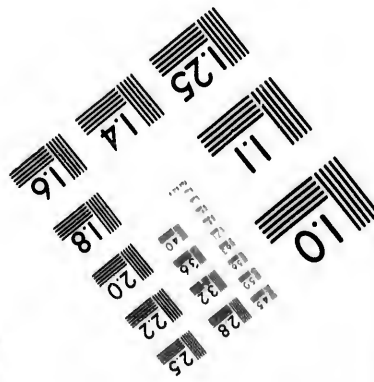
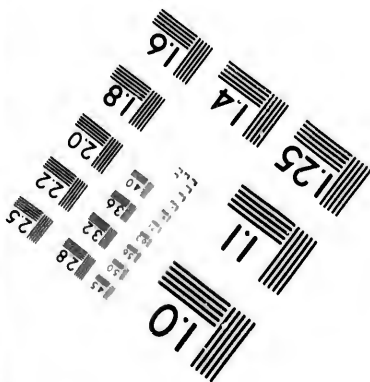
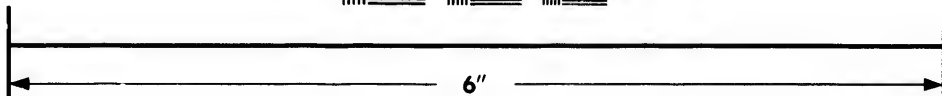
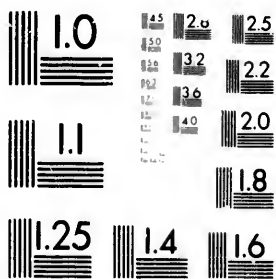


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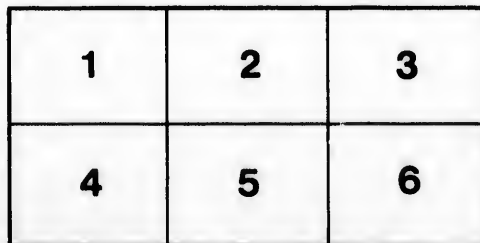
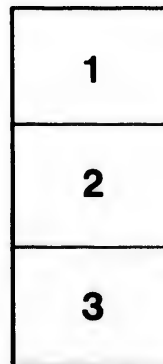
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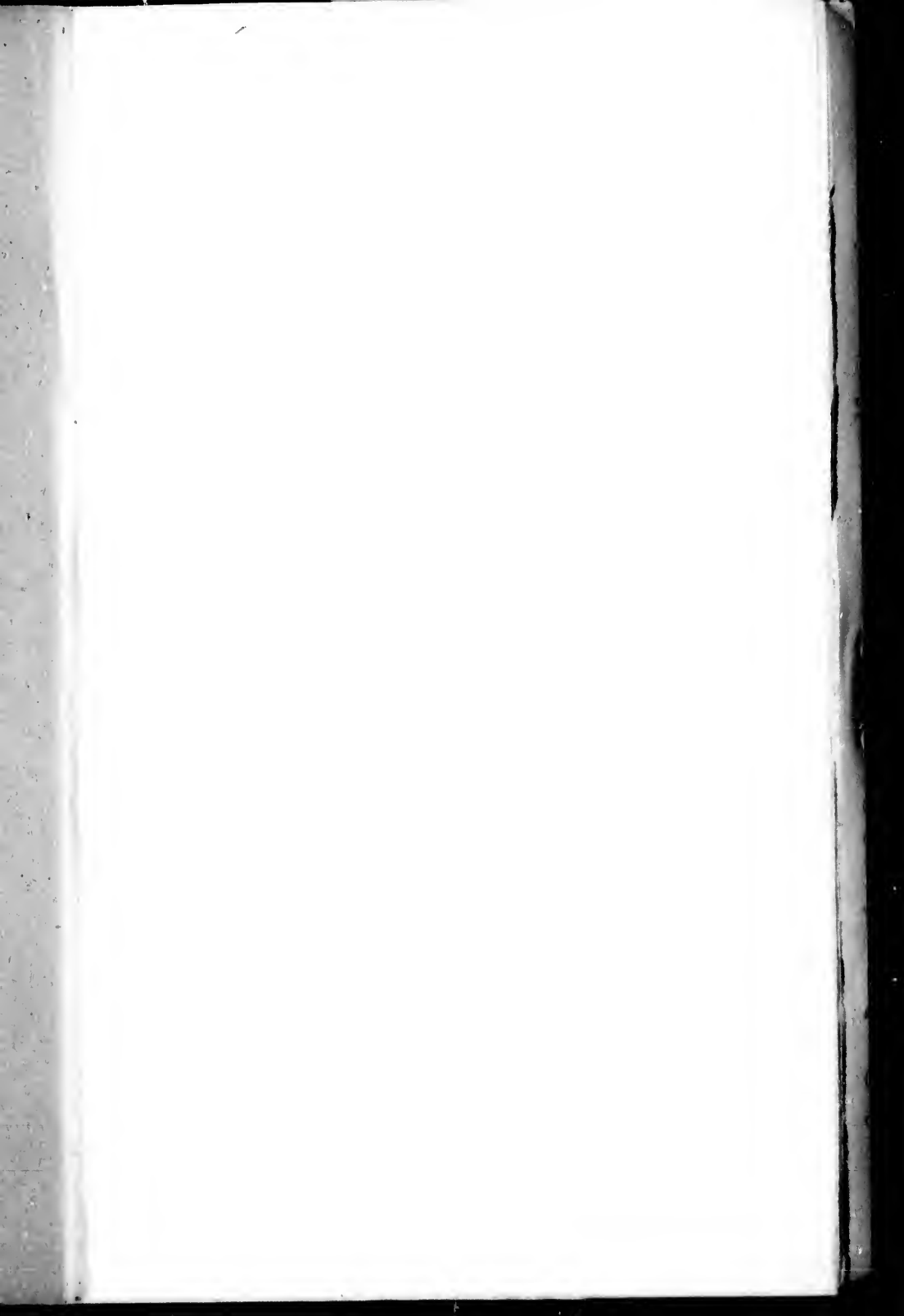
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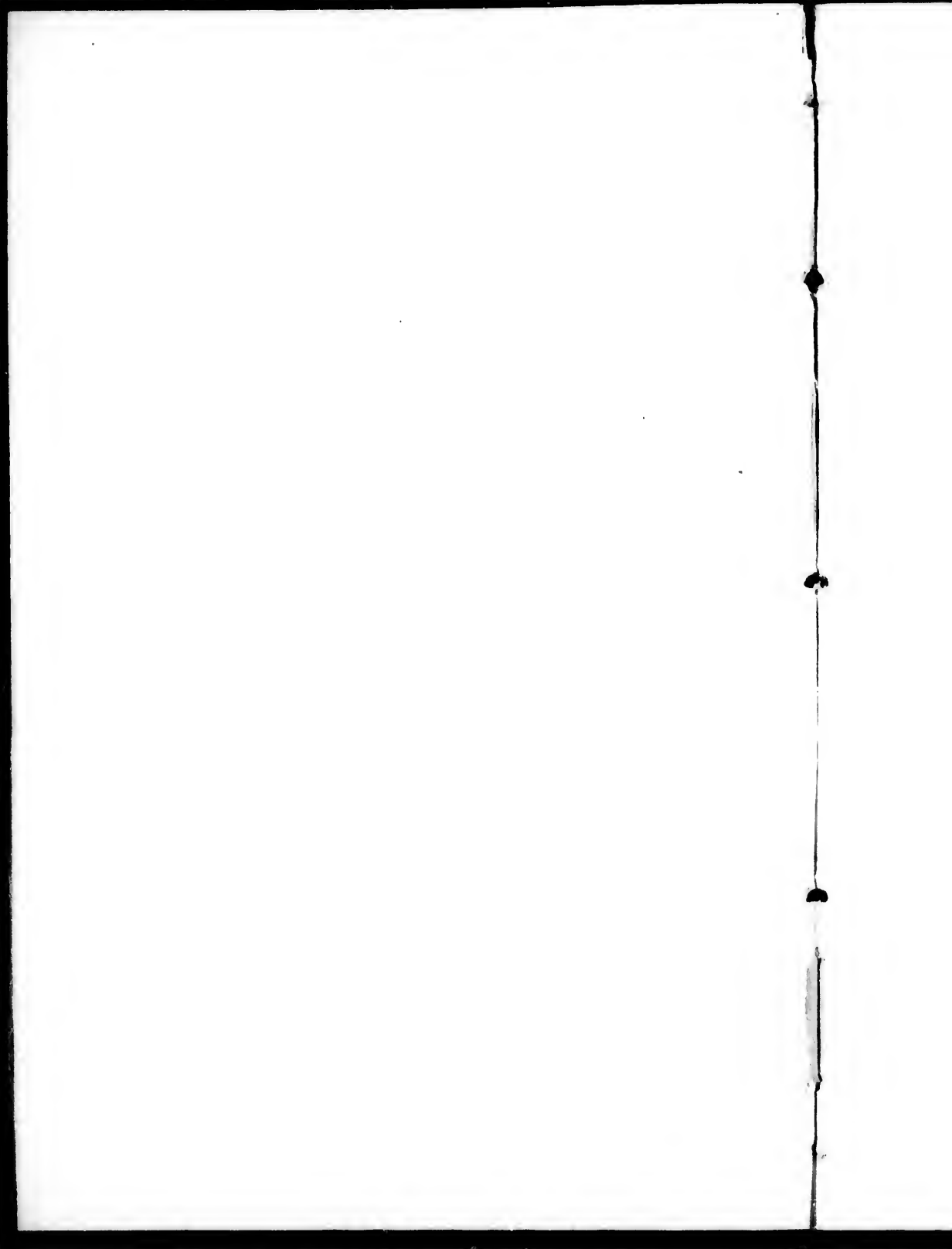
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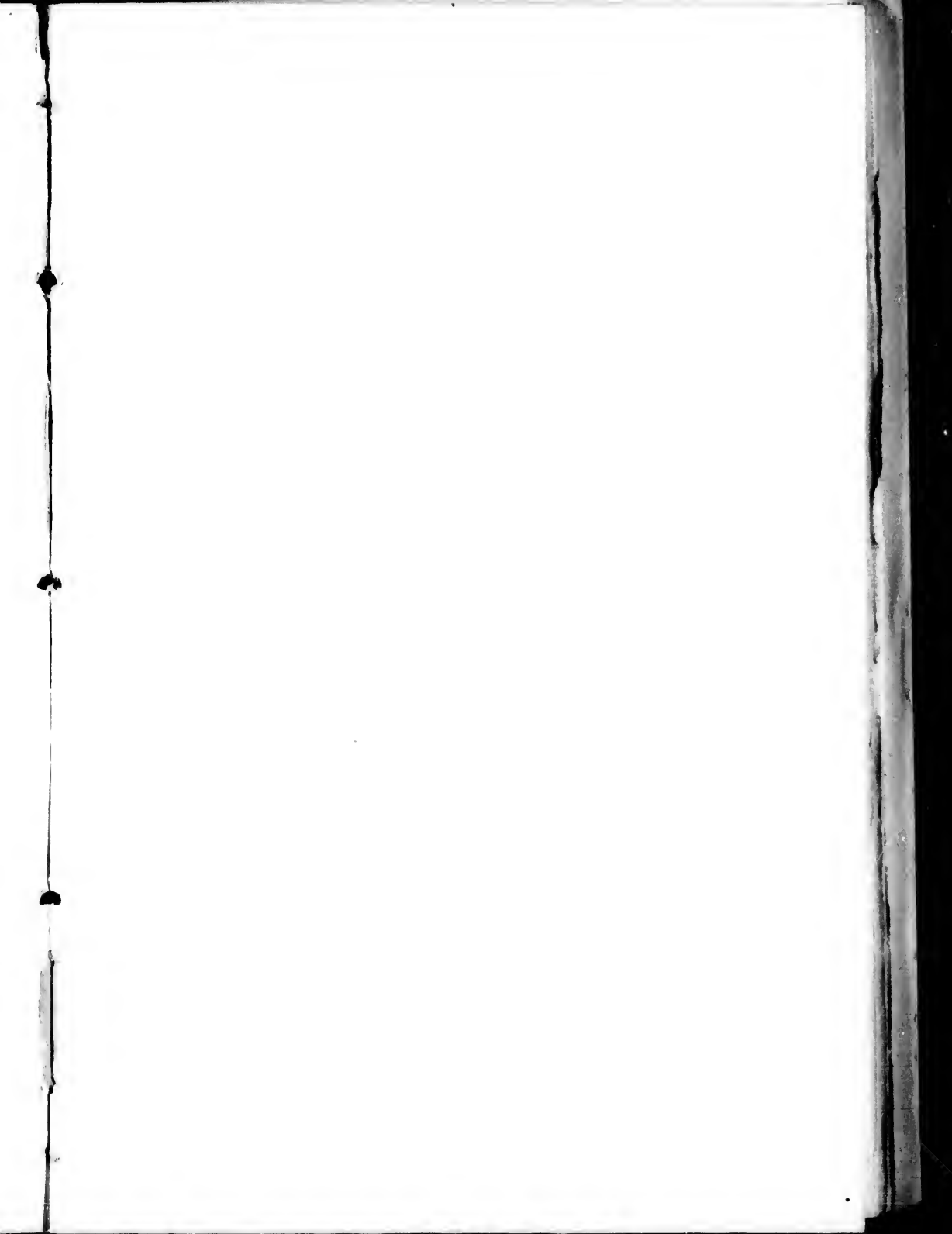
**NARRATIVES**  
**OF**  
**KNIGHT AND SLOVER.**

