the old heathen world, whose festivals were in honour to their chief Idols, and very often accompanied with detestable lewdness and debauchery.

They assemble three nights previous to their annual feast of love; on the fourth night they eat together. During the intermediate space, the young men and women dance in circles from the evening till morning. The men masque their faces with large pieces of gourds of different shapes and hieroglyphic paintings. Some of them fix a pair of young buffalo horns to their head; others the tail, behind. When the dance and their time is expired, the men turn out a hunting, and bring in a sufficient quantity of venison, for the feast of renewing their love, and confirming their friendship with each other. The women dress it, and bring the best they have along with it; which a few springs past, was only

\*The name of a horse-robe is derived from *Tarakshé* "to tie," and *Hissooba* "an elk, or horse that carries a burthen:" which suggests that they formerly saw elks carry burthens, though perhaps not in the northern provinces.

a variety of Esau's small red acorn pottage, as their crops had failed. When they have eaten together, they fix in the ground a large pole with a bush tied at top, over which they throw a ball. Till the corn is in, they meet there almost every day, and play for venison and cakes, the men against the women; which the old people say they have observed for time out of mind.

Notwithstanding the North American Indians, like the South-Americans, inter the whole riches of the deceased with him, and so make his corpee and the grave heirs of all, they never give them the least disturbance; even a blood-thirsty enemy will not despoil or disturb the dead. The grave proves an asylum, and a sure place of rest to the sleeping person, till at some certain time, according to their opinion, he rises again to inherit his favourite place,—unless the covetous, or curious hand of some foreigner, should brake through his sacred bounds. This custom of burying the dead person's treasures with him, has entirely swallowed up their medals, and other monuments of antiquity, without any probability of recovering them \*

\*In the Tuccabatches on the Tallapoose river, thirty miles above the Allabamah garrison, are two brazen tablets, and five of copper. They esteem them so sacred as to keep them constantly in their holy of holies, without touching them in the least, only in the time of their compounded first fruit-offering, and annual expiation of sins; at which season, their magus carries one under his arm, ahead of the people, dancing round the sacred arbour; next to him their head-warrior carries another; and those warriors who chuse it, carry the rest after the manner of the high-priest; all the others carry white canes with swan feathers at the top. Hearing accidentally of these important monuments of antiquity, and enquiring pretty much about them, I was certified of the truth of the report by

The Cheerake, notwithstanding they have corrupted most of their primitive customs, observe the law of purity in so strict a manner, as not to touch the corpse of their nearest relation although in the woods. The fear of pollution (not the want of natural affection, as the unskilful observe) keeps them from burying their dead, in our reputed unsanctified ground, if any die as they are going to Charlestown, and returning home; because they are distant from their own holy places and holy things, where only they could perform the religious obsequies of their dead, and purify themselves according to law. An incident of this kind happened several years since, a little below *Ninety-six*, as well as at the

four of the southern traders, at the most eminent Indian-trading house of all English America. One of the gentlemen informed me, that at my request he endeavoured to get a liberty of viewing the aforesaid tables, but it could not possibly be obtained, only in the time of the yearly grand sacrifice, for fear of polluting their holy things, at which time gentlemen of curiosity may see them. *Ola Bracket*, an Indian of perhaps 100 years old, lives in that old beloved town: He said he was told by his forefathers that those plates were given to them by the man we call *God*; that there had been many more, some as long as he could stretch with both his arms, and some had writing upon them which were buried with particular men; and that they had instructions given with them, viz. they must only be handled by particular people, and those fasting; and no unclean woman must be suffered to come near them or the place where they are deposited. He said, none but this town's people had any such plates given them, and that they were a different people from the Creeks. He only remembered three more, which were buried with three of his family, and he was the only man of the family now left. He said, there were two copper plates under the king's cabin, which had lain there from the first settling of the town.

This account was taken in the Tuccabatchey-square, 27th July, 1759, per William Bolsover.



Congarees, in South Carolina:—at the former place, the corpse by our humanity was interred; but at the latter, even the twin-born brother of an Indian christian lady well known by the name of the *Dark-lanthorn*, left her dead and unburied.

The conversion of this *rara avis* was in the following extraordinary manner. There was a gentleman who married her according to the manner of the Cheerake; but observing that marriages were commonly of a short duration in that wanton female government, he flattered himself of ingrossing her affections, could he be so happy as to get her sanctified by one of our own beloved men with a large quantity of holy water in baptism—and be taught the conjugal duty, by virtue of her new christian name when they were married a new. As she was no stranger in the English settlements, he soon persuaded her to go down to the Congarees, to get the beloved speech, and many fine things beside. As the priest was one of those sons of wisdom, the church sent us in her maternal benevolence, both to keep and draw us from essential errors, he readily knew the value of a convert, and grasping at the opportunity, he changed her from a wild savage to a believing christian in a trice.

He asked her a few articles of her creed, which were soon answered by the bridegroom, as interpreter, from some words she spoke on a trifling question he asked her. When the priest proposed to her a religious question, the bridegroom, by reason of their low ideas, and the idiom of their dialects, was obliged to mention some of the virtues, and say he recommended to her a very strict chastity in the married state. "Very well, said she, that's a good speech, and fit for every woman alike, unless she is very old—but what says he now?" The

interpreter, after a short pause, replied, that he was urging her to use a proper care in domestic life. "You evil spirit, said she, when was I wasteful or careless, at home?" He replied, "never:" "Well then, said she, tell him his speech is troublesome and light. But, first, where are those fine things you promised me?" He bid her be patient a little, and she should have plenty of everything she liked best; at this she smiled. Now the religious man was fully confirmed in the hope of her conversion; however, he asked if she understood, and believed that needful article, the doctrine of the trinity. The bridegroom swore heartily, that if he brought out all the other articles of his old book, she both knew and believed them, for she was a sensible young woman.

The bridegroom has a very difficult part to act, both to please the humour of his Venus, and to satisfy the inquisitive temper of our religious son of Apollo; he behaved pretty well however, till he was desired to ask her belief of the uni-trinity, and the tri-unity of the Deity; which the beloved man endeavored to explain. On this, she smartly asked him the subject of their long and crooked-like discourse. But, as his patience was now exhausted, instead of answering her question, he said with a loud voice, that he believed the religious man had picked out all the crabbed parts of his old book, only to puzzle and stagger her young christian faith; otherwise how could he desire him to persuade such a sharp-discerning young woman, that one was three, and three one? Besides, that if his book had any such question, it belonged only to the deep parts of arithmetic, in which the very Indian beloved men were untaught. He assured the priest, that the Indians did not mind what religion the women were of, or whether

they had any; and that the bride would take it very kindly, if he shortened his discourse, as nothing can disturb the Indian women so much as long lectures.

The *Dark-lantern*, (which was the name of the bride) became very uneasy, both by the delay of time, and the various passions she attentively read in the bridegroom's face and speech, and she asked him sharply the meaning of such a long discourse. He instantly cried out, that the whole affair was spoiled, unless it was brought to a speedy conclusion: but the religious man insisted upon her belief of that article, before he could proceed any farther. But by way of comfort, he assured her it should be the very last question he would propose, till he put the wholly water on her face, and read over the marriage ceremony. The bridegroom revived at this good news, immediately sent the bowl around, with a cheerful countenance; which the bride observing, she asked him the reason of his sudden joyful looks. But, what with the length of the lecture, the close application of the bowl, and an over-joy of soon obtaining his wishes, he proposed the wrong question; for instead of asking her belief of the mysterious union of the tri-une Deity, he only mentioned the manly faculties of nature. The bride smiled, and asked if the beloved man borrowed that speech from his beloved marriage book? Or whether he was married, as he was so waggish, and knowing in those affairs. The priest imagining her cheerful looks proceeded from her swallowing his doctrine, immediately called for a bowl of water to initiate his new convert. As the bridegroom could not mediate with his usual friendly offices in this affair, he persuaded her to let the beloved man put some beloved water on her face, and it would be a sure pledge of a lasting friendship between

her and the English, and intitle her to everything she liked best. By the persuasive force of his promises, she consented : and had the constancy, though so ignorant a novitiate in our sacred mysteries, to go through her catechism, and the long marriage ceremony—although it was often interrupted by the bowl. This being over, she proceeded to go to bed with her partner, while the beloved man sung a psalm at the door concerning the fruitful vine. Her name he soon entered in capital letters, to grace the first title-page of his church book of converts ; which he often shewed to his English sheep, and with much satisfaction would inform them how, by the co-operation of the Deity, his earnest endeavours changed an Indian *Dark-lanthorn* into a lamp of Christian light. However, afterwards to his great grief, he was obliged on account of her adulteries, to erase her name from thence, and enter it anew in some of the crowded pages of female delinquents.

When speaking to the *Archimagus* concerning the Hot-tentots, those heterogeneous animals according to the Portuguese and Dutch accounts, he asked me, whether they builded and planted—and what sort of food they chiefly lived upon. I told him, I was informed that they dwelt in small huts, and chiefly lived on sheep's guts and crickets. He laughed, and said there was no credit to be given to the far-distant writers of those old books, because they might not have understood the language and customs of the people ; but that those whom our books reported to live on such nasty food, ( if they did not deceive us ) might have been forced to it for the want of better, to keep them from dying ; or by the like occasion, they might have learned that ugly custom, and could not quit it when they were free from

want, as the Choktah eat horse flesh, though they have plenty of venison ; however it was very easy, he said, to know whether they were possessed of human reason, for if they were endued with shame to have a desire of covering their nakedness, he concluded them to be human. He then asked me, whether I had been informed of their having any sort of language, or method of counting as high as the number of their fingers, either by words or expressive motion ; or of bearing a nearer resemblance to *Yawe* the human creature, in laughter, than *Shawe* the ape bore, or of being more social and gregarious than those animals of the country where they lived. If they were endued with those properties, he affirmed them to be human creatures ; and that such old lying books should not be credited.

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In the summer season of the year 1746, I chanced to see the Indians playing at a house of the former Mississippi-Nachee, on one of their old sacred musical instruments. It pretty much resembled the Negroe-Banger in shape, but far exceeded it in dimensions ; for it was about five feet long, and a foot wide on the head-part of the board, with eight strings made out of the sinews of a large buffalo. But they were so unskilful in acting the part of the Lyrick, that the *Loache*, or prophet who held the instrument between his feet, and along side of his chin, took one end of the bow, whilst a lusty fellow held the other ; by sweating labour they scraped out such harsh jarring sounds, as might have been reasonably expected by a soft ear, to have been sufficient to drive out the devil if he lay anywhere hid in the house. When I afterwards asked him the name, and the reason of such a strange method of diversion,

he told me the dance was called *Keella Ishto Hoollo*, "a dance to, or before the great holy one:" that it kept off evil spirits, witches, and wizards from the red people; and enabled them to ordain elderly men to officiate in holy things, as the exigency of the times required.

He who danced to it, kept his place and posture in a very exact manner, without the least perceivable variation; yet by the prodigious working of his muscles and nerves, he in about half an hour foamed in a very extraordinary manner, and discontinued it proportionally, till he recovered himself. This surprising custom I have mentioned here, because it was usual among the Hebrews, for their prophets to become furious, and as it were beside themselves, when they were about to prophesy. Thus with regard to Saul, it seems that he became furious, and tortured his body with violent gestures: and when Elisha sent one of the children of the prophets to anoint Jehu, one said to him, wherefore cometh this mad fellow? The Chaldee paraphrast, on 1 Sam. xviii. 10. concerning Saul's prophesying, paraphrases it, *cæpit furire*, "he began to grow mad, &c."

In the year 1765, an old physician or prophet, almost drunk with spirituous liquors, came to pay me a friendly visit: his situation made him more than he would have been if quite sober. When he came to the door, he bowed himself half bent, with his arms extended north and south, continuing so perhaps for the space of a minute. Then raising himself erect with his arms in the same position, he looked in a wild frightful manner from the south west toward the north, and sung on a low bass key *Yo Yo Yo Yo*, almost a minute, then *He He He He*, for perhaps the same space of time, and *Wa Wa Wa Wa*,

in like manner; and then transposed, and accented those sacred notes several different ways, in a most rapid guttural manner. Now and then he looked upwards, with his head considerably bent backward; his song continued about a quarter of an hour. As my door which was then open stood east, his face of course looked toward the west; but whether the natives thus usually invoke the deity I cannot determine: yet as all their winter houses have their doors toward the east, had he used the like solemn invocations there his face would have consequently looked the same way, contrary to the usage of the heathens. After his song, he stepped in: I saluted him, saying "Are you come my beloved old friend?" he replied, *Arahe-O*. "I am come in the name of OEA." I told him I was glad to see that in this mad age, he still retained the old Chikkasah virtues. He said, that as he came with a glad heart to see me his old friend, he imagined he could not do me a more kind service, than to secure my house from the power of the evil spirits of the north, south and west—and from witches and wizards, who go about in dark nights, in the shape of bears, hogs, and wolves, to spoil people: "the very month before, added he, we killed an old witch for having used destructive charms." Because a child was suddenly taken ill and died, on the physician's false evidence, the father went to the poor helpless old woman who was sitting innocent, and unsuspecting, and sunk his tomahawk into her head, without the least fear of being called to an account. They call witches and wizards *Ishtabe*, and *Hoollabe*, "man killers, and spoilers of things sacred." My prophetic friend desired me to think myself secure from those dangerous enemies of darkness, for (said he) *Tarooa Ishtohoollo-Antarooare*, "I have sung

the song of the great holy one." The Indians are so tenacious of concealing their religious mysteries, that I never before observed such an invocation on the like occasion—adjuring evil spirits, witches, &c. by the awful name of deity.

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The Spanish artists have furnished the savage war-chieftain, or their Emperor Montezuma, with very spacious and beautiful palaces, one of which they raised on pillars of fine jasper; and another wrought with exquisite skill out of marble, jasper, and other valuable stones, with veins glistening like rubies,—they have finished the roof with equal skill, composed of carved and painted cypress, cedar and pine trees, without any kind of nails. They should have furnished some of the chambers with suitable pavilions and beds of state; but the bedding and furniture in our northern Indian huts, is the same with what they were pleased to describe in the wonderful Mexican palaces. In this they have not done justice to the grand red monarch, whom they raised up, (with his 1000 women, or 3000 according to some,) only to magnify the Spanish power by overthrowing him.

Montezuma in an oration to his people, at the arrival of the Spaniards, is said by Malvenda, to have persuaded his people to yield to the power of his Catholic Majesty's arms, for their own forefathers were strangers in that land, and brought there long before that period in a fleet. The emperor, who they pretend bore such universal arbitrary sway, is raised by their pens, from the usual rank of a war chieftain, to his imperial greatness: But despotic power is death to their ears, as it is destructive of their darling liberty, and reputed theo-



cratic government; they have no name for a subject, but say, "the people." In order to carry on the self flattering war romance, they began the epocha of that great fictitious empire, in the time of the ambitious and formidable Montezuma, that their handful of heaven favoured popish saints might have the more honour in destroying it: had they described it of a long continuance, they foresaw that the world would detect the fallacy, as soon as they learned the language of the pretended empire; correspondent to which, our own great Emperor Powhatan of Virginia, was soon dethroned. We are sufficiently informed by the rambling Mississippi Indians, that *Motchshuma* is a common high war name of the South American leaders; and which the fate he is said to receive, strongly corroborates. Our Indians urge with a great deal of vehemence, that as every one is promoted only by public virtue, and has his equals in civil and martial affairs, those Spanish books that have mentioned red emperors, and great empires in America, ought to be burnt in some of the remaining old years accursed fire. And this Indian fixed opinion seems to be sufficiently confirmed by the situation of Mexico, as it is only about 315 miles from south to north; and narrower than 200 miles along the northern coast—and lies between Tlascala and Mechoachan, to the west of the former, and east of the latter, whence the Mexicans are continually harrassed by those lurking swift-footed savages, who could secure their retreat home in the space of two or three days. When we consider the vicinity of those two inimical states to the pretended puissant empire of Mexico, which might have easily crushed them to pieces, with her formidable armies, in order to secure the lives of the subjects, and

credit of the state, we may safely venture to affirm, from the long train of circumstances already exhibited, that the Spanish Peruvian and Mexican empires are without the least foundation in nature; and that the Spaniards defeated the tribes of Mexico (properly called *Mechiko*) &c., chiefly by the help of their red allies.

In their descriptions of South America and its native inhabitants, they treat largely of heaven, hell, and purgatory; lions, salamanders, maids of honour, maids of penance, and their abbesses; men whipping themselves with cords; idols, mattins, monastic vows, cloisters of young men, with a prodigious group of other popish inventions: and we must not forget to do justice to those industrious and sagacious observers, who discovered two golgothas, or towers made of human skulls plastered with lime. Acosta tells us, that Andrew de Topia assured him, he and Gonsola de Vimbria reckoned one hundred and thirty six thousand human skulls in them. The temple dedicated to the air, is likewise worthy of being mentioned, as they assert in the strongest manner, that five thousand priests served constantly in it, and obliged every one who entered to bring some human sacrifice; that the walls of it were an inch thick, and the floor a foot deep with black, dry clotted blood. If connected herewith we reflect, that beside this blood thirsty god of the air, the Spaniards have represented them as worshipping a multitude of idol gods and goddesses, (no less than two thousand according to Lopez de Gomara) and sacrificing to them chiefly human victims; and that the friars are reported by Spanish bishop of Mexico, in his letters of the year 1532, to have broken down twenty thousand idols, and desolated five hundred idol temples, where the natives

sacrificed every year more than twenty thousand hearts of boys and girls; and that if the noblemen were burnt to ashes, they killed their cooks, butlers, chaplains, and dwarfs\*—and had plenty of targets, maces and ensigns hurled into their funeral piles; this terrible slaughter, points out to us clearly from their own accounts, that these authors either gave the world a continued chain of falsehoods, or those sacrifices and human massacres they boastfully tell us of, would have long before they came, utterly depopulated Peru and Mexico.

I shall now quote a little of their less romantic description, to confirm the account I have given concerning the genuine rites and customs of our North American Indians.

The ornaments of the Indians of South and North America were formerly and still are alike, without the least difference except in value. Those superficial writers agree, that the men and women of Peru and Mexico wore golden ear-rings and bracelets around their necks and wrists; that the men wore rings of the same metal in their nose, marked their bodies with various figures, painted their faces red, and the women their cheeks, which seems to have been a very early and general custom. They tell us, that the coronation of the Indian kings, and installment of their nobles, was solemnized with comedies, banquets, lights, &c. and that no plebeians were allowed to serve before their kings; they must be knights of noblemen. All those high sounding titles are only a confused picture of the general method of the

\* With regard to Indian dwarfs, I never heard of, or saw any in the northern nations, but one in Ishtatoe, a northern town of the middle part of the Cheerake country—and he was a great beloved man.

Indians in crowning their warriors, performing their war dances, and esteeming those fellows as old women, who never attended the reputed holy ark with success for the beloved brethren.

Don Antonio de Ulloa informs us that some of the South American natives cut the lobes of their ears, and for a considerable time fastened small weights to them, in order to lengthen them; that others cut holes in their upper and under lips; through the cartilage of their nose, their chins and jaws, and either hung or thrust through them, such things as they most fancied, which also agrees with the ancient customs of our Northern Indians.

Emanuel de Moraes and Acosta affirm, that the Brazilians marry in their own family or tribe. And Jo. de Laet says, they call their uncles and aunts, "fathers and mothers," which is a custom of the Hebrews, and of all our North American Indians; and he assures us they mourn very much for their dead; and that their clothes are like those of the early Jews.

Ulloa assures us, that the South American Indians have no other method of weaving carpets, quilts, and other stuffs, but to count the threads one by one, when they are passing the woof; that they spin cotton and linen, as their chief manufacture, and paint their cloth with the images of men, beasts, birds, fishes, trees, flowers, &c., and that each of those webs were adapted to one certain use, without being cut, and that their patience was equal to so arduous a task. According to this description, there is not the least disparity between the ancient North American method of manufacturing, and that of the South Americans.

Acosta writes, that the clothes of the South American Indians are shaped like those of the ancient Jews, being

a square little cloak, and a little coat: and the Rev. Mr. Thorowgood, anno 1650, observes, that this is a proof of some weight in shewing their original descent; especially to such who pay a deference to Seneca's parallel arguments of the Spaniards having settled Italy; for the old mode of dress is universally alike, among the Indian Americans.

Laet, in his description of America, and Escarbotus, assure us, they often heard the South American Indians to repeat the sacred word *Halleluiah*, which made them admire how they first attained it. And Malvenda says, that the natives of St. Michael had tomb stones, which the Spaniards digged up, with several ancient Hebrew characters upon them, as "Why is God gone away?" And, "He is dead, God knows." Had his curiosity induced him to transcribe the epitaph, it would have given more satisfaction; for as yet they repeat the divine essential name, *Yo He (ta) Wah*; so as not to prophane it, when they mourn for their dead, it is probable, they could write or engrave it, after the like manner, when they first arrived on this main continent.

We are told, that the South American Indians have a firm hope of the resurrection of their bodies, at a certain period of time; and that on this account they bury their most valuable treasures with their dead, as well as the most useful conveniences for future domestic life, such as their bows and arrows. And when they saw the Spaniards digging up their graves for gold and silver, they requested them to forbear scattering the bones of their dead in that manner, lest it should prevent their being raised and united again.\*

\* Vid. Ceuto ad Solin. Benz. & Hist. Peruv.

Monsieur de Poutrincourt says, that when the Canada Indians saluted him, they said *Ho Ho Ho*; but as we are well assured, they express *Yo He a Ah*, in the time of their festivals and other rejoicings, we have reason to conclude he made a very material mistake in setting down the Indian solemn blessing, or invocation. He likewise tells us, that the Indian women will not marry on the graves of their husbands, i. e. "soon after their decease;" but wait a long time before they even think of a second husband. That if the husband was killed, they would neither enter into a second marriage nor eat flesh, till his blood had been revenged; and that after child-bearing, they observe the Mosaic law of purification, shutting up themselves from their husbands for the space of forty days.

Peter Martyr writes, that the Indian widow married the brother of her deceased husband, according to the Mosaic law; and he says, the Indians worship that God who created the sun, moon and all invisible things, and who gives them everything that is good. He affirms the Indian priests had chambers in the temple, according to the custom of the Israelites, by divine appointment, as 1 Chron. ix. 26, 27. And that there were certain places in it, which none but their priests could enter, i. e. "the holiest." And Key says also, that they have in some parts of America, an exact form of king, priest, and prophet, as was formerly in Caanan.

Robert Williams, the first Englishman in New England, who is said to have learned the Indian language, in order to convert the natives, believed them to be Jews; and he assures us, that their tradition records that their ancestors came from the south west, and that they return there at death; that their women separate them-

selves from the rest of the people at certain periods; and that their language bore some affinity to the Hebrew.

Baron Lahonton writes, that the Indian women of Canada purify themselves after travail: thirty days for a male child—and forty for a female: that during the said time, they live apart from their husband—that the unmarried brother of the deceased husband marries the widow, six months after his decease; and that the outstanding parties for war, address the great spirit every day till they set off, with sacrifices, songs and feasting.

We are also told, that the men in Mexico sat down, and the women stood, when they made water, which is an universal custom among our North American Indians. Their primitive modesty, and indulgence to their women, seem to have introduced this singular custom, after the manner of the ancient Mauritians, on account of their scantiness of cloathing, as I formerly observed.

Lerius tells us, that the Indians of Brasil wash themselves ten times a day; and that the husbands have no matrimonial intercourse with their wives, till their children are either weaned or grown pretty hardy: which is similar to the custom of these northern Indians, and that of the Israelites, as Hos. i. 8. He says, if a Peruvian child was weaned before its time, it was called *Ainaco*, “a bastard.” And that if a Brazilian wounds another, he is wounded in the same part of the body, with equal punishment; limb for limb, or life for life, according to the Mosaic law; which, within our memory, these Indian nations observed so eagerly, that if a boy shooting at birds, accidentally wounded another, though out of sight, with his arrow ever so slightly, he or any of his family, wounded him after the very same man-

ner; which is a very striking analogy with the Jewish retaliation. He likewise tells us, that their Sachems or emperors, were the heads of their church: and according to Læet. Descript. America, the Peruvians had but one temple consecrated to the creator of the world; besides four other religious places, in resemblance of the Jewish synagogues. And Malvenda says, the American idols were mitred as Aaron was. He likewise affirms, as doth Acosta, that the natives observed a year of jubilee, according to the usage of the Israelites.

Benzo says, that the men and women incline very much to dancing; and the women often by themselves, according to the manner of the Hebrew nation; as in 1 Sam. xxi. 11. especially after gaining a victory over the enemy, as in Judg. xi. 34-xxi. 21, 23, and 1 Sam. xviii. 6, 7. Acosta tells us, that though adultery is deemed by them a capital crime, yet they at the same time set little value by virginity, and it seems to have been a bewailable condition, in Judea. He likewise says, they wash their new born infants, in resemblance of the Mosaic law; as Ezek. xvi. 9. And the Spaniards say, that the priests of Mexico, were anointed from head to foot; that they constantly wore their hair, till they were superannuated; and that the husband did not lie with his wife for two years after she was delivered. Our northern Indians imitate the first custom; though in the second they resemble that of the heathen by polling or trimming their hair; and with regard to the third, they always sleep apart from their wives for the greater part of the year after delivery.

By the Spanish authorities, the Peruvians and Mexicans were Polygamists, but they had one principal wife, to whom they were married with certain solemnities;



and murder, adultery, theft, and incest, were punished with death. But there was an exception in some places, with regard to incestuous intercourses; which is intirely consonant to the usage of the northern Indians. For as to incest, the Cheerake marry both mother and daughter, or two sisters; but they all observe the prohibited laws of consanguinity, in the strictest manner. They tell us, that when the priests offered sacrifice, they abstained from women and strong drink, and fasted several days before any great festival; that all of them buried their dead in their houses, or in high places; that when they were forced to bury in any of the Spanish church yards, they frequently stole the corpse, and interred it either in one of their own houses or in the mountains; and that Juan de le Torre took five hundred thousand Pezoes out of one tomb. Here is a long train of Israelitish customs; and if we include the whole, they exhibit a very strong analogy between all the essential traditions, rites, customs, &c. of the South and North American Indians: though the Spaniards mix an innumerable heap of absurd chimeras, and romantic dreams. with the plain material truths I have extracted.

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The South American natives wanted nothing that could render life easy and agreeable; and they had nothing superflous, except gold and silver. When we consider the simplicity of the people, and the skill they had in collecting a prodigious quantity of treasures, it seems as if they gained that skill from their countrymen, and the Tyrians; who in the reign of Solomon exceedingly enriched themselves in a few voyages. The conjecture that the aborigines wander'd here from captivity by the north east parts of Asia, over Kamschatska,

to have their liberty and religion; is not so improbable as that of their being driven by stress of weather into the bay of Mexico, from the east.

Though a single argument of the general subject, may prove but little disjoined from the rest; yet according to the true laws of history, and the best rules for tracing antiquities, the conclusion is to be drawn from clear corresponding circumstances united; the force of one branch of the subject ought to be connected with the others, and then judge by the whole. Such readers as may differ from my opinion of the Indian American origin and descent, ought to inform us how the natives came here, and by what means they formed the long chain of rites, customs, &c. so similar to the usage of the Hebrew nation, and in general dissimilar to the modes, &c. of the Pagan world.

Ancient writers do not agree upon any certain place where the Ophir of Solomon lay; it must certainly be a great distance from Joppa, for it was a three years voyage. After the death of Solomon both the Israelites and Tyrians seem to have utterly discontinued their trading voyages to that part of the world. Eusebius and Eupolemus say, that David sent to Urphe, an island in the red sea, and brought much gold into Judea; and Ortelius reckons this to have been Ophir; though agreeably to the opinion of the greater part of the modern literati, he also conjectures Cephala or Sophala, to have been the Ophir of Solomon. Junius imagines it was in Aurea Chersonesus; Tremellius and Niger are of the same opinion. But Vatablus reckons it was Hispaniola, discovered and named so by Columbus; yet Postellus, Mornay, Arias Montanus, and Goropius, are of the opinion that Peru is the ancient Ophir; so widely different are their

conjectures. Ancient history is quite silent concerning America; which indicates that it has been time immemorial rent assunder from the African continent according to Plato's Timeus. The north east parts of Asia also were undiscovered till of late. Many geographers have stretched Asia and America so far as to join them together and others have divided those two quarters of the globe, at a great distance from each other. But the Russians, after several dangerous attempts, have clearly convinced the world that they are now divided, and yet have a near communication together, by a narrow strait, in which several islands are situated; through which there is an easy passage from the north east of Asia to the north west of America, by the way of Kamschatska; which probably joined to the north west point of America. By this passage supposing the main continents were separated it was very practicable for the inhabitants to go to this extensive new world; and afterwards, to have proceeded in quest of suitable climates—according to the law of nature, that directs every creature to such climes as are most convenient and agreeable.

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As the Cheerake began to have goods at an under price, it tempted them to be both proud and lazy. Their women are now far above taking the trouble to raise hogs for the ugly white people, as the beautiful red heroes proudly term them. If any do—they are forced to feed them in small pens, through all the crop-season, and chiefly on long pursly, and other wholesome weeds, that their rich fields abound with. But at the fall of the leaf, the woods are full of hicory-nuts, acorns, chestnuts, and the like; which occasions the Indian bacon to be more streaked, firm, and better tasted, than any we

meet with in the English settlements. Some of the natives are grown fond of horned cattle, both in the Cheerake and Muskohge countries, but most decline them, because the fields are not regularly fenced. But almost every one hath horses, from two to a dozen; which makes a considerable number, through their various nations. The Cheerake had a prodigious number of excellent horses, at the beginning of their late war with us; but pinching hunger forced them to eat the greatest part of them, in the time of that unfortunate event. But as all are now become very active and sociable, they will soon supply themselves with plenty of the best from our settlements—they are skilful jockies, and nice in their choice.

From the head of the southern branch of Savannah river, it does not exceed half a mile to a head spring of the Mississippi water, that runs through the middle and upper parts of the Cheerake nation, about a north-west course, and joining other rivers, they empty themselves into the great Mississippi. The above fountain is called "Herbert's spring:"\* and it was natural for strangers to drink thereof, to quench thirst, gratify their curiosity, and have it to say they had drank of the French waters. Some of our people, who went only with the view of staying a short time, but by some allurement or other, exceeded the time appointed, at their return, reported either through merriment or superstition, that the spring had such a natural bewitching quality, that whosoever drank of it, could not possibly quit the nation, during the tedious space of seven years. All the debauchees readily fell in with this superstitious notion, as an excuse

\*So named from an early commissioner of Indian affairs.

for their bad method of living, when they had no proper call to stay in that country; and in process of time, it became as received a truth, as any ever believed to have been spoken by the delphic oracle. One cursed, because its enchantments had marred his good fortune; another condemned his weakness for drinking down witchcraft, against his own secret suspicions; one swore he would never taste again such known dangerous poison, even though he should be forced to go down to the Mississippi for water; and another comforted himself, that so many years out of the seven were already passed, and wished that if he ever tasted it again, though under the greatest necessity, he might be confined to the stygian waters. Those who had their minds more enlarged, diverted themselves much at their cost, for it was a noted favorite place, on account of the name it went by; and being a well situated and good spring, there all travellers commonly drank a bottle of choice: But now, most of the packhorse-men, though they be dry, and also matchless sons of Bacchus, on the most pressing invitations to drink there, would swear to forfeit sacred liquor the better part of their lives, rather than basely renew, or confirm the loss of their liberty, which that execrable fountain occasions.

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Within twenty miles of the late Fort Loudon, there is great plenty of whet-stones for razors, of red, white, and black colours. The silver mines are so rich, that by digging about ten yards deep, some desperate vagrants found at sundry times, so much rich ore, as to enable them to counterfeit dollars, to a great amount; a horse load of which was detected in passing for the purchase of negroes, at Augusta, which stands on the south side

of the meandering beautiful Savannah river, half-way from the Cheerake country, to Savannah, the capital of Georgia. The load-stone is likewise found there, but they have no skill in searching for it, only on the surface; a great deal of the magnetic power is lost, as being exposed to the various changes of the weather, and frequent firing of the woods. I was told by a trader, who lives in the upper parts of the Cheerake country, which is surrounded on every side, by prodigious piles of mountains called Cheeowhee, that within about a mile of the town of that name, there is a hill with a great plenty of load-stones—the truth of this any gentleman of curiosity may soon ascertain, as it lies on the northern path that leads from South Carolina, to the remains of Fort Loudon; and while he is in search of this, he may at the same time make a great acquist of riches, for the load-stone is known to accompany rich metals. I was once near that load-stone hill, but the heavy rains which at that time fell on the deep snow, prevented the gratifying my curiosity, as the boggy deep creek, was thereby rendered impassible.