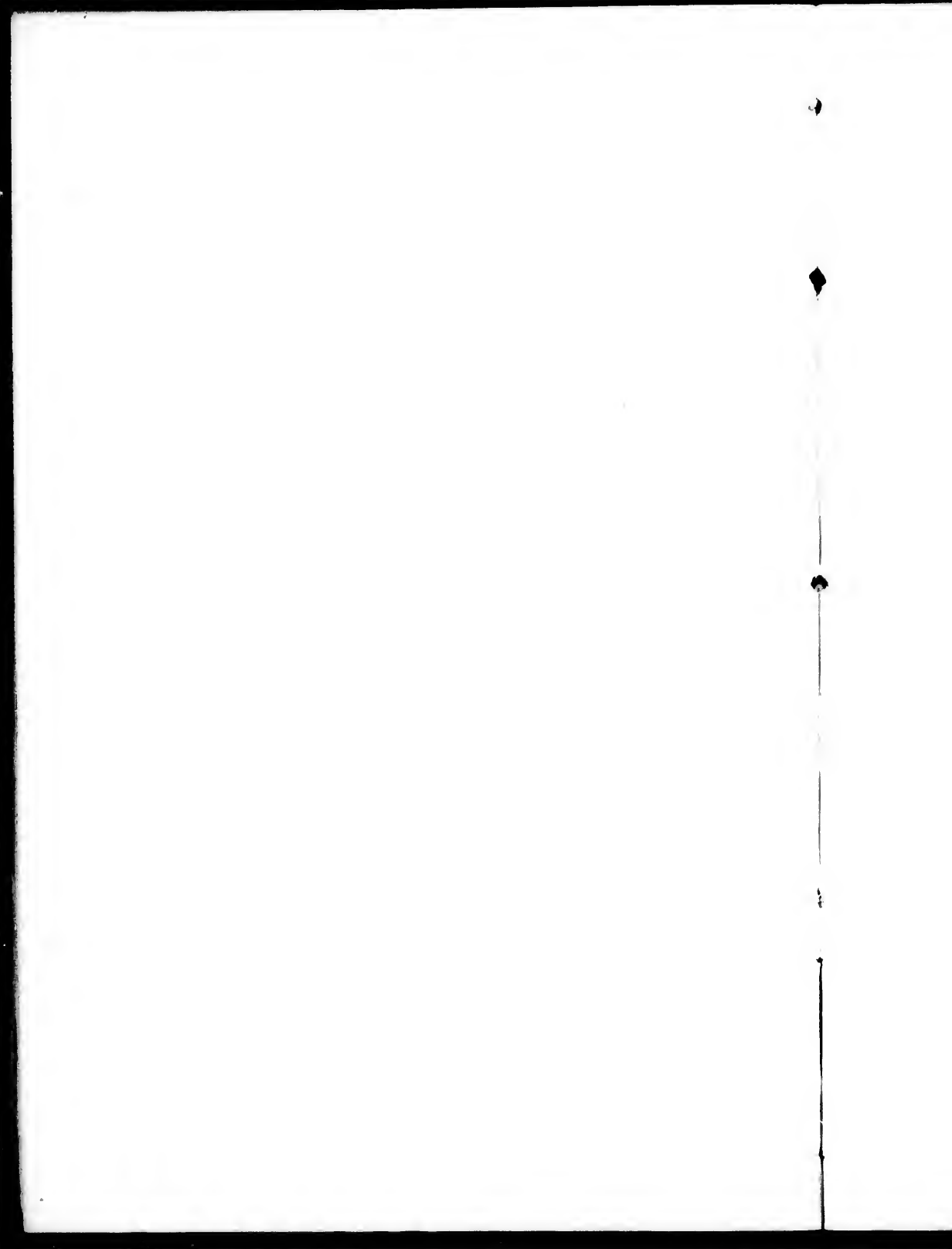


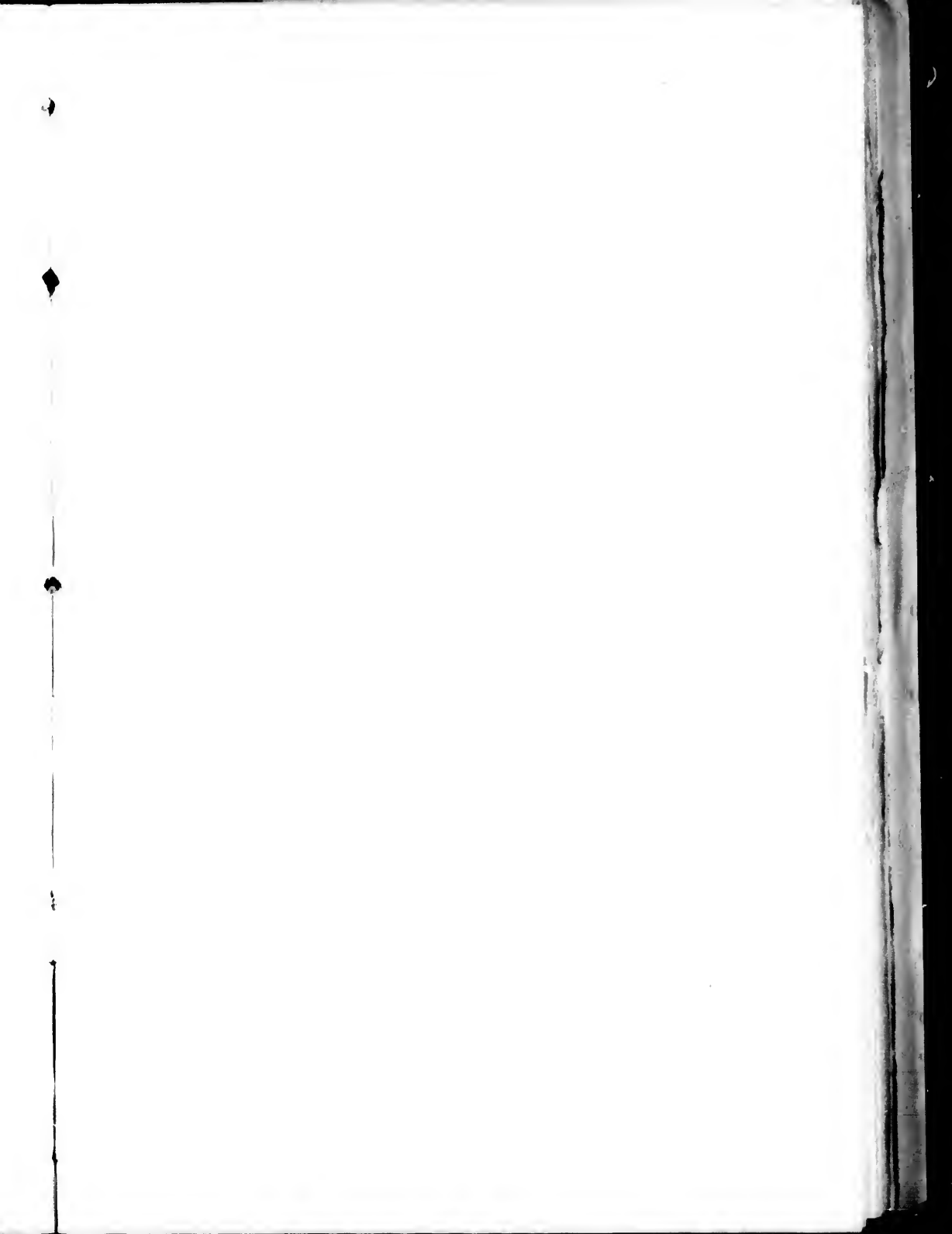


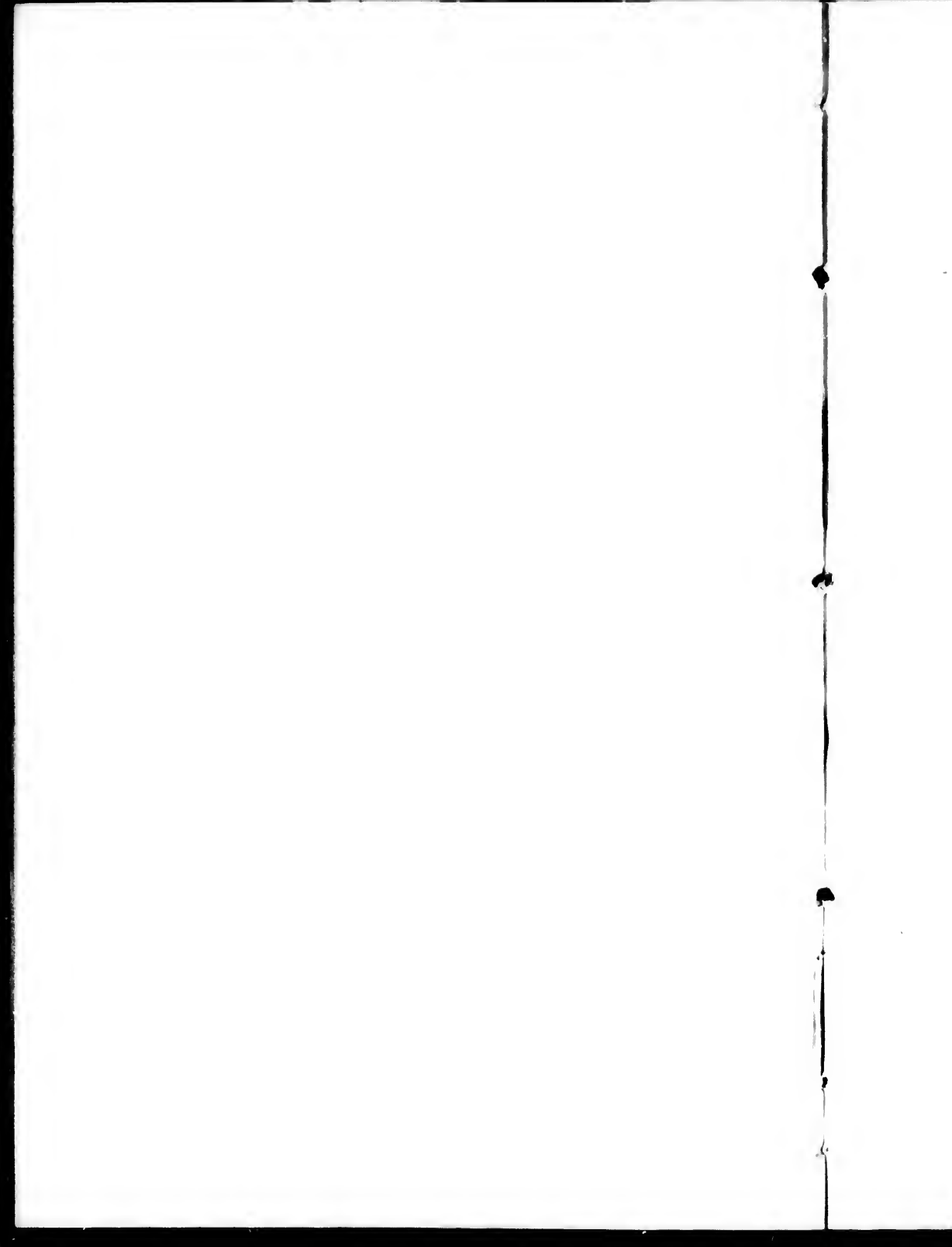


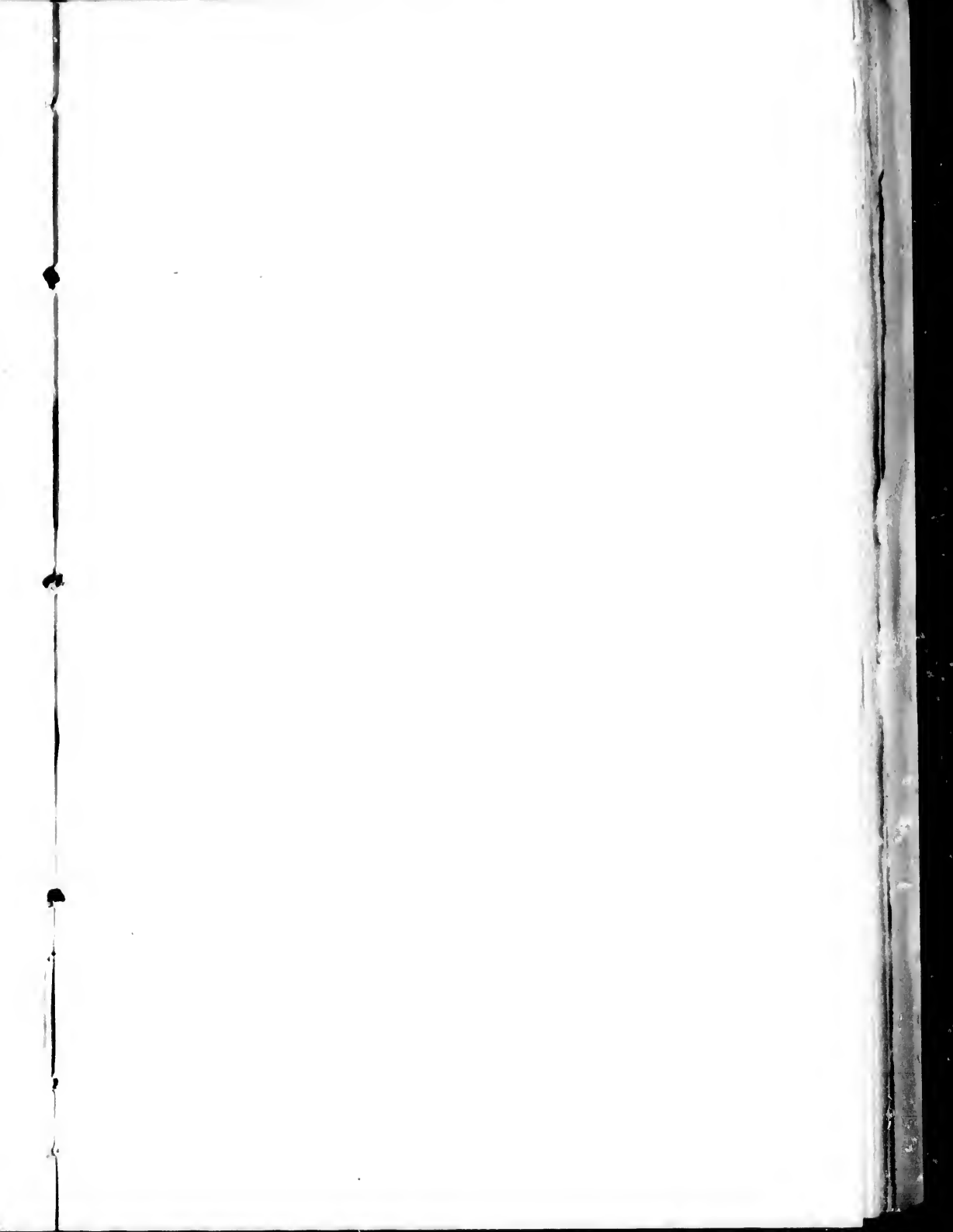


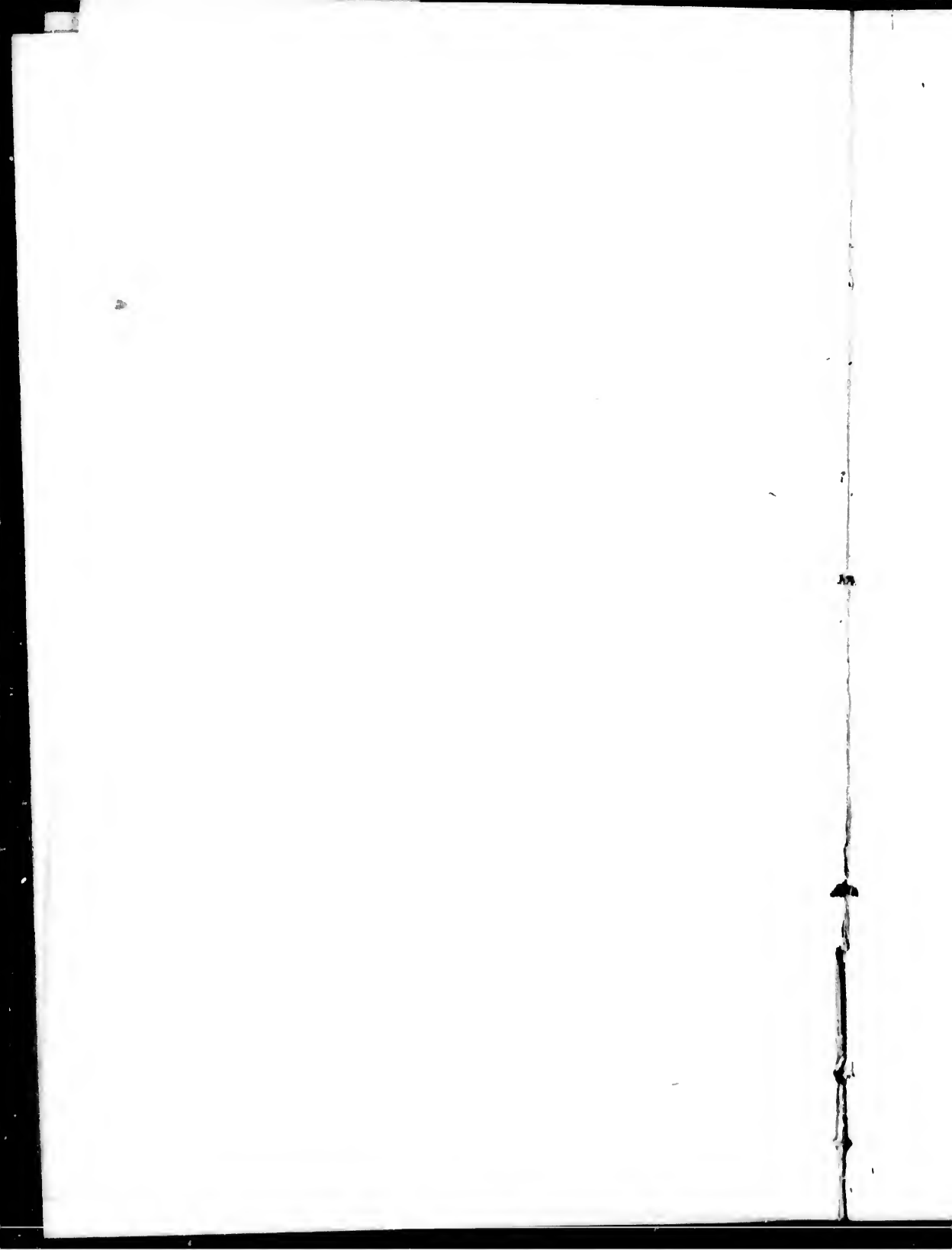












# Indian atrocities.

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NARRATIVES  
OF THE  
PERILS AND SUFFERINGS  
OF  
DR. KNIGHT AND JOHN SLOVER,  
AMONG THE INDIANS,  
DURING THE  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR,  
WITH SHORT MEMOIRS OF  
COL. CRAWFORD & JOHN SLOVER.  
AND A LETTER FROM H. BRACKINRIDGE, ON THE RIGHTS OF  
THE INDIANS, ETC.

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CINCINNATI:  
U. P. JAMES, PUBLISHER.  
*[Reprinted from the Nashville edition of 1843.]*  
1867.



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## PUBLISHER'S NOTICE.

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The first edition of these Narratives was printed in Pittsburgh, in 1782, in pamphlet form: a copy can hardly be procured now at any price. Another small edition was printed in Nashville in 1843, which has become exceedingly scarce. It is hoped this reprint may prove acceptable to all interested in the early history of our country, and struggles of the Pioneers with the Indians.