In this rocky country, are found a great many beautiful, clear, chrystaline stones, formed by nature into several angles, which commonly meet in one point: several of them are transparent, like a coarse diamond—others resemble the onyx, being engender of black and thick humours, as we see water that is tinctured with ink, still keeping its surface clear. I found one stone like a ruby, as big as the top of a man's thumb, with a beautiful dark shade in the middle of it. Many stones of various colours, and beautiful lustre may be collected on the tops of those hills and mountains, which if skilfully managed, would be very valuable, for some of

them are clear, and very hard. From which, we may rationally conjecture that a quantity of subterranean treasures is contained there; the Spaniards generally found out their southern mines, by such superficial indications. And it would be an useful and profitable service for skilful artists to engage in, as the present trading white savages are utterly ignorant of it. Manifold curious works of the wise author of nature, are bountifully dispersed through the whole of the country, obvious to every curious eye.

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I remember, in *Tymase*, one of their towns, about ten miles above the present Fort Prince-George, a great head warrior, who murdered a white man thirty miles below *Cheewhee*, as was proved by the branded deer-skins he produced afterward—when he saw himself disfigured by the small pox, he chose to die, that he might end as he imagined his shame. When his relations knew his desperate design, they narrowly watched him, and took away every sharp instrument from him. When he found he was balked in his intention, he fretted and said the worst things their language could express, and shewed all the symptoms of a desperate person enraged at his disappointment, and forced to live and see his ignominy; he then darted himself against the wall, with all his remaining vigour,—his strength being expended by the force of his friends opposition, he fell sullenly on the bed, as if by those violent struggles he was overcome, and wanted to repose himself. His relations through tenderness, left him to his rest—but as soon as they went away, he raised himself, and after a tedious search, finding nothing but a thick and round hoe-helve, he took the fatal instrument, and having fixed

one end of it in the ground, he repeatedly threw himself on it, till he forced it down his throat, when he immediately expired. He was buried in silence without the least mourning.

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In the year 1736, the French sent into South Carolina, one Priber, a gentleman of a curious and a speculative temper. He was to transmit them a full account of that country, and proceeded to the Cherake nation, in order to seduce them from the British to the French interest. He went, and though he was adorned with every qualification that constitutes the gentleman, soon after he arrived at the upper towns of this mountainous country, he exchanged his clothes and everything he brought with him, and by that means, made friends with the head warriors of the great Telligo, which stood on a branch of the Mississippi. More effectually to answer the design of his commission, he ate, drank, slept, danced, dressed, and painted himself, with the indians, so that it was not easy to distinguish him from the natives,—he married also with them, and being endued with a strong understanding and retentive memory, he soon learned their dialect, and by gradual advances, impressed them with a very ill opinion of the English, representing them as a fraudulent, avaricious, and encroaching people: he at the same time, inflated the artless savages, with a prodigious high opinion of their importance in the American scale of power, on account of the situation of their country, their martial disposition, and the great number of their warriors, which would baffle all the efforts of the ambitious and ill-designing British colonists. Having thus infected them by his smooth deluding art, he easily formed them into a nominal republican gov-



ernment—crowned their old Archi-magus emperor, after a pleasing new savage form, and invented a variety of high-sounding titles for all the members of his imperial majesty's red court, and the great officers of state; which the emperor conferred upon them, in a manner according to their merit. He himself received the honourable title of his imperial majesty's principal secretary of state, and as such he subscribed himself in all the letters he wrote to our government, and lived in open defiance of them. This seemed to be of so dangerous a tendency, as to induce South Carolina to send up a commissioner, Col. F—x, to demand him as an enemy to the public repose—who took him into custody, in the great square of their state house: when he had almost concluded his oration on the occasion, one of the head warriors rose up, and bade him forbear, as the man he intended to enslave, was made a great beloved man, and became one of their own people. Though it was reckoned our agent's strength was far greater in his arms than his head, he readily desisted—for as it is too hard to struggle with the pope in Rome, a stranger could not miss to find it equally difficult to enter abruptly into a new emperor's court, and there seize his prime minister, by a foreign authority; especially when he could not support any charge of guilt against him. The warrior told him, that the red people well knew the honesty of the secretary's heart would not suffer him to tell a lie; and the secretary urged that he was a foreigner, without owing any allegiance to Great Britain,—that he only travelled through some places of their country in a peaceable manner, paying for everything he had of them; that in compliance with the request of the kindly French, as well as from his own tender feelings for the poverty and

insecure state of the Cheerake, he came a great way, and lived among them as a brother, only to preserve their liberties by opening a water communication between them and New Orleans; that the distance of the two places from each other, proved his motive to be the love of doing good, especially as he was to go there and bring up a sufficient number of Frenchmen of proper skill to instruct them in the art of making gunpowder. the materials of which, he affirmed their lands abounded with. He concluded his artful speech by urging that the tyrannical design of the English commissioner toward him, appeared plainly to be leveled against them, because, as he was not accused of having done any ill to the English, before he came to the Cheerake, his crime must consist in loving the Cheerake. And as that was reckoned so heinous a transgression in the eyes of the English, as to send one of their angry beloved men to enslave him, it confirmed all those honest speeches he had often spoken to the present great war-chieftains, old beloved men, and warriors of each class.

An old war-leader repeated to the commissioner, the essential part of this speech, and added more of his own similar thereto. He bade him to inform his superiors, that the Cheerake were as desirous as the English to continue a friendly union with each other, as "freemen and equals." That they hoped to receive no farther uneasiness from them, for consulting their own interests, as their reason dictated. And they earnestly requested them to send no more of those bad papers to their country, on any account; nor to reckon them so base, as to allow any of their honest friends to be taken out of their arms, and carried into slavery. The English beloved man had the honour of receiving his leave of absence,

and a sufficient passport of safe conduct, from the imperial red court, by a verbal order of the secretary of state, who was so polite as to wish him well home, and ordered a convoy of his own life-guards, who conducted him a considerable way, and he got safe home.

From the above it is evident, that the monopolizing spirit of the French had planned their dangerous lines of circumvallation, respecting our envied colonies, as early as the before-mentioned period. Their choice of the man, bespeaks also their judgment. Though the philosophic secretary was an utter stranger to the wild and mountainous Cheerake country, as well as to their language, yet his sagacity readily directed him to chuse a proper place, and an old favourite religious man, for the new red empire; which he formed by slow but sure degrees, to the great danger of our southern colonies. But the empire received a very great shock, in an accident that befel the secretary, when it was on the point of rising into a far greater state of puissance, by the acquisition of the Muskohge, Choktah, and the western Mississippi Indians. In the fifth year of that red imperial era, he set off for Mobbille, accompanied by a few Cheerake. He proceeded by land, as far as a navigable part of the western great river of the Muskohge; there he went into a canoe prepared for the joyful occasion, and proceeded within a day's journey of Alebahma garrison—conjecturing the adjacent towns were under the French, he landed at Tallapoose town, and lodged there all night. The traders of the neighbouring towns soon went there, convinced the inhabitants of the dangerous tendency of his unwearied labours among the Cheerake, and of his present journey, and then took him into custody, with a large bundle of manuscripts, and sent

him down to Frederica in Georgia; the governor committed him to a place of confinement, though not with common felons, as he was a foreigner, and was said to have held a place of considerable rank in the army with great honour. Soon after, the magazine took fire, which was not far from where he was confined, and though the centinels bade him make off to a place of safety, as all the people were running to avoid danger from the explosion of the powder and shells, he squatted on his belly upon the floor, and continued in that position without the least hurt: several blamed his rashness, but he told them that experience had convinced him it was the most probable means to avoid imminent danger. This incident displayed the philosopher and soldier, and after bearing his misfortunes a considerable time with great constancy, happily for us he died in confinement,—though he deserved a much better fate. In the first year of his secretaryship I maintained a correspondence with him; but the Indians becoming very inquisitive to know the contents of our marked large papers, and he suspecting his memory might fail him in telling those cunning sifters of truth, a plausible story, and of being able to repeat it often to them, without any variation,—he took the shortest and safest method by telling them that, in the very same manner as he was their great secretary. I was the devil's clerk, or an accursed one who marked on paper the bad speech of the evil ones of darkness. Accordingly, they forbade him writing any more to such an accursed one, or receiving any of his evil-marked papers, and our correspondence ceased. As he was learned, and possessed of a very sagacious and penetrating judgment, and had every qualification that was requisite for his bold and

difficult enterprise it is not to be doubted, that as he wrote a Cheerake dictionary, designed to be published at Paris, he likewise set down a great deal that would have been very acceptable to the curious, and serviceable to the representatives of South Carolina and Georgia; which may readily be found in Frederica, if the manuscripts have had the good fortune to escape the despoiling hands of military power.

By our superintendant's strange pursuit of improper measures to appease the Muskohge, the watchful French engaged the irritated Great Mortar to inspire his relations to cut off some of our traders by surprise, and follow the blow at the time the people were usually employed in the cornfields, lest our party should stop them in their intended bloody career. They accordingly began their hostile attack in the upper town of the nation except one, where their mischievous red abettor lived: two white people and a negro were killed, while they were in the horse-pen, preparing that day to have set off with their returns to the English settlements. The trader, who was surly and ill-natured, they chopped to pieces in a most horrid manner, but the other two they did not treat with any kind of barbarity; which shews that the worst people, in their worst actions, make a distinction between the morally virtuous, and vicious. The other white people of that trading house, happily were at that time in the woods;—they heard the savage platoon, and the death, and war whoop, which sufficiently warned them of their imminent danger, and to seek their safety by the best means they could. Some of them went through the woods after night, to our friend towns; and one who happened to be near the town when the alarm was given, going to bring in a horse, was obliged

to hide himself under a large fallen tree, till night came on. The eager savages came twice pretty near him, imagining he would chuse rather to depend on the horse's speed than his own: when the town was engaged in dividing the spoils, his wife fearing she might be watched, took a considerable sweep round through the thickets, and by searching the place and making signals where she expected he lay concealed, fortunately found him, and gave him provisions to enable him to get to our settlements, and then returned home in tears: he arrived at Augusta, though exceedingly torn with the brambles, as his safety required him to travel through unfrequented tracts. In the mean while the savages having by this inflamed their greedy thirst for blood, set off swiftly, and as they darted along sounding the news of war, they from a few, increased so fast, that their voices conveyed such thrilling shocks to those they were in quest of, as if the infernal legions had broken loose through their favourite Alebahma, and were invested with power to destroy the innocent. The great Okwhuske town, where they reached, lay on the easternmost branch of the Mobbille river, which joins a far greater western river, almost two miles below the late Alebahma; and the English traders store-houses lay opposite to the town. Those red ambassadors of the French artfully passed the river above the town, and ran along silently to a gentleman's dwelling house, where they first shot down one of his servants, and in a minute or two after, himself: probably he might have been saved, if he had not been too desperate; for a strong-bodied leading warrior of the town was at his house when they came to it, who grasped him behind, with his face toward the wall, on purpose to save him from being shot; as they durst not kill

himself, under the certain pain of death. But very unluckily, the gentleman struggled, got hold of him, threw him to the ground, and so became too fair a mark. Thus the Frenchified savages cut off, in the bloom of his youth, the son of J. R. Esq. Indian trading merchant of Augusta, who was the most stately, comely, and gallant youth, that ever traded in the Muskohge country, and equally blessed with every social virtue that attracts esteem. The very savages lament his death to this day, though it was usual with him to correct as many of the swaggering heroes as could stand round him in his house, when they became impudent and mischievous through the plea of drinking spirituous liquors: when they recover from their bacchanal phrensy, they regard a man of a martial spirit, and condemn the pusillanimous.

While the town was in the utmost surprize, the ambitious warriors were joyfully echoing—"all is spoiled;" and sounding the death-whoop, they, like so many infernal furies commissioned to destroy, set off at full speed, dispersing their bloody legions to various towns, to carry general destruction along with them. But before any of their companies reached the Okchai war-town, (the native place of the Great Mortar) the inhabitants had heard the massacre was begun, and according to their rule, killed two of our traders in their house, when quite off their guard: as these traders were brave, and regardless of danger by their habit of living, the savages were afraid to bring their arms with them, it being unusual, by reason of the secure situation of the town. A few therefore entered the house, with a specious pretence, and intercepted them from the fire-arms, which lay on a rack, on the front of the chimney; they instantly seized them, and as they were loaded with large

shot they killed those two valuable and intrepid men, and left them on the fire—but if they had been a few minutes fore-warned of the danger, their lives would have cost the whole town very dear, unless they had kindled the house with fire-arrows.

Like pestilential vapours driven by whirlwinds, the mischievous savages endeavoured to bring desolation on the innocent objects of their fury wherever they came: but the different flights of the trading people, as well as their own expertness in the woods, and their connexions with the Indians, both by marriage and other ties of friendship, disappointed the accomplishment of the main point of the French diabolical scheme of dipping them all over in blood. By sundry means, a considerable number of our people met at the friendly house of the old Wolf-King, two miles from the Alebahma Fort, where that faithful stern chieftain treated them with the greatest kindness. But, as the whole nation was distracted, and the neighboring towns were devoted to the French interest, he found that by having no fortress, and only forty warriors in his town, he was unable to protect the refugees. In order therefore to keep good faith with his friends, who put themselves under his protection, he told them their situation, supplied those of them with arms and ammunition who chanced to have none, and conveyed them into a contiguous thick swamp, as their only place of security for that time; “which their own valour, he said, would maintain, both against the French and their mad friends.” He was not mistaken in his favourable opinion of their war abilities, for they ranged themselves so well that the enemy found it impracticable to attack them, without sustaining far greater loss than they are known to hazard. He supplied them with



necessaries, and sent them safe at length to a friendly town, at a considerable distance, where they joined several other traders from different places, and were soon after safely escorted to Savannah.

It is surprising how those hardy men evaded the dangers they were surrounded with, especially at the beginning and with so little loss. One of them told me that while a party of the savages were on a corn-house scaffold, painting themselves red and black, to give the cowardly blow to him and his companions, an old woman overheard them concerting their bloody design, and speedily informed him of the threatening danger: he mentioned the intended place of meeting to his friends, and they immediately set off, one this way and another that, to prevent a pursuit, and all met safe, to the great regret of the Christian French and their red hirelings. I was informed that another considerable trader, who lived near a river, on the outside of a town, where he stood secure in the affection of his savage brethren, received a visit from two lusty ill-looking strangers, without being discovered by any of the inhabitants. They were anointed with bear's oil, and quite naked, except a narrow slip of cloth for breeches, and a light blanket. When they came in, they looked around, wild and confused, not knowing how to execute the French commission, consistently with their own safety, as they brought no arms, lest it should have discovered their intentions, and by that means exposed them to danger. But they seated themselves near the door, both to prevent his escape and watch a favourable opportunity to perpetrate their murdering scheme. His white domestics were a little before gone into the woods; and he and his Indian wife were in the store-house, where there chanced to be

no arms of defence, which made his escape the more hazardous. He was nearly in the same light dress as that of his visitants, according to the mode of their domestic living: he was about to give them some tobacco, when their countenances growing more gloomy and fierce, were observed by his wife, as well as the mischievous direction of their eyes; presently therefore as they bounded up, the one to lay hold of the white man, and the other of an axe that lay on the floor, she seized at the same instant, and cried, "husband fight strong, and run off, as becomes a good warrior." The savage strove to lay hold of him, till the other could disengage himself from the sharp struggle the woman held with him; but by a quick presence of mind, the husband decoyed his pursuer round a large ladder that joined the loft, and being strong and swift-footed, he there took the advantage of his too eager adversary, dashed him to the ground, and ran out of the house, full speed to the river, bounded into it, soon made the opposite shore, and left them at the store-house, from whence the woman, as a trusty friend, drove them off, with the utmost despight, her family was her protection. The remaining part of that day he ran a great distance through the woods, called at night on such white people as he imagined his safety would allow him, was joined by four of them, and went together to Pensacola. Within three or four days march of that place, the lands, they told me, were in general either boggy and low, or consisted of sandy pine barrens. Although they were almost naked, and had lived for many days on the produce of the woods, yet the dastardly Spaniards were so hardened against the tender feelings of nature in favour of the distressed, who now took sanctuary under the Spanish flag, as to refuse

them every kind of assistance; contrary to the hospitable custom of the red savages, even towards those they devote to the fire. A north-country skipper who rode in the harbour, was equally divested of the bowels of compassion toward them, notwithstanding their pressing entreaties, and offers of bills on very respectable persons in Charleston. But the commandant of the place soon instructed him very feelingly in the common laws of humanity; for on some pretext he seized the vessel and cargo, and left the narrow-hearted miser to shift for himself, and return home as he could: those unfortunate traders were kindly treated however by the head man of an adjacent town of the Apalache Indians, who being a considerable dealer, supplied them with everything they stood in need of, till in time, they were recalled; for which they soon very thankfully paid him and the rest of his kind family, with handsome presents, as a token of their friendship and gratitude.

In the meanwhile, some of the eloquent old traders continued in their towns, where the red flag of defiance was hung up day and night, as the French had no interest there: and in a few other towns, some of our thoughtless young men, who were too much attached to the Indian life, from an early pursuit in that wild and unlimited country, chose to run any risk, rather than leave their favourite scenes of pleasure. In the day time, they kept in the most unfrequented places, and usually returned at night to their friends house: and they followed that dangerous method of living a considerable time, in different places, without any mischance. One of them told me, that one evening, when he was returning to his wife's house on horse back, before the usual time, he was overtaken by a couple of young war-

riors, who pranced up along side of him. They spoke very kindly according to their custom, that they might shed blood, like wolves, without hazarding their own carcasses. As neither of them had any weapons, except a long knife hanging round their neck in a sheath, they were afraid to attack him, on so hazardous a lay. Their questions, cant language, and discomposed countenances, informed him of their bloody intentions, and cautioned him from falling into any of their wily stratagems, which all cowards are dextrous in forming. When they came to a boggy cane-branch, they strove to persuade him to alight and rest a little, but finding their labour in vain, they got down; one prepared a club to kill him, and the other a small frame of split canes tied together with bark, to bear his scalp—seeing this, he set off with the bravado whoop through the high lands; and as he rode a swift horse he left them out of sight in an instant. He took a great sweep round to avoid an after chase. At night he went to the town, got fire-arms and provisions, and soon arrived safe in Georgia.

It may not be improper here to mention the method we commonly use in crossing deep rivers. When we expect high rivers, each company of traders carry a canoe, made of tanned leather, the sides over lapped about three fingers breadth, and well sewed with three seems. Around the gunnels, which are made of sapplings, are strong loop holes, for large deer strings to hang down both the sides; with two of these, is securely tied to the stem and stern, a well-shaped sappling for a kneel, and in like manner the ribs. Thus they usually rig out a canoe, fit to carry over ten horse loads at once, in the space of half an hour: the apparatus is afterwards commonly hidden with great care on the opposite shore.

Few take the trouble to paddle the canoe; for as they are commonly hardy, and also of an amphibious nature, they usually jump into the river, with their leathern barge a-head of them, and thrust it through the deep part of the water, to the opposite shore. When we ride only with a few luggage horses, as was our case at *Sip se*, or "Popular," the above mentioned high swelled river, we make a frame of dry pines, which we tie together with strong vines, well twisted; when we have raised it to be sufficiently buoyant, we load and paddle it across the stillest part of the water we can conveniently find, and afterward swim our horses together, we keeping at a little distance below them.

At the time we first began to search for convenient floating timber, I chanced to stand at the end of a dry tree, overset by a hurricane, within three feet of a great rattle snake, that was coiled, and on his watch of self-defence, under thick herbage. I soon espied and killed him. But an astrologer, of twenty years standing among the Indians, immediately declared with strong asseverations, we should soon be exposed to imminent danger; which he expatiated upon largely, from his imagined knowledge of a combination of second causes in the celestial regions, actuating every kind of animals, vegetables, &c. by their subtil and delegated power. I argued in vain to hush his groundless fears: however, while the raft was getting ready, another gentleman to quiet his timorous apprehensions, accompanied me with fire-arms, pretty near the path in the before mentioned cane swamp, and we staid there a considerable while, at the proper distance apart—at last we heard the well-mimicked voice of partridges, further off than our sight could discover, on which one of us struck up the whoop of friendship

and indifference; for I knew that the best way of arguing on such occasions, was by a firmness of countenance and behaviour. I then went near to my companion, and said, our cunning man was an Aberdeen wizard, as he had so exactly foretold the event. The savages had both discovered our tracks, and heard the sound of the ax. We soon met them; they were nine of the mischievous *Okchai* town, who had separated from the rest of their company. We conversed a little while together upon our arms, and in this manner, exchanged provisions with each other—then we went down to the bank of the river, where they opened their packs, spread out some hairy deer and bear skins with the fleshy side undermost, and having first placed on them their heavy things, and then the lighter, with the guns which lay uppermost, each made two knots with the shanks of a skin, and in the space of a few minutes they had their leathern barge afloat, which they soon thrust before them to the other shore, with a surprizingly small deviation from a direct course, considering the strong current of the water. When our astrologer saw them safe off, he wished them a speedy journey home, without being exposed to the necessity of any delay. He was soon after carried safe over on our raft, though once he almost over-set it, either by reason of the absence or disturbance of his mind. Had he contracted a fever, from the impending dangers his knowledge assured him were not yet past, the cold sweat he got when left by himself, while we were returning with the raft, and afterward swimming with the horses, must have contributed a good deal to the cure. Soon afterwards, we came in sight of their camp in a little spot of clear land surrounded by a thick cane-swamp, where some traders formerly

had been killed by the Choktah. Our astrologer urged the necessity of proceeding a good way farther, to avoid the danger. I endeavoured to convince him by several recent instances, that a timorous conduct was a great incentive to the base minded savages to do an injury, not expecting any defence; while an open, free and resolute behaviour, a show of taking pleasure in their company, and a discreet care of our fire-arms, seldom failed to gain the good will of such as are not engaged in actual war against our country: he acquiesced, as I engaged to sit next the Indian camp, which was about a dozen yards apart from ours. He chose his place pretty near to mine, but in the evening, I told him, that as I did not understand the the Muskohge dialect, nor they much of the Chikkasah language, I would give him the opportunity of diverting himself at leisure with them, whilst on account of the fatigue of the day, I would repose myself close at the root of a neighbouring tree. This method of encamping in different places, on hazardous occasions, is by far the safest way. I told them before my removal to my night quarters, that he was almost their countryman, by a residence of twenty years among them—their chieftain therefore readily addressed him, and according to what I expected, gave me an opportunity of decently retiring. But when he expected a formal reply, according to their usual custom, our astrological interpreter spoke only a few words, but kept pointing to the river, and his wet clothes and to his head, shaking it two or three times; thereby informing them of the great danger he underwent in crossing the water, which gave him so violent a headache as to prevent his speaking with any pleasure. I laughed, and soon after endeavoured to persuade him to go over a little while to their

camp, as I had done, and by that means, he might know better their present disposition ; he replied with a doleful accent, that he was already too near them, to the great danger of his life, which he now too late saw exposed, by believing my doctrine of bringing them to observe friendly measures, instead of pushing beyond them as he had earnestly proposed. I asked how he could reasonably fear or expect to shun a sudden death, on account of his knowledge of the starry influence, and skill in expounding dreams, and especially as he seemed firmly to believe the deity had pre-determined the exact time of every living creature's continuance here : upon this he prevaricated and told me, that as I knew nothing of astrology, nor of the useful and skilful exposition of important dreams, neither believed anything of witches and wizards being troublesome and hurtful to others, he could not imagine I believed any thing of a divine providence or a resurrection of the dead ; which were evidently alike true, as appeared both by divine writ, and the united consent of every ancient nation. He said people were ordered to watch and pray ; I therefore could not be ruled by the scripture, for why did I go to bed so soon and leave all the trouble to him. I told him, I wished he might by prayer, obtain a calm composure of mind. He said, I was the cause of all his uneasiness, by inducing him, contrary to his over-nights bloody dream, to lie so near those wolfish savages. Then in angry panic, he cursed me, and said, he should not that night have prayed there, only that the devil tempted him to believe my damned lies, and sin against the divine intimations he had received just before.



The Indians in general do not chuse to drink any spirits, unless they can quite intoxicate themselves. When in that helpless and sordid condition, weeping and asking for more *ookka hoome*, "bitter waters," I saw one of the drunkard's relations, who some time before had taken a like dose, hold the rum bottle to the others head, saying, when he had drank deep, "Ha, you were very poor for drinking." Though I appealed to all the Chikkasah warriors present, that rum never stood on hand with me, when the people were at home, and several times affirmed to the importunate Choktah, that it was entirely expended; yet my denial served only to make him more earnest; upon this I told him that though I had no *ookka hoome*, I had a full bottle of the water of *anne hoome*, "bitter ears," meaning long pepper, of which he was ignorant as he had seen none of that kind. We were of the opinion that his eager thirst for liquor, as well as his ignorance of the burning quality of the pepper, and the resemblance of the words, which signify things of a hot though different nature, would induce the bacchanal to try it. He accordingly applauded my generous disposition, and said "his heart had all the while told him I would not act beneath the character I bore among his country people." The bottle was brought; I laid it on the table, and told him, as he was then spitting very much (a general custom with the Indians. when they are eager for any thing) "if I drank it all at one sitting, it would cause me to spit in earnest, as I used it only when I ate, and then very moderately; but though I loved it, if his heart was very poor for it, I should be silent, and not in the least grudge him for pleasing his mouth." He said, "your heart is honest indeed, I thank you for it is good to my heart, and

makes it greatly to rejoice." Without any further ceremony, he seized the bottle, uncorked it, and swallowed a large quantity of the burning liquid, till he was near strangled. He gasped for a considerable time, and as soon as he recovered his breath, he said *Hah*, and soon after kept stroaking his throat with his right hand. When the violence of this burning draught was pretty well over, he began to flourish away, in praise of the strength of the liquor, and bounty of the giver. He then went to his companion, and held the bottle to his mouth, according to custom, till he took several hearty swallows. This Indian seemed rather more sensible of its fiery quality than the other, for it suffocated him for a considerable time; but as soon as he recovered his breath, he tumbled about on the floor in various postures like a drunken person, overcome by the force of liquor. In this manner, each of them renewed their draught, till they had finished the whole bottle, into which two others had been decanted. The Chikkasah spectators were surprised at their tasteless and voracious appetite, and laughed heartily at them, mimicking the actions, language and gesture of drunken savages. The burning liquor so highly inflamed their bodies, that one of the Choktah to cool his inward parts drank water till he almost burst; the other rather than bear the ridicule of the people, and the inward fire that distracted him, drowned himself the second night after in a broad and shallow clay hole, contiguous to the dwelling house of his uncle, who was the Chikkasah Archimagus.

There was an incident, something similar, which happened in the year 1736, in *Kanootare*, the most northern town of the Cheerake. When all the liquor was expended, the Indians went home, leading with them at

my request those who were drunk. One however soon came back, and earnestly importuned me for more *Nawohti*, which signifies both physic and spirituous liquors. The more I excused myself, the more anxious he grew, so as to become offensive. I then told him I had only one quarter of a bottle of strong physic which sick people might drink in small quantities, for the cure of inward pains: and laying it down before him, I declared I did not on any account choose to part with it, but as his speech of few words, had become very long and troublesome, he might do just as his heart directed him concerning it. He took it up, saying his heart was very poor for physic, but that would cure it and make it quite straight. The bottle contained almost three gills of spirits of turpentine, which in a short time he drank off. Such a quantity of the like physic would have demolished me or any other white person. The Indians in general are either capable of suffering exquisite pain longer than we are, or of showing more constancy and composure in their torments. The troublesome visitor soon tumbled down and foamed prodigiously. I then sent for some of his relations to carry him home. They came—I told them he drank greedily and too much of the physic. They said it was his usual custom when the red people bought the English physic. They gave him a decoction of proper herbs and roots, the next day sweated him, repeated the former draught, and he soon got well. As those spirits of turpentine did not inebriate him, but only inflamed his intestines, he well remembered the burning quality of my favourite physic which he had so indiscreetly drank up, and cautioned the rest from ever teizing me for any physic I had concealed in

any sort of bottles for my own use; otherwise they might be sure it would spoil them, like the eating of fire.

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If it be allowed that the first discoverers and possessors of a foreign waste country, have a just title to it, the French by giving up New Orleans to Great Britain, would have only ceded to her, possessions, which they had no right to keep; for col. Wood was the first discoverer of the Mississippi, who stands on public record, and the chief part of ten years he employed in searching its course. This spirited attempt he began in the year 1654 and ended 1664. Capt. Bolton made the like attempt in the year 1670. Doctor Cox of New Jersey sent two ships Anno 1698, which discovered the mouth of it; and having sailed a hundred miles up he took possession of the whole country, and called it Carolana: whereas the French did not discover it till the year 1699, when they gave it the name of Colbert's river, in honour of their favourite minister, and the whole country they called Loisinana, which may soon be exchanged for Philippiana—till the Americans give it another and more desirable name.

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It may be expected I should describe the number of men their war companies consist of, but it is various and uncertain; sometimes two or three only will go to war, proceed as cautiously, and strike their prey as panthers. In the year 1747, a couple of the Mohawk Indians came against the lower towns of the Cheerake, and so cunningly ambuscaded them through most part of the spring and summer, as to kill above twenty in different attacks,

before they were discovered by any party of the enraged and dejected people. They had a thorough knowledge of the most convenient ground for their purpose, and were extremely swift and long winded—whenever they killed any and got the scalp, they made off to the neighbouring mountains, and ran over the broad ledges of rocks, in contrary courses, as occasion offered, so as the pursuers could by no means trace them. Once when a large company was in chase of them, they ran round a steep hill at the head of the main eastern branch of Savana river, intercepted, killed and scalped the hindmost of the party, and then made off between them and Keeowhee: as this was the town to which the company belonged, they hastened home in a close body, as the proper place of security from such enemy wizards. In this manner, did those two sprightly gallant savages perplex and intimidate their foes for the space of four moons, in the greatest security; though they often were forced to kill and barbicue what they chiefly lived upon, in the midst of their watchful enemies. Having sufficiently revenged their relations' blood, and gratified their own ambition with an uncommon number of scalps, they resolved to captive one, and run home with him, as a proof of their having killed none but the enemies of their country. Accordingly they approached very near to Keeowhee, about half a mile below the late fort Prince George, advancing with the usual caution on such an occasion—one crawled along under the best cover of the place, about the distance of an hundred yards a head, while the other shifted from tree to tree, looking sharply every way. In the evening, however, an old beloved man discovered them from the top of an adjoining hill, and knew them to be enemies, by the cut of their hair,

light trim for running, and their postures; he returned to the town, and called first at the house of one of our traders, and informed him of the affair, enjoining him not to mention it to any, lest the people should set off against them without success, before their tracks were to be discovered, and he be charged with having deceived them. But, contrary to the true policy of traders among unforgiving savages, that thoughtless member of the Choktah Sphynx-company busied himself as usual out of his proper sphere, sent for the head men, and told them the story. As the Mohawks were our allies, and not known to molest any of the traders in the paths and woods, he ought to have observed a strict neutrality. The youth of the town, by order of their head-men, carried on their noisy public diversions, in their usual manner, to prevent their foes from having any suspicion of their danger, while runners were sent from the town to their neighbours, to come silently and assist them to secure the prey, in its state of security. They came like silent ghosts, concerted their plans of operation, passed over the river at the old trading ford, opposite to the late fort, which lay between two contiguous commanding hills, and proceeding downward over a broad creek, formed a large semi-circle from the river bank, while the town seemed to be taking its usual rest. They then closed into a narrower compass, and at last discovered the two brave unfortunate men lying close under the tops of some fallen young pine trees. The company gave the war signal, and the Mohawks bounding up bravely repeated it: but by their sudden spring from under thick cover, their arms were useless: they made desperate efforts however to kill or be killed, as their situation required. One of the Cheerake, the noted half

breed of Istanare town, which lay two miles from thence, was at the first onset, knocked down and almost killed with his own cutlass, which was wrested from him, though he was the strongest of the whole nation. But they were overpowered by numbers, captivated, and put to the most exquisite tortures of fire, and amidst a prodigious crowd of exulting foes.