Five hundred copies only, (letter press) are printed of this edition.

U. P. JAMES,

*Cincinnati, O., 1867.*



62580



## TO THE PUBLIC.

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THE two following Narratives were transmitted for publication in September last, but shortly afterwards the letters from Sir Guy Carlton, to his Excellency, General Washington, informing that the Savages had received orders to desist from their incursions, gave reason to hope that there would be an end to their barbarities. For this reason it was not thought necessary to hold up to view what they had heretofore done. But as they still continue their murders on our frontier, these Narratives may be serviceable to induce our government to take some effectual steps to chastise and suppress them; as from hence they will see that the nature of an

*TO THE PUBLIC.*

Indian is fierce and cruel, and that an extirpation of them would be useful to the world, and honorable to those who can effect it.

*August 3, 1782.*





## LETTER.

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MR. BAILY :

Enclosed are two Narratives, one of Dr. Knight, who acted as Surgeon in the expedition under Col. Crawford, the other of John Slover. That of Dr. Knight was written by himself at my request ; that of Slover was taken by myself from his mouth as he related it.

This man, from his childhood, lived amongst the Indians ; though perfectly sensible and intelligent, yet he cannot write. The character of Dr. Knight is well known to be that of a good man, of strict veracity, of a calm and deliberate mind, and using no exaggeration in his account of any matter.

*LETTER.*

As a testimony in favor of the veracity of Slover, I thought proper to procure a certificate from the Clergyman to whose church he belongs, and which I give below.

H. BRACKINRIDGE.

---

"I do hereby certify that John Slover has been for many years a regular member of the church under my care, and is worthy of the highest credit.

WILLIAM RENO."

*Pittsburg, August 3, 1782.*





THE  
NARRATIVE OF DR. KNIGHT.

---



ABOUT the latter end of the month of March or the beginning of April, of the present year, (1781) the western Indians began to make incursions upon the frontiers of Ohigan and Washington, Youghugany and Westmorlean counties, which has been their constant practice ever since the commencement of the present war between the United States and Great Britain.

In consequence of these predatory invasions, the principal officers of the above mentioned counties, namely: Colonels Williamson and Marshall, tried every method in their power to

set on foot an expedition against the Wyandot towns, which they could effect no other way than by giving all possible encouragement to volunteers. The plan proposed was as follows: Every man furnishing himself with a horse, a gun, and one month's provisions, should be exempt from two tours of militia duty. Likewise, that every one who had been plundered by the Indians, should, if the plunder could be found at their towns, have it again, proving it to be his property, and all horses lost on the expedition by unavoidable accident were to be replaced by horses taken in the enemy's country.

The time appointed for the rendezvous, or general meeting of the volunteers, was fixed to be on the 20th of May, and the place, the old Mingo town, on the west side of the river Ohio, about forty miles below Fort Pitt, by land; and I think about seventy-five by water.

Col. Crawford was solicited by the general voice of these western counties and districts to command the expedition. He accordingly set out as a volunteer, and came to Fort Pitt two days before the time appointed for the assembling of the men. As there was no



Surgeon yet appointed to go with the expedition, Col. Crawford begged the favor of Gen. Irvin to permit me to accompany him, (my consent having been previously asked,) to which the General agreed, provided Col. Gibson did not object.

Having obtained permission of the Col., I left Fort Pitt on Tuesday, May 1st, and the next day about one in the afternoon, arrived at the Mingo bottom.

The volunteers had not all crossed the river until Friday morning, the 24th, they then distributed themselves into eighteen companies, choosing their captains by vote. There were chosen also, one Col. Commandant, four field and one brigadier Major. There were four hundred and sixty-five that voted.

We began our march on Saturday, May 25th, making almost a due West course, and on the fourth day reach the old Moravian town, upon the river Muskingum, about 60 miles from the river Ohio. Some of the men having lost their horses on the night preceding, returned home.

Thursday the 28th in the evening, Major Brenton and Captain Bean, went some distance from camp to reconnoitre; having gone about

one quarter of a mile they saw two Indians, upon whom they fired, and then retreated to camp. This was the first place in which we were discovered, as we understood afterwards.

On Thursday the 4th of June, which was the eleventh day of our march, about one o'clock we came to the spot where the town of Sandusky formerly stood; the inhabitants had moved 18 miles lower down the creek nearer the lower Sandusky; but as neither our guides or any who were with us had known any thing of their removal, we began to conjecture, there were no Indian towns nearer than the lower Sandusky, which was at least forty miles distant.

However, after refreshing our horses we advanced on search of some of their settlements, but had scarcely got the distance of three or four miles from the old town when a number of our men expressed their desire to return, some of them alleging that they had only five days provisions; upon which the field Officers and Captains, determined in council, to proceed that afternoon and no longer. Previous to the calling of this council, a small party of light horse had been sent forward to reconnoitre.

I shall here remark by the way, that there

are a great many extensive plains in that country. The woods in general grow very thin, and free from brush and underwood; so that light horsemen may advance a considerable distance before an army without being much exposed to the enemy.

Just as the council decided, an express returned from the above mentioned party of light horse with intelligence that they had been about three miles in front, and had seen a large body of Indians running towards them. In a short time we saw the rest of the light horse, who joined us, and having gone one mile further, met a number of Indians who had partly got possession of a piece of woods before us, whilst we were in the plains; but our men alighting from their horses and rushing into the woods, soon obliged them to abandon that place.

The enemy being by this time reinforced, flanked to the right, and part of them coming in nearer, quickly made the action more serious. The firing continued very warm on both sides from four o'clock until the dusk of the evening, each party maintaining their ground. Next morning, about six o'clock, their guns were discharged, at the distance

of two or three hundred yards, which continued till day, doing little or no execution on either side.

The field officers then assembled and agreed, as the enemy were every moment increasing, and we had already a number of wounded, to retreat that night. The whole body was to form into three lines, keeping the wounded in the centre. We had four killed and twenty-three wounded, of the latter, seven very dangerously, on which account as many biers were got ready to carry them; most of the rest were slightly wounded and none so bad but they could ride on horseback. After dark the officers went on the out-posts and brought in all the men as expeditiously as they could. Just as the troops were about to form, several guns were fired by the enemy, upon which some of our men spoke out and said, our intention was discovered by the Indians who were firing alarm guns. Upon which some in front hurried off and the rest immediately followed, leaving the seven men that were dangerously wounded, some of whom however got off on horseback, by means of some good friends, who waited for, and assisted them.

We had not got a quarter of a mile from

the field of action when I heard Col. Crawford calling for his son, John Crawford, his son-in-law, Major Harrison, Major Rose and Wm. Crawford, his nephews, upon which I came up and told him I believed they were on before us. He asked was that the doctor? I told him it was. He then replied they were not in front, and begged of me not to leave him. I promised him I would not.

We then waited and continued calling for these men till the troops had passed us. The Colonel told me his horse had almost given out, that he could not keep up with the troops, and wished some of his best friends to remain with him. He then exclaimed against the militia for riding off in such an irregular manner, and leaving some of the wounded behind, contrary to his orders. Presently there came two men riding after us, one of them an old man, the other a lad. We enquired if they had seen any of the above persons? They answered they had not.

By this time there was a very hot firing before us, and as we judged, near where our main body must have been. Our course was then nearly Southwest, but changing it, we went north about two miles, the two men remaining

in company with us. Judging ourselves to be now out of the enemy's lines, we took a due East course, taking care to keep at the distance of fifteen or twenty yards apart, and directing ourselves by the North star.

The old man often lagged behind, and when this was the case, never failed to call for us to halt for him. When we were near the Sandusky creek he fell one hundred yards behind, and bawled out, as usual, for us to halt. While we were preparing to reprimand him for making a noise, I heard an Indian halloo, as I thought, one hundred and fifty yards from the man, and partly behind him. After this we did not hear the man call again, neither did he ever come up to us any more. It was now past midnight, and about daybreak Col. Crawford's and the young man's horses gave out, and they left them. We pursued our journey Eastward, and about two o'clock fell in with Capt. Biggs, who had carried Lieut. Ashley from the field of action, who had been dangerously wounded. We then went on about the space of an hour, when a heavy rain coming on, we concluded it was best to encamp, as we were encumbered with the wounded officer. We then barked four or five trees, made an encampment

and a fire, and remained there all that night. Next morning we again prosecuted our journey, and having gone about three miles found a deer which had been recently killed. The meat was sliced from the bones and bundled up in the skin, with a tomahawk lying by it. We carried all with us, and in advancing about one mile further, espied the smoke of a fire. We then gave the wounded officer into the charge of the young man, directing him to stay behind whilst the Colonel, the Captain and myself walked up as cautiously as we could toward the fire. When we came to it, we concluded, from several circumstances, some of our people had encamped there the preceding night. We then went about roasting the venison, and when just about to march, observed one of our men coming upon our tracks. He seemed at first very shy, but having called to him, he came up and told us he was the person who had killed the deer, but upon hearing us come up, was afraid of Indians, hid it in a thicket and made off. Upon this we gave him some bread and roasted venison, proceeded all together on our journey, and about two o'clock came upon the paths by which we had gone out. Capt. Biggs and

myself did not think it safe to keep the road, but the Colonel said the Indians would not follow the troops farther than the plains, which we were then considerably past. As the wounded officer rode Capt. Biggs' horse, I lent the Captain mine. The Colonel and myself went about one hundred yards in front, the Captain and the wounded officer in the centre, and the two young men behind. After we had traveled about one mile and a half, several Indians started up within fifteen or twenty steps of the Colonel and me. As we at first discovered only three, I immediately got behind a large black oak, made ready my piece and raised it up to take sight, when the Colonel called to me twice not to fire, upon that one of the Indians ran up to the Colonel and took him by the hand.

They were Delaware Indians of the Wingenim tribe. Captain Biggs fired amongst them but did no execution. They then told us to call these people and make them come there, else they would go and kill them, which the Colonel did, but they forgot us and escaped for that time. The Colonel and I were then taken to the Indian camp, which was about half a mile from the place where we were



captured. On Sunday evening five Delawares who had posted themselves at some distance further on the road brought back to the camp, where we lay, Captain Biggs' and Lieutenant Ashley's scalps, with an Indian scalp which Captain Biggs had taken in the field of action; they also brought in Biggs' horse and mine, they told us the other two men got away from them.

Monday morning the tenth of June, we were paraded to march to Sandusky, about thirty-three miles distant; they had eleven prisoners of us and four scalps, the Indians being seventeen in number.

Col. Crawford was very desirous to see a certain Simon Girty, who lived with the Indians, and was on this account permitted to go to town the same night, with two warriors to guard him, having orders at the same time to pass by the place where the Col. had turned out his horse, that they might if possible, find him. The rest of us were taken as far as the old town which was within eight miles of the new.