The young prisoners are saved, if not devoted while the company were sanctifying themselves for their expedition; but if the latter be the case, they are condemned, and tied to the dreadful stake, one at a time. The victors first strip their miserable captives quite naked, and put on their feet a pair of bear-skin maccaseens, with the black hairy part outwards; others fasten with a grape-vine, a burning fire-brand to the pole, a little above the reach of their heads. Then they know their doom—deep black, and burning fire, are fixed seals of their death-warrant. Their punishment is always left to the women; and on account of their false standard of education, they are no way backward in their office, but perform it to the entire satisfaction of the greedy eyes of the spectators. Each of them prepares for the dreadful rejoicing, a long bundle of dry canes, or the heart of fat pitch pine, and as the victims are led to the stake, the women and their young ones beat them in a most barbarous manner. Happy would it be for the miserable creatures, if their sufferings ended here, or a merciful tomahawk finished them at one stroke; but this shameful treatment is a prelude to future sufferings.

The death signal being given, preparations are made for acting a more tragical part. The victim's arms are fast

pinioned, and a strong grape vine is tied around his neck, to the top of the war-pole, allowing him to track around, about fifteen yards. They fix some tough clay on his head, to secure the scalp from the blazing torches. Unspeakable pleasure now fills the exulting crowd of spectators, and the circle now fills with the Amazon and merciless executioners. The suffering warrior however is not dismayed; with an insulting manly voice he sings the war song! and with gallant contempt he tramples the rattling gourd with pebbles in it to pieces, and outbraves even death itself. The women make a furious onset with their burning torches; his pain is soon so excruciating, that he rushes out from the pole, with the fury of the most savage beast of prey, and with the vine sweeps down all before him, kicking, biting and trampling them with the greatest despatch. The circle immediately fills again, either with the same or fresh persons; they attack him on every side—now he runs to the pole for shelter, but the flames pursue him. Then with champing teeth, and sparkling eye-balls, he breaks through their contracted circle afresh, and acts every part, that the highest courage, most raging fury, and blackest despair can prompt him to. But he is sure to be overpowered by numbers, and after some time the fire affects his tender parts. Then they pour over him a quantity of cold water, and allow him a proper time of respite, till his spirits recover, and he is capable of suffering new tortures. Then the like cruelties are repeated till he falls down, and happily becomes insensible of pain. Now they scalp him, dismember, and carry off all the exterior branches of the body, (*pudendis non exceptis*) in shameful, and savage triumph. This is the most favourable treatment their



devoted captives receive: it would be too shocking to humanity either to give, or peruse, every particular of their conduct in such doleful tragedies—nothing can equal these scenes, but those of the merciful Romish inquisition.

I cannot forbear giving another instance or two here of the constancy, visible unconcern, and presence of mind, of the Indians at the approach of death in its most alarming dress and terrors.

About four years before the Shawano Indians were forced to remove from the late Savannah town, they took a Muskohge warrior, known by the name of "Old Scraney;" they bastinadoed him in the usual manner, and condemned him to the fiery torture. He underwent a great deal, without showing any concern; his countenance and behaviour were as if he suffered not the least pain, and was formed beyond the common laws of nature. He told them, with a bold voice, that he was a very noted warrior, and gained most of his martial preferment at the expence of their nation, and was desirous of showing in the act of dying, that he was still as much their superior, as when he headed his gallant countrymen against them. That although he had fallen into their hands in forfeiting the protection of the divine power, by some impurity or other, when carrying the holy ark of war against his devoted enemies; yet he had still so much remaining virtue, as would enable him to punish himself more exquisitely than all their despicable ignorant crowd could possibly do, if they gave him liberty by untying him, and would hand to him one of the red hot gun-barrels out of the fire. The proposal, and his method of address, appeared so exceedingly bold and uncommon, that his request

was granted. Then he suddenly seized one end of the red barrel, and brandishing it from side to side, he forced his way through the armed and surprised multitude, and leaped down a prodigious steep and high bank into a branch of the river, dived through it, ran over a small island, and passed the other branch, amidst a shower of bullets from the commanding ground where Fort-Moore, or New Windsor garrison stood; and though numbers of his eager enemies were in close pursuit of him, he got to a bramble swamp, and in that naked, mangled condition reached his own country. He proved a sharp thorn in their side afterwards to the day of his death.

The Shawano also captivated a warrior of the Anan-toeah, and put him to the stake, according to their usual solemnities. Having unconcernedly suffered much sharp torture, he told them with scorn, they did not know how to punish a noted enemy, therefore he was willing to teach them, and would confirm the truth of his assertions, if they allowed him the opportunity. Accordingly he requested of them a pipe and some tobacco, which was given him: as soon as he lighted it, he sat down, naked as he was, on the women's burning torches, that were within his circle, and continued smoking his pipe without the least discomposure—on this a head-warrior leaped up, and said, they had seen plain enough, that he was a warrior, and not afraid of dying; nor should he have died, only that he was spoiled by the fire, and devoted to it by their laws: however, though he was a very dangerous enemy, and his nation a treacherous people, it should appear they paid a regard to bravery, even in one, who was marked over the body with war streaks, at the cost of many lives of their beloved

kindred. And then by way of favour, he with his friendly tomahawk, instantly put an end to all his pains: —though the merciful but bloody instrument was ready some minutes before it gave the blow, yet I was assured, the spectators could not perceive the sufferer to change, either posture or his steady erect countenance in the least.

A party of the Senekah Indians came to war against the Katahba, bitter enemies to each other. In the woods, the former discovered a sprightly warrior belonging to the latter, hunting in their usual light dress; on his perceiving them, he sprung off for a hollow rock, four or five miles distant, as they intercepted him from running howeward. He was so extremely swift and skillful with the gun, as to kill seven of them in the running fight, before they were able to surround and take him. They carried him in sad triumph: but, though he had filled them with uncommon grief and shame, for the loss of so many of their kindred, yet the love of martial virtue induced them to treat him during their long journey, with a great deal more civility, than if he had acted the part of a coward. The women and children, when they met him at their several towns, beat and whipped him in as severe a manner as the occasion required, according to the law of justice, and at last he was formally condemned to die by the fiery tortures. It might reasonably be imagined that what he had for some time gone through, by being fed with a scanty band, a tedious march, lying at night on the bare ground exposed to the weather, with his arms and legs extended in a pair of rough stocks, and suffering such punishments on his entering into their hostile towns, as a prelude to those sharp torments for which he was destined, would have

so impaired his health, and affected his imagination, as to have sent him to his long sleep out of the way of any more sufferings. Probably this would have been the case with the major part of white people, under similar circumstances; but I never knew this with any of the Indians; and this cool-headed brave warrior did not deviate from their rough lessons of martial virtue, but acted his part so well, as to surprise and sorely vex his numerous enemies. For, when they were taking him unopinioned, in their wild parade, to the place of torture which lay near to a river, he suddenly dashed down those who stood in his way, sprung off, and plunged into the water, swimming underneath like an otter, only rising to take breath till he reached the opposite shore. He now ascended the steep bank; but though he had good reason to be in a hurry, as many of the enemy were in the water, and others running every way like blood-hounds, in pursuit of him, and the bullets flying around him, from the time he took to the river, yet his heart did not allow him to leave them abruptly, without taking leave in a formal manner, in return for the extraordinary favours they had done, and intended to do him. He first turned his backside toward them, and slapped it with his hand; then moving round, he put the shrill war whoop, as his last salute, till some more convenient opportunity offered, and darted off in the manner of a beast broke loose from its torturing enemies. He continued his speed so as to run by about midnight of the same day, as far as his eager pursuers were two days in reaching. There he rested till he happily discovered five of those Indians, who had pursued him—he lay hid a little way off their camp, till they were sound asleep. Every circumstance of his

situation occurred to him, and inspired him with heroism. He was naked, torn, and hungry, and his enraged enemies were come up with him. But there was now everything to relieve his wants, and a fair opportunity to save his life, and get great honour, by sweet revenge, by cutting them off. Resolution, a convenient spot, and sudden surprise, would effect the main object of all his wishes and hopes. He accordingly crept towards them, took one of their tomahawks and killed them all on the spot. He then chopped them to pieces, in as horrid a manner as savage fury could excite, both through national and personal resentment,—he stripped off their scalps, clothed himself, took a choice gun, and as much ammunition and provisions as he could well carry in a running march. He set off afresh with a light heart, and did not sleep for several successive nights, only when he reclined as usual a little before day, with his back to a tree. As it were by instinct, when he found he was free from the pursuing enemy, he made directly to the very place where he had killed seven of his enemies, and was taken by them for the fiery torture. He digged them up, scalped them, burned their bodies to ashes, and went home in safety with singular triumph. Other pursuing enemies came on the evening of the second day to the camp of their dead people, when the sight gave them a greater shock, than they had known before. In their chilled war council, they concluded that as he had done such surprising things in his defence, before he was captivated, and since that in his naked condition and was now well armed, if they continued the pursuit, he would spoil them all, for he surely was an enemy wizard. And therefore they returned home.

When the Chikkasah were engaged in a former war with the Muskohge, one of their young warriors set off alone against them to revenge the blood of a near relation: his burning heart would not allow him to delay its gratification, and proceed with a company, after their usual forms of purification were observed, in order to gain success. He was replete with martial fire, and revenge prompted him to outrun his war virtue: however, he pursued as mortifying a regimen, as if he had been fed like a dove, by the scanty hand of a religious waiter. But, as he would not wait a few days and accompany the reputed holy ark, they reckoned him irreligious, by depending on the power of his own arms, instead of the supreme fatherly chieftain, *Yo He Wah*, who always bestows victory on the more virtuous party. He went through the most unfrequented and thick parts of the woods, as such a dangerous enterprize required, till he arrived opposite to the great and old beloved town of a refuge, Koosah, which stands high on the eastern side of a bold river, about 250 yards broad, that runs by the late dangerous Alebahma fort, down to the black poisoning Mobbille, and so into the gulph of Mexico. There he concealed himself under cover of the top of a fallen pine tree, in view of the ford of the old trading path, where the enemy now and then passed the river in their light poplar canoes. All his war store of provisions consisted in three stands of barbicued venison, till he had an opportunity to revenge blood, and return home. He waited with watchfulness and patience almost three days, when a young man, a woman and a girl passed a little wide of him, about an hour before sun set. The former he shot down, tomahawked the other two, and scalped each of them in a trice, in full view of the town. By way of

bravado, he shook the scalps before them, sounded the awful death whoop, and set off along the trading path, trusting to his heels, while a great many of the enemy ran to their arms and gave chase. Seven miles from thence, he entered the great Apalahche mountains. About an hour before day, he had ran over seventy miles of that mountainous tract; then, after sleeping two hours in a sitting posture, leaning his back against a tree, he set off again with fresh speed. As he threw away his venison when he found himself pursued by the enemy, he was obliged to support nature with such herbs, roots, and nuts, as his sharp eyes with a running glance, directed him to snatch up in his course. Though I often have rode that war path alone, when delay might have proved dangerous, and with as fine horses as any in America, it took me five days to ride from the aforesaid Koosah, to this sprightly warriors place in the Chik-kasah country, the distance of three hundred computed miles; yet he ran it, and got home safe and well, at about eleven o'clock of the third day: which was only one day and a half, and two nights.

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When the Indians have finished their captive tragedies, they return to the neighbouring town in triumph, with the wild shrieking noise of destroying demons: there they cut the scalps into several pieces, fix them on different twigs of the green leaved pine, and place them on the tops of the circular winter houses of their deceased relations—whose deaths (if by the hand of an enemy) they esteemed not revenged till then, and thus their ghosts are enabled to go to their intermediate, but unknown place of rest, till after a certain time, they return to live forever in that tract of land which pleased them

best, when in their former state. They perform this supposed religious duty with great solemnity, attended by a long train of rejoicing women, chanting with soft voices their grateful song of triumph to *Yo He Wah*; while the favoured warriors echo their praises of the giver of victory, with awful notes, and intermix with them the death whoo-whoop. They dance for three days and nights, rejoicing before the divine presence, for their victory; and the happiness of sending the spirits of their killed relations from the caves of their houses which they haunted, mourning with such painful notes as *Koo-Koo-Koo*, like the suffering owls of night in pinching winter, according to their creed. In their dance, they represent all the wild cat movements they made in crawling to surprise the enemy, and their wolfish conduct in killing with safety; or the whole engagement, when they could no way attack by surprise. Now, they lift up one foot, then put it down slowly on tip toe in a bent posture, looking sharply every way. Thus, they proceed from tree to tree, till the supposed enemy be either defeated by stratagem, or open battle. Then they strut about in parade, and the chief will tell the people he did not behave like a blind white man, who would have rushed on with his eyes shut, improvident of danger; but having wisely considered that his bare breast was not bullet proof, he cunningly covered himself from tree to tree, and by this skilful conduct vanquished the hateful enemy, without exposing his own valuable life to danger. All people praise or blame another's conduct in proportion to the parity or disparity it bears to their own standard and notion of virtue.

In the time of their rejoicings, they fix a certain day for the warriors to be crowned; for they cannot sleep sound



or easy, under an old title, while a new or higher one is due. On that long wished for day, they all appear on the field of parade, as fine and cheerful as the birds in spring. Their martial drums beat, their bloody colours are displayed, and most of the young people are dancing and rejoicing, for the present success of their nation, and the safe return and preferment of their friends and relations. Every expectant warrior on that joyful day wears deer skin maccaseens, painted red, his body is anointed with bears oil, a young softened otter-skin is tied on each leg, a long collar of fine swan feathers hangs round his neck, and his face is painted with various streaks of the rain-bow. Thus they appear, when two of the old magi come forth holding as many white wands and crowns, as there are warriors to be graduated; and in a standing posture, they alternately deliver a long oration with great vehemence of expression, chiefly commending their strict observance of the law of purity, while they accompanied the beloved ark of war, which induced the supreme chieftain to give them the victory, and they encourage the rest to continue to thirst after glory, in imitation of their brave ancestors who died nobly in defence of their country. At the conclusion of their orations, one of the magi calls three times with a loud voice, one of the warriors by his new name, or war title, and holds up the white crown, and the sceptre or wand. He then gladly answers, and runs whooping to and around them, three times. One of the old beloved men puts the crown on his head and the wand into his hand; then he returns to his former place, whooping with joy. In like manner they proceed with the rest of the graduate warriors, to the end of their triumphal ceremony, concluding with this strong

caution "Remember what you are (such a warrior, mentioning his titles) according to the old beloved speech." This is equal to the bold virtuous, lessons of the honest Romans and uncorrupted Greeks. The concluding caution of the magi to the warriors, points at the different duties of their honorable station, that they should always aspire after martial glory, and prefer their own virtue, and the welfare of their country, more than life itself. The crown is wrought round with the long feathers of a swan, at the lower end, where it surrounds his temples, and it is curiously weaved with a quantity of white down, to make it sit easy, and appear more beautiful. To this part that wreathes his brows, the skilful artists warps close together, a ringlet of the longest feathers of the swan, and turning them carefully upward, in an uniform position, he in the exactest manner, ties them together with deers sinews so as the bandage will not appear to the sharpest eyes without handling it. It is a little open at the top and about fifteen inches high. The crowns they use in constituting war-leaders, are always worked with feathers of the tail of the cherubic eagle, which causes them to be three or four inches higher than the former. This latter custom bears a striking resemblance to the usage of the ancients on similar occasions, according to the constitution of their different forms of government.

They are exceeding pointed against our methods of war, and conferring of titles. By the surprising conduct of a Georgia governor both the Muskohge and Cheerake, who attended our army in the war before the last, against St. Augustine, have entertained, and will continue to have the meanest opinion of the Carolina martial disposition, till by some notable brave actions, it wears off.

The Indians concluded that there was treachery in our letting prisoners of distinction return to the fort to put the rest on their guard, and in our shutting up the batteries for four or five days successively, not having our cannon dismantled nor annoying the enemy, but having flags of truce passing and repassing. They said, it was plain to their eyes, we only managed a sham fight with the Spaniards—and they became very uneasy, and held many conferences about our friendly intercourse with the garrison ; concluding that we had decoyed them down to be slaughtered, or delivered to the Spaniard to purchase a firm peace for ourselves—and they no sooner reached their own countries, than they reported the whole affair in black colours, that we allured them to a far distant place, where we gave them only a small quantity of bad food ; and that they were obliged to drink saltish water, which instead of allaying, inflamed their thirst, while we were carousing with various liquors, and shaking hands with the Spaniard, and sending the white beloved speech to one another, by beat of drum, although we had the assurance to affirm that we held fast the bloody tomahawk. The minutest circumstance was so strongly represented, that both nations were on the very point of commencing war against us. But the “Raven” of Euwase, a leading head warrior of the Cheerake, was confined in Augusta garrison, till he sent up runners to stop a war, that his speeches and messages had nearly fomented—his life was threatened on failure and he had large promises given, if he complied and succeeded.

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Providence hath furnished even the uncultivated parts of America with sufficient to supply the calls of nature. Formerly, about fifty miles to the north east of the

Chickasah country, I saw the chief part of the main camp of the Shawano, consisting of about 450 persons, on a tedious ramble to the Muskohge country, where they settled, seventy miles above the Alebahma garrison: they had been straggling in the woods for the space of four years, as they assured me, yet they were more corpulent than the Chickasah who accompanied me, notwithstanding they had lived during that time, on the wild products of the American desarts. This evinces how easily nature's wants are supplied, and that the divine goodness extends to America and its inhabitants. They are acquainted with a great many herbs and roots, of which the general part of the English have not the least knowledge. If an Indian were driven out into an extensive woods, with only a knife and tomahawk, or a small hatchet, it is not to be doubted but he would fatten, even where a wolf would starve. He could soon collect fire by rubbing two dry pieces of wood together, make a bark hut, earthen vessels, and a bow and arrows; then kill wild game, fish, fresh water tortoises, gather a plentiful variety of vegetables, and live in affluence. Formerly, they made their knives of flint-stone or of split canes; and sometimes they are now forced to use the like, in flaying wild animals, when in their winter hunt they have the misfortune to lose their knives.

I shall mention one instance, which will confirm what I have said of their surprising skill and ability of living in desarts inhabited only by wild beasts. In the winter of the year 1747, one of the Chickasah traders went from home, about ten miles, accompanied only by a negro; six of the miles was an old waste field, which the Chickasah formerly had settled, when they were more numerous. On their return home, within two miles of

the outer houses, while riding carelessly near two steep gullies, there stood a couple of Canada Indians behind a tree, (besides two others a little way off) within a few yards of the path, with their trunk guns, watching two boys then in sight—when the trader and his servant came abreast of them, the negroe's horse received a mortal shot, and after carrying him a quarter of a mile, on leaping a difficult pass, he fell dead on the spot; the rider's heels carried him the rest of the way safe: but unluckily it did not fare so well with the gentleman, for as he rode a young Choktah horse, which had been used only to a rope round his neck, the reining him with a bridle, checked him, and the French savages had an opportunity to give the gentleman two mortal wounds, with brass-barbed arrows, the one in the belly, and the other a little below the heart; beside two others in his left shoulder. His horse being frightened, sprung off at full speed, and brought him home. The gentleman in his rapid course twisted the murdering arrows out of his bowels, but could not reach those that were deeply lodged in his shoulder. He lived two nights and a day after this in most exquisite tortures, but sensible to the last; when he had forcibly kept down, a considerable time on the bed, he entreated in the most importunate manner, to be helped to lean his back against the wall, and it would give him ease. At my request it was allowed him—he immediately expired, and it is to be hoped, that, according to his desire, he immediately entered into eternal rest. While he lay a corpse, and till we the next day buried him, the Indians were silent and almost invisible. The negro and his master, as soon as they discovered the Canadians, put up the shrill whoop, both to warn the Chikkasah, and draw them

against the enemy; this made the two boys to stretch home, which they did a little before sunset. But the lateness of the day prevented our friends pursuing till next morning. By the distance the enemy ran in the night, they for that time evaded their eager pursuers. Some went to the place of ambuscade, and found that the enemy being disappointed of the prey falling into their hands, had pursued till they came up with the negro's horse, which they had chopped, and the saddle, with their tomahawks, all to pieces. However, about half way between the Chikkasah country and Illinois, three old Chikkasah warriors, on their way to join the main camp, came up with those Canadians in wet brushy ground; they closely chased them for several miles, and forced them by degrees to throw away everything they carried, and seek their safety by leaping quite naked into a deep and broad creek, that was much frozen on the two banks; it was for some time imagined they had perished in the woods by the severity of winter, but we were well informed afterwards, that like hardy beasts of prey, they got safe home.

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The inside of their houses is furnished with genteel couches to sit, and lie upon, raised on four forks of timber of a proper height, to give the swarming fleas some trouble in their attack, as they are not able to reach them at one spring: they tie with fine oak splinters, a sufficient quantity of middle-sized canes of proper dimensions, to three or four bars of the same sort, which they fasten above the frame; and they put their mattresses a-top, which are made of long cane splinters. Their bedding consists of the skins of wild beasts, such as buffalos, panthers, bears, elks, and deer,

which they dress with the hair on, as soft as velvet. Their male children they chuse to raise on the skins of the panthers, on account of the communicative principle, which they reckon all nature is possessed of, in conveying qualities according to the regimen that is followed: and, as the panther is endued with many qualities, beyond many of his fellow animals in the American woods, as smelling, strength, cunning, and a prodigious spring, they reckon such a bed is the first rudiments of war. But it is worthy of notice, they change the regimen in nurturing their young females; these they lay on the skins of fawns, or buffalo calves, because they are shy and timorous: and, if the mother be indisposed by sickness, her nearest female relation suckles the child, but only till she recovers. This practice gives a friendly lesson to such mothers, who, ostrich like, as soon as the tender infant sucks in the first breath of air, commit it to the swarthy breasts of the fetid African to graft it on her gross stock.

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Formerly the Indians made very handsome carpets. They have a wild hemp that grows about six feet high, in open, rich, level lands, and which usually ripens in July: it is plenty on our frontier settlements. When it is fit for use, they pull, steep, peel, and beat it; and the old women spin it off the distaffs, with wooden machines, having some clay on the middle of them to hasten the motion. When the coarse thread is prepared, they put it into a frame about six feet square, and instead of a shuttle, they thrust through the thread with a long cane, having a large string through the web, which they shift at every second course of the thread. When they have thus finished their arduous labour,

they paint each side of the carpet with such figures, of various colours, as their fruitful imaginations devise; particularly the images of those birds and beasts they are acquainted with; and likewise of themselves, acting in their social and martial stations. There is a due proportion, and so much wild variety in the design that would really strike a curious eye with pleasure and admiration. J. W—t, Esq., a most skilful linguist in the Muskohge dialect, assures me that time out of mind they passed the woof with a shuttle; and they have a couple of threddles, which they move with the hand so as to enable them to make good dispatch, something after our manner of weaving. This is sufficiently confirmed by their method of working broad garters, sashes, shot-pouches, broad belts, and the like, which are decorated all over with beautiful stripes and chequers. Probably, their method of weaving is similar to the practice of the eastern nations, when they came from thence, during the infant state of arts and sciences. People who were forced to get their daily bread in the extensive desarts with their bows and arrows, and by gathering herbs, roots, and nuts, would not be fond of making new experiments, but for the necessities of common life; and certainly they would not have chosen a more troublesome method of clothing themselves, if they knew an easier or quicker manner of effecting it—whoever knows any thing of an Indian, will not accuse him of that sin.

The women are the chief if not the only manufacturers; the men judge that if they performed that office, it would exceedingly depreciate them. The weight of the oar lies on the women as is the case with the German Americans. In the winter season, the women gather



buffalo's hair, a sort of coarse brown curled wool; and having spun it as fine as they can, and properly doubled it, they put small beads of different colours upon the yarn, as they work it: the figures they work in those small webs, are generally uniform, but sometimes they diversify them on both sides. The Choktah weave shot pouches, which have raised work inside and outside. They likewise make turkey feather blankets with the long feathers of the neck and breast of that large fowl—they twist the inner end of the feathers very fast into a strong double thread of hemp, or the inner bark of the mulberry tree, of the size and strength of coarse twine, as the fibres are sufficiently fine, and they work it in the manner of fine netting. As the feathers are long and glittering, this sort of blankets is not only very warm, but pleasing to the eye.

They make beautiful stone pipes: and the Cheerake the best of any of the Indians: for their mountainous country contains many different sorts and colours of soils proper for such uses. They easily form them with their tomahawks, and afterward finish them in any desired form with their knives; the pipes being of a very soft quality till they are smoked with, and used to the fire, when they become quite hard. They are often a full span long, and the bowls are about half as large again as those of our English pipes. The fore part of each commonly runs out with a sharp peak, two or three fingers broad, and a quarter of an inch thick—on both sides of the bowl, lengthwise, they cut several pictures with a great deal of skill and labour; such as a buffalo and a panther on the opposite sides of the bowl; a rabbit and a fox; and very often, a man and a woman *puris naturalibus*. Their sculpture cannot much be com-

mended for its modesty. The savages work so slow, that one of their artists is two months at a pipe with his knife, before he finishes it; indeed, as before observed, they are great enemies to profuse sweating, and are never in a hurry about a good thing. The stems are commonly made of soft wood about two feet long and an inch thick, cut into four squares, each scooped till they join very near the hollow of the stem: the beaus always hollow the squares, except a little at each corner to hold them together, to which they fasten a parcel of bell buttons, different sorts of fine feathers, and several small battered pieces of copper kettles hammered, round deer-skin thongs, and a red painted scalp; this is a boasting, valuable and superlative ornament. According to their standard, such a pipe constitutes the possessor, a grand beau. They so accurately carve, or paint hieroglyphic characters on the stem, that all the war actions, and the tribe of the owner, with a great many circumstances of things are fully delineated. This may seem strange to those who are acquainted with the ancient skill of the Egyptians this way, and the present knowledge of the Turkish mutes. But so it is, and there is not perhaps the like number of mimic mutes on the face of the earth, nor ever were among the old Greek or Roman Pantomimi, as with the Indian Americans, for representing the great and minute things of life, by different gestures, movements of the body and expressive countenances; and at the same time they are perfectly understood by each other.

They make the handsomest clothes baskets, I ever saw considering their materials. They divide two large swamp canes, into long, thin, narrow splinters, which they dye of several colours, and manage the workman-

ship so well, that both the inside and outside are covered with a beautiful variety of pleasing figures: and though for the space of two inches below the upper edge of each basket, it is worked into one, through the other parts they are worked asunder, as if they were two joined a-top by some strong cement. A large nest consists of eight or ten baskets, contained within each other. Their dimensions are different, but they usually make the outside basket about a foot deep, a foot and a half broad, and almost a yard long.

The Indians, by reason of our supplying them so cheap with every sort of goods, have forgotten the chief part of their ancient mechanical skill, so as not to be well able now, at least for some years, to live independent of us. Formerly those baskets which the Cheerake made, were so highly esteemed even in South Carolina, the politest of our colonies, for domestic usefulness, beauty, and skilful variety, that a large nest of them cost upwards of a moidore.

They make earthen pots of very different sizes, so as to contain from two to ten gallons, large pitchers to carry water; bowls, dishes, platters, basons, and a prodigious number of other vessels of such antiquated forms, as would be tedious to describe, and impossible to name. Their method of glazing them, is, they place them over a large fire of smoky pitch pine, which makes them smooth black and firm. Their lands abound with proper clay, for that use; and even with porcelain, as has been proved by experiment.

They make perhaps the finest bows, and smoothest barbed arrows, of all mankind. On the point of them is fixed either a scooped point of a buck horn, or turkey cock spurs, pieces of brass, or flint stone. The latter

sort our fore-fathers used, which our witty grandmothers call elf-stones, and now rub the cows with, that are so unlucky as to be shot by night fairies. One of those flint arrow points is reckoned a very extraordinary blessing in a whole neighbourhood of old women, both for the former cure, as well as a preservative against every kind of bewitching charm.

No people are more expert than the Indians in the use of fire-arms, and the bow and quiver : they can fresh stock their guns, only with a small hatchet and knife, and streighten the barrels, so as to shoot with proper direction. They likewise alter, and fix all the springs of the lock, with others of the sort they may have out of use; but such a job costs the red artist about two months work.

They are good saddlers for they can finish a saddle with their usual instruments, without any kind of iron to bind the work; but the shape of it is so antiquated and mean, and so much like those of the Dutch West Indians, that a person would be led to imagine that they had formerly met, and been taught the art in the same school. The Indians provide themselves with a quantity of white oak boards, and notch them, so as to fit the saddle-trees; which consist of two pieces before, and two behind, crossing each other in notches, about two inches below the top ends of the frame. Then they take a buffalo green hide, covered with its winter curls, and having properly shaped it to the frame, they sew it with large thongs of the same skin, as tight and secure as need be; when it is thoroughly dried, it appears to have all the properties of a cuirass saddle. A trimmed bear skin serves for a pad; and formerly, their bridle was only a rope round the horse's neck, with which they

guided him at pleasure. Most of the Choktah use that method to this day.

It is strange that all the Indians mount a horse on the off side as we term it, especially as their horses were originally brought from Europe. In the Choktah country, when I was going to a great ball play, at a considerable distance off, in company with several of the head-warriors, we alighted at a cool stream of water, to smoke and drink parched corn-flour and water, according to our usual custom in the woods—when we again set off, we jested each other for mounting on the wrong side. They urged it was most natural, and commodious to put the right foot into the stirrup, and at the same time lay hold of the mane with the strongest hand, instead of using either of the farthest or opposite ones, as they term the left. They carried it against me by a majority of voices, whooping and laughing; but as they were boasting highly of the swiftness of their horses, and their skill in riding and guiding them, much better with a rope than with the bridle, I resolved to convince them of their mistake: for as the horse I rode was justly named Eagle, and reckoned the swiftest of any in the Chikkasah country, I invited them to a trial by way of diversion, in so merry a season, and they gladly accepted the offer. We ranged ourselves in a broad row, on each side of the wood path, which was rather narrow, and crooked, as is the case in their countries—they allowed me to take the centre, and at the whoop signal of the bye-standers we started. My horse being used to such diversions soon left them behind a considerable distance; presently I luckily discovered a swampy thicket, a-head on my right hand, which ran almost our direct course alongside of a creek. As the wild coursers

chiefly followed one another, according to their general custom, I there flew across, and led two of them off the path, into the thicket covered with high brambles. I had little trouble in disposing of the rest; my whooping, and cracking the whip, sent each of them along with his neighbour, at full speed, and I continued them so a great way; for, as their horses were frightened, the riders had no command over them, with their boasted neck bridles. The horses, at last, brought them out into the open woods, to their great joy, when they whooped and halloed, as despising what they had undergone; they were however in a dismal pickle. For it being their custom to carry their ornaments, and looking glasses over their shoulder, on such public occasions, my companions were fully trimmed out, and did not strip themselves, as they expected no such disaster. By stooping to save themselves from being dismounted, their favourite looking glasses were shattered to pieces, and the paint mostly rubbed off their faces, their skins of small hawks, and tufts of fine plumes, torn from their heads, and their other ornaments, as well as their clothing and skin, shared also in the misfortune. As soon as they could stop their horses, they alighted; and, when I had done laughing at them, they according to custom, said only *La phene*, "O strange!" The Indians are very happy in not shewing the least emotion of anger, for any mischance that befalls them, in their sportful exercises. I jested them in commending the swiftness of their horses, even through a bramble thicket, and applauded their skill in sitting, and guiding them so well, by the help of their neck bridles. By this time, the hindmost of our company came up, who laughed heartily at the sight of our tattered horsemen, and told

them that they expected I would jockey them in some such manner. But the young ambitious heroes ascribed the whole disaster only to the viciousness of my horse, saying "he was mad."