Tuesday morning, the eleventh, Col. Crawford was brought out to us on purpose to be marched in with the other prisoners. I asked

the Col. if he had seen Mr. Girty? He told me he had, and that Girty had promised to do every thing in his power for him, but that the Indians were very much enraged against the prisoners; particularly Captain Pipe one of the chiefs; he likewise told me that Girty had informed him that his son-in-law Col. Harrison and his nephew William Crawford, were made prisoners by the Shawanese, but had been pardoned. This Captain Pipe had come from the town about an hour before Col. Crawford, and had painted all the prisoner's faces black. As he was painting me he told me I should go to the Shawanese towns and see my friends. When the Col. arrived he painted him black also, told him he was glad to see him and that he would have him shaved when he came to see his friends at the Wyandot town. When we marched the Col. and I were kept back between Pipe and Wyngenim, the two Delaware chiefs, the other nine prisoners were sent forward with another party of Indians. As we went along we saw four of the prisoners lying by the path tomahawked and scalped, some of them were at the distance of half a mile from each other. When we arrived within half a mile of the place where the Col. was

executed, we overtook the five prisoners that remained alive; the Indians had caused them to sit down on the ground, as they did also the Col. and me at some distance from them. I was there given in charge to an Indian fellow to be taken to the Shawanese towns.

In the place where we were now made to sit down there was a number of squaws and boys, who fell on the five prisoners and tomahawked them. There was a certain John McKinly amongst the prisoners, formerly an officer in the 13th Virginia regiment, whose head an old squaw cut off, and the Indians kicked it about upon the ground. The young Indian fellows came often where the Col. and I were, and dashed the scalps in our faces. We were then conducted along toward the place where the Col. was afterwards executed; when we came within about half a mile of it, Simon Girty met us, with several Indians on horseback; he spoke to the Col., but as I was about one hundred and fifty yards behind could not hear what passed between them.

Almost every Indian we met struck us either with sticks or their fists. Girty waited till I was brought up and asked, was that the doctor?—I told him yes, and went toward him

reaching out my hand, but he bid me begone and called me a damned rascal, upon which the fellows who had me in charge pulled me along. Girty rode up after me and told me I was to go to the Shawanese towns.

When we went to the fire the Col. was stripped naked, ordered to sit down by the fire and then they beat him with sticks and their fists. Presently after I was treated in the same manner. They then tied a rope to the foot of a post about fifteen feet high, bound the Col's hands behind his back and fastened the rope to the ligature between his wrists. The rope was long enough for him to sit down or walk round the post once or twice and return the same way. The Col. then called to Girty and asked if they intended to burn him?—Girty answered, yes. The Col. said he would take it all patiently. Upon this Captain Pipe, a Delaware chief, made a speech to the Indians, viz.: about thirty or forty men, sixty or seventy squaws and boys.

When the speech was finished they all yelled a hideous and hearty assent to what had been said. The Indian men then took up their guns and shot powder into the Colonel's body, from his feet as far up as his neck. I think not

less than seventy loads were discharged upon his naked body. They then crowded about him, and to the best of my observation, cut off his ears; when the throng had dispersed a little I saw the blood running from both sides of his head in consequence thereof.

The fire was about six or seven yards from the post to which the Colonel was tied; it was made of small hickory poles, burnt quite through in the middle, each end of the poles remaining about six feet in length. Three or four Indians by turns would take up, individually, one of these burning pieces of wood and apply it to his naked body, already burnt black with the powder. These tormentors presented themselves on every side of him with the burning faggots and poles. Some of the squaws took broad boards, upon which they would carry a quantity of burning coals and hot embers and throw on him, so that in a short time he had nothing but coals of fire and hot ashes to walk upon.

In the midst of these extreme tortures, he called to Simon Girty and begged of him to shoot him; but Girty making no answer he called to him again. Girty then, by way of derision, told the Colonel he had no gun, at the

same time turning about to an Indian who was behind him, laughed heartily, and by all his gestures seemed delighted at the horrid scene.

Girty then came up to me and bade me prepare for death. He said, however, I was not to die at that place, but to be burnt at the Shawanese towns. He swore by G—d I need not expect to escape death, but should suffer it in all its extremities.

He then observed, that some prisoners had given him to understand, that if our people had had him they would not hurt him; for his part, he said, he did not believe it, but desired to know my opinion of the matter, but being at that time in great anguish and distress for the torments the Colonel was suffering before my eyes, as well as the expectation of undergoing the same fate in two days, I made little or no answer. He expressed a great deal of ill will for Col. Gibson, and said he was one of his greatest enemies, and more to the same purpose, to all which I paid very little attention.

Col. Crawford at this period of his sufferings besought the Almighty to have mercy on his soul, spoke very low, and bore his torments

with the most manly fortitude. He continued in all the extremities of pain for an hour and three-quarters or two hours longer, as near as I can judge, when at last, being almost exhausted, he lay down on his belly; they then scalped him and repeatedly threw the scalp in my face, telling me "that was my great captain." An old squaw (whose appearance every way answered the ideas people entertain of the Devil,) got a board, took a parcel of coals and ashes and laid them on his back and head, after he had been scalped, he then raised himself upon his feet and began to walk round the post; they next put a burning stick to him as usual, but he seemed more insensible of pain than before.

The Indian fellow who had me in charge, now took me away to Capt. Pipe's house, about three-quarters of a mile from the place of the Colonel's execution. I was bound all night, and thus prevented from seeing the last of the horrid spectacle. Next morning, being June 12th, the Indian untied me, painted me black, and we set off for the Shawanese town, which he told me was somewhat less than forty miles from that place. We soon came to the spot where the Colonel had been burnt, as it was

partly in our way; I saw his bones lying amongst the remains of the fire, almost burnt to ashes; I suppose after he was dead they had laid his body on the fire.

The Indian told me that was my Big Captain, and gave the scalp halloo. He was on horseback and drove me before him.

I pretended to this Indian I was ignorant of the death I was to die at the Shawanese towns, assumed as cheerful a countenance as possible, and asked him if we were not to live together as brothers in one house when we should get to the town? He seemed well pleased, and said yes. He then asked me if I could make a wigwam?—I told him I could—he then seemed more friendly. We went that day as near as I can judge about 25 miles, the course partly Southwest.—The Indian told me we should next day come to the town, the sun being in such a direction, pointing nearly South. At night, when we went to rest, I attempted very often to untie myself, but the Indian was extremely vigilant and scarcely ever shut his eyes that night. About daybreak he got up and untied me; he next began to mend up the fire, and as the gnats were troublesome I asked him if I should make a smoke behind him—he



said yes. I then took the end of a dogwood fork which had been burnt down to about 18 inches long; it was the longest stick I could find, yet too small for the purpose I had in view; then I picked up another smaller stick and taking a coal of fire between them went behind him; then turning suddenly about, I struck him on the head with all the force I was master of; which so stunned him that he fell forward with both his hands into the fire, but seeing him recover and get up, I seized his gun while he ran off howling in a most fearful manner. I followed him with a determination to shoot him down, but pulling back the cock of the gun with too great violence, I believe I broke the main spring. I pursued him, however, about thirty yards, still endeavoring to fire the gun, but could not; then going back to the fire I took his blanket, a pair of new moccasins, his hoppers, powder horn, bullet bag, (together with the gun) and marched off, directing my course toward the five o'clock mark; about half an hour before sunset I came to the plains which I think are about sixteen miles wide. I laid me down in a thicket till dark, and then by the assistance of the north star made my way through them and got into

the woods before morning. I proceeded on the next day, and about noon crossed the paths by which our troops had gone out; these paths are nearly East and West, but I went due North all that afternoon with a view to avoid the enemy.

In the evening I began to be very faint, and no wonder; I had been six days prisoner; the last two days of which I had eat nothing, and but very little the first three or four; there were wild gooseberries in abundance in the woods, but being unripe, required mastication, which at that time I was not able to perform on account of a blow received from an Indian on the jaw with the back of a tomahawk. There was a weed that grew plentifully in that place, the juice of which I knew to be grateful and nourishing; I gathered a bundle of the same, took up my lodging under a large spreading beech tree and having sucked plentifully of the juice, went to sleep. Next day, I made a due East course which I generally kept the rest of my journey. I often imagined my gun was only wood bound, and tried every method I could devise to unscrew the lock but never could effect it, having no knife nor any thing fitting for the purpose. I had now the

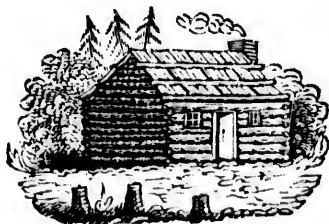
satisfaction to find my jaw began to mend, and in four or five days could chew any vegetable proper for nourishment, but finding my gun only a useless burden, left it in the wilderness. I had no apparatus for making fire to sleep by, so that I could get but little rest for the gnats and musketoos; there are likewise a great many swamps in the beech ridge, which occasioned me very often to lie wet; this ridge, through which I traveled, is about 20 miles broad, the ground in general very level and rich, free from shrubs and brush; there are, however, very few springs, yet wells might easily be dug in all parts of the ridge; the timber on it is very lofty, but it is no easy matter to make a straight course through the same, the moss growing as high upon the South side of the trees as on the North. There are a great many white oaks, ash and hickory trees that grow among the beech timber; there are likewise some places on the ridge, perhaps for three or four continued miles where there is little or no beech, and in such spots, black, white oak, ash and hickory abound. Sugar trees grow there also to a very great bulk—the soil is remarkably good, the ground a little ascending and descending with some small

rivulets and a few springs. When I got out of the beech ridge and nearer the river Muskingum, the lands were more broken but equally rich with those before mentioned, and abounding with brooks and springs of water; there are also several small creeks that empty into that river, the bed of which is more than a mile wide in many places; the woods consist of white and black oak, walnut, hickory and sugar tree in the greatest abundance. In all parts of the country through which I came the game was very plenty, that is to say, deer, turkies and pheasants; I likewise saw a great many vestiges of bears and some elks.

I crossed the river Muskingum about three or four miles below Fort Lawrence, and crossing all paths aimed for the Ohio river. All this time my food was gooseberries, young nettles, the juice of herbs, a few service berries, and some May apples, likewise two young blackbirds and a terrapin, which I devoured raw. When my food sat heavy on my stomach, I used to eat a little wild ginger which put all to rights.

I came upon the Ohio river about five miles below Fort McIntosh, in the evening of the

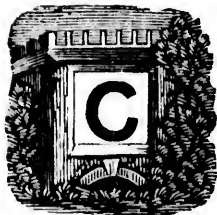
21st day after I had made my escape, and on the 22d about seven o'clock in the morning, being the fourth day of July, arrived safe, though very much fatigued, at the Fort.





A SHORT MEMOIR  
OF  
COL. CRAWFORD.

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COLONEL Crawford, was about 50 years of age, had been an old warrior against the savages. He distinguished himself early as a volunteer in the last war, and was taken notice of by Colonel [now general] Washington, who procured for him the commission of ensign. As a partisan he showed himself very active, and was greatly successful. He took several Indian towns, and did great service in scouting, patrolling and defending the frontiers. At the commencement of this war he raised a regiment in the back country by

his own exertions. He had the commission of Colonel in the continental army, and acted bravely on several occasions in the years 1776, 1777, and at other times. He held his commission at the time he took command of the militia, in the aforesaid expedition against the Indians; most probably he had it with him when he was taken. He was a man of good judgment, singular good nature, and great humanity, and remarkable for his hospitality, few strangers coming to the western country, and not spending some days at the crossing of the Yohagany river, where he lived; no man therefore could be more regretted.