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I shall now give their opinion of our social and military virtues; which joined with the foregoing will set the Indians in a yet clearer light. We can trace people by their opinion of things, as well as if we saw them practise them. Most of them blame us for using a provident care in domestic life, calling it a slavish temper; they say we are covetous, because we do not give our poor relations such a share of our possessions, as would keep them from want. There are but few of themselves we can blame, on account of these crimes, for they are very kind and liberal to every one of their own tribe, even to the last morsel of food they enjoy. When we recriminate on the penurious temper of any of their people, they say, if our accusation be true, we by our ill examples tainted them on that head, for their fore-fathers were endued with all the virtues. They frequently tell us, that though we are possessed of a great deal of yellow and white stone, of black people, horses, cows, hogs, and every thing else our hearts delight in—yet they create us as much toil and pain, as if we had none, instead of that ease and pleasure, which flow from enjoyment; therefore we are truly poor, and deserve pity instead of envy; they wish some of their honest warriors to have these things, as they would know how to use them aright, without placing their happiness, or merit, in keeping them, which would be of great service to the poor, by diffusing them with a liberal hand. They say, they have often seen a panther in the woods,

with a brace of large fat bucks at once, near a cool stream ; but that they had more sense than to value the beast, on account of his large possessions: on the contrary, they hated his bad principles because he would needlessly destroy, and covetously engross the good things he could not use himself, nor would allow any other creature to share of, though even so much pinched with hunger. They reckon, if we made a true estimate of things, we should consider the man without any false props, and esteem him only by the law of virtue, which enobles men by inspiring them with good sentiments and a generous disposition ; they say they are sure, from sundry observations, we sell to the highest bidder, our high titles of war, which were only due to brave men who had often fought the enemy with success in defence of their country ; that they had seen, even in Charlestown, several young, lazy, deformed white men, with big bellies, who seemed to require as much help to move them along, as over grown old women ; yet they understood these were paid a great deal of our beloved yellow stone for bearing the great name of warriors, which should be kept sacred from the effeminate tribe, even if they offered to purchase it with their whole possessions. That these titles should only be conferred on those who excel in martial virtue, otherwise, it gives a false copy of imitation to the young warriors, and thereby exposes the whole body of the people to contempt and danger, by perverting the means which ought to secure their lives and properties ; for, when a country has none but helpless people to guard it from hostile attempts, it is liable to become a prey to any ambitious persons, who may think proper to invade it. They allow that corpulency is compatible with marking paper black with the goose quill ; and with



strong-mouthed labour, or pleading at law; because old women can sit best to mark, and their mouths are always the most sharp and biting. But they reckon if our warriors had gained high titles by personal bravery, they would be at least in the shape of men if not of active brisk warriors: for constant manly exercise keeps a due temperament of body and a just proportion of shape. They said, some were not fit for the service of an old woman, much less for the difficult and lively exercises which manly warriors pursue in their rough element—that they could never have gone to war, but bought their beloved broad paper, with yellow stone, or it must have passed from father to son, like the rest of their possessions; and that by their intemperate method of eating and drinking without proper exercise, they had transformed themselves into those over-grown shapes, which our weavers, taylors and plaiters of false hair, rendered more contemptible.

The old men tell us, they remember our colonies in their infant state—that when the inhabitants were poor and few in number, they maintained prosperous wars against the numerous combined nations of red people, who surrounded them on all sides; because in those early days, the law of reason was their only guide. In that time of simplicity, they lived after the temperate manner of the red people. They copied after honest nature, in their food, dress and every pursuit, both in domestic and social life. That unerring guide directed them aright, as the event of things publicly declared. But time is now grown perverse and childish, and has brought with it a flood of corrupting ills. Instead of observing the old beloved rule of temperance, which their honest forefathers strictly pursued, they often

besot themselves with base luxury, and thereby enervate all their manly powers, so as to reduce themselves to the state of old women, and esteem martial virtue to consist in the unmanly bulk of their bodies, and the fineness and colour of their glittering coats and jackets: whereas such forms and habits only enable the red people to sort the large buffaloes, the fine feathered parroquets, and wood peckers—their religious, civil and martial titles are conferred on the lean, as well as the fat bodied, without minding whether their clothes are coarse or fine, or what colour they are of. They say, their titles of war invariably bespeak the man, as they always make them the true attendants of merit, never conferring the least degree of honour on the worthless. That corpulency, or a very genteel outward appearance would be so far from recommending any as war leaders, that those qualities would render them suspected, till they gave sufficient proof of their capacity of serving their country—that when any distinguished themselves by martial virtue, their fine clothes reflected new beauties on the eyes of the people, who regard a genteel appearance, only on account of the shining virtues of the gallant men who wear them.

They often ridicule us, in our gay hours, that they have observed our nominal warriors to value themselves on those unpleasant shapes and undue covering—that like contemptible shining lizards, they swelled their breasts almost as big as their bellies, spoke very sharp to the poor people who were labouring in distress, frowned with ugly faces at them (whereas they ought to have smiled, in order to make their hearts cheerful,) and kept them off at a great distance, with their hats in hand, as if they were black people. But such conduct,

always a sure token of cowardice testified with convincing clearness, they were unable to act the part of even an honest black man. The Indians imagine the corruption is become too general to be cured, without a thorough change of our laws of war, because when the head is sick the feet cannot be well: and as our capital towns and regular troops are much infected with that depressing and shameful malady, they reckon our country places suffer much more by our fat fine men. They fail not to flourish away as much in their own favour, as against us, saying that though they are unskilful in making the marks of our ugly lying books, which spoil people's honesty, yet they are duly taught in the honest volumes of nature, which always whisper in their ears, a strong lesson of love to all of their own family, and an utter contempt of danger in defence of their beloved country, at their own private cost; that they confer titles of honour only on those who deserve them—that the speaking trophies of war declare the true merit of their contented warriors, without having the least recourse to any borrowed help. They say that the virtue even of their young women does not allow them to bear the least regard to any of the young men, on account of their glittering clothes, and that none of their warriors would expect it, nor their laws allow it, if ever their country should unhappily produce so contemptible an animal. Imitation is natural, and the red people follow virtue in the old track of their honest forefathers, while we are bewildered by evil custom.

As their own affairs lie in a very narrow circle it is difficult to impress them with a favourable opinion of the wisdom and justice of our voluminous laws—They say if our laws were honest, or wisely framed, they would be

plain and few, that the poor people might understand and remember them, as well as the rich—That right and wrong, an honest man and a rogue, with as many other names as our large crabbed books could contain, are only two contraries; that simple nature enables every person to be a proper judge of promoting good and preventing evil, either by determinations, rewards or punishments; and that people cannot in justice be accused of violating any laws, when it is out of their power to have a proper knowledge of them. They reckon, that if our legislators were not moved by some oblique views, instead of acting the part of mud-fish, they would imitate the skilful bee, and extract the useful part of their unwieldy, confused, old books and insert it in an honest small one, that the poor people might be able to buy and read it, to enable them to teach their rising families to avoid snares, and keep them from falling into the power of our cunning speakers—who are not ashamed to scold and lie publicly when they are well paid for it, but if interest no longer tempted them to enforce hurtful lies for truth, would probably throw away all their dangerous quibbling books. That the poor people might have easy redress and justice, this should become a public concern, and the Governor-Minggo, all the head warriors, and old beloved men should either entirely destroy those books, or in an artful manner send them to their enemy the French, in order to destroy their constitution: but they were of opinion common sense would not allow even those to receive them under any pretext whatever—therefore they ought to be burnt in the old year's accursed fire. By that means, the honest poor could live in peace and quiet; for now they were unable by poverty, or backward by their honesty, to buy justice,

in paying those people of cunning heads and strong mouths to speak the truth : and the hearts of rich knaves must then become honest, as they would not needlessly give those large bribes for painting their black actions with a white colour.

They urge, that while litigious, expensive, and tedious suits are either encouraged by our artful speakers, or allowed by our legislators, the honest poor man will always be a great loser ; which is a crying evil. Because he is humble, modest, and poor his feeble voice cannot be heard. The combined body of the noisy rich must drown his complaints. His only satisfaction is that his heart is honest, though that must prove a very small comfort to a wife crying over helpless children, in a small waste house. They say, that as no people are born rogues, truth appears plain enough : for its native dress is always simple, and it never resides in troubled waters, but under the striking beams of the sun. It is not therefore just, either to compel or tempt people to buy justice ; it should be free to all as the poor are not able to purchase it.

They affirm, that as all laws should be enacted by the joint voice of the honest part of the society for mutual good, if our great chieftain and his assistants refuse altering those that are hurtful to the people, we ought to set them aside on account of their ill principles, and for striving to support their own bad actions by bad laws—that as wise free men, we should with all speed chuse honest men in their room, to act the part of fathers of their country, and continue them just as long as they behaved such : for leading men are chosen only to do good to the people ; and whenever they make a breach of their trust, injuring the public good, their places of

course become vacant, and justly devolve to the people, who conferred them. Our law, they say, condemns little rogues, but why should it spare great ones? That we hang the former with strong ropes of hemp, but we should first do so too, or shorten the heads of the latter, with the poisoned tomahawk, as a just emblem of their mischievous poisoning conduct.

I told them that the essential part of our laws was fixed and unalterable, and also the succession of each of our great chieftains, while they observe them faithfully, and order them to be honestly executed, but no longer. That formerly when the people's hearts became sorely aggrieved, and bitterly vexed, as pride for unlimited power, had made some of the rulers heads giddy, the enraged community had shortened some of them, and drove away others from corrupting the beloved land, without any possibility of returning in safety.

The ill opinion they entertain of our courts of judicature, may have risen in some degree from the wrong information of our interpreters, who have occasionally accompanied them to the courts; but they generally retain a long time the first impressions they imbibe from any one they esteem. One law cause which the Chik-kasah attended, proved tedious, and was carried contrary to their opinion of justice and equity: on their return to their own country, they said, that two or three of their old women would have brought in a quicker, and honester verdict. They compared our counsellors to the mercenary Choktah, who often kill people, and even one another, for the sake of a French reward, as they earnestly strove to draw suffering truth to their own side of the debate, and painted it contrary to its native form, with a deformed lying face.

They tell us, that when their head men are deliberating on public affairs, they dispassionately examine things, and always speak the naked truth; for its honest face hates a mask, having nothing to hide from a searching eye, and its dress plain and simple; that people can as easy distinguish it from falsehood, as light from darkness, or clear and wholesome water from that which is turbid and hurtful, without giving up their reason to hired speakers, who use their squint eyes and forked tongues like the chieftains of the snakes, (meaning rattlesnakes) which destroy harmless creatures for the sake of food. They say, that the quotation of dark quibbles out of their old books, should be deemed as white paint over a black man's face; or as black over what is naturally white. They wonder that, as an honest cause is always plain, judgment is not given freely in its favour, and without the least delay; and insist, that every bad cause should meet with a suitable and severe award, in order to check vice, and promote virtue in social life.

One of the red Magi asked me, whether in our scolding houses, we did not always proportion the charges of the suit in debate, to the value of the debt, or damages. Suggesting that it was wrong to make a perplexed science of granting equity with any charges attending it, to honest poor people; that we should pity them on account of the distresses they labour under, and not in effect enslave or fine them because they are poor.

I told him and the rest of his brethren by way of excuse, that the different nature, and multiplicity of contracts in our great trading empire, with the immense difference that often happened between the eloquence and abilities of the contending parties, required a series of decisions of right and wrong to be recorded in books, as

an invariable precedent to direct future public determinations, in disputes of the like nature; that most of our people were unequal to each other in fine language than the bred lawyers: and that none were so fit to search, or could possibly understand those registers as well as they, because they spent the chief part of their time on such subjects. He granted they might be useful members of the community, but doubted their honesty was too much exposed to the alluring temptations of our rich people's yellow stone; and that though our forefathers were no doubt as wise and virtuous as we, yet they were but men, and sometimes had passions to gratify, especially in favour of a worthy and unfortunate friend, or relation who was beloved. He said, the length of stealing time must have naturally occasioned such an event; and that our wise men ought to be so far from quoting a wrong copy, as a fixed precedent, that they should erase it out of their old court books, and profit by the foibles of the old, the wise and the good.

At his request, I spoke also of our skilful physicians and quack doctors—I told him that the former commonly cured the sick, or diseased, unless the malady was of an uncommon nature, or very dangerous by not applying in time, before it took root beyond the reach of any cure; but that the empirics seldom failed of poisoning their weak patients by slow degrees: and that we had old women likewise who frequently did much good with bare simples. He said, if our physicians used simples in due time, to assist nature, instead of burning corrosive mixtures, they would have no occasion to dismember poor people, cutting off their limbs in so horrid a manner, as several were reported to do; and that, if



our law was so weak as not to condemn those to death; who took away the lives of low innocent people, yet the strong feelings of nature ought to incite the surviving relations of the murdered persons, to revenge their blood on the murderers by beating them with long knobbed poles, while they were sensible of pain and as soon as they recovered a little, to cut off their ears and nose with a dull knife, as in the case of adultery, in order to quench innocent blood, and teach unwary people to avoid and detest the execrated criminals. Here, the red audience highly applauded the wisdom and justice of his medical observations, because they exactly corresponded with their own standard in similar cases.

Well, said he, you have given us plainly to understand the high esteem the English bear to their people of cunning heads and strong mouths, and the curers of ailments—If the former continue honest when they have gained deep knowledge in their old books; and the latter are successful in the killing, or healing quality of their strong medicines: We should rejoice, if you would likewise inform us, according to your written traditions, of the rise of *Oobache*, “bringers of rain,” and of *Ishtohollo Echeto*, “high priests, popes, or arch-bishops;” whether the supreme fatherly chieftain gave them from the beginning to the white people, or if not, how he came to give them afterward; and whether their lives give virtuous lessons to youth, to induce them to a strict observance of the divine law, as modesty and humility should always appear in the speech and behaviour of public teachers, on account of their charming influence—Inform us of our usefulness in religious and civil life, and the general opinion of the disinterested and wise part of the community concerning them; as all nations of red

people have lately heard a great deal of their unpeaceable if not cruel disposition towards the British Americans, which their covetousness of heart it is said, prompted them to, because they could not prevail upon them by their invented speeches, to give them the tenth part of the yearly produce of their honest labour—Let us know their true conduct over the broad water, whether they are covetous in demanding any part of the new harvest; and if the young people do not violate the marriage-law when the crops fail by the want of refreshing rains?

As the task was disagreeable, I told him, had he been so particular in his enquiries concerning the two former classes, I could have much better informed him, as I had the pleasure of being long acquainted with many of them, who were learned, wise, and benevolent, in a very great degree; and was convinced from my own knowledge, that several of them not only earnestly for honest poor people, and others cured them of their lingering ailments without pay; but supplied them with needful utensils for planting provisions for their small families, till they could conveniently repay the value, in their own produce: but that as I neither had not desired the least acquaintance with any of our high-placed beloved men, I was very unfit to handle such a long string of queries. He said, my denying to gratify their curiosity on so material a point, served only to raise it the higher: especially as I had given them a very favourable opinion of the other two classes; and he hoped the religious men were at least as virtuous as those, their sacred office requiring them to give an honest copy to all others, as the young people imbibed from their teacher's example, either good or bad principles, which must benefit or injure themselves, and the community. He so earnestly

importuned me to comply with his request, that as an Indian divine I thus addressed the attentive red congregation.

In past ages, most part of all nations of people sunk into ignorance, not only of the old beloved speech, (or divine law) but of the very being of the great, supreme, holy Spirit; upon which account, the glimmering image impressed on their hearts, directed them to worship the sun, moon, and stars, because of their beneficial and powerful influence,—and the fire, light, and air, the three divine names and emblems. By degrees, they chose an idol-god of such reputed qualities as best suited with their own tempers, and the situations of their various countries, in order to receive temporal good things, and avert the opposite evils. In the length of forgetting time, they became so exceeding stupid as to worship vegetables, frightful and shameful images, filthy beasts, and dangerous snakes. Self-love seemed to have induced them to adore the two last through fear, and the bird also that preyed on them, became the object of their adoration. In this miserable state of darkness the world was involved, when the supreme fatherly chieftain through tender pity to human weakness, appeared to your reputed ancestors in the form of a blazen fire, renewed his old divine laws with one of their beloved men, and confirmed the whole with dreadful thunders, lightnings, and other striking prodigies, to impress them with a deep awe and reverence of his majesty. In time they built a most magnificent beloved house, wonderful in its form, and for the great variety of beloved utensils, and emblems it contained. The ark was one of the three most divine symbols in it. *Ishtohoollo Eloha* became their chieftain, both at home and at war. A wonderful

emanation of the holy fire resided in the great divine house, while they listened to the voice of *Loache*, "the prophets," which the holy chieftain sent to them in succession, to teach his will as the fixed rule of all his actions. While their hearts continued honest, he enabled them to conquer their enemies, and to gain victories over formidable armies, which like the swarms of buzzing insects in your low lands, could not be numbered and at length settled them in as happy a state as they could reasonably wish for.