MEMOIR  
or  
JOHN SLOVER.

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**T**HE circumstances that took place, previous to his being taken a prisoner by the Indians the first time, when he was only eight years old, as related by his older brother, Abraham. My father's residence was on New river, Virginia; the Indians came to my father's house, he being absent; we were a short distance from the house; on discovering the Indians there, the smaller children all ran to the house; while I turned my course through a meadow to a thick place of woods: when I came near the woods I turned my eyes and saw two Indians



pursuing me. I escaped, and they returned to the house. They took my mother, brother, and sisters prisoners, plundered the house, and took all they could carry; then they took up the line of march. But they had not gone far before my father came home, and seeing the devastation about the house, his family all gone, being well assured it was the work of the savages, it was too much for human nature to bear. He hallooed; the Indians hearing him, they all stopped; two warriors went back with their guns, and in a short time my mother heard the report of a gun; in a few minutes they returned with the horse and saddle my father was riding; my mother knew her husband was killed.

They then went on their journey towards the Indian towns, having nothing to eat but wild meats; through the fatigue of the journey, the two youngest children died in the wilderness.

Our mother was exchanged after a number of years, and returned, and lived with her children; she shortly afterwards died.

John Slover died near Red Banks, Kentucky, at an advanced age, leaving seven children, some of whom are now living.



THE NARRATIVE  
OF  
JOHN SLOVER.

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HAVING in the last war been a prisoner amongst the Indians many years, and so being well acquainted with the country west of the Ohio, I was employed as a guide in the expedition under Col. William Crawford against the Indian towns on or near the river Sandusky. It will be unnecessary for me to relate what is so well known, the circumstances and unfortunate events of that expedition; it will be sufficient to observe, that having on Tuesday the fourth of June, fought the enemy near Sandusky, we lay that night in our camp, and the next day fired on each

other at the distance of three hundred yards, doing little or no execution. In the evening of that day it was proposed by Col. Crawford, as I have been since informed, to draw off with order; but at the moment of our retreat the Indians (who had probably perceived that we were about to retreat) firing alarm guns, our men broke and rode off in confusion, treading down those who were on foot, and leaving the wounded men who supplicated to be taken with them.

I was with some others on the rear of our troops feeding our horses in the glade, when our men began to break. The main body of our people had passed by me a considerable distance before I was ready to set out. I overtook them before they crossed the glade, and was advanced almost in front. The company in which I was had separated from me, and had endeavored to pass a morass, for coming up I found their horses had stuck fast in the morass, and endeavoring to pass, mine also in a short time stuck fast. I ought to have said, the company of five or six men with which I had been immediately connected, and who were some distance to the right of the main body, had separated from me, &c. I tried a long

time to disengage my horse, until I could hear the enemy just behind me, and on each side, but in vain. Here then I was obliged to leave him. The morass was so unstable that I was to the middle in it, and it was with the greatest difficulty that I got across it, but which having at length done, I came up with the six men who had left their horses in the same manner I had done; two of these, my companions, having lost their guns.

We traveled that night, making our course towards Detroit, with a view to shun the enemy, who we conceived to have taken the paths by which the main body of our people had retreated. Just before day we got into a second deep morass, and were under the necessity of delaying until it was light to see our way through it. The whole of this day we traveled towards the Shawanese towns, with a view of throwing ourselves still farther out of the search of the enemy. About ten o'clock this day we sat down to eat a little, having tasted nothing from Tuesday, the day of our engagement, until this time which was on Thursday, and now the only thing we had to eat was a scrap of pork to each. We had sat down by a warrior's path which we had not

suspected, when eight or nine warriors appeared. Running off hastily we left our baggage and provisions, but were not discovered by the party; for skulking some time in the grass and bushes, we returned to the place and recovered our baggage. The warriors had halloooed as they passed, and were answered by others on our flanks.

In our journey through the glades, or wide extended dry meadows, about twelve o'clock this day, we discovered a party of Indians in front, but skulking in the grass and bushes were not perceived by them. In these glades we were in great danger, as we could be seen at a great distance. In the afternoon of this day there fell a heavy rain, and then traveling on we saw a party of the enemy about two hundred yards before us, but hiding ourselves in the bushes we had again the good fortune not to be discovered. This night we got out of the glades, having in the night crossed the paths by which we had advanced to Sandusky.

It was our design to leave all these paths to the right and to come in by the Tuscarawas. We would have made a much greater progress, had it not been for two of our companions who were lame, the one having his foot burnt,

the other with a swelling in his knee of a rheumatic nature.

On this day, which was the second after the retreat, one of our company, the person affected with the rheumatic swelling, was left behind some distance in a swamp. Waiting for him some time we saw him coming within one hundred yards, as I sat on the body of an old tree mending my moccasins, but taking my eye from him I saw him no more. He had not observed our tracks, but had gone a different way. We whistled on our chargers, and afterwards halloed for him, but in vain. Nevertheless he was fortunate in missing us, for he afterwards came safe into Wheeling, which is a post of ours on the Ohio, about 70 miles below Fort Pitt. We traveled on until night, and were on the waters of the Muskingum from the middle of this day.

Having caught a fawn this day, we made fire in the evening and had a repast, having in the meantime eat nothing but the small bit of pork I mentioned before. We set off at break of day. About nine o'clock the third day we fell in with a party of the enemy about 12 miles from the Tuscarawas, which is about 135 miles from Fort Pitt. They had come

upon our tracks or had been on our flanks and discovered us, and then having got before, had waylaid us, and fired before we perceived them. At the first fire one of my companions fell before me and another just behind me; these two had guns; there were six men in company, and four guns, two of these rendered useless by reason of the wet when coming through the swamp the first night; we had tried to discharge them but could not. When the Indians fired I ran to a tree, but an Indian presenting himself fifteen yards before me, directed me to deliver myself up and I should not be hurt. My gun was in good order, but apprehending the enemy behind might discharge their pieces at me, I did not risk firing, which I had afterwards reason to regret when I found what was to be my fate, and that the Indian who was before me and presented his gun was one of those who had just before fired. Two of my companions were taken with me in the same manner, the Indians assuring us we should not be hurt. But one in company, James Paul, who had a gun in order, made his escape and has since come into Wheeling. One of these Indians knew me, and was of the party by whom I was taken in the last war.

He came up and spoke to me calling me by my Indian name, Mannuchothee, and upbraiding me for coming to war against them. I will take a moment here to relate some particulars of my first captivity and my life since. I was taken from New River in Virginia by the Miamese, a nation called by us Piets, amongst whom I lived six years, afterwards being sold to a Delaware and by him put into the hands of a trader. I was carried amongst the Shawanese, with whom I continued six years; so that my whole time amongst these nations was twelve years, that is, from the eighth to the twentieth year of my age. At the treaty of Fort Pitt, in the fall preceding what is called Dunmore's War, which if I am right, was in the year 1773, I came in with the Shawanese nation to the treaty, and meeting with some of my relations at that place, was by them solicited to relinquish the life of a savage, which I did with some reluctance, this manner of life having become natural to me, inasmuch as I had scarcely known any other. I enlisted as a soldier in the continental army at the commencement of the present war, and served fifteen months. Having been properly discharged I have since married,



have a family and am in communion with the church.

To return, the party by whom we were made prisoners had taken some horses, and left them at the glades we had passed the day before. They had followed on our tracks from these glades, on our return to which we found the horses and rode. We were carried to Wachatomakak, a town of the Mingo and Shawanese. I think it was on the third day we reached the town, which when we were approaching, the Indians in whose custody we were, began to look sour, having been kind to us before and given us a little meat and flour to eat, which they had found or taken from some of our men on their retreat. This town is small and we were told was about two miles distant from the main town to which they intended to carry us.

The inhabitants from this town came out with clubs and tomahawks, struck, beat and abused us greatly. One of my two companions they seized, and having stripped him naked, blacked him with coal and water. This was the sign of being burnt; the man seemed to surmise it, and shed tears. He asked me the meaning of his being blacked; but I was for-

bid by the enemy in their own language, to tell him what was intended. In English, which they spoke easily, having been often at Fort Pitt, they assured him he was not to be hurt. I know of no reason for making him the first object of their cruelty unless it was that he was the oldest.

A warrior had been sent to the great town to acquaint them with our coming and prepare them for the frolic; for on our coming to it, the inhabitants came out with guns, clubs and tomahawks. We were told that we had to run to the council house, about three hundred yards. The man that was blacked was about twenty yards before us in running the gauntlet. They made him their principal object, men, women and children beating him, and those who had guns firing loads of powder on him as he ran naked, putting the muzzles of the guns to his body, shouting, hallooing and beating their drums in the meantime.

The unhappy man had reached the door of the council house, beat and wounded in a manner shocking to the sight; for having arrived before him we had it in our power to view the spectacle—it was indeed the most horrid that can be conceived. They had cut him with

their tomahawks, shot his body black, burnt it into holes with loads of powder blown into him; a large wadding had made a wound in his shoulder whence the blood gushed.

Agreeable to the declaration of the enemy, when he first set out he had reason to think himself secure when he had reached the door of the council house. This seemed to be his hope, for coming up with great struggling and endeavors, he laid hold of the door but was pulled back and drawn away by them; finding they intended no mercy, but putting him to death, he attempted several times to snatch or lay hold of some of their tomahawks, but being weak could not effect it. We saw him borne off, and they were a long time beating, wounding and pursuing and killing him.

That same evening I saw the dead body of this man close by the council house. It was mangled cruelly, and the blood mingled with the powder was rendered black. The same evening I saw him after he had been cut to pieces, and his limbs and head about two hundred yards on the outside of the town put on poles. That evening also I saw the bodies of three others in the same black and mangled condition; these I was told had been put to death

the same day, and just before we had reached the town. Their bodies as they lay were black, bloody, burnt with powder. Two of these were Harrison\* and young Crawford.† I knew the visage of Col. Harrison, and I saw his clothing and that of young Crawford at the town. They brought horses to me and asked if I knew them. I said they were Harrison and Crawford's; they said they were.

The third of these men I did not know, but believe to have been Col. M. Cleland, the third in command on the expedition. The next day the bodies of these men were dragged to the outside of the town and their carcasses being given to the dogs, their limbs and heads were stuck upon poles.

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\* This was Col. Harrison, son-in-law to Col. Crawford, one of the first men in the Western country. He had been greatly active on many occasions in devising measures for the defence of the frontiers, and his character as a citizen in every way, then a young man, distinguished and respectable. He had been a magistrate under the jurisdiction of Virginia, and I believe a delegate to the Assembly of that State. I know no man with whose grave, sedate manners, prudent conduct, good sense and public spirit on all occasions I was more pleased. H. B.

† This was a son of Col. Crawford. I do not remember to have seen him, nor was I acquainted with his character before the expedition, but have since been informed universally, that he was a young man greatly and deservedly esteemed as a soldier and as a citizen. H. B.

My surviving companion shortly after we had reached the council house was sent to another town, and I presume, he was burnt or executed in the same manner.

In the evening the men assembled in the council house; this is a large building about fifty yards in length, and about twenty-five yards wide, and about sixteen feet in height, built of split poles covered with bark; their first object was to examine me, which they could do in their own language, inasmuch as I could speak the Miame, Shawanese and Delaware languages, which I had learned during my early captivity in the last war; I found I had not forgotten these languages, especially the two former, as well as my native tongue.

They began with interrogating me, concerning the situation of our country, what were our provisions? our numbers? the state of the war between us and Britain? I informed them Cornwallis had been taken, which next day, when Mathew Elliot with James Girty\* came, he

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\* These men, Elliot and Girty, were inhabitants of the Western country, and since the commencement of the war, for some time professed an attachment to America, went off to the Indians. They are of that horrid brood called Refugees, and whom the devil has long since marked for his own property.

affirmed to be a lie, and the Indians seemed to give full credit to his declaration.

Hitherto I had been treated with some appearance of kindness, but now the enemy began to alter their behavior towards me. Girty had informed them, that when he asked me how I liked to live there, I had said that I intended to take the first opportunity to take a scalp and run off. It was, to be sure, very probable that if I had such intention, I would communicate it to him. Another man came to me and told me a story of his having lived on the south branch of Potomac in Virginia, and having three brothers there, he pretended he wanted to get away, but I suspected his design; nevertheless he reported that I had consented to go. In the mean time I was not tied, and could have escaped, but having nothing to put on my feet, I waited some time longer to provide for this.

I was invited every night to the war dance, which they usually continued until almost day. I could not comply with their desire, believing these things to be the service of the devil.

The council lasted fifteen days; fifty to one hundred warriors being usually in council, and sometimes more. Every warrior is admitted

to these councils : but only the chiefs or head warriors have the privilege of speaking. The head warriors are accounted such from the number of scalps and prisoners they have taken.

The third day McKee\* was in council, and afterwards was generally present. He spoke little, and did not ask any questions or speak to me at all. He lives about two miles out of town, has a house built of square logs with a shingle roof; he was dressed in gold laced clothes. I had seen him at the former town through which I passed.

I think it was on the last day of the council, save one, that a speech came from Detroit, brought by a warrior who had been counselling with the commanding officer at that place. The speech had been long expected, and was in answer to one some time before sent from the town to Detroit. It was in a belt of Wampum, and began with addressing them, "My children," and inquiring why they continue to take prisoners? Provisions are scarce; when

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\* This man before the war was an Indian agent for the British. He was put on parole, broke it, went to the Indians and has since continued violently to incite them to make war against us.

prisoners are brought in we are obliged to maintain them, and still some of them are running away and carrying tidings of our affairs. When any of your people fall into the hands of the rebels, they show no mercy; why then should you take prisoners? Take no more prisoners, my children, of any sort; man, woman or child."

Two days after, a party of every nation that was near being collected, it was determined on to take no more prisoners of any sort. They had held a large council, and the determination was, that if it were possible they could find a child of a span or three inches long, they would show no mercy to it. At the conclusion of the council it was agreed upon by all the tribes present, viz.: the Tawaws, Chippawaws, the Wyandots, the Mingoos, the Delawares, the Shawanese, Munses, and a part of the Cherokees, that should any of the nations who were not present take any prisoners, these would rise against them, take away the prisoners and put them to death.

In the course of these deliberations I understood what was said perfectly. They laid plans against our settlements of Kentucky, the Falls, and towards Wheeling. These it will be un-



necessary for me to mention in this narrative, more especially as the Indians finding me to have escaped, and knowing that I would not fail to communicate these designs, will be led to alter their resolutions.

There was one council held at which I was not present. The warriors had sent for me as usual, but the squaw with whom I lived would not suffer me to go, but hid me under a large quantity of skins. It may have been from an unwillingness that I should hear in council the determination with respect to me, that I should be burnt.

About this time, twelve men were brought in from Kentucky, three of whom were burnt on this day; the remainder were distributed to other towns, and all, as the Indians informed me, were burnt. This was after the speech came from Detroit.

On the day after, I saw an Indian who had just come into town, and who said that the prisoners he was bringing to be burnt, and who he said was a doctor, had made his escape from him. I knew this must have been Dr. Knight, who went as surgeon of the expedition. The Indian had a wound four inches long in his head, which he acknowledged the doctor had

given him; he was cut to the skull. His story was that he had untied the doctor, being asked by him to do so, the doctor promising that he would not go away; that while he was employed in kindling the fire the doctor snatched up the gun had come behind and struck him; that he then made a stroke at the doctor with his knife, which he laid hold of, and his fingers were cut almost off, the knife being drawn through his hand; that he gave the doctor two stabs, one in the back, the other in the belly; said the doctor was a great, big, tall, strong man. Being now adopted in an Indian family, and having some confidence for my safety, I took the liberty to contradict this, and said that I knew the doctor, who was a weak, little man. The other warriors laughed immoderately, and did not seem to credit him.\* At this time I was told that Col. Crawford was burnt, and they greatly exulted over it.

The day after the council I have mentioned, about forty warriors, accompanied by George Girty, came early in the morning round the

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\* It is well known that Mr. Slover mentioned these circumstances at his first coming into Wheeling, and before he could have known the relation of the doctor, for that this is an evidence of the truth of the doctor's account, and his own.  
H. B.

house where I was. The squaws gave me up, I was sitting before the door of the house; they put a rope round my neck, tied my arms behind my back, stripped me naked, and blacked me in the usual manner. George Girty, as soon as I was tied, d—d me, and said that I now should get what I had deserved many years. I was led away to a town distant about five miles, to which a messenger had been despatched to desire them to prepare to receive me.

Arriving at this town, I was beaten with clubs and the pipe ends of their tomahawks, and was kept for some time tied to a tree before a house door. In the meanwhile the inhabitants set out to another town about two miles distant, where I was to be burnt, and where I arrived about three o'clock in the afternoon.

Here also was a council house, part of it covered and part of it without a roof. In the part of it where no cover was, but only sides built up, there stood a post about sixteen feet in height, and in the middle of the house around the post, there were three piles of wood built about three feet high and four feet from the post.

Being brought to the post my arms were tied behind me, and the thong or cord with which they were bound was fastened to the post; a rope also was put about my neck, and tied to the post about four feet above my head. During the time they were tying me, piles of wood were kindled and began to flame.

Death by burning, which appeared to be now my fate, I had resolved to sustain with patience. The divine grace of God had made it less alarming to me; for on my way this day I had been greatly exercised in regard to my latter end. I knew myself to have been a regular member of the church, and to have sought repentance for my sins; but though I had often heard of the faith of assurance, had known nothing of it; but early this day, instantaneously by a change wrought upon me sudden and perceivable as lightning, an assurance of my peace made with God, sprung up in mind. The following words were the subject of my meditation—"In peace thou shalt see God, Fear not those who can kill the body. In peace shalt thou depart." I was on this occasion by a confidence in mind not to be resisted, fully assured of my salvation. This being the case I was willing, satisfied and glad to die.

I was tied to the post, as I have already said, and the flame was now kindled. The day was clear, not a cloud to be seen. If there were clouds low in the horizon, the sides of the house prevented me from seeing them, but I heard no thunder, or observed any sign of approaching rain; just as the fire of one pile began to blaze, the wind rose, from the time they began to kindle the fire and to tie me to the post, until the wind began to blow, was about fifteen minutes. The wind blew a hurricane, and the rain followed in less than three minutes. The rain fell violent; and the fire, though it began to blaze considerably, was instantly extinguished. The rain lasted about a quarter of an hour.

When it was over the savages stood amazed, and were a long time silent. At last one said, we will let him alone till morning, and take a whole day's frolic in burning him. The sun at this time was about three hours high. It was agreed upon, and the rope about my neck was untied, and making me sit down, they began to dance round me. They continued dancing in this manner until eleven o'clock at night; in the mean time, beating,

kicking and wounding me with their tomahawks and clubs.\*

At last one of the warriors, the Half Moon, asked me if I was sleepy? I answered, yes, The head warrior then chose out three warriors to take care of me. I was taken to a block house; my arms were tied until the cord was hid in the flesh, they were tied in two places, round the wrist and above the elbows. A rope was fastened about my neck and tied to a beam of the house, but permitting me to lie down on a board. The three warriors were constantly harassing and troubling me, saying, "How will you like to eat fire to-morrow—you will kill no more Indians now." I was in expectation of their going to sleep, when at length, about an hour before daybreak, two laid down, the third smoked a pipe, talked to me and asked the same painful questions. About half an hour after, he also laid down; I heard him begin to snore. Instantly I went to work, and as my arms were perfectly dead with the cord, I laid myself down upon my

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\* I observed marks on the man when I saw him, which was eight or ten days after he came in, particularly a wound above his right eyebrow, which he had received with the pipe end of a tomahawk; but his back and body generally had been injured. H. B.

right arm which was behind my back, and keeping it fast with my fingers, which had still some life and strength, I slipped the cord from my left arm over my elbow and my wrist. One of the warriors now got up and stirred the fire. I was apprehensive that I should be examined, and thought it was over with me, but my hopes revived when now he lay down again. I then attempted to unloose the rope about my neck; tried to gnaw it, but it was in vain, as it was as thick as my thumb and as hard as iron, being made of a buffalo hide. I wrought with it a long time, gave it out, and could see no relief. At this time I saw daybreak and heard the cock crow. I made a second attempt, almost without hope, pulling the rope by putting my fingers between my neck and it, and to my great surprise it came easily untied. It was a noose with two or three knots tied over it.

I slipped over the warriors as they lay, and having got out of the house, looked back to see if there was any disturbance. I then ran through the town into a corn field; in my way I saw a squaw with four or five children lying asleep under a tree. Going in a different way into the field, I untied my arm, which was

greatly swollen and turned black. Having observed a number of horses in the glade as I ran through it, I went back to catch one, and on my way found a piece of an old rug or quilt hanging on a fence, which I took with me. Having caught the horse, the rope with which I had been tied served for a halter, I rode off. The horse was strong and swift, and the woods being open and the country level, about ten o'clock that day I crossed the Scioto river at a place, by computation, fifty full miles from the town. I had rode about twenty-five miles on this side of the Scioto by three o'clock in the afternoon, when the horse began to fail, and could no longer go on a trot. I instantly left him, and on foot, ran about twenty miles farther that day, making in the whole the distance of near one hundred miles. In the evening I heard hallooing behind me, and for this reason did not halt until about ten o'clock at night, when I sat down, was extremely sick and vomited; but when the moon rose, which might have been about two hours after, I went on and traveled until day.

During the night I had a path, but in the morning judged it prudent to forsake the path



and take a ridge for the distance of fifteen miles, in a line at right angles to my course, putting back as I went along, with a stick, the weeds which I had bent, lest I should be tracked by the enemy. I lay the next night on the waters of Muskingum; the nettles had been troublesome to me after my crossing the Scioto, having nothing to defend myself but the piece of a rug which I had found and which while I rode I used under me by way of a saddle; the briars and thorns were now painful to, and prevented me from traveling in the night until the moon appeared. In the meantime I was prevented from sleeping by the mosquitoes, for even in the day I was under the necessity of traveling with a handfull of bushes to brush them from my body.