A little before that time, he called himself *A-Do Ne-Yo*, *Minggo Ishtohollo*, "the divine chief," but then to your enlightened (and reputed) ancestors, *Yo-He-Wah*, which signifies, "lived always, and will never die." It is he whom you invoke in your sacred songs when you are drinking cusseena, and you derived that awful invocation, and your ark of war, from them. He is the author of life and death, and consequently the "master of our breath," as the red people justly term him. He gave them *Loache* and *Oobache*, "Prophets and askers of rain," and prescribed to them laws that were suitable for their own government. They chiefly consisted of sacred emblems of an early divine promise to mankind, which he faithfully performed; and when the end was answered, those symbols ceased. The people were enjoined a very strict purity, both in civil and religious life, especially all the priests or beloved men; and in a particular manner, the great beloved man or high priest. He was to be equally perfect in body and pure in heart, and was not allowed to touch the dead, as their bodies were in a corrupting state. The old beloved speech assures us, he was appointed as a representative of the people to *Ishtohollo Aba*, and as a lively emblem of an

extraordinary divine person, who was to be sent to instruct the whole earth, and purify them from all pollutions; which the supreme fatherly chieftain will enable us fully to inform you of in due time. He came according to divine appointment, taught the people as man never did before, cured them of their various ailments, even the lame and the blind by the power of his word and a bare touch. He had so great a command over nature, that through pity to the tender tears of the people, he awaked some who had slept a considerable time in the grave, in a warm country. They who strove to lessen the merit of the surprising miracles he wrought, were not so weak as to deny the well known truth of them, as they had been performed at different places and on different occasions, before a great many people, under the light of the sun, and were lasting. At last he, as an uncommon kindly friend, gave up his innocent life to save his enemies from the burning wrath of the holy fire; and while the anger of *Loache Ishotohoollo* lay very sharp on him, as the atoning victim, and his enemies were tormenting him with the most exquisite tortures, he earnestly spoke the beloved speech, and entreated in their favour, that he would not let his heart be cross with, nor revenge his blood upon them, as they imagined they were acting according to the divine law. As soon as that great beloved messenger died all nature felt a prodigious shock. The graves opened and the dead arose to see the cause of that alarming prodigy. The earth shook, the rocks burst asunder, the sun, contrary to the stated course of nature, was immediately darkened, the great beloved house rent asunder, and its guardian angels flew off to other countries. His death also exceedingly destroyed the power of *Nana Ookproo*, the evil spirits. On the third day, the master of breath

awakened that great chieftain, prophet and high priest, according to his former true speech; and when he arose, he was seen by multitudes of people, and fulfilled the old divine law, and confirmed every thing he formerly taught his humble and kind hearted scholars.

Till then there was only twelve of them: but afterwards more were appointed in that religious station. They urged, that their sacred office, and the faithful discharge of all the duties attending it, engaged their close attention, and deserved an honest maintenance; but to check a covetous spirit among all beloved men of every rank, they freely spoke the beloved speech through every known country of the world, and maintained themselves by their own industry. As they travelled, eat, drank and conversed daily with the great divine messenger; he perfectly taught them the divine law, which your supposed ancestors had received under very strong emblems. After his death, they spoke it with great boldness, and a most amazing power. They truly marked down on paper, most of the speeches and actions of their beloved master and themselves, without concealing their own foibles, for our instruction: and a great many true copies of them are transmitted over every quarter of the world, in different languages, which agree together, and with those early beloved books; though it is more than seventeen hundred years, since they were first drawn out by those beloved scholars. As their hearts were warmed in a very high degree, by the holy spirit of fire, the moral part of their lives were free from blemish, after the death of their master. In imitation of him, they suffered all kinds of hardships, difficulties and dangers of life that human beings could undergo, merely through a principle of divine love working in

them for the general good of mankind; they cured the sick and diseased, and taught every one the true beloved speech to purify them. As they were not proud, they were not drawn with beautiful prancing horses in costly moving houses, but walked after the manner of their divine master, and instructed the attentive people, by their humble example, and honest lessons, in the most assured hope of receiving from *Ishtohoollo Aba*, a reward equal to their virtues, after they died, knowing they were to live anew in a happy state, free from the power of death. In this manner, they, by the earnest beloved speech of the great divine messenger, were cheerfully content, and firmly trusted in the goodness of the fatherly chieftain. Indeed, soon after they entered into their sacred office, they were jealous of their master's giving preference to one, before the other of them; but he gave a strong lesson of humility and kindness for them, and all succeeding beloved men to pursue, by washing and wiping their feet with his own hands; and he assured them *Ishtohoollo* would esteem them most who acted best.

All those beloved men, who do not join in religious communion with *Oobache Ishtohoollo*, tell us, that ancient records affirm, all of the priestly order (after the death of the divine messenger) were equal in their religious office, that difference excepted, which is always due to a virtuous seniority—and that as wisdom and virtue equally accompany either youth, middle, or old age, they continued that brotherly state of religious simplicity, according to the true copy of the humble, all-loving, and beloved messenger, for the space of three hundred years after that period—and that, as the speech of the great divine messenger was marked in a copious lan-

guage, which abounded with various words to express the same thing, the names of old men overseers and bishops, signify one and the same rank of beloved men of the beloved house, according to the former humble conduct of their divine master; but that the words are now tortured through mercenary views, contrary to the plain simplicity of the primitive teachers. As holy things, and white emblems are easily polluted and tarnished by people of impure hearts, and unclean hands, the divine law began then to lose its quickening influence over the beloved men of those large countries, where the sun rises out of the broad water. Their disputes ran high, and the longer they lasted the sharper they grew. They, at last referred them to the decision of the beloved men, toward the place where the daily sun is drowned in the great salt water, which is called Rome. As in affairs of state, so in religion, a remarkable precedent begets a custom, and this becomes a law with societies. In consequence thereof, an order of superior beloved men laid hold of this, and stretched the divine speech, so as to answer their mercenary views.

In process of time, there sprung up a pretended great bringer of rain, who like the hurtful spirits of corrupt darkness, by rejecting the divine speech, and despising the example of the holy messenger and his scholars, set up arrogantly for himself, against the supreme chieftain of the rain and thunder, claimed the tenth basket-full of the new harvest according to the obsolete law of your supposed ancestors, and even forgave adulterers, thieves, liars, incestuous persons, and those who accompanied with women in their lunar retreats, without any sort of purification, if they only paid him such a quantity of yellow stone, as he proportioned to the various degrees



of each crime they committed. To enrich himself by their weakness, his whole tribe of black-dressed missionaries, by strict order, frightened the ignorant and credulous, with the wild notion of wandering after death in the accursed place of darkness without any possibility of avoiding that dreadful fate unless they revealed all their crimes to them, and paid them a fixed price. Because pride and envy had spoiled some of the spirits above, and made them accursed beings; therefore, the messenger of *Ishtohoollo*, as I told you, strongly checked the like disposition in its first appearance among his scholars. But the pride of the Romish chieftain, and desire of absolute religious and civil power, became so unbounded as to claim an unlimited authority over all the great chieftains on earth; and he boasted of being so highly actuated by the unerring divine wisdom, as to know and do everything perfectly. He at the same time, ordered all his scholars to involve the people in thick clouds of darkness, and impress them with a firm belief, that ignorance produces virtue. He invented a third state for the sake of his temporal interest, fixing it half way between people's favourite place of living anew, and that of the horrible darkness, which was to be a vomiting or purging state of the dead, and called it purgatory; where the dead must unavoidably call and be detained till surviving relations satisfied them for their enlargement. He became so highly intoxicated by pride and power, that he erected images of such dead people as most resembled himself, with various other objects for the living to invoke, instead of the great eternal *Yo He Wah*, whom you supplicate in your religious invocations: and he marked for his black scholars a great many very evil speeches, and spoke them with a

strong mouth and ill heart, and enforced them by swords and fiery faggots, contrary to the old beloved speech which was confirmed by the anointed messenger.

At length, the holy spirit of fire influenced two great beloved men in particular, according to a former prediction, to speak to the people with a strong mouth, as witnesses of the divine truth. Their ears were honest in hearing the old beloved speech, and it sunk deep into their hearts. But a great many superstitious customs still remained for they had aimed at a perfect establishment of the divine law in their religious worship, probably the high placed religious men through a covetous spirit would have opposed the reformation with all their might; as very few of them endeavoured to teach the young people, by honest examples to live a virtuous life, or enable them to get refreshing showers from *Ishthoolla Aba* to make plentiful harvest—and yet they claimed a great part of it and even of the seed corn, without the least exemption of the poor, contrary to the tender feelings even of our indigent warriors and great canoe men, who stretch out a kindly hand to their poor brethren. That part of the old beloved speech, the tenth basket-full, was calculated only for your predecessors, who consisted of twelve families; one of which was devoted to the divine service. Therefore, they were allowed some part of the religious offerings, and of the yearly produce of the land to make their own and their families hearts rejoice, and at the same time to keep them humble, and make them hospitable to the widow, the fatherless and the stranger. They like the humble scholars of the great beloved messenger were always poor; they honestly minded their religious duty, and were not allowed to purchase any land, nor to expose

their virtue to the temptations of heaping up yellow stone, or employing their minds on anything, except the divine law.

The lives and manners of the early teachers of the speech of the divine messenger as I before told you, were also strictly just and blameless. They equally taught by precept and example; and their lessons, like those of their great master, were plain, simple and holy. They were humble in their behaviour, and moderate in their apparel, food, and drink, and faithful in the discharge of their religious office: instead of assuming the arrogant title of divine chieftains, they honestly gave themselves the lowly name of *Inooksare Ishtohollo*, "Servants of God," in imitation of the life, precept and example of the holy messenger, which strongly actuated their honest hearts. When they were weary after the toils of the day, after instructing the people, and working at their trade, as your beloved men do, they joyfully rested themselves in their humble cottages, and refreshed themselves with their homely fare; and there they instructed the young people to invoke the divine *Yo He Wah*, and speak the divine speech. In this religious manner they spent their time through various countries, by the direction of divine wisdom, as a strong pointed lesson to all succeeding beloved men to pursue, and they sealed the truth with their blood—such were the primitive teachers of the divine world. They lived and died in a state of equality; and were there any different degrees to be observed in the holy office of religion, learning and piety should recommend poor beloved men to the high seats of profit—but only toilsome places are now allotted them, with an allowance insufficient to support themselves, so that they cannot stretch out their kindly hand to the poor.

The mouths and hearts of the superior beloved men in our day, shamefully contradict one another, to the discredit of the lively copy of the holy messenger and his beloved scholars, and the great danger of infecting those of inferior rank, by so pernicious and corrupt an example; for it is natural for the feet to follow the direction of the head. They were formerly a very insolent, covetous and troublesome set; and being advanced by rich friends to the high sounding office of *Mingo Ishtohollo*, "Divine chieftains," or in their own stile, "Right Reverend Fathers in God," princes and supporters of the church, great was their arrogance and power—taking advantage of the corruption of the times, they grafted themselves into the civil constitution, and to preserve their high and profitable places they became the fixed and strenuous supporters of courts, in all their measures. But they will soon be purified. The beloved speech of *Ishtohollo* of old, has announced it and that is always true. It has pointed to the present and approaching time, which is near to the end of measured time.

To shew you how well prepared those priestly princes are for that period, I shall give you the general opinion of the wise and honest people, on this and the other side of the broad water; by which you will see how far they agree with, or differ from, the original copy of the plain honest scholars of the anointed holy messenger.

They boast themselves to be the ambassadors of the holy chieftain of the high church. They dwell in costly great houses, after the superb manner of our great civil chieftain; and they give them the same lofty name. Palaces, to distinguish them from the dwelling houses of other mortals. Their dress is equally rich and singular, to strike the eye, and impress the hearts of the vulgar

with a profound reverence of the divine priestly wearers. They have the revenue of princes to support their grandeur; and they are most exact in having it collected by litigious mercenaries, even to the tenth of the hive of bees, and of the unlawful and filthy young swine; and yet they act the part of *Phophe Ishto*, "Great drones, or drones of God," as soon as they obtain their rich high seat, not speaking the divine speech to the people hardly three times a year. Their food consists of a great variety of the choicest, and most delicious sorts of fish, flesh, and fowl; their drink is of the richest white, yellow, and red grape water, with other costly liquors which your language cannot express. They resort to the most gay assemblies in the world, for the sake of pleasure, leaving the multitude to the divine care, or the speakings of poor religious men who are hired at low wages to do their duty, as they themselves have enough to mind and secure properly temporal concerns. In this manner do these lamps shine, and spend their days and nights, like the great chieftains of the earth; and when they die, their bodies are laid apart from the rest of mankind, in polished and costly tombs adorned with the nice strokes of art, to perpetuate their names—the long train of virtues they so highly possessed—their great learning and eloquence—the simplicity of their lives and manners—their faithful discharge of the various duties of their religious high office—their contempt of the grandeur and vanities of this transient world—their tenderness of heart to the cries of the poor: and their singular modesty and humility, a shining copy of imitation for common priests, and other spiritual chieftains to pursue. These fine monuments are very pleasing to the eye, but honest men say that mercenary writers and artists do not act right to belie the dead.

My red beloved friends, such is the reputed life and death of those high seated divine chieftains of the high church ; your sharp natural reason will discern the close agreement there is between the humility and simplicity of their principles and lives, with those of the early overseers of the lowly divine house. It is said that some great beloved men have an earnest desire of sending a few of their own high office, to the side of the broad water, in order to appoint young beloved men ; but we strongly suspect a dangerous snake in the grass ; and esteeming them dead to the true interests of religion and liberty, we think they ought to keep them at home, and even recall their present troublesome missionaries from our settlements, and allow us to enjoy our former peace and quiet—We wish them to go to some poor dark countries, and instruct the people in the honest lessons of peace, love and charity ; which they would, if they only aimed at the good of mankind, and the honour of the supreme chieftain, according to the plain copy of the great beloved messenger and his kind hearted faithful scholars. We wish the civil powers would not tempt the religious men's virtue by such alluring delicious baits as they propose to them, and that all ranks would become frugal and virtuous.

Thus ended my LECTURE. The reverend old red pontiff immediately asked, whether they had the accursed beings on the other side of the water? I told him I hoped not—but the religious men often spoke a strong speech of evil to those they reckoned very bad, and turned them out of the beloved house, to the evil spirits of darkness. Upon which he requested me to mention any one of the crimes that might occasion such treatment. I have told him, "I heard of a gentleman, whose

heart did not allow him to love his lady sufficiently and she having by a sharp watching discovered him to love another, complained of it to a great beloved man; accordingly, either for the neglect, or wrong application of his love duty, he was ordered to pay her a considerable sum of money—he valuing it more than her, his heart did not allow him to give so much: whereupon a sharp speech of evil was spoken against him, and by that means he was said to become accursed.” My Indian friend said, as marriage should beget joy and happiness, instead of pain and misery, if a couple married blindfold, and could not love each other afterwards, it was a crime to continue together, and a virtue to part, and make a happier choice; and as the white people did not buy their wives after the manner of the Indians, but received value along with them, in proportion to their own possessions, whatsoever the woman brought with her she ought to be allowed to take back when they separated, that her heart might weigh even and nothing be spoiled.—That, in his opinion, such determinations belonged to the law and not to the great beloved men: and, if he understood me aright, the beloved man threw away the gentleman to the accursed beings of darkness, not for having acted anything against the divine law, but for daring to oppose the words of his mouth, in imitation of the first presumptuous great beloved man, who spoiled the speech of the divine messenger. Many natural, pertinent, and humorous observations, were made by him on what he had heard.

THE END.