The second night I reached Cushakim, next day came to Newcomer's town, where I got about seven raspberries, which were the first thing I ate from the morning on which the Indians had taken me to burn me until this time, which was now about three o'clock the fourth day. I felt hunger very little, but was extremely weak. I swam Muskingum river at Oldcomer's town, the river being two

hundred yards wide; having reached the bank, I sat down, looked back and thought I had a start of the Indians if any should pursue. That evening I traveled about five miles; next day came to Stillwater, a small river, in a branch of which I got two small crawfish to eat. Next night I lay within five miles of Wheeling, but had not slept a wink during this whole time, being rendered impossible by the mosquitoes, which it was my constant employment to brush away. Next day came to Wheeling, and saw a man on the island in the Ohio opposite to that post, and calling to him and asking for particular persons who had been on the expedition, and telling him I was Slover, at length, with great difficulty, he was persuaded to come over and bring me across in his canoe.\*

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\* It has been said that the putting to death the Moravian Indians has been the cause of the cruelties practised on the prisoners taken at Sandusky. But though this has been made an excuse by the refugees amongst the savages, and by the British, yet it must be well known that it has been the custom of the savages at all times. I have it from Col. John Campbell, who is lately from Chamblee, where he has been in confinement a long time, and was taken on the Ohio some years ago, that two men who were taken with him were put to death at the Shawanese towns in the same manner in which Harrison was afterwards executed, viz.: by blowing powder into their bodies. A large load blown

At the same time, though I would strike away this excuse which is urged for the savages, I am far from approving the Moravian slaughter. Doubtless the existence of that body of people in our neighborhood, was of disadvantage, as they were under the necessity of receiving and refusing the Sandusky savages as they came to war, and as they returned, and as no doubt some amongst them communicated intelligence of any expedition on foot against the enemy. I am also disposed to believe, that the greater part of the men put to death were warriors; this appears from the testimony of one against another, from the confession of many, from their singing the war song when ordered out to be tomahawked, from the cut and painting of their hair, and from other circumstances. The greater part of the Moravian men who were really peaceable or well affected to us, having

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into the body of one of these men, reaching his kidneys, the pain throwing him into rage and madness, the savages were uncommonly diverted with the violence of his exclamation and gestures; boys of the town, particularly, following him, and considering it as excellent sport. In the evening his head was cut off and an end put to his misery. Col. Campbell himself was led out to make sport of the same kind, but was saved by the interposition, I think, of Elliot.

been carried off the fall before, and still detained at Sandusky.

But the putting to death the women and children, who sang hymns at their execution, must be considered as unjustifiable, inexcusable homicide; and the Colonel who commanded the party, and who is said perseveringly, contrary to the remonstrances of officers present, to have enjoined the perpetration of the act, has not yet been called to an account, is a disgrace to the State of Pennsylvania.

H. BRACKINRIDGE.

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MR. BAILY :

With the narrative enclosed, I subjoin some observations with regard to the animals, vulgarly called Indians. It is not my intention to write any labored essay; for at so great a distance from the city, and so long unaccustomed to write, I have scarcely resolution to put pen to paper. Having an opportunity to know something of the character

of this race of men, from the deeds they perpetrate daily round me, I think proper to say something on the subject. Indeed, several years ago, and before I left your city, I had thought different from some others with respect to the right of soil, and the propriety of forming treaties and making peace with them.

In the United States Magazine in the year 1777, I published a dissertation denying them to have a right in the soil. I perceive a writer in your very elegant and useful paper, has taken up the same subject, under the signature of "Caractacus," and unanswerably shown, that their claim to the extensive countries of America, is wild and inadmissible. I will take the liberty in this place, to pursue this subject a little.

On what is their claim founded?—Occupancy. A wild Indian with his skin painted red, and a feather through his nose, has set his foot on the broad continent of North and South America; a second wild Indian with his ears cut in ringlets, or his nose slit like a swine or a malefactor, also sets his foot on the same extensive tract of soil. Let the first Indian make a talk to his brother, and bid

him take his foot off the continent, for he being first upon it, had occupied the whole, to kill buffaloes, and tall elks with long horns. This claim in the reasoning of some men would be just, and the second savage ought to depart in his canoe, and seek a continent where no prior occupant claimed the soil. Is this claim of occupancy of a very early date? When Noah's three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, went out to the three quarters of the old world, Ham to Africa, Shem to Asia, Japhet to Europe, did each claim a quarter of the world for his residence? Suppose Ham to have spent his time fishing or gathering oysters in the Red Sea, never once stretching his leg in a long walk to see his vast dominions, from the mouth of the Nile, across the mountains of Ethiopia and the river Niger to the Cape of Good Hope, where the Hottentots, a cleanly people, now stay; or supposing him, like a Scots pedlar, to have traveled over many thousand leagues of that country; would this give him a right to the soil? In the opinion of some men it would establish an exclusive right. Let a man in more modern times take a journey or voyage like Patrick Kennedy and others to the heads of the

Mississippi or Missouri rivers, would he gain a right ever after to exclude all persons from drinking the waters of these streams? Might not a second Adam make a talk to them and say, is the whole of this water necessary to allay your thirst, and may I also drink of it?

The whole of this earth was given to man, and all descendants of Adam have a right to share it equally. There is no right of primogeniture in the laws of nature and of nations. There is reason that a tall man, such as the chaplain in the American army we call the High Priest, should have a large spot of ground to stretch himself upon; or that a man with a big belly, like a goodly alderman of London, should have a larger garden to produce beans and cabbage for his appetite, but that an agile, nimble runner, like an Indian called the Big Cat, at Fort Pitt, should have more than his neighbors, because he has traveled a great space, I can see no reason.

I have conversed with some persons and found their mistakes on this subject, to arise from a view of claims by individuals in a state of society, from holding a greater proportion

of the soil than others; but this is according to the laws to which they have consented; an individual holding one acre, cannot encroach on him who has a thousand, because he is bound by the law which secures property in this unequal manner. This is the municipal law of the state under which he lives. The member of a distant society is not excluded by the laws from a right to the soil. He claims under the general law of nature, which gives a right, equally to all, to so much of the soil as is necessary for subsistence. Should a German from the closely peopled country of the Rhine, come into Pennsylvania, more thinly peopled, he would be justifiable in demanding a settlement, though his personal force would not be sufficient to effect it. It may be said that the cultivation or melioration of the earth, gives a property in it. No—if an individual has engrossed more than is necessary to produce grain for him to live upon, his useless gardens, fields and pleasure walks, may be seized upon by the person who, not finding convenient ground elsewhere, choose to till them for his support.

It is a usual way of destroying an opinion by pursuing it to its consequence. In the



present case we may say, that if the visiting one acre of ground could give a right to it, the visiting of a million would give a right on the same principle; and thus a few surly ill natured men, might in the earlier ages have excluded half the human race from a settlement, or should any have fixed themselves on a territory, visited before they had set a foot on it, they must be considered as invaders of the rights of others.

It is said that an individual, building a house or fabricating a machine has an exclusive rights to it, and why not those who improve the earth? I would say, should man build houses on a greater part of the soil, than falls to his share, I would, in a state of nature, take away a proportion of the soil and the houses from him, but a machine or any work of art, does not lessen the means of subsistence to the human race, which an extensive occupation of the soil does.

Claims founded on the first discovery of soil are futile. When gold, jewels, manufactures, or any work of men's hands is lost, the finder is entitled to some reward, that is, he has some claims on the thing found, for a share of it.

When by industry or the exercise of genius, something unusual is invented in medicine or in other matters, the author doubtless has a claim to an exclusive profit by it, but who will say the soil is lost, or that any one can found a claim by discovering it. The earth with its woods and rivers still exist, and the only advantage I would allow to any individual for having cast his eye first on any particular part of it, is the privilege of making the first choice of situation. I would think the man a fool and unjust, who would exclude me from drinking the waters of the Mississippi river, because he had first seen it. He would be equally so who would exclude me from settling in the country west of the Ohio, because in chasing a buffalo he had been first over it.

The idea of an exclusive right to the soil in the natives had its origin in the policy of the first discoverers, the kings of Europe. Should they deny the right of the natives from their first treading on the continent, they would take away the right of discovery in themselves, by sailing on the coast. As the vestige of the moccasin in one case gave a right, so the cruise in the other was the foundation of a claim.

Those who under these kings, derived grants were led to countenance the idea, for otherwise why should kings grant or they hold extensive tracts of country. Men become enslaved to an opinion that has been long entertained. Hence it is that many wise and good men will talk of the right of savages to immense tracts of soil.

What use do these ring, streaked, spotted and speckled cattle make of the soil? Do they till it? Revelation said to man, "Thou shalt till the ground." This alone is human life. It is favorable to population, to science, to the information of a human mind in the worship of God. Warburton has well said, that before you can make an Indian a christian you must teach him agriculture and reduce him to a civilized life. To live by tilling is *more humano*, by hunting is *more best arum*. I would as soon admit a right in the buffalo to grant lands, as in Killbuck, the Big Cat, the Big Dog, or any of the ragged wretches that are called chiefs and sachems. What would you think of going to a big lick or place where the beasts collect to lick saline nitrous earth and water, and addressing yourself to a great buffalo to grant you laud? It

is true he could not make the mark of the stone or the mountain reindeer, but he could set his cloven foot to the instrument like the great Ottomon, the father of the Turks, when he put his signature to an instrument, he put his large hand and spreading fingers in the ink and set his mark to the parchment. To see how far the folly of some would go, I had once a thought of supplicating some of the great elks or buffaloes that run through the woods, to make me a grant of a hundred thousand acres of land and prove he had brushed the weeds with his tail, and run fifty miles.

I wonder if Congress or the different States would recognize the claim? I am so far from thinking the Indians have a right to the soil, that not having made a better use of it for many hundred years, I conceive they have forfeited all pretence to claim, and ought to be driven from it.

With regard to forming treaties or making peace with this race, there are many ideas :

They have the shapes of men and may be of the human species, but certainly in their present state they approach nearer the

character of Devils; take an Indian, is there any faith in him? Can you bind him by favors? Can you trust his word or confide in his promise? When he makes war upon you, when he takes you prisoner and has you in his power will he spare you? In this he departs from the law of nature, by which, according to baron Montesquieu and every other man who thinks on the subject, it is unjustifiable to take away the life of him who submits; the conqueror in doing otherwise becomes a murderer, who ought to be put to death. On this principle are not the whole Indian nations murderers?

Many of them may have not had an opportunity of putting prisoners to death, but the sentiment which they entertain leads them invariably to this when they have it in their power or judge it expedient; these principles constitute them murderers, and they ought to be prevented from carrying them into execution, as we would prevent a common homicide, who should be mad enough to conceive himself justifiable in killing men.

The tortures which they exercise on the bodies of their prisoners, justify extermination. Gelo of Syria made war on the Carthaginians

because they oftentimes burnt human victims, and made peace with them on conditions they would cease from this unnatural and cruel practice. If we could have any faith in the promises they make we could suffer them to live, provided they would only make war amongst themselves, and abandon their hiding or lurking on the pathways of our citizens, emigrating unarmed and defenceless inhabitants; and murdering men, women and children in a defenceless situation; and on their ceasing in the meantime to raise arms no more among the American Citizens.